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New World

REVIEW

OCTOBER 1956

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

Democracy in China

by ISRAEL EPSTEIN

The editor of the New World Review has asked me to write on two questions.

The first question: "What are some special features of China's transition to socialism?"

The second question: "What is the conception of democracy today and for the future, and how are constitutional guarantees carried out in life?"

THE distinctive forms of China's transition to socialism are familiar to readers of this magazine. They have been touched upon in many articles, including my own on "China's New Constitution" (September, 1954) and "China's Road to Socialism" (May, 1956). Therefore I shall write mainly of the evolving shape of China's democracy, which is a result of the special features of her revolution and itself casts much light on them. In doing so, I shall not quote copiously from policy statements, but touch on the highlights of the situation as they appear to me

ISRAEL EPSTEIN has spent many years in China as correspondent for the United Press and "New York Times." He returned to China from New York in 1951 and has been living in Peking.

from long residence and much traveling and reporting.

Several Parties

China's democracy is of the proletarian, socialist type. But it has its own distinguishing marks. One need only mention the existence of several parties instead of one, nationally and locally, with places in the State Council (national cabinet), as well as the National People's Congress, the ultimate executive and legislative authority. One must mention too that the parties, though based in their origin on different classes, all participated in the framing and adoption of the Constitution of 1954 which made the transition to socialism the fundamental law of the land.

Alongside the unity of general aims, however, there are of course differences of outlook between the parties. These are not fought out in a contest for power but ironed out in consultation, and there is a special organ for this purpose, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Lest it should be thought that this is an unimportant body, we may recall that it was precisely the multi-party PPCC which in 1949 proclaimed the People's Republic of China and named the First People's Government. It was the PPCC too which passed the significantly named

Common Program, the predecessor of the Constitution, and carried out the functions of the National People's Congress in the five years of state-building prior to the inauguration of the latter. Since then the PPCC has been a non-governmental affair. Nonetheless, as we shall see it continues to play a vital role.

Seeing that socialism is the fixed goal, why isn't one party enough? Recent events provide part of the answer. The method of consultation, within a continuing united front of several classes, would have made no sense if there were no organized bodies to consult with. For example, discussion with the Democratic National Construction Association, in effect the political party of medium-scale Chinese private enterprise, greatly facilitated the peaceful transformation of the capitalist sector of the economy. And Mao Tse-tung and other government leaders personally discussed the policy with members of the Federation of Industry and Commerce. These things saved the country from economic losses and serious social frictions that would have been inevitable if the capitalists had been forbidden any representation and simply pressured by administrative force.

Some will say that this was a class struggle and force of a kind turned the balance in any case. After all the socialist part of the economy was overwhelmingly strong and the demands of the workers and peasants, who outnumber the capitalists many times, were backed by the power and prestige of the state. That is quite true. The majority was determined and organized. The point, however, is that the minority was brought around by patient explanation, consulted on the methods of the inevitable transition, and assured in ac-

tion that its members would have both jobs and political status in the future. While the doors of return to the past shut behind it, doors leading forward were also opened. This resulted, in the vast majority of cases, in unfrightened consent.

But what about the next stage? When socialism is built, there will be no contending classes, so why different parties then?

On this very important point one hears the view that the gradual disappearance of classes does not necessarily make parties obsolete, since there are many historically conditioned ideas which will not automatically come into line with one another just because their class basis is gone. Ideas harmful to socialism will of course be fought by China's Marxists, but by criticism and discussion in circumstances in which the unconvinced are not afraid to ask questions. Unity for socialist goals is understood as unity behind the Constitution, not excluding the existence of several parties and in fact capable of profiting from it. For one thing, it is pointed out here, the parties can exercise "mutual supervision." Spokesmen of the Chinese Communist Party have declared, in this regard, that it considers itself to be more in need of supervision from the others, because it is the leading party and mistakes on its part can have more serious consequences.

Forums of Opinion

Unity being the objective, what is the forum where agreement among different parties and groups is hammered out? Besides the National People's Congress (parliament) and its local equivalents, it continues to be the People's Political Consultative Council. This united front organ does not now legislate, though it dis-

cusses and may propose legislation. Its chief duty is to serve as a sounding-board for the raising of any and all problems. Its discussions are given great importance. The chief officers of the government report periodically to the PPCC just as they do to the Congress, and PPCC proceedings get as wide coverage and comment in the press.

The PPCC incidentally includes people who have voiced open disapproval of the policy of the Communist Party on such vital matters as industrialization. Liang Shu-ming, an old rural welfare worker, for instance, expresses his opposition views on this subject. He is often assailed in debate and in newspaper articles, but despite his unchanged views was returned to the PPCC for a second term.

Members of the National People's Congress are elected by universal suffrage. Members of the PPCC, on the other hand, are delegated by their parties or other organizations, generally after a type of primary, and each of its meetings is also attended by guests whom it invites from various walks of life to participate in the consideration of the problem on hand. Members of the Congress, if non-resident in their constituencies, must make at least an annual inspection trip there. Members of the PPCC, on their part, are provided with an annual trip to any place in China they please, to examine any problem that engages their interest. In both cases, the government bears the expense and local officials are required to give every facility and answer all questions. The rough correlation of the National People's Congress and the PPCC is that the former is the supreme organ of power, executive and legislative, while the latter is a forum for unifying

views on national development, criticism and the untangling of knotty problems of fact and understanding.

The minority parties continue to hold a number of Cabinet posts—Justice, Health, Light Industry, Communications and others. Fu Tso-yi, Minister of Water Conservancy, is a former Kuomintang general. Other ex-Kuomintang generals such as Cheng Chien and Lung Yun are members of top national defense bodies. Admiral Chen Shao-Kuan, former Kuomintang naval minister, is a member both of the National People's Congress and the Supreme National Defense Council.

In addition to their voice in the National People's Congress, PPCC, and government itself, the minority parties have their joint national general circulation newspaper, the *Kwang Ming Pao*, as well as various intra-party publications.

Variety and Discussion

In a variety of ways, China has been developing safeguards against the centralism in democratic centralism outweighing the democracy. In close alliance with this process is the campaign for getting away from stereotyped thought and expressions. This fight, as readers of Mao Tse-tung's writings know, was carried on in the Chinese Communist Party for many years before the establishment of the People's Republic, and had much to do with the flexibility and quick appreciation of changing situations that brought it victory. Nonetheless there was a considerable recrudescence of formula-repeating by rote after the new government was set up. Initially, it was inevitably a part of the schooling of the whole nation in elements of Marxism which has given millions the same approach to problems and exer-

cised a tremendously beneficial effect. But while finger exercises are essential to learning to play the piano, a time comes when the important thing is to make music. So recent learners are urged to do what the older ones did before, repeat the rules less and apply the tools more.

Recently, a fresh wind has been sweeping through the press in this respect, in the substance of domestic and foreign reporting—and also the form. The columns of the *People's Daily*, the national organ of the Communist Party and China's biggest paper, are less cluttered with "officialese." Newsy headlines instead of sloganish ones, and crisp leads on stories, are becoming more common in the bulletins of the national news agency, *Hsinhua*. The *People's Daily*, always informative and enlightening, but frequently plodding in style, was recently criticized for having poorer reader appeal than the *Kwang Ming Pao*, the paper of the minority parties. While the press has not changed and will not change its view of its role as that of an educator and fighter for socialism, the tendency of insisting that every printed opinion be "correctly formulated" has been condemned. Editors are reminded that Marxism says that the truth is arrived at by a series of approximations, that correct ideas take form and triumph in struggle with less correct ones, that to fear that the people read something a little off-base is simply a sign of lack of faith in the people.

Another matter of interest is freedom of varying views in science. Here the urging now is to observe factual data and speak up and argue; with no shouting down of anyone within the general framework of a democratic, socialist attitude. The policy of the Communist Party, its

chief of propaganda, Lu Ting-yi, said in a widely published speech, is to encourage independent thinking in literature, art and scientific research; freedom to express, maintain and reserve opinion. "Natural sciences," he went on, "have no class character. They have their own laws of development. Their relations with social systems are only that under bad social systems these sciences develop slowly and under better social systems they can develop quickly. . . . Therefore it is erroneous to stick class labels on theories of biology or other natural sciences; for instance, to say that 'western medicine is capitalist; Pavlov's theory is socialist,' or 'Michurin's theory is socialist' or 'the Mendel-Morgan theory of heredity is capitalist.'" It is stressed that China's own ancient scientific tradition, too often dismissed as "feudal" in the past, should be absorbed and developed—as has been done with startling success in such fields as the medical treatment of the nervous system and such diseases as leprosy and encephalitis. The watchword, from an old Chinese saying, is "Let a hundred schools of thought contend." Debate, based on experimentally verified data and hypotheses drawn from it, is the mother of truth.

Debate is being encouraged in social science fields as well. Currently, economists are arguing about the economic law of China's transition to socialism. Historians are printing sharply differing views on the dates of China's changeover from slavery to feudalism, on when capitalist features appeared in Chinese society, how China's ancient and modern history is to be divided into periods, and so on. In literature, the problem of what constitutes socialist realism is being debated and classical writers

condemned by some are praised by others. Incidentally a more positive view is being taken of Confucius. He is no longer identified with the indisputably reactionary use made of his philosophy in later times but seen as a not unprogressive figure in his own day.

Security and Justice

A young state established by a very recent revolution must naturally defend itself against the few who have lost while the many gained and, as history has proved, are liable to take desperate measures and lean on external ill-wishers to restore the old order. The unearthing of such counter-revolutionaries continues in China. But in the whole of the five years of my present stay here, I know of no case of arrest on mere suspicion, or in fact of no arrest for any cause of anyone with whom I am personally acquainted. I think this can be taken as significant, since I was a correspondent in China for a great many years before 1949, during which I rubbed shoulders with many more conservatives than progressives. I don't mean to say, of course, that dangerous counter-revolutionaries have not been arrested and sentenced to various penalties. My personal experience, as that of a person with hundreds and perhaps thousands of present and past Chinese acquaintances, only shows how surprisingly rare this is—though the revolution was so recent.

I do, however, know of people in government and other jobs actually found to have committed indictable offenses against socialism who were not arrested at all. Instead they were temporarily "sent to Coventry" at their places of work, asked to give an account of their lives, exhorted and sometimes demoted—with the

aim of "straightening them out." The idea, as frequently phrased, is to "kill the disease but cure the patient," and it works. As for political misjudgments and errors not actuated by hatred or malice toward the system, these have never been considered here as in any way tantamount to crimes, though their correction is demanded. The purpose is *not* to drive anyone into a corner so that hostile attitudes or mistakes harden; but to criticize while upholding the morale of the person criticized.

Courts and Judges

The integrity of courts and judges is, of course, a cardinal matter in the safeguarding of personal rights. China today has a Constitution and a number of important legislative enactments. But codes of criminal and civil law are still incomplete (the Kuomintang laws were cancelled and new ones are still in the formative stage in many fields). Under such circumstances, the spirit of courts and the confidence of those before them that they can get and claim justice is all-important. And in fact the new courts are already highly regarded and trusted, with people's assessors drawn from ordinary life, playing a more active role than juries do in America.

In connection with questions of judicial responsibility and independence, it is perhaps interesting to note that "Fifteen Strings of Cash," a 400-year-old drama dealing with precisely this theme, is now playing widely and being given national publicity. The plot concerns a murder, with theft of the "fifteen strings." All circumstantial evidence including the discovery of that exact sum of money and the unanimous opinion of neighbors, points to two suspects—



Scene from the 400-year-old drama on the theme of false accusation now enjoying great popularity in China, "Fifteen Strings of Cash"; the two accused plead their innocence.

who are duly condemned by a hasty judge who sees nothing further to investigate. But another official, whose duty it is to sign the execution order, hears the prisoners protest their innocence, and is assailed by doubts, small at first. In a dramatic scene he refuses to validate the order, though it has already been confirmed by the Emperor himself. The ink-brush, he says, "seems to weigh a thousand pounds in my hand."

Despite the fact that his superiors are so furious at the disruption of routine that his own position and perhaps life are in danger, the official goes to endless pains to get at the facts on the spot, something that is "not his business." Then he has an even harder struggle to send the whole great machine of administration into reverse to save the humble victims, a village girl and a merchant's servant, and avoid a grave miscarriage of justice. This play was

written in the 15th century. But the message of its repeated performance today is that no one must be afraid to protect innocence, and nothing whatsoever excuses the judge or administrator who proceeds on any assumption other than absolute proved fact.

Rehabilitation

Another point is worth mentioning. After the revolution, landlords—that is, members of the class that was the target of the struggle and lost most by it—were deprived of the vote. The proviso, however, was that five years of living by their own work would change their class status and thus restore their rights of citizenship. Today, this is the case with a great many ex-landlords. In fact, they are being admitted to cooperative and collective farms, from which they were excluded when these organizations were in their formative stage and not very widespread.

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As for children of landlords and counter-revolutionaries, the policy from the very beginning was not to penalize them for their parents' status or deeds. Cases in which they were denied places in schools and universities, or otherwise discriminated against, have been exposed and very severely castigated in the press. This is not only humanitarian, a matter of not making children suffer for the sins of their fathers. It is very important not only in making socialist citizens of younger men and women from such families, but in psychologically disarming and reconciling some of their elders. In Foochow not long ago there was a case of an underground Chiang Kai-shek agent whom the authorities did not suspect, who gave himself up because, living in the midst of his family which had had nothing but good from the

new government, he could no longer see any sense in his role. He received no punishment.

China is going to socialism and nothing will turn her from that path. To lay the path, she had to fight and take measures essential to her safety. Today, the policy toward all persons of whatever class is that they are welcome to work with the rest of the people—and even if they committed crimes against the revolution in the past, opportunities are made for them to look around, consider the general progress made, and change their minds. The roots of backwardness and hostility, it is held, are social and political. These roots must be unhesitatingly destroyed by building a juster economy and society. This done, the Chinese believe, the human mind is capable of recognizing facts, and of seeing the good.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI ON INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

"CHINA IS A NEWLY arisen nation. We know that a newly arisen nation, especially one which is a great power, often cannot be fully understood by other countries within a short period, and frequently arouses apprehension. If to this fact is added calculated slander instigated by certain quarters, such lack of understanding and such apprehension could even be aggravated. But slander will not stand the test of facts, and lack of understanding and apprehension can also be removed through observation and actual contact over comparatively long periods. In this conviction, we have always welcomed people of all walks of life from all countries to visit China and have tried our best to meet their requirements during their visits. We do not exaggerate our achievements, nor do we hide our shortcomings. We hope that by observing the concrete process through which the Chinese people are moving from backwardness to an advanced state, they will see that the Chinese people have oriented themselves in the direction of peaceful construction and that they urgently desire peace.

"In expanding its contacts with other countries, China proceeds from the desire to co-exist peacefully with all countries, including the United States and not excluding any country. We are against placing our friendly relations with certain countries on the basis of excluding other countries. Even toward the United States, we have the same desire for friendly relations."

—From a speech made June 28, 1956, at the National People's Congress,

Tolstoy's "War and Peace"

by MURRAY YOUNG

TOLSTOY's great novel "War and Peace" has at last been made into a movie—and by an American company. The huge, sprawling book has been reduced to some three and a half hours of showing time. Much, of course, has been lost in the process, but more, much more, has been captured than could have reasonably been expected.

The sense of the endless process of growth and decay of individuals, families, and whole social groups against the compelling flow of time has, as a result of the foreshortening, been in great part lost. This is, of course, a regrettable flaw and tends very much to reduce the vast panorama of the novel to the dimensions of an ordinary love story of obstacles overcome with military victory crowning the happy resolution.

All the same, there still comes through the rapid series of scenes composing the movie version, some of Tolstoy's largeness of vision, some hint of the questioning of the meaning of life, its purpose, its significance, that broods over the novel and that in Tolstoy's later work—"Anna Karenina" and "Resurrection"—was to become the insistent and finally dominating note.

For all of their sacrifice of much that gives the novel its unique place in world literature, the producers have at the same time treated the book with seriousness and dignity. They are perfectly aware that in at-

tempting a movie version of one of the monuments of the novel they have taken upon themselves a most responsible task. In carrying out this task they have remained faithful in large measure to the outlines of the novel and, more important, they have within limitations remained remarkably sensitive to Tolstoy's larger purpose: a probing study of human relationships and a glowing tribute to the heroism and grandeur of the Russian people in their resistance to foreign invasion.

The movie version will lead many people to read the novel for the first time and it will send many more to reread the novel again after many years. Others it will lead to "Anna Karenina" and the later novels. This will surely be one of the major contributions of the movie. For Tolstoy is one of the great voices speaking to us out of the 19th century, questioning, probing, changing our understanding, deepening our experience, enriching our response to life. To be deprived of Tolstoy's vision of humanity would be to suffer a real impoverishment—just as the deprivation of any of the great masterpieces of art would impoverish us irreparably.

Apart from the interest "War and Peace" may arouse in its viewers about Tolstoy and his vision of life, quite another matter inescapably arises in seeing this production at this period of isolation and "Cold

War." How costly have been the artificially raised "curtains" of the past ten years for people everywhere in terms of the possibilities for the fullest realization of their lives.

True, as a result of last year's Geneva Conference cultural exchanges have begun to increase between our country and the Soviet Union—the Boston Symphony Orchestra has just finished a concert engagement in Leningrad and Moscow, Isaac Stern, the violinist, was in the Soviet Union earlier this year, as was also the Metropolitan tenor Jan Peerce, and last winter saw the enthusiastically received tour in the major Soviet cities of "Porgy and Bess." Also this past year saw the great success of three Soviet artists in the U. S.: Oistrakh, Gilels, Rastropovich. But the rate is still far too slow.

President Eisenhower's "people-to-people" project and his approval of the National Security Council's recommendation that we should forward exchanges between the United States and Eastern Europe, including the USSR, in accord with the 17-point program drawn up by the four foreign ministers at Geneva in October 1955, have so far been woefully slight in results. This is particularly noticeable in contrast with the cultural exchanges now in progress between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe—for instance this fall the Sadler's Wells Ballet Company and the Soviet Ballet are to exchange visits—and the exchanges that for some time have been going on between the European countries and the countries of Asia. And this exchange becomes more extensive: at present the Chinese Opera is having a brilliant success in Latin America.

Even the *New York Times* (Aug. 13, 1956) in a recent editorial felt

it was necessary to comment upon the lag between expressed intention and the actual carrying out of exchanges:

"It is difficult to understand how President Eisenhower squares his admirable views on the need for expanding 'people-to-people' contacts among the nations of the world with some of the obstructive actions in this area taken by agencies of his own Administration, . . . the cultural exchanges with other countries—in the field of art, music, drama and the like—are of incalculably great importance in spreading mutual understanding."

Slow as the official program may be in getting under way, it is not without significance that a movie version of "War and Peace" was made at this time and made with such thought and care. Beyond the hesitant governmental seeking of "goodwill", this movie would seem to indicate a genuine demand on the part of people to have done with the enforced cultural poverty of the past period, to welcome gladly in whatever form it may come any attempt of fellow human beings to illuminate the experiences of life.

Tolstoy's own words may well serve to remind us of what our loss during the inhuman isolation of the Cold War has been and what in fruitful interchange of ideas, art, music, literature, our gain can be:

"The most important thing in life is for man to unite with man: and the worst thing in life is to go apart from one another. To enter into union with one another and feel the mysterious gladness of a communion which, reaching beyond the grave, unites us with all men of the past who have been moved by the same feelings and with all men of the future who will yet be touched by them."

Citizen Versus “Yes-Man”

by RALPH PARKER

THE PROCESS of placing the relations between the government and the governed on a new footing is in full swing. The authoritarian forms of rule characteristic of the later period of Stalin's regime in the fields of justice, the arts and science, led, as well, to the near-destruction of all those forms of free, critical, constructive co-operation between the people and the executive that were innate in Leninism as practiced after the Revolution. A generation, at least, has been brought up in the belief that conformism with the official “line” was the only way to success. The “public-spirited citizen” became the “yes-man”, the “volunteer” came to be equivalent to the “well-disciplined patriot,” and in many fields of Soviet life the *perestrahovshchik*—the overcautious man who insures and reinsures against all eventualities—reigned supreme.

There seems to be little doubt that during the first twelve months after the death of Stalin the new leaders

of the USSR were discovering with a mounting feeling of concern and agitation the real cost to the nation of authoritarianism á la Stalin. Their findings—based on real data, not on the falsified statistics brought out by Beria's tamed officials from behind the “seven locks and seven seals” to which Bulganin was to refer later—were reflected in the measures taken to re-equip Soviet heavy and light industry with up-to-date machinery and to improve the threatening agricultural situation. But the cost to the nation of a regime which had always to appear to be successful lest the Party carry its opposition to the Ministry of the Interior to extremes, was to be measured in more than obsolete machinery and empty granaries. There was the inertia of the government to be taken into account.

No student of Russia needs to be reminded of the fact that for historical reasons the Russian people—and this applies all the more to the Asian and other peoples held in colonial bondage by the tsarist autocracy—have acquired a considerable capacity for non-cooperation. The tremendous national efforts made at critical moments during the centuries astonished the world not only because of their magnitude,

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"The Ministry has instructed me to investigate your complaint against me. Well, what are you going to say in self-defence?"

—From
KROKODIL,
the Soviet
satirical
weekly.

power and tenacity but because of their unexpectedness. One has but to recall the rapid consolidation of the Russian state after the "dark sleep" of the Tatar yoke, the achievements of Petrine Russia, 1812, the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, not to mention the supreme efforts made in peace and war since that time.

Stalin and his closest advisers were well aware of the existence of these latent reserves; indeed, they exploited them on many an occasion in recent years by stirring up enthusiasm with all the means available to autocratic government. But in doing so they squandered people's trust in the government so that year by year skepticism grew and the effort Soviet people were prepared to exercise in response to the appeals grew less. Hence an ever-increasing reliance by the executive on compulsory measures, the use of forced labor and the "cooperation"

of bodies deprived of their original function as guardians of citizens' rights and turned into mere appendages of the executive itself.

The present Soviet leaders have set themselves the task of restoring the voluntary principle, of drawing the public into government, reducing the powers of the executive or, at least, placing them under public control, and regaining the people's confidence in that measure of authority which the modern democratic state must insist upon.

Soviet life, reflected with greater honesty in the Soviet press than it has been for many years, demonstrates in many ways how these various processes are at work.

"Shameful Prudence"

It is not the custom of Soviet newspapers, or for that matter of any organization, to pay heed to anonymous letters and the first re-

action of the editor of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on receiving an unsigned letter one day recently was to throw it into the waste-paper basket. However, after due consideration, the editor decided that the letter should be published, and answered.

The letter took the form of a confession of faith which was itself a protest against the ways of Soviet life.

"Reading articles," it ran, "one sees raised the old and yet eternally new issues of courage, confidence and honor, calls to the public, to civic duty! What duties are not imposed on the little man? He must not by-pass any evil, whether the high-hand of a swollen headed official, the outrageous behavior of a hooligan, or the chicanery of a crooked shopkeeper. O, Don Quixote! Realize at last that the fear of reprisal is stronger than your call. One cannot expect people to assume a burden beyond their power. . . . The fate of the restless is not a happy one. Heroes are seen more often in books than in life. Reserve me the right to live in peace. . . ."

Literaturnaya Gazeta justified its publication of this letter by arguing that its gist was the credo of a typically over-prudent member of contemporary Soviet society. "His stealthy insinuations are heard out in the street, in the tramcar, at work, and at home.

"Why interfere? You won't get anything out of it but trouble, and then try to prove you're not 'the camel's hump' he paternally teaches a younger fellow-worker.

"In the tram he will catch a neighbor by the sleeve should the latter try to quieten a rowdy run amok.

"Quit it! Do you need to do it? Listen, I told you not so long ago,

a fellow poked his nose in and . . ."

"He incessantly instils into the head of his son and daughter: 'How many times have I told you not to interfere? Your job is to learn your lessons, the wall newspapers can get along without your articles'.

"And so the invisible, unnoticeable contagion spreads, poisoning the minds of people with the germs of indifference and thus hampering our common cause.

"X is many-faced. In the invisible attire of 'prudence and moderation' he worms his way into the research laboratory, the artist's studio, the communal apartment, or the Minister's reception room. And to be honest, how often do we lack in fighting this coldly calculating creature the impassioned wrath of Mayakovsky, with his:

'My hope, my faith:

to me will never

Come the sense

of shameful prudence'."

Literaturnaya Gazeta goes on to contrast the attitude of "shameful prudence" with that of the courageous rank-and-file citizen who cannot keep silent when he sees a wrong being done. "In his anonymous letter," it comments, "X refers to the days when the personality cult, that did such tremendous harm, was widely current in our country. But whereas for millions of Soviet people the voice of the Party, its courageous, straightforward and honest criticism of the personality cult and its consequences resounded as a clarion call to unfold creative initiative, he, the philistine, endeavors to retard the inspired energy of the masses, and sings the same old tune, 'It is not for us, the little men, to fight to cleanse society from sundry filth'. He proclaims as his motto his ability to keep silent: 'I

know how to be indignant, but only with closed lips. Experience has taught me that this is the more convenient and safer way'.

"That is the meaner way," the paper concludes, "X should realize that the drive against careerists, time-servers and toadies is at the same time a drive against mute-mouthed persons like himself."

The Taganrog Affair

The affair of the expulsion—and later reinstatement—of Comrades Perov and Konyayev from the Taganrog Institute of Radio Engineering has now become a *cause célèbre* in Soviet life. According to the wording of the expulsion order, Perov was expelled for a breach of study discipline and Konyayev, the prefect, for having failed to keep the class in order. The discharge paper was pinned up on the wall in the corridor but it convinced no one. The student body at the institute well know that the expulsion was due to another cause, due to the "unworthy" questions put by the two boys at a seminar.

For some time, it seems, these two and other students had been raising "awkward questions" during lectures. The principals of the institute had had occasion to reprimand the students for this. Oh no, they did not object to the students' right to put questions. Certainly, go ahead and ask them. But in actual practice it seemed that questions had to be carefully chosen, that not every question could be asked. Matters came to a head at a seminar held to study the materials of the 20th Party Congress. Perov had read John Reed's book "Ten Days that Shook the World." He asked the teacher, a young lawyer called Budagova, to explain the standpoint of

the Party's adversaries in 1917-18. Budagova sharply cut the student short.

After the seminar the students were summoned to the Director. Perov and Konyayev were deprived of their students' cards, while serious charges were levelled at the entire class and especially at its *aktiv*, the Communist Party members and YCL'ers. True, later the Director rescinded his decision to expel the two young men, claiming that the step seemed to have produced results. "Now the students behave well."

The matter might have closed there had it not reached the press. But after examining the Taganrog affair *Komsomolskaya Pravda* decided to give it and its comments on the affair nationwide publicity. These comments were scathing.

"It is said that the students not only put questions," the paper wrote, "but, moreover, voiced 'their own opinions,' and argued. But what price the sin here? Is there any fault if in thinking about major political issues, the students still fail to comprehend something? . . . Sometimes it seems our Bolshevik truth needs to be proved only somewhere 'on the other side of the barricades' while in the Soviet Union everybody understands everything. . . . But Marxism has to be studied, that is, questions must not be extinguished but aroused, the mind should be set working, and theoretical discussions and creative interlocutions should be arranged."

As for the Director's assurance that after his "step" the students were behaving well the paper comments: "It seems to us that this 'step' produced results diametrically opposite to what is desirable. Will Perov put questions now? Will the

student who has still failed to understand something come forth with a clear and open mind? It must be said bluntly that such methods cannot be employed to teach Marxism and rear the youth."

On Citizens' Rights

The Pomozdino district lies in a remote forest area of the Komi ASSR in north Russia, one of a group of districts where lumbering is the main industry. It is unlikely that its name has ever before appeared on the pages of the central press. But last August the newspaper *Krasnoye Znamya* cast a beam of publicity on this small place. Its reporter described a meeting of the Pomozdino District Soviet.

He prefaced his article with the following words: "A great job devolves on the local soviets of working people's deputies in carrying out the task, set by the 20th Congress, of nipping in the bud the least manifestations of lawlessness and arbitrariness, ensuring the maintenance of state order, observance of the law and protection of the citizens' rights." The Pomozdino meeting was one of those that are being held throughout the country to review methods of placing local administrative authorities under the vigilant, active supervision of the public.

A sorry picture of embezzlement of socialist property, corruption, exploitation of the public by trading organizations, violations of public order and arbitrary action by executive organs was revealed at this meeting. Thefts of several hundreds of thousands roubles at lumbering organizations and consumer cooperatives were reported. Local stores were found to be overcharging the public; citizens were being called to

administrative account for violations of ordinances which had already expired; unlawful orders were being issued by the management of enterprises; the public was being called on to pay taxes that had been abolished; bureaucracy and red tape were found in the examination of working people's complaints; people's judges were not reporting to their constituents.

This was the first time in many years that a session of the district soviet had specially taken up the question of law observance, and it is a sign of the times that it should have taken place and that it should have been singled out by the press for publicity. "One understands," the *Kraznaya Zvezda* commented, "the great concern, the sense of responsibility for upholding the interest of the state and every Soviet citizen, which has found expression in the deputies' speeches." But where, it asks, are the public organizations? The militia aid brigade exists only on paper, rural bailiffs have not been appointed in a number of places, and the Young Communist League and the trade union organizations keep aloof.

It is against this "aloof" attitude to matters of state interest and civil rights that the Communist Party is struggling today. The struggle is taking the form of reviving the authority of the soviets over the executive. "A stricter control of the work of their executive and subordinate organs by the soviets is of great significance for improving the work of the state apparatus," wrote *Izvestia* editorially recently. This is not going to be easy, the paper went on. "The method of passing orders from above, abused during the period of The Cult, had a negative effect." People became accus-

tomed to work only on instructions from above, were afraid to display their own initiative. The product of such conditions was a mechanical executive of the super-cautious type. Such a person desiring to shirk responsibility was always arming himself with the instructions of his superior."

Few, if any, of the momentous changes taking place in the Soviet Union today are likely to have as far reaching results as the measures being taken to bring back the ordinary citizen to his role as active defender of socialism against the bureaucrat, the petty tyrant, the over-cautious official.

NEW TRENDS IN SOVIET ARCHITECTURE

IN A RECENT speech on Soviet architecture and housing, D. Khodzhaev, Scientific Secretary of the Board of the Architects' Union of the USSR, pointed out that in spite of the colossal housing construction going on in the Soviet Union there was still a great shortage due in great part to the increase in the past 2 years of 50,000,000 in the urban population and the 25,000,000 who were left homeless as a result of the Second World War. The only way possible to overcome this shortage, the secretary said, was mass-scale construction with the use of standardized plans.

Khodzhaev emphasized that the principal tendency in the new plans for mass housing was the attention being given to conveniences for the occupants. The pseudo-monumentalism, completely disconnected from the purpose of the building, he said, was a thing of the past. Apartment buildings of 8 to 14 stories were no longer being built, instead the buildings were of 4 to 5 stories with careful attention to the efficiency of the apartments.

Architects, he went on to say, are now paying much more attention to modern building techniques and new building materials. The architect of the past who simply gave his architectural fantasies to the engineer for him to develop technically is disappearing. The architect-builders, well-versed in construction, are now dominating the scene.

With this development, Khodzhaev pointed out, Soviet architects have become aware that many of the buildings designed by them during the postwar period based upon classical Greek and Renaissance forms will be looked upon in the future as anachronisms. He cites as an example an apartment house in Leningrad the whole facade of which to the height of two stories was decorated with columns. Such a design, he declares, is contrary both to the purpose of the building and to its modern construction.

The new style now emerging, based upon all the achievements of modern building technique and new materials, will have validity, Khodzhaev insists, only when its use corresponds to the intended purpose of the building and to the aesthetic ideals of the society, as well as to a thorough knowledge of the classical heritage and the basic principles used by the great masters of the past in creating their beautiful monuments.

Because of the mass character of future housing construction, Khodzhaev indicates, architectural problems must now be shifted to the field of city planning, for it is in the creation of huge architectural complexes that a new, authentic style will be realized.

A Train Trip in China

by GRACE LIU

ALTHOUGH the tracks of new railroads are hourly spreading out and advancing all over the country, there are still far too few railway lines, cars, engines and railway personnel to handle comfortably and efficiently the unprecedented crowds of people now traveling in China. Traffic is especially heavy on the lines going to the Northwest, to the oilfields and new industrial cities and to the lands being settled by pioneer families. To any one unused to traveling it seems a daring adventure to join, even for a few days, this surging advance into China's fabulous Northwest.

My three children and I have just returned from such an adventure.

GRACE LIU is an American who lives in China with her three children. She teaches English there and she has been a frequent contributor of sketches of Chinese life to the *New World Review*.



Sun Yu-chin, woman chief-conductor on Northwest train.

We went to visit my husband's old home village about one hundred miles from Sian in Shensi Province. Sian was the capital of ancient China more than 2000 years ago; today it is the bustling young frontier gateway to the great new developments of the Northwest.

Our three days and three nights there and back were a strenuous physical ordeal for us, as we started out traveling just as the majority of the people, workers and peasants do —on "hard seats" with no sleeping accommodations. But it was an interesting and valuable experience, well worth the weariness, headaches and stiff backs we paid for it. It was certainly a good way to get acquainted with the Chinese "lau pai hsing" (ordinary people).

We left Tientsin with much conflicting advice and confusing information. Some friends thought we were very unwise, in fact quite mad to attempt such a journey in the hot-

test part of the summer or to even think of going to a village that could be reached, even after two days and a night on the train, only by ox-cart and foot. Other friends were enthusiastic and thought it the wisest thing we could possibly do! From the railway ticket offices and information bureaus we received vague information or not enough information on very important points and therefore ran promptly into what seemed to me at the moment a catastrophe—we missed our Sian train in Peking! All because we hadn't been told of some formality that had to be gone through when changing trains.

To such inexperienced travelers as Shu-lien, Ai-lien, Wei Han and I this was a dreadful blow, especially as the Peking ticket office seemed utterly indifferent to our fate—even making matters worse by saying there was no place on the next Sian train, four hours later. The station waiting room we were in was jammed—every seat occupied and every inch of floor space, except the lanes where people were lined up to board the next out-going trains, covered with bags, bundles, baskets and small children. Perhaps we would have to wait here until six in the morning—twelve hours! Our one seat was piled with our luggage and we had just room enough to stand.

However, we were not left long in our wrathful and indignant dismay—the station police came to our rescue. The friendly and courteous young man in the new summer blue and white police uniform who had inspected my traveling permit now came with an anxious face to see why we had not gotten on our train. When he heard our story he said, "Never mind, we will think of something." In a little while we had our

tickets for that next Sian train and were settled in four seats in another less crowded waiting room. For the next few hours I could relax and observe my fellow travelers.

What impressed me most about these hundreds of peasants and workers and their families, army men and women and students, was the composure, the calm confidence and good humor. Those having many hours to wait were as practical and unselfconscious as if they had lived all their lives in a railway station. Bedding had been unrolled and whole families had gone to sleep on the floor—which was kept clean by frequent sweeping and mopping. I saw a soldier take out and fill up his wash basin and give his face and neck and ears a good scrubbing. A group of cadres sitting on their bags were reading and eating watermelon seeds, carefully putting the shells back in a sack. One opened a bundle and changes his shoes and socks.

Though most everybody must have been hot, tired and uncomfortable, I didn't see any cross faces or hear any quarrels; no one looked angry and upset as I had a little while before. By the time the same policeman came to tell us we could get on the train, I was feeling a little ashamed of my biting remarks about the whole railway administration, ticket offices in particular. And Shu-lien's reminding me of how the country's rapid development has necessitated sending great numbers of people over widespread distances before the railways have become able to do the task expertly, made me ready to be more lenient toward the railway and its faults.

Throughout the trip, back and forth, we met with many negative aspects of present day travel in China, things that need and are get-

ting criticism. But I found the positive outweighed the negative. For one thing, I appreciated the railroad's 100 per cent safety record when we crept across the wide expanses of the Yellow River, crossed deep gorges, ran along steep hill sides that sometimes "slipped," and went through low lying plains that had been recently swept by a hurricane. It was comforting to look out just anywhere and see the faithful and vigilant track-walkers, spaced at unusually close intervals wherever there might be danger. At every station the train was gone over from end to end by repair crews.

On the trip out our car was full of railway workers, going out to work on the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway which had already reached Yumen, China's biggest oil field, and in 1960 will connect with the Soviet Union's Turkestan-Siberia Railway; or to the Lanchow-Yinchuan section, which cuts through the Great Wall to reach Yinchuan, a major wool, hide and skin trading center in the Northwest. Several village women with their children were going to join oil-field and railway worker husbands in Lanchow and beyond.

At intervals during the daytime the pleasant voice of a young woman announced stations over a loud speaker, called the passengers' attention to historic places and famous beauty spots, advised mothers with small children and gave some simple rules of hygiene. Every half-hour or so a man came through with a broom, then a mop—the cars were never allowed to become littered. Perhaps I was the only passenger who did not enjoy the noisy Chinese opera that poured through the loud-speaker between announcements and hygiene talks—as far as I am concerned the continuous playing of

music from Chinese operas on trains is definitely a negative point!

We reached Sian three hours late as tracks were washed out in a place or two due to hurricane rains. We had twelve exciting days crowded with new sights and experiences in the city and in the countryside and started home again with our heads full to aching with new impressions.

On the journey back we were even more cramped for room. Shu-lien, Ai-lien and I sat in a seat for two and Wei Han sat for hours on the floor so a little boy who had already been traveling a day and night could take a nap. The child and his mother were coming from the oil fields where his father was working.

A short, stocky young engine driver, his tall pretty wife and their three little children, sat across the aisle from us, and we were soon old acquaintances. "Papa" as we nicknamed the young man to ourselves, was a marvel of efficiency, energy and good-heartedness. He took wonderful care of his family, and like a mother bird, was always feeding them—with chicken, preserved eggs, steaming bowls of noodles and vegetables, apples and melons. He helped everyone around us with his many useful ideas about how to arrange bundles, bags, and children so as to use every bit of space. He soon found out all there was to know about us and passed on the information to other interested passengers. He, in turn, told everybody about himself and his job and what a wonderful, healthful and beautiful country it was where he was working in the mountains beyond Lanchow. His wife said the children loved it there and they were going back to their old home near Peking for a while only because the grandfather had recently died.

From daybreak until dark we never tired of watching the amazing scenery. Fantastic terraced hillsides looking like huge red and green layer cakes, cave dwellings carved out of red hills and toy-like villages perched on mountain sides flew past the windows. And something entirely new had appeared in China's scenery—the wide stretching collective farm fields of corn, cotton, millet and soy beans instead of the patch-work of tiny fields of the old days.

We made frequent trips to the diner to relieve our cramped legs and backs. The diner was open and full all day and most of the night. The food both in the diner and in the stations makes another positive point for the railroads. Formerly no one with the least idea of hygiene would dare to buy anything to eat in the stations. But now the vendors are dressed in white coats and caps and their wares are packaged and

wrapped and carried in glassed-in carts. The places are famous for their chickens and sellers of roast chicken did a rushing business through the car windows. We bought two—deep red brown, with a special flavor and tenderness. Even our "vegetarian" Wei Han ate not only all his share, but a great part of mine while I was absorbed in the scenery! The dining car food, coming and going was excellent. The people who ate in the diners were the same people who made up the passengers and it was a curious sight, to me, to see a peasant family eating in a railway dining car.

Back in Tientsin again, we have the proud feeling of being veterans, with a much increased knowledge and understanding of the people and of what is going on in the country. We are very glad that we found the courage to be daring instead of cautious.

RECOGNIZING CHINA

THE FOLLOWING excerpts are taken from a letter to the *New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1956 by Lawrence A. Penn:

"In the Sept. 14 issue of *The Times* Michael Buttermann asserted that the principle which should guide our diplomatic recognition policy is that which serves the 'best interests of the United States . . .'. But what the 'best interests of the United States' are is the crux of the problem.

" . . . Does the continued obstinacy of this country in following the intransigent recognition policy serve our 'best interests'? Is the raising of false hopes to a small émigré minority on the Continent of Asia advancing our position as leader of the free world? Whether this country likes it or not, the Chinese Communist Government is in power and is very unlikely to be dislodged—even in the far distant future. . . .

"Our continued blindness to the unalterable fact of effective Chinese Communist governmental control is, on the contrary, not serving our national interest and is leading us down the path to ineffective world leadership. With the majority of the free world either favoring diplomatic recognition, or having recognized the Mao Government already, our archaic policy is in need of a drastic review. If this is not forthcoming soon, it will not be hard to foresee American influence and standing in Asia drop to an unprecedented low."

Industrial Progress in East Germany

by **EDGAR P. YOUNG**

THE DEEP change which has taken place in East Germany was brought home to me very clearly when I went there last December (1955), as a delegate to the annual congress of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. I had been there in the same capacity in the summer of 1949, and on each occasion my attendance at the congress, held in Berlin, was followed by a tour round the country; for three weeks on the first occasion and two weeks on the second. Each time I visited places of my own selection, saw all that I asked to see, and spoke with whom I wished, besides addressing well-attended meetings on the subject of friendship with the USSR.

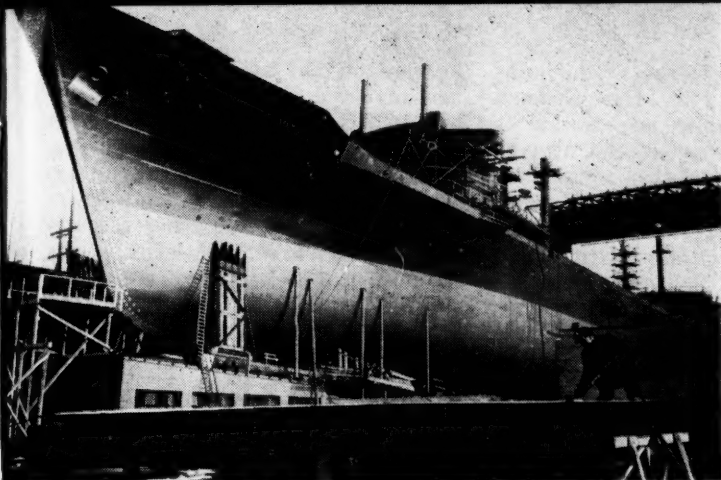
On my visit in 1949, I had to try to convince mainly skeptical people that friendly collaboration with the Soviet Union would prove ultimately to the advantage of Germany, and that the socialist system, then just beginning to be gradually introduced in what was then "the East Zone" or "the Soviet occupation zone"

would work and would prove beneficial to the people. I related from my own personal experience how it had done so in the Soviet Union and was doing so in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

Six years later, it was the Germans, now masters of their own house, in what was now the German Democratic Republic, who were telling me—and who insisted that I should alter my program so as to cover Stalinstadt, their first socialist city!

I am glad that I made this change in my program because what I saw, and even more what I heard from Stalinstadters whom I visited in their comfortable homes, was impressive in the extreme. In under three years—in "Nine Hundred Days," in fact, as we are reminded by the title of an inspiring documentary film on the subject—the Germans converted what was a sandy waste, overgrown with small pine trees, into an important industrial center. In that short space of time, working under difficulties of various kinds, they have built and brought into operation the "Eisenkombinat Stalin"—"EKS" for short—which, though highly mechanized and to some extent automated, is already employing some 14,000 workers and

EDGAR P. YOUNG, Commander Royal Navy (Retired), is known to our readers for his articles on the countries of Eastern Europe. This article is a result of recent visits to the German Democratic Republic.



In the nationally owned shipyard at Warnemunde, East Germany: a 10,000 ton freighter built for the People's Republic of China ready for launching.

will in two years' time be one of the most important steel works in the world.

Associated with these great works, and built thoughtfully to windward of them so as not to get their fumes and soot (reduced to a minimum though these are), is a beautifully planned and beautifully built city with a really well-housed population of 20,000, destined to swell to 60,000 in the next two years. There are handsome schools, both elementary and secondary, to accommodate without overcrowded classrooms, the large child population which is to be expected in a town where the average age of the population is 29 and where all are well-paid; fine polyclinics and hospitals; good shops and attractive cafes and restaurants; a sports stadium with seats for 15,000, and a Park of Culture with a swimming beach. Nearing completion are a theater to seat 780 people, and, given properly the lowest priority, a fine set of municipal offices.

This great steel center, known also as the "Eisenwerke East," because it is situated right on the river Oder which constitutes the frontier between Germany and Poland, has its counterpart, the "Eisenwerke West,"

at Calbe on the Saal, where steel is made by the "Low Shaft" process. This is a process perfected and used for the first time here in the German Democratic Republic, by which steel can be produced with coke made from lignite in which East Germany, short of hard coal, abounds, and the low-grade ores to be found there.

These two new centers, supplementing the old iron and steel works inherited from former times, which have been rebuilt since their destruction by war-operation and subsequent stripping for the payment of reparations "in kind" to the Soviet Union, are destined to make the German Democratic Republic self-sufficient in the basic materials required for its fast developing heavy industry, which is already responsible for 29 per cent of its total production.

I visited also the "Mátyás Rákosi" Cokery at Lauchhammer, where vast quantities of local lignite are made into coke for the low-shaft furnaces at Calbe and for various other purposes. Here I was much impressed by the high degree of mechanization and automation (far higher than at the "EKS") and by the excellent

housing for the workers which, as everywhere else in the German Democratic Republic, is regarded as an essential feature of the over-all plan of the establishment. This cokery and its associated briquette factory may be regarded as a sort of try-out for a major enterprise known as the "Schwarze Pumpe" (Black Pump), after a well-known tavern on its site, where, before long, fantastic quantities of lignite will be processed automatically to produce not only coke, but also gas, tar, light oils, and a variety of chemicals, as well as electrical energy to be used as fuel for industrial and domestic purposes.

Such projects are urgently necessary for the German Democratic Republic because it is now far advanced in the process of converting itself, with help from the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia, from the formerly rural part of Germany into a country where the industrial output, already five times that of agriculture, is of world importance.

At the Leipzig Spring Fair I saw the vast walking excavators which are being made in series for export to China and elsewhere, as well as for use at the "Schwarze Pumpe" project. There were all kinds of other machinery also, both heavy and light, and the plans for whole plants for which the engineering works at Leipzig, Magdeburg, Karl Marxstadt, Lauchhammer and other towns are securing contracts all over the world, in the West as well as in the East.

Along the Baltic Coast I visited the new shipyards and saw a completely new industry which has been created in the last five years or so. The "People's Shipyard" at Stralsund, which I saw in its infancy in 1949, is now running 475-ton fishing

luggers off the assembly lines at a rate of 100 a year, while the nationally owned shipyard at Warnemunde, which in 1949 was a comparatively small establishment refitting salvaged ships for delivery to the Soviet Union as "reparations," has recently launched the first of a series of six 10,000-ton diesel-engined freighters for the People's Republic of China, cold-shouldered by its traditional suppliers of shipping on account of "the embargo."

And now there is to be nuclear power. The actual project, under active discussion when I visited the German Democratic Republic in June of this year, materialized on July 17 when, following the visit to Moscow of a top delegation from the Government of the German Democratic Republic, it was agreed that the Soviet Union "will help in the designing of and will deliver to the German Democratic Republic the necessary equipment and materials for the construction of a 100,000-kilowatt nuclear power station."

The German Democratic Republic is the fortunate possessor of one of the more important deposits of uranium in the world, in the Erzgebirge, and it is reassuring that these deposits are regarded, and will be treated, as a source of supply of nuclear fuel, not as explosive charges for nuclear or thermonuclear weapons. This was made clear by Mr. Fritz Selbmann, Deputy Prime Minister and head of the Industrial and Transport Commission, in a most interesting and well-informed lecture in which he remarked that, for economic reasons, which I will not use space here by detailing, Germany as a whole, and not just East Germany, will be desperately in need of nuclear energy for industry by the year 2000. In anticipation of this,

it was intended that "by 1965 at the latest" nuclear power plants in the German Democratic Republic will "assure a steadily increasing proportion of the energetic needs of industry."

In a most interesting talk I had with the leading atomic scientist of the German Democratic Republic, Baron Manfred von Ardenne, at his research laboratory in Dresden, he deplored the fact that (as stated in an important printed message which he has circulated by post all over the world to people and bodies concerned with atomic energy) there is at present locked away (and sterilized) in the stockpiles of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of the three countries which know how to make them (USA, USSR and Britain) fissile material with an energy content equal to that of 5,000 million tons of coal—about six times the 1954 coal output of the USA, the USSR, and Britain combined—which could, if used as he urged, be converted into fifty million kilowatt-hours of electrical energy.

Von Ardenne came back only last year after spending some ten years in Moscow doing research in his subject for the USSR, and it is significant that the whole of his achievements during those ten years, including some very important discoveries which will be "news" to atomic scientists in the West and should help them in their work, has now been published in East Berlin (in German) and is available to anyone who will buy it.

Bearing in mind that the German Democratic Republic is likely soon to have its own stock-pile of fissile material, which it regards solely as nuclear fuel, that it has great and rapidly increasing capacity for the making of large industrial plants

(including a considerable surplus for export), and that it is making no secret of its technological "know-how" to potential foreign customers, Western countries like the United States and Britain should be asking themselves seriously for how much longer they can afford to keep their stock-piles of fissile material lying sterile in A- and H-bombs. If they do not revise their policy in this connection, they may well find their market for these highly profitable exports going the same way as that in China for the 10,000-ton freighters mentioned earlier in this article. "Security" seems to be proving somewhat of a boomerang for our half of the world!

Needless to say, achievements of the size and character I have described here—and there are many more which I could describe if space permitted—could not have been made by the East Germans without great sacrifices. Needless to say that there are many in the German Democratic Republic who resented and have done their utmost to oppose those sacrifices. My two recent visits have confirmed, however, the impression I gained when I was there earlier in March, 1955—that even the grumblers, though some of them grumble still and probably always will, are for the most part convinced that the line taken by their government is the right one; while the Socialist and Communist workers who have done so much to help their government, feeling it to be really "theirs" for the first time in the history of Germany, are more than ever determined to complete their job of establishing a democratic, peace-loving and prosperous Germany in the East, as an inspiration and encouragement to their comrades in

the West, with whom they hope soon to be reunited.

As a rough indication of the degree and speed of the leveling-up between the two parts of Germany in relation to the various kinds of consumer goods which the workers can buy with their wages, I might mention that the black market rate of exchange between East and West marks in Berlin changed from five to one to three to one between my two visits in December, 1955 and June, 1956. I was told by a trustworthy informant in June that the West Berlin money-changers were complaining that they could no longer get enough East Marks because those who earned them in the German Democratic Republic could buy more of what they wanted over there, and no longer wanted West Marks with which to buy American cigarettes, English pipe-tobacco, nice clothes

and shoes, or comics and Coca-Cola.

Soon those bemoaning money-changers will be right out of business—unless of course they switch over to black-marketeering in currency the other way round—but it is to be hoped that the reunification of Germany will forestall this. That seems unlikely to provide solace for the shady traffickers concerned, for if one thing is certain it is that the Germans of the German Democratic Republic will never go back on what they have done. This explains why certain people in the United States in particular, but also in Britain and France, together with the Nazis, though they pretend to want Germany to be reunited, oppose and sabotage any workable plan for her reunification and propagate all kinds of lies about the solid building of a real socialist society "East of the Elbe."

RUSSIAN FRIENDLINESS

DR. HERMAN F. REISSIG, who recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, wrote a letter to *The New York Times*, Aug. 18, 1956 objecting to a dispatch by one of the *Times* reporters who had described the friendliness of the Russian people towards Americans as being anything but warm. Excerpts from Dr. Reissig's letter:

"I led a party of twenty-five Americans on a ten-day visit to the Soviet Union last July. . . .

"I feel sure that I can speak for all the members of our group in saying that what impressed us most in Moscow, Leningrad and their environs was the warmth and friendliness shown towards us by all kinds of people. We had expected no hostile demonstrations, but we were not prepared for an attitude that I can best describe as a kind of reaching-out to us.

"On a collective farm, in a large factory, in a hospital, at the ballet, on visits to an outdoor amusement park and to a children's playground, in both Orthodox and Baptist churches, in casual associations on the street, we met with smiles, outstretched hands and unfailing courtesies. . . .

"I am speaking primarily about the ordinary run of people, not about government officials. With the latter we had only limited contact, although I should add that through the travel agency, Intourist, we were given literally every opportunity for which we asked. One hopes this means something for future relations between the Soviet Union and the West. How much it means the next few years may tell."

Fresh Breeze in Hungary

by LAWRENCE KIRWAN

THE FRESH BREEZE now blowing through the countries building socialism is no better illustrated than in Hungary.

Not only have sincere efforts been going on there to set right the results of abuses of power between 1948 and 1953, but at the same time a most vigorous discussion has been shaping the democratic forms to prevent anything like it happening again.

The general relaxation in political atmosphere is plain to see. Almost every institution has been going through a period of self-examination and self-criticism which is having results from Parliament down (or should we say up in such a sporting country?) to the Football Association.

But before we look at some of these results, let us look back at the mistakes, how they came to happen and what has been done about them.

Few have put the background more clearly than Gyorgy Non, the

Chief Attorney, in a recent statement to Parliament. Mr. Non's department was set up in 1953 to hear public complaints of infringements of law and to clear up injustices committed earlier.

"In the tense international situation after 1948," he said, "the mistaken view that the class struggle sharpens everywhere had a damaging effect in Hungary. The cult of personality developed and throttled criticism, and the effects of the lack of confidence in people were made worse by the special position of the State Defense organs.

"In this atmosphere many leaders and officers of the State Defense authority abused their power, abused the lack of adequate supervision, and, using moral and physical force, prepared false evidence and extorted false confessions."

First the Attorney's department dealt with the security chief Gabor Peter—he got life imprisonment—and his henchmen. Then all the prosecutions which they had handled were re-examined.

Of 149 cases reopened, 124 were acquitted, 10 were found guilty in lesser degree and 15 were found justly convicted of crimes against the State. In a further series of re-examinations 456 people were found

LAWRENCE KIRWAN is a British journalist of wide experience. He has made a study of conditions in the Hungarian People's Republic. His articles on Hungary have appeared in many publications.

incorrectly convicted. More than a thousand others, justly convicted, had their sentences reduced.

Most of those involved in fabricated charges were old Communists, Social-Democrats and Yugoslav émigrés. One of those rehabilitated, (György Marosán) has been appointed a deputy Premier, while he and János Kádár, another victim, have been co-opted to the Party's political committee.

How could it happen? In the tense political atmosphere the finger of suspicion was often enough to start an investigation—and no provision had been made to check up that the security authorities were not exceeding their powers.

It is true that safeguards of public liberty were written into the Constitution. *But the big lesson which has been learned in Hungary is that paper safeguards are not enough.*

There must be effective democratic institutions to supervise and check that the law is being carried out, or as the Hungarians put it, that

"socialist legality" really prevails.

So they've given the Chief Attorney's office the job of checking on people's complaints. (There have been 77,000 in the first three years, most of them quite trivial, such as quarrels over flats, many on minor labor questions.)

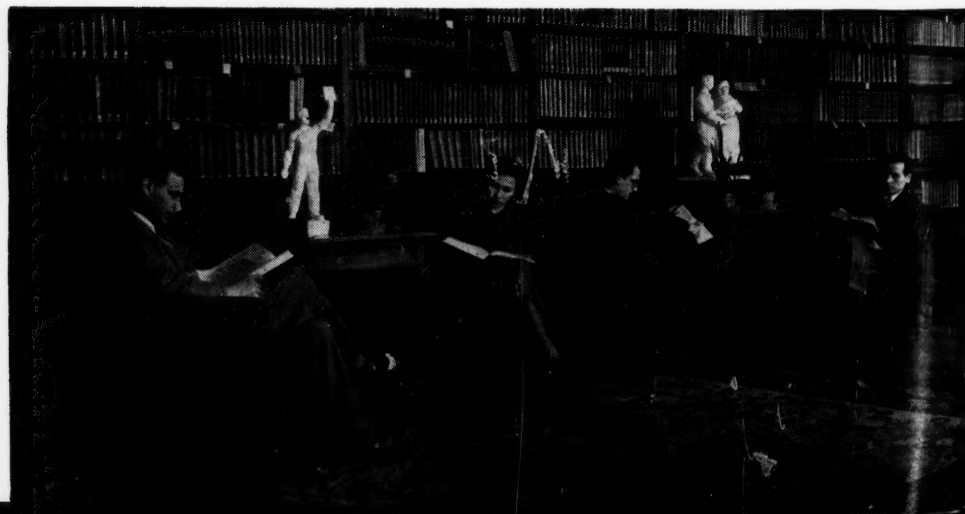
Courts are all being placed under supervision of the Minister of Justice, judges are to be elected as provided for in the Constitution, but never carried out.

Prisons are taken out of the hands of the Home Office and put under the control of the Minister of Justice so that the department which does the detection does not supervise the sentence—a safeguard against false imprisonment.

At the same time the rigidity of penal policy is being relaxed so much that the general prison population is dropping rapidly—it totalled 37,027 last November, 22,088 last month.

Minor infringements of regulations, often sharply punished in the

The Library of Parliament in Budapest. Before liberation only Members of Parliament were permitted to use the library—today it is open to the public



past, come out of the realm of the courts. In future "social courts" of local citizenry will handle such cases, possibly by reprimand only.

Working out of democratic forms in a new state takes time. Ernő Gerő, new secretary of the Working People's Party in place of Mátyás Rákosi, spoke to the Central Committee about the problem of overcoming bureaucracy, which is just one of the battles now going on in Hungary.

"We must remember," he told them, "that as a people's democratic state we can look back on an extremely short past, only a few years. Against this, some of the capitalist states—look at Britain—can look back on a past of 300 years."

Though Rákosi stepped down from the Party leadership he was not disgraced as some newspapers have suggested. He has a proud record as a working-class fighter since the first world war. His beliefs and activities cost him 16 years in fascist prisons between the war years.

But he had to take responsibility for the wrongs that occurred during his leadership after 1948, and he felt that the Party would tackle the big clearing-up job better if he stepped out of the picture. He remains a Member of Parliament and member of the Presidential Council, and a member of the Party's Central Committee.

Nowhere has the process of reassessment been more lively than in the intellectual field. Tremendous discussions have been going on among writers, musicians and others to fit the best features of democratic life as we know it into the new socialist society.

I was in Budapest when the big storm blew up around the meeting on "Press and Information" which

drew 6,000 people and went on until three in the morning. There were plenty of criticisms of the Hungarian press—that it was not informative enough, even that it failed to give the whole truth. Journalists countered by saying that they were hamstrung by Government officials giving little or no information.

I asked Ferenc Vadász, general secretary of the Journalists' Union, whether this was just so much "letting off steam," or whether results were materializing.

He assured me results had come and more were on the way. The police, for example, had promised to give out facts and figures about crime and other social trends which they had always refused before. Government ministers had undertaken to give fortnightly press conferences at the Journalists' Club.

Three or four days later results began to show. Péter Rubin, newly appointed Foreign Office spokesman, gave the first of what is now a regular series of press conferences by him; the Budapest chief of police gave another. The Ministry of Justice did likewise.

Another example of the awakening of journalism appeared in the English-language *Hungarian Review* in which the writer, referring to misleading reports about Hungary in the foreign press said: "It cannot be denied that the scanty—and not very interesting—information forthcoming from Hungarian sources is also at fault."

At the same time the Hungarian press was sometimes at fault in giving too superficial appraisal of foreign affairs. "The growing demand in Hungary for exact, factual information is making it incumbent upon Hungarian newspapers to pay greater attention than hitherto to foreign

affairs," he wrote. These sort of things could not have been said publicly a few months ago.

Sport? Well Gusztáv Sebes has been relieved of the job of picking the national football team and it has been handed over to a five-man committee—a practical example of collective responsibility replacing one-man rule.

But perhaps the most significant change in Hungary towards fuller democratism can be seen in Parliament.

Deliberate steps are being taken to liven up parliamentary life, which had been inclined to take a back seat in recent years. The National Assembly will in future meet much more often and for longer periods.

Instead of legislation coming out in the form of Government decrees it will be properly discussed by MPs first.

And that vital feature of Parliamentary democracy, Question Time, which had fallen into disuse, has already been revived.

At the August session Ministers found themselves under fire from MPs for the first time for many years. Twenty-two questions were asked.

And it was Question Time with a difference. After an answer was

given the Speaker would ask if the questioner was satisfied. If he said "No!," the Assembly was asked to vote if it were satisfied. If they also said "No!," the Minister was told to prepare a better answer!

One woman member said she was not satisfied about the answer to her complaint that a few young people between 16 and 18 were being employed on night work in some textile factories, contrary to the Labor Code.

The reply of the Minister of Light Industry (another woman, by the way) was so circumlocutory that the Assembly backed the MP in rejecting it. And the Speaker ruled that the Minister must come back with a more satisfactory answer.

And so it goes on. But make no mistake. The Hungarians are not changing their social system, no matter how much they are altering its methods of working.

Ernö Gerö put the whole thing in a nutshell when he told the Party's Central Committee:

"This new state, our people's democratic state, with all its merits and faults, is our state, which we would not change for any kind of bourgeois state! And we shall put right the faults which are in it, led by our Party!"

MEDICAL COOPERATION

DR. PAUL DUDLEY WHITE, heart specialist who treated President Eisenhower, recently visited the Soviet Union with four other American doctors. According to the *Herald Tribune*, Sept. 7, while there he invited the Soviet Union to join the United States in "war on our common enemy—heart disease." Dr. White formally invited four leading Russian doctors to visit the United States "as our guests for a period of six to eight weeks to study and work with us."

Dr. White said that his group had been received with warm-hearted hospitality everywhere they went. The brevity of their visit had made impossible, he said, a comparative study of the methods of heart disease treatment in the Soviet Union and the United States, "but generally speaking, the problems there are like our own."

What Price Censorship?

What is involved in the censorship of news from China —
the indictment of the Powells and Julian Schuman.

by SUSAN WARREN

TO PUT IT MILDLY a Far East specialist's life in America today "is not a happy one." For telling what he actually saw and experienced in China (See U.S. White Paper pp. 564-576) about the relative strength and popular support of the Chinese Liberation Army and the Nationalist armies of Chiang Kai-shek, Robert Service, brilliant young American diplomat, forfeited job and career. For views expressed in books and articles advocating policies in Asia which accepted the realities of changed conditions and relations of power in the East, Owen Lattimore found himself charged with perjury. On April 25, John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, American editors of the magazine *China Monthly Review*, were indicted on charges of sedition for having published articles critical of U.S. conduct of the conflict in Korea and post-war U.S. China policy. At almost the same moment that the Republican Party was writing into its platform

a plank which says "We will overlook no opportunity . . . to bring about a progressive elimination of the barriers that interfere with the free flow of news, information and ideas" the Republican Administration in Washington issued a blanket ban on U.S. journalists' acceptance of an invitation from China to come and see for themselves. The conclusion is inescapable that the last thing our Government wants is factual reporting of events past, present or future on China.

While double talk is rapidly becoming the official "second language" of the Administration there is evidence that the country as a whole does not take kindly to the strange tongue. The paradox of a State Department eternally deploring the lack of "freedom of information" in the socialist world setting up an iron curtain of its own was not lost on the American press. Herbert Brucker, editor of the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, charged that the State Department put us in the position of "standing before the world guilty of the very obscurantism we denounce when Communist countries

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

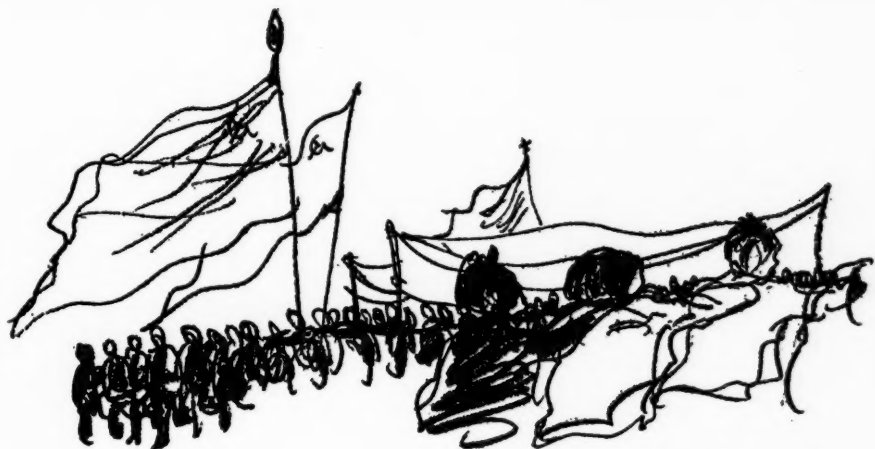
practice it." The liberal N. Y. Post lamented that "It used to be a simple principle of this republic that we believed in the search for truth and the ultimate triumph of truth. Yet now, as before, Mr. Dulles' department has marred the image and rendered America a subject for hostile jokes throughout the free world." The *New York Times*, regretted "that the State Department has taken this position. . . . We do believe and have always believed, that facts are pure and incorruptible, and in the long run the more we can know about the world the more intelligently we can work for freedom and justice." Even the conservative *Wall Street Journal* protested the government's interference. "There can be few better reasons for visiting Red China than to inform the American people on conditions there. . . . It is not a question the government has any business deciding." The argument was fully summed up by John Roderick of the Associated Press when the U.S. Consul General in Hongkong told him that any attempt to enter China would be considered disloyal to government policy. Mr. Roderick is reported to have replied that the Bill of Rights in the Constitution supported freedom of the press without political interference.

When the defiance in the communications' world appeared to be getting out of hand the prestige of the President's name was brought to bear in a hurried Eisenhower endorsement of the State Department's ban. The large news agencies and broadcasting systems capitulated but not without expressing apprehension and regret. Frank H. Bartholomew, President of United Press, said that he had ordered Robert C. Miller not to make the trip "al-

though we believe the American public should be given access to the reports of American newsmen in Red China." And Frank Starzel, General Manager of the Associated Press coupled instructions to their correspondent to decline with the comment "I regret that existing circumstances compel us to forego an opportunity to report to the people of the world on the situation existing in this vast country which no American reporter has been able to visit for approximately eight years." The *Christian Science Monitor* hoped the time would come when conditions would permit it "to give its readers a factual, accurate, on the spot picture of events in Red China." The manner of the capitulation gives reason to hope that this was an opening skirmish, not the final issue of the battle for the right to know the facts about China.

It is interesting to note that the publishers, editors, commentators and writers of magazine articles who are rightly scoring the State Department for its "limitless capacity to make America look foolish and frightened" with its ban on U.S. journalists to China, have as yet completely ignored the implications of a current repressive act with the same object of cutting off the "free flow of information" on China and is a most sinister blow at the constitutional concept of "freedom of the press without political interference." I am speaking of the sedition indictment against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman.

These three Americans, all of whom had been endlessly harassed by the Jenner and Eastland Senate Sub-committee since their voluntary return from China in 1953, were indicted for sedition by a Federal grand jury. They were indicted not



A drawing by Paul Hogarth

for acts performed but solely for what they wrote and published in the pages of *China Monthly Review*. This publication, founded by Powell's father, J. B. Powell in Shanghai in 1917 (as the *China Weekly Review*), came to be recognized and respected as an outstanding and authoritative journal on China and the Far East. It had an international circulation and many American and Western writers and correspondents who came to China found in the publication and its publisher an unfailing source of information and assistance. It became known as an example of the best in vigorous, independent American journalism with a devotion to facts be they pleasant or grim. J. B. Powell who died in 1947 from the effects of torture he had undergone as a Japanese prisoner of war was described in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* (Jan. 26, '56) as "literally a martyr of World War II." When his son took over the duties of editor he continued the Review in its traditional spirit of critical and independent journalism.

When the new *China Monthly Review*, on the basis of its on-the-spot coverage, called the Chiang Kai-shek regime "corrupt" and stated that the new government in China was an improvement and was supported by the Chinese people; when it urged recognition by the U.S. and admission into the United Nations as a policy which served our own interests and conformed with the desires of other friendly Asian powers and our European allies; when it deplored the Korean war as a tragic mistake (a view increasingly shared by the American people) and condemned the brutality of napalm warfare and saturation bombing against the civilian population and when it published Chinese and Korean charges that the U.S. used biological warfare and commented editorially on these charges, the magazine and its editors aroused the active hatred of the powerful China Lobby. This group of highly placed Americans, in and out of office but influential in the extreme right wing of both major parties, was revealed by a series in

the *Reporter* magazine in 1952 as personally profiting from Chiang's misrule and the flow of American dollars necessary to maintain it. They have been a potent factor in shaping U.S. China policy. Much of this power stems from success in preventing the opening of any direct channels of communication between the Chinese and the American peoples at the same time that the country is flooded with "made in Formosa" rumor and propaganda. Thus they are able to maintain an atmosphere where debate on the merits of our China policy can be equated with un-Americanism and even treason. In this climate they have succeeded by their shady methods in holding captive elements within both parties which would prefer to explore new approaches in relations with China. They will not easily relinquish this monopoly on what Americans are permitted to know about China.

It should be clear that the issue in the case of the Powells and Julian Schuman and the banning of American newsmen from China is joined. Who will dare to debate China policy if the price is criminal indictment? Who can debate China policy with-

out first hand knowledge and facts? These increasingly desperate "Formosa-Firsters," dedicated to securing our national fortunes to the waning star of Chiang Kai-shek, use many methods towards one end. They should be rebuked in every instance.

To all those publishers, editors, commentators and correspondents who immediately recognized the threat inherent in the ban on American journalists covering China, I commend the remarks of Andrew Hamilton, lawyer for John Peter Zenger, the first American editor (1735) indicted for having "falsely, seditiously and scandalously printed and published and caused to be printed and published." Though the oratory is florid and of another time, there is still meaning here for our own. Mr. Hamilton addressed the jury:

"This brings to my mind that saying of the immortal Brutus, when he looked upon the creatures of Caesar who were very great men but by no means good men. 'You Romans', said Brutus, 'if yet I may call you so, consider what you are doing; remember that you are assisting Caesar to forge those very chains which one day he will make yourselves to wear'."

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU ON A AND H BOMBS

THE Second World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs met in Tokyo, Japan, in August. Prime Minister Nehru sent a message to the delegates that read in part as follows:

"Eleven years ago a new age was started by the terrible explosion of atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. . . .

"Behind the atomic and hydrogen bombs lie man's hatreds, fears and animosities. If these hatreds and fears are allowed to continue, then they might well consume the human race.

"There is surely a better destiny for humanity. But in order to realize this destiny, we have not to remain passive spectators of those conflicts, but to decide, deliberately and consciously, to put humanity on the path of peace, wisdom, co-operation, progress and happiness. . . .

"Not only must atomic war be ruled out, but even test atomic explosions must be ended. For it is feared now that even such explosions cause injury to the human race."

Preaching in Leningrad

by PHILIP SHAW

(Courtesy of British-Soviet Friendship,
August, 1956)



PHILIP SHAW

AT the Leningrad Baptist Church members of our Progressive Tours group from London were welcomed by friendly ushers. The choir was singing a typically Russian church anthem—heavy and harmonious. I followed our usher down the narrow aisle between 800 worshippers, seated and standing in every available space. Women in head-squares and men with beards made it a typical Russian scene.

PHILIP SHAW of Seattle, Washington is a student at Edinburgh University from where he went last spring to the USSR to “see for himself” about religion there. He is twenty-five years old.

A moment later Pastor Michael Orloff was asking me, through our Intourist translator, if I would preach to his congregation. A more practiced student of divinity relishes such an opportunity to speak of the Gospel of Christ. I was not so practiced, but the spirit moved. And I hoped it would work in the interpreter, too.

Universal Message

“Yasha,” as we affectionately nicknamed Jacob Borodin, our 23-year-old translator from Siberia, took the pulpit with me. I spoke each sentence and then listened to him translate. I marvelled at Yasha’s ability

to capture my feeling and intent. For the congregation often responded with the Russian Christian's equivalent of "Amen": "Christ is Risen."

I took as my theme, "Let your love be genuine; hate what is evil, hold fast to what is good." This universal message of the Christian I asked Yasha to read from the Russian-language Bible in Romans 12, 9-21. I illustrated this theme from my own personal experience, recalling the memory of a Sunday-school map which depicted the missionary arms of the Church reaching out with this message of love. I related how, in my college days, the fruits of this world fellowship were reaped in my acquaintance with a Christian student from India, and pointed out that our friendship was made possible by the practice of love reaching out across the world.

A British tourist with me told me later she noticed tears in the eyes of some of the women. Young and old crowded close to shake our hands as we left the church. I felt there an earnest expression of gratefulness.

Deeply Religious

These responses on the part of the Russian Christian are spontaneous. They are often referred to as a deeply and religiously emotional people, and I quickly appreciated the power of that inborn emotion, I am more sure than ever that Christ lives in the hearts of those, my friends, in the Soviet Union. And through them Christ will establish his Kingdom there.

As a student of Church history, I was anxious to learn first-hand the extent of church programs. Hence our tour group divided up to attend the Roman Catholic, the Russian

Orthodox, the Baptist churches and the Jewish Synagogues. All who went to these worship services told of packed congregations. But by Western standards there are still some things that we must hope for the future to objectify. Pastor Orloff said that his church was the only Baptist church in Leningrad for 3,000 persons. He was anticipating the opening of another. The material condition of the church was not what we would relish, though a plush church does not necessarily reflect the spirituality of its members, or vice versa!

New Bible

Sunday Schools are still not a part of their weekly program, and hence they have stressed religious education and worship in the home. Thus the family has a very important emphasis in their outlook.

And while religious literature is not common the recent publication of a new version of the Bible may indicate a step to new trends in this direction. This new one-volume Russian Bible put out by the Orthodox Church is based on work done for our own Revised Standard Version.

I saw many books on religious art—bookstores are fascinating and cheap stopping points for tourists. The artistic contributions of religions have been highly preserved, as a tour of famous St. Basil's and the Kremlin cathedrals will indicate. Religious choral music can be purchased on long-playing records for 3 shillings. These displays of aspects of traditional Russian Christianity were, in themselves, a witness of religious values, I thought.

35,000 Priests

Population-wise the Russian Orthodox Church claims 50 million

baptized members and 35,000 priests. The Baptist church, stressing adult conversion, numbers 520,000. If families of members are included they hold 3 million in their communion. The accession of the Baltic states added some 500,000 Lutherans to the Protestant population of the Soviet Union. The Protestant churches together form the All Union Congress of Baptists and Protestants, headed at the present time by Baptist Pastor Zhidkov of Moscow.

Our Progressive Touring group visited a "Pioneer Palace" in Leningrad. Comparable to our Y.M.C.A.'s, these organizations for boys and girls between seven and seventeen afford opportunities for recreation, handicrafts and political nurture. Scientific skills and artistic talents supplement the regular school program. We were told that the child's performance in the school-room determined his eligibility for coming to the Pioneer Palace.

"We do not laugh at religion. We take it seriously. We explain our position, which is atheistic. But we do not force our position," was the reply to a question on ideological training at the Palace.

Respect for Science

Mutual respect for science is given by theologians. Professor Ivanov of the Orthodox Theological Academy of Moscow has been quoted as saying: "The Bible and Nature are two books written by our Lord for reading by man. Each is supplementary to the other and they are not in contradiction to each other. Men make a mistake when they read only one of these books, as it is incomplete knowledge and requires supplementing from the other. We may be sure that the data of science, achieved

by long hard work, are not contradictory to faith; they come closer to our faith as we study them, and they make us believe in our faith as unbreakable and the work of the Lord."

Have Soviet Christians bridged the gap between faith and knowledge? One indication that they have is in the practical expressions of their faith commensurate with the needs of the community. As a churchman I am interested that comparable to our own church hospitals, orphanages and other charitable institutions, the Russian churches have taken upon themselves to carry out such practical and voluntary programs as reforestation. One Baptist congregation asked and obtained permission to plant nursery-nurtured pine trees in an area near their village threatened with erosion.

No East or West

Again, the churches can boast many members with "Stakhanovite Efficiency Awards"; emphasis on being productive citizens comes from their obedient devotion to their Lord. I spoke to a woman in the Leningrad Baptist Church who had four sons with such awards.

The combined effect of respect for religious faiths and the earning of that respect by religious people is now ushering in a new day for the religious life of the USSR.

The deep and traditional religious nature of thousands of Russians, as I witnessed it that Sunday morning in the Leningrad Baptist Church, made me more strong in the conviction expressed in a popular hymn:

*In Christ there is no East or West
In Him no South or North
But One great fellowship of Love
Throughout the whole wide Earth.*

NOTES ON A VISIT TO POLAND

by MAURICE DOBB

*Professor of Economics, Trinity College,
Cambridge*

IN JULY a group of British economists paid a fortnight's visit to Poland as guests of the Polish Economic Society. The Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, London, Manchester, Cardiff, Glasgow were represented (Cambridge providing the largest single group), with one or two institutions in London and Geneva. Among them were several economists who had occupied important positions in British Government Service during and after the war, who were well-qualified to deal with practical aspects of economic policy making and to see any analogies there might be between Polish planning problems and problems of wartime economic control. As regards viewpoint, the group were very far from being a "left-wing bunch"; nor could they even be called predominantly "Keynesian," and they included persons of conservative and anti-Communist leanings. The common quality that one can perhaps say the group had was, in varying ways, a belief that better understanding between countries of Eastern and Western Europe was a desirable thing, and particularly understanding and friendship with one's professional "opposite number."

The occasion was, in its small way, notable for the reason that the visit was not just a sightseeing tour (although some sightseeing, in Poznan, Silesia, Cracow, and around the

mountain resort of Zakopane, and a grim visit to Auschwitz, were included). The focus of the visit was a series of 4-hour seminar-meetings (about six in all) held in the premises of the Economic Society in Warsaw, at which very lively and very frank discussions took place on various aspects of Polish economic policy—and also discussion about Britain's economic position and policies. I think one can say that all the British visitors were genuinely impressed by the atmosphere of these discussions—not only their intrinsic interest for us, but the outspoken frankness with which they were conducted and the variety of viewpoints that found expression. There was plenty of criticism of current policies and practices, and plenty of new ideas were in the air. The British economists not only found that their Polish colleagues were well acquainted with "Western" economic literature, but keen on being kept in touch and up-to-date with the latest trends and developments, and welcoming any assistance we could give them in procuring books and other material.

A word about the Polish Economic Society, whose president is Professor E. Lipinski (who has been its president incidentally for some 20 to 25 years), and its Vice-President Professor Oscar Lange, well-known among economists both in England and America. This is a society which

includes not only academic economists but also practical economists in planning and administration; and a few weeks before our arrival it had held a several-day conference attended by more than a thousand members. This may sound more remarkable to an English economist than to an American; at any rate, in assessing the significance of this attendance one must bear in mind the size of Poland's population (which is less than a fifth that of U.S.A.). At this conference a variety of papers were read—they were very far from being stereotyped or of uniform mold. An address by Professor Lange summarized the economic problems of contemporary Poland and the tasks confronting economic analysis in Poland, in his usual incisive and stimulating manner. There was a lecture from Dr. M. Kalecki, recently returned to Warsaw from a prominent post at the U.N., embodying an abstruse piece of argument in mathematical economics (about technical change, national income and consumption), which won prolonged applause for the brilliance of its conception and its delivery. There were proposals to implement the discussion about the role of the law of value under socialism by important changes in the price system (including new methods of valuing output as a basis of price-fixing), with the aim of making production more responsive to consumers' needs as expressed in the retail market; proposals for the better use of economic incentives under more decentralized planning, and so forth. Around such questions much discussion raged: and it was the backwash of these proposals and this discussion that enlivened the "seminars" at the headquarters of the Polish Economic

Society, arranged for the benefit of the visiting British economists.

It was not only about economic theory and policy that there was lively discussion and new ideas were being ventilated. There was discussion about the proper functions of trade unions under socialism (especially in connection with the tragic Poznan events) and about the ways of combining democracy and socialism and eliminating overcentralized administration; discussion among writers and journalists and artists and in youth organizations about intellectual and cultural questions generally.

All the British economists (irrespective of their viewpoint) were impressed by the rebuilding of Warsaw. Warsaw had been ruthlessly and systematically destroyed by the Germans—with dynamite and flame-throwers with diabolical thoroughness. When I was there in 1947 no more than a beginning had been made with rebuilding: a few of the least damaged structures had been refitted; dwellings, shops, cafes in central streets were being hastily refitted, up to the first floor only; the rest was a waste of rubble and desolation, with people squatting among the ruins. Worst of all was the ruined ghetto and old city. There still remains much to be done; but what impresses is the amount that has been done and the way it has been done—vast areas of reconstruction, spacious and far-sighted, wide boulevards with green sidewalks and trees, and with meticulous (indeed fastidious) regard for historical atmosphere. (Already the population of the city is nearly back to a million.) This is especially noticeable, and most strikingly so, in the old city, where streets and squares, churches, old city walls etc., down

to the smallest detail of painted frescoes and ornamental moldings on the fronts of houses have been restored with a quite amazing care and authenticity. Some might think the result would be like a Hollywood set for a "period piece," with the detail there but the atmosphere, the historical "feel" of the place missing. The very reverse is true; and as one walks the streets of the old city, especially at night, the effect is enchanting and it is difficult to escape the feeling that one has been suddenly and miraculously transported into the 17th century.

The economists were also impressed by the historic treasures of a city like Cracow (which fortunately escaped wartime destruction in the main—thanks to an adroit encircling move by the Russian army), with baroque churches and its Wawel Castle; and also (if in a different way) with the great hot-rolling steelworks of Nowa Huta, and its attached new industrial town in process of reconstruction seven miles to the east of Cracow.

In the field of economic policy Poland still has many and quite serious economic problems, which is perhaps one of the things that makes her so interesting a country for a visiting economist. Much in the policy of the past few years, years under the stress of cold war and international tension, is now being criticized strongly and is being changed. In particular, too much diversion of attention and resources to heavy industry and giant construction schemes, with a relative neglect of agriculture and of consumer goods industries. The lag of agriculture behind industry, and the shortage of certain raw materials and foodstuffs (especially meat) behind the swelling demand of the

towns and of the industrial population, which has doubled since pre-war, is indeed a central problem of the moment. The position would seem to be that in recent years the peasants in the village have prospered relatively to the towns. This is all to the good, since the pre-war village standard of life over the major part of Poland was wretchedly low; but it does mean that, while the villager is consuming more of his own produce, demanding more industrial goods and perhaps living more easily, he is sending less of his produce to market in the towns—less at any rate than the growing demands of the towns require. It is also true that there have developed in the years of tension and high tempo of industrial development since 1950, some grave disparities in wages (even injustices such as were the background to the Poznan events—of which, incidentally, the visiting British economists happened to be witnesses); workers in expanding industries getting wage advances (in money and real terms), while workers in less "essential" occupations lagged behind. Such disparities too are now being openly discussed and redressed; just as in the new Plan attention and resources are being focussed on overcoming the lag of agriculture.

Apart from our interest in what has been freely termed the strong "liberalizing" trend in Polish economic and social life and policy, I think one can say that the British economists came back from their short visit with a feeling that very interesting developments were to be looked for there in the next few years; and above all with a desire to deepen and extend the contacts thus established between "Eastern" and "Western" academic colleagues.

SUEZ, PEACE AND THE ELECTIONS

by **JESSICA SMITH**

I DON'T think you can go no forever asking the nations not to resort to force" declared Secretary of State Dulles in a TV broadcast September 23 on the Suez crisis.

But is not this exactly what the people of the world are asking of the nations today, and must continue to ask until such time as firm international agreement is reached to settle all disputes by peaceful means? This worldwide demand has resulted in bringing the Suez question before the United Nations.

Secretary Dulles himself was author of the plan to form a "users' association" which in effect amounted to the same thing as the international association to control the canal supported by 18 of the nations attending the August conference in London, and rejected by President Nasser as incompatible with Egyptian sovereignty. (For the background of the crisis, see the article by Kumar Goshal in September NWR). Nasser meanwhile had announced acceptance by 21 countries of his own proposal for a negotiating body of the main countries using the canal, rejected by the Western powers. This proposal was subsequently strongly backed by the Saudi Arabian and Syrian government heads who in a conference with Nasser supported his demand that the West negotiate with Egypt.

British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden presented the "users" plan to Parliament in such bellicose terms,

that Secretary Dulles was compelled to make a public statement repudiating the implication that ships would "shoot their way through" the canal under his plan. While opposition to the threat of force from Labor MP's, the British public and the Commonwealth countries forced Mr. Eden to modify earlier statements.

The Dulles plan was to form an association which would employ its own pilots to convoy ships through the canal, regulate traffic and collect tolls. Its main purpose, in view of the fact that Egypt's right to nationalize the canal is generally recognized, seemed to be to build up a "legal" case against Nasser if he refused to go along with the plan, so that he could be charged in the United Nations of violating the 1888 convention guaranteeing international use of the canal, and with the additional possibilities of boycotting the canal by re-routing ships around Africa. The Western nations had taken the position that Egypt was unable to assure the normal functioning of the canal and had tried to make this a fact by pressure on the pilots from other nations to withdraw. The Western pilots who walked out as a result have been replaced by additional Egyptian pilots, as well as pilots from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other countries, and despite the additional strain traffic has continued to move smoothly.

Immediate worldwide opposition

to the "users" association was reflected in the second Suez conference hastily convened in London. The big Western Powers wanted to pursue a tough policy in relation to Nasser, with the ever-present fear in their minds of the new threats to colonialism and what the example of nationalization of the canal might mean in relation to the rich Middle Eastern oilfields. Britain wanted both to check President Nasser's influence in the Arab regions and his exclusive control of the canal. France had special reasons for wanting to curb Nasser's influence in Algeria. Secretary Dulles, while wanting to preserve Western unity, also had to take into account the effect U.S. backing for a policy of force would have on the Administration's election campaign around the issue of peace, as well as the hostile reaction evoked by the action of the United States in withdrawing its offer of aid in building the Aswan dam, which precipitated Egypt's nationalization of the Canal.

Thus the conference opened on a note of disunity among the Western Big Three as well as resistance to their policies from all the smaller nations, who shied away both from the use of force and the economic results to themselves of a boycott.

In the course of the conference, the whole plan was very much watered down, and in its final form bound members to no drastic action, and opened the way for recourse to the United Nations. Only the United States, Britain and France announced their adherence at once, France joining the following day, with reservations based on the fact that the plan carried no obligation for tolls to be paid to the association instead of to Egypt. (It became clear during the conference that the United

States and other nations had no legal powers to compel their ship-owners to pay tolls to the association.)

Wallace Carroll, writing in the *New York Times* September 23, said that diplomatic observers in Washington saw the West as "heavy losers" in this situation. Referring to the fact that the Russians have "burst into" the Middle East, he wrote:

Of even greater significance perhaps for the future, the Russians have spoken up almost daily as friends of Egypt, the Arabs and all small nations in their struggle against the Western "imperialists." Together with India, Indonesia and other Asian countries, the Russians have taken a stand for peace while Britain and France have damaged the West's moral position by threatening war.

Serious strains have occurred among the North Atlantic powers. The British and French have not been entirely satisfied with the support they have received from the United States. The diversion of British and French forces to the Mediterranean has weakened the defense of Western Europe. This in turn has alarmed the West German government, which has built its foreign policy on an alliance with the West.

Harold Callender, writing in the *Times* the same day regarding the confusion reigning in Europe as a result of the conference, said:

The Dulles plan was originally devised to provide an alternative to an appeal to the United Nations and to postpone that appeal as long as possible. . . . But public opinion in the United States and Britain and most European countries was strong for the United Nations as a question of principle. Pressure for going immediately to the United Nations grew formidably during the confer-

ence. Without an agreement to go there the eighteen nations could not have been held together by any plan. So the great powers gave in. . . .

As a result, Britain and France, with the concurrence of the United States, placed the matter before the Security Council even before the formation of the users' association. Egypt and the Soviet Union had previously sent communications to the Security Council asking vigilance on this matter. Egypt followed up with a counter charge against Western actions.

The people of the world have the right to expect that an equitable and peaceful solution will be reached through the United Nations. It is also to be hoped that in the process there will be new efforts for a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israel conflict. All the nations concerned have been singularly blind to Israel's interest in the Suez canal question, as one of its users.

The role of the Soviet Union and India has consistently been for a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the Suez crisis, although Premier Nehru has indicated that while he supported Egypt's case for nationalization he disapproves of the abrupt method by which it was done. India has consistently warned the West against using force to achieve its aim. The Soviet Union has strongly supported Nasser's proposal for a conference to negotiate the issues. On September 20, Premier Bulganin, in answer to a series of questions from Kingsbury Smith of the *International News Service*, expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to take part in a top level conference with Egypt, India, France, Britain and the United States to find "a just and peaceful solution of the Suez Canal issue by

way of negotiations." The Soviet Premier also supported the idea of turning the matter over to the United Nations.

Peace and the Elections

It is good that both Republican and Democratic candidates have recognized the deep concern of Americans for peace. The people must sharpen this issue, demand ever more concrete expressions of practical policies to insure peace, and guarantees that they will be carried out. The response of the candidates will go far to determine the result of the elections.

It was significant that President Eisenhower's first TV campaign talk to the nation was centered around one word—"The word is peace. "The President was on solid ground in pointing to peace in Korea and to the Geneva conference, though other examples of the record, such as Guatemala, come in quite a different category. His insistence on the necessity of disarmament is to be welcomed, yet cannot be taken seriously until there are more concrete efforts to achieve it.

In this respect, Adlai Stevenson has gone beyond the President in his proposals for ending H-bomb tests and discontinuing the draft as soon as possible. In calling this a "theatrical national gesture," the President opened the way for Stevenson to come back with the charge that his proposal had been stated with "misleading implications." Stevenson had made the point that since all tests could be detected and so needed no control and inspection provisions, tests could be resumed at once if other nations continued them. This was borne out by the Administration's own announcement of the latest nuclear tests in the USSR.

(It should be noted that in its statement on the tests, the Soviet Union again called for a prohibition of all tests, as well as for further efforts to reach agreement on "complete prohibition of production, storage and use of nuclear weapons.")

In his Silver Spring address, September 23, Mr. Stevenson said with reference to the President's statement:

When he called the proposal to spare humanity the incalculable effects of unlimited hydrogen bomb testing a "theatrical national gesture," he indicated churchmen and political leaders the world over, including Pope Pius XII, representatives of the Baptist, Unitarian, Quaker and Methodist churches, Commissioner Murray of the Atomic Energy Commission, Sir Anthony Eden and many other sincere and thoughtful persons in the United States and abroad who have made similar proposals. If the President intends to foreclose debate on these proposals, I think he does the nation a disservice and I must dissent and persist in my efforts to invite public attention to matters of such grave concern as the hydrogen horror and national security.

Stevenson will win great support in continuing to keep this issue to the fore. At the same time, Mr. Stevenson's refusal to commit himself on the Suez crisis is a grave disappointment, as well as his shortsightedness in placing the main danger there as Russia having "gained a foothold," rather than in belligerent Western attitudes.

While the President himself gives an impression of sincerity when he speaks of the need for peace and has on several occasions acted as a brake on the more warlike elements in his Administration, the people cannot

forget the "brink-of-war" policies boasted of by his Secretary of State, as exemplified in the Formosa Strait and elsewhere. Above all, they cannot forget that it was his running mate, Vice President Nixon, who advocated sending troops to Indo-China and who, in the office of President if it should befall him, could hardly be relied on to curb the Old Guard who insisted on his candidacy. The President himself, as Walter Lippmann pointed out (*New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 21) has pursued "an arrangement to avoid immediate trouble and not a policy which looks toward a settlement." He went on:

We have no big objectives except to avoid trouble. We do not have, therefore, a policy which corresponds with the new situation and what we are really doing is to improvise and muddle through.

For a long time peace, a long time policy is necessary—a policy for ending the cold war and the arms race. It is his ability to formulate and carry through such a policy which Mr. Stevenson must impress on the American people in order to win their support.

New Soviet initiatives open the way for a new effort to achieve peaceful co-existence. It is regrettable that the Administration continues to ignore the proffers of Premier Bulganin in his series of personal communications to President Eisenhower on peace issues. The latest, dated September 14, renews Soviet proposals for reducing armed forces, banning atomic weapons and immediate ending of tests. A statesmanlike approach would require full and serious consideration of these proposals. It would require new initiative in American diplomacy for a long time peace.

WORLD ECONOMY

A Review by JOSEPH STAROBIN

AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY, by Gunnar Myrdal. Harper & Brothers, New York. 1956. 381 pp. \$3.50.

DR. MYRDAL, whose classic work on the American South, *An American Dilemma*, earned him such eminence a decade ago, brings to the study of so ambitious and vital a question as the development of the under-developed countries several important qualities. He combines the detachment of a socialist-minded liberal, formed in Sweden's particular tradition, with a day-to-day expertness in international economic affairs as the chairman of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. He shows still another quality in this book: a certain ruthless honesty which pushes his inquiry into unpopular waters, where he does not fear to tread even though, as I think the book shows, he does not navigate to shore.

His central thesis is that the gap between the industrialized countries and the under-developed ones has been growing larger. Unless new measures are taken to close it, this gap will be the area of acute conflict. Though written prior to the Suez crisis, any reader of the book will find the underlying issues of this crisis illuminated. For at bottom what is the Suez affair if not an example of how the Western powers refuse to help develop a backward country, even withdrawing their technical aid from it (all the while talking so much about it) because Egypt's government maintains what is to them an intolerable measure of political independence?

In Dr. Myrdal's view, a state of affairs in which the countries of the West, with 12 to 15 cent of the non-socialist world's population have three-

quarters of the income, cannot but lead to acute tensions. Among these tensions, the factor of colored peoples being ranged against whites worries him intensely. He fears that Marx's prediction of the relative impoverishment of the working class and a great gap between it and the ruling class, while he finds it unreal on the level of the individual nations in the West, may turn out to be very accurate when applied on a world scale. The economic gulf between the Western peoples and the large majority of the non-socialist, semi-colonial world is growing. He sets himself the task of examining what has to be done.

The difficulty, says Dr. Myrdal, lies in the disintegration of the apparent order of the nineteenth century world. The industrialized countries are not exporting any significant capital or technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries; instead, they are pursuing nationalistic policies in their own self-interest. The forces at work in the world prior to World War I have ebbed. Capital is no longer mobile, and neither is labor. "Capital just does not flow to the underdeveloped countries in amounts that are in any reasonable proportion to the general development needs of the world. Further, the little flow that there is trickles out in a most haphazard way, usually without any relation to the real economic opportunities and real economic needs. There is no longer in existence a competitive international capital market where supply meets demand, but only a broken remnant of a market where the movements are blocked and perverted." (p. 118)

A major reason for this, Dr. Myrdal finds, is the very fact of American economic predominance in the non-socialist world. Dr. Myrdal is not only critical of American foreign economic policy which

he says tries to run the world "like a company town", but he relates this tendency to the inner American reality, the fact that "the internal American capital market offers prospective investors high and secure returns and, in addition, ready possibilities of speculation for still higher gains." (p. 110) Thus, the very growth and prosperity of the American economy operates in such a way as to foster the re-investment within itself; in fact, the United States tends to attract private foreign capital "which flows into America rather than out of it"—a state of affairs confirmed in the August, 1956, *Survey of Current Business* which shows that foreign investment within the United States virtually equals American investment abroad.

Dr. Myrdal analyzes the various programs that ostensibly try to change the situation. The work of the Export-Import Bank, and the UN's World Bank are shown to be quite insubstantial, while technical assistance comes to peanuts. The trade policies of the high-industrialized countries tend to be autarchic. He appeals to the West for a series of measures whereby a "welfare world" must replace the concept of a "welfare state." But the same bold intelligence which leads him to make such sensible proposals also leads him to doubt his advice will be followed.

The biggest responsibility, then, rests with the under-developed countries themselves. He suggests a series of "radical measures of state policy." He grants that in order to prepare for economic development, these countries need "initial reforms of social structure on a vast scale." Dr. Myrdal proposes intensive measures of health and education, control of population growth, a drive for higher agricultural productivity through land reform, and a commercial policy whereby the under-developed countries use their raw materials resources to resist all attempts to lower prices. He suggests that bi-lateral trading, getting the best prices for their goods, is one of the ways for them to accumulate funds for industrial devel-

opment. Another is a policy of systematic savings, whereby consumption is kept low and re-investment is kept high. Thus, in lamenting the anarchy imposed by the more advanced countries, he counsels the under-developed ones to intensify it, temporarily at least, in order to make rapid advances that might re-create the bases of a world order. Throughout this prescription, in which the author draws on the work of dozens of experts of many nationalities, the assumption is there that competition will be keen from the socialist countries; yet it is curious that Dr. Myrdal hardly credits the measures which the Soviet Union, and even China, are taking to help the under-developed peoples. Nor does he grapple with the logical question of which social forces in the under-developed countries are capable of carrying through so rigorous a program as he himself recommends. Yet may this not be the heart of the problem? May it not be that only under a socialist discipline can his own program for catching up with the West be realized? If this be so, then the attitudes of the Western countries are indeed paradoxical: the very development which Dr. Myrdal insists they need in their own larger interests, and yet which they cannot bring about themselves, can only be brought about by the social forces whose political rise they fear.

Dr. Myrdal does well to decry the over-simplified concepts of the cold war, and the "fear of communism" which he ascribes to "nitwits." But it would have been interesting to extend so lucid an economic analysis into the realm of the political pre-requisites for it. Thus, this very valuable book becomes something more than a comprehensive, sometimes abstruse, monologue on the economic dilemma of the mid-twentieth century. It is also the self-portrait of the liberal mind at its best. If such a mind does not follow the logic of its own conclusions, at least all the threads are there, and honestly unravelled, and, if for no other reason, earns our respect and gratitude.

WRITTEN IN FURY

A Review of a New Soviet Novel

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

THOSE WHO SEEK, by Daniil Granin.

Translated by Robert Daglish. Foreign Publishing House, Moscow. 1956. 538 pp. \$1.50.

WORDSWORTH once said something to the effect that poems are made with emotions recollected in tranquillity. If this is a general law of all literature, it has certainly been broken by Daniil Granin's novel, *Those Who Seek*, which is written in a mood of combative fury. Published in the Soviet Union in 1954, a year before the Twentieth Congress, it is an attack upon bureaucratic conditions permeating not only Soviet industry but the ranks of the Communist Party itself. It is a "thesis" or "muck-raking" novel, to use a good American historical term. The setting is a scientific laboratory which is connected with a great complex of plants serving a large city (such as Moscow) with light and electric power. The central character, Andrei Lobanov, is a young research physicist and electronics engineer, who leaves a faculty post at the university so that he can work out and test in practice an important invention that will radically transform the power supply industry. He is appointed director of the laboratory. But his proposals, when, he takes up his post, stir up a hornets nest, and engender a drama that goes far beyond the confines of a single laboratory and the problems of electric power supply.

The drama is really one of the struggle for the collective development of socialism, against what may be called the "vested interests," the bureaucratic castes, that appeared in the Soviet Union along with the phenomenal growth of industry. It also takes up the fight to restore democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party itself, and demands of its readers that

have no use for disturbing innovations that may temporarily slow down their work. Andrei's fiercest opponent, Victor Potapenko, is a powerfully drawn character. A brilliant administrator, he is a Soviet counterpart to what is called "management" in American industry. Ambitious, glorifying in his higher income and standard of living, he has his eyes fixed on rising to the Ministry. He destroys those who stand in his way, picks other people's brains, browbeats his subordinates, and succeeds in turning the local Communist Party apparatus itself into his own political machine.

The author is unsparing in his portrayal of the ruthlessness and strength of the forces arrayed against Andrei. For a good part of the novel, it seems they think for themselves, that they speak up courageously against hypocrisy.

The laboratory, as Andrei finds it, has sadly degenerated. Instead of a center for research on major problems, and innovations that would bring the industry to a higher level, it has become a mere service station, doing repairs and keeping the machinery in working order. The engineers connected with it have forgotten their theoretical training in science, and have ceased to follow the technical developments in their field, for their own work calls for no advanced knowledge.

Andrei tries to restore the laboratory as a genuinely scientific, theoretical-practical center, and finds himself in a war in which blows are ruthlessly hit below the belt. Some opposition comes from the laboratory workers, who find routine repair work a surer basis for income than experimental work. But the major antagonists are the managers of the power plants themselves, who are quite happy to have the laboratory simply service their own production, and

as if Andrei has been completely defeated. A significant scene takes place at the low point in his fortunes. Andrei, wandering miserably about the streets, enters a restaurant, where a drunk, sitting at his table, recounts a similar story of his being browbeaten and silenced by his swindling "chief."

"But who is he?" Andrei asked.

The man sniffed hard through his nose, glanced around, and, puckering his eyes, cunningly, wagged his finger at Andrei.

"You're a slug," Andrei said, trying to pronounce the words clearly. "You're a crawler. Bah! You think I'll become like you, do you? Well, I shan't. I'm not that kind."

"You're right," the man agreed unexpectedly. "I'm tame. I don't stick to my principles. But there are a lot of people like me." He twisted his pallid lips regretfully. "Yes, there are a lot like us."

"You're lying," Andrei stood up, taking a deep breath. "There are much more of *us*. You hide behind the backs of the real people. You're deserters. You're repulsive even to yourselves. I'd rather deal with your chief than with you. At least I'd get some pleasure out of punching him in the jaw."

It is not delicate writing, but forthright. It speaks for the temper of the best of the younger generation of Soviet men and women; those born at about the time of the revolution, educated by the moral principles of socialism; the generation which having fought heroically in the anti-fascist war, came back from the battlefronts determined to challenge all hidebound authority that did not make any sense to it, and to test every side of Soviet society against the principles for which they offered their lives. It is a rough-hewn novel, written with little regard for literary niceties. It is big in scope, and succeeds in creating a well-peopled, living society about the laboratory. There are fine insights into the private and family life of its characters. Yet, perhaps out of the crusading passion with which it is written, it tends to draw its heroes and

villains in contrasts that are sharper than life. But the fact that it was published and became a best seller a year before the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party tackled the evils it exposes, makes it an historical as well as artistic event. It is a testament to the fundamental health and moral stature of socialism in the Soviet Union, and to the honesty and realism of its literature.

An inspiring scientific vision pervades the whole book, so that a simple sentence, spoken by Andrei, becomes a challenge to the reader. Speaking to a scientifically trained person who has become a mere repair mechanic, he says, "I can't understand it. How can you write off a whole year and a half of your life like this?" For creative people to stop creating, for any people to halt their own development, is to sell out their lives.

ASIA'S CHOICE

SOUTHEAST ASIA BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, by Tibor Mende. Library Publishers. N. Y. 1955. 346 pp. \$3.95.

IN THIS very useful survey of the vast region from Indonesia through Burma and Thailand to the western reaches of Pakistan, this author—well known for his writings on western Europe—combines social analysis with political reportage. Mr. Mende's study is especially rich with respect to Indonesia and Pakistan; regrettably, he was unable in several visits to Southeast Asia to deal with the critically-important area of Indo-China. He would like to see a Western policy that assists the awakening world of Southeast Asia to rapid economic development on a non-Communist basis. But his own experiences, and his critique of the West, go a long way toward demonstrating why these peoples are taking semi-socialist paths to overcome their backwardness, and why their communist movements are likely to help shape events no matter what western policy does.

QUAKERS IN THE USSR

MEETING THE RUSSIANS, *American Quakers Visit the Soviet Union. American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, 1956. 94 pp. \$3.35.*

THIS is the report of the good-will mission of six American Quakers, headed by AFSC secretary emeritus Clarence Pickett, who spent the month of June, 1955, in the Soviet Union. They travelled, by their own request, as ordinary tourists, visiting the main European and several Central Asian cities as well as rural areas of the USSR. Special facilities were provided for the wide contacts with religious groups they desired, especially the Baptists. They wandered about at will talking with many officials and ordinary people, seeing most of what they wished to see, only in a few cases encountering bureaucratic obstacles.

The group found the average Soviet citizen ill-informed about the outside world, but "deeply concerned about peace." They reported that standards of living varied from place to place and among various strata of the population; a shortage of living accommodations, but a tremendous housing program under way; plentiful food, but important items often in short supply; clothing expensive but adequate; Soviet children always provided with the best of everything.

They felt that the Soviet educational system "deserves to be considered one of the most notable achievements of the Soviet regime" and noted, "Few things in Russia impressed us so much as the well-nigh inexhaustible thirst of the Russian people for culture." They were disturbed by evidences of standardization and conformity, yet emphasized the "fluid quality" of Soviet society.

This is a conscientious, detailed report by a group which found much that is positive, as well as much to criticize. They make certain generalizations at the beginning as a basis for their judgments which seem rather too rigid a

framework to provide the understanding they so honestly sought of the enormous complexities of Soviet society. One of the generalizations they describe is a sense of "military necessity" deriving from the "logic of class war." But it must be noted that the visit took place at a time when the re-evaluation of the Stalin era was still in its early stages. Stalin's theory of increasing class struggle as socialism succeeds has now been rejected. Much of the orthodoxy the Quaker group found to be distasteful is already undergoing great changes, and the trend toward relaxation of restriction of freedom they noted has since gathered much greater momentum.

The Quakers deserve the highest respect and gratitude for their persistent efforts to keep open avenues of communication between the United States and the Soviet Union, of which this pamphlet is one important result. They end with a plea for better understanding and closer contacts between the two countries.

—JESSICA SMITH

IMPENITENT MEMORIES

A DISCORD OF TRUMPETS, by Claud Cockburn, *Simon and Schuster, New York, 1956. 314 pp. \$3.95.*

THE memoirs of Claud Cockburn make very entertaining and enlightening reading. The anecdotes with which he describes his childhood, youth, and years as Washington correspondent for the *London Times*, and his later editorship of the famous newsletter "The Week" during the anxious end of the thirties when he served at the same time as foreign correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, are all of them amusing and peculiarly revealing of the period and the issues at stake.

Mr. Cockburn, long since retired from newspaper writing and political life, recalls the period from the late twenties to the beginning of World War II largely in terms of personal involvement with important personalities and

crucial events. Yet this is the least personal of books on the surface that one could hope to find. Detached, ironically observant, quick to see the ludicrous in every situation, objective in his presentation of personalities, there emerges from these pages a sense of those dramatic years of depression, fascism, war and looming war, that is rare to find in any other book covering the same period.

Indeed for those who lived through these years this book will have an especially strong appeal. Not only because it recalls brilliantly the highlights of this decisive period, but because Mr. Cockburn for all his years of retirement and for all his sense of the absurd and the ironic is an impenitent recaller of the days of his youth and holds, it is clear, very much the same opinions of people and events as he did when in his joint capacity as editor of "The Week" and correspondent for "The London Daily Worker" his dispatches to the "Worker" were read as eagerly by the Left as his mimeographed letter "The Week" was read throughout the chancelleries of Europe.

Mr. Cockburn's recollection of his first acquaintance with Marxism in the ominous Germany of the late twenties after his very proper English upper-class education, his coming to America just before the stock-market crash in 1929 to see if capitalism here had really refuted the Marxist analysis, his years here during the depression, his return to England and the establishment of his mimeographed newsletter, his work on the "Daily Worker", and his experiences in Spain during the Spanish rebellion, are recalled with a vividness and objectivity that gives these personal experiences special value today when much of the significance of those years has tended to be confused by the rapid development of subsequent history.

The book closes with a description of the fevered Munich days. Mr. Cockburn had flown to Prague from Spain where the darkening clouds of defeat were gathering over the heroic Span-

ish people. For those whose memories of the critical Munich decisions have perhaps grown somewhat dim, the description of President Benes' final refusal to accept Soviet military aid in resisting Hitler's aggression after France and England had refused to come to Czechoslovakia's assistance will have recalled for them how the forces for peace stood in those momentous days before the outbreak of World War II.

—MURRAY YOUNG

ON FOREIGN POLICY

FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT FEAR,
by Vera Micheles Dean. McGraw-Hill,
N. Y. 1953. \$3.75.

MRS. DEAN, who has given such an able and consistently liberal balance to the work of the Foreign Policy Association, analyzes here the dilemmas of the Eisenhower Administration as it took office in the face of the dead-end of the cold war; her plea for an adjustment to realities makes interesting reading now in the light of the partial adjustments that have taken place since she wrote. At bottom, she recognizes the inherent incompatibility between United States policy and the divergent interests of its European allies.

She sees with great clarity that the upheaval in the Asian-Arab world is one of the primary facts of our time, to which the United States must adjust, but is ill-equipped to do so. Mrs. Dean tries to find a workable diplomacy in the midst of the contradictions in the world as it is, recognizing that what the dominant forces in our country would like to do is impossible. In her proposals for negotiation with the socialist countries, for a consistent, anti-colonialism, and economic rather than military aid to the under-developed countries, Mrs. Dean would find that many Americans who do not share her premises can nonetheless find common ground with her.

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