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REVIEW

39 YEARS: WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

USSR AND COLONIALISM

A YEAR OF GREAT CHANGES

MONTICELLO AND MOSCOW

G. D. H. Cole

W. E. B. Du Bois

Harry F. Ward

Corliss Lamont

D. N. Pritt

Ralph Parker

Murray Young

Jessica Smith

**Marking Two Anniversaries: The 39th
Birthday of the Soviet Union and
23 Years of American-Soviet Relations**

New World

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

Anniversary Thoughts

by JESSICA SMITH

THE 39TH anniversary of the Russian Revolution takes place in a new atmosphere and under new conditions of no less significance to the rest of the world than to the Soviet Union itself.

Great changes have swept through Soviet society, great advances have been made in many fields, due to the freeing of the creative initiative of the Soviet people, stultified in so many ways under the Stalin cult.

Yet it cannot be forgotten that these new advances were only possible on the basis of what had gone before. The forward movement launched November 7, 1917, has never ceased. The great contribution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was to clear the main roadblocks that had retarded even greater progress, and to open the way to new possibilities for enduring peace.

We cannot agree with those who believe that the harsh measures of the Stalin era were necessary because the Soviet Union was in the beginning a backward peasant country beset by enemies, or with those who believe they can be justified by the magnitude of Soviet achievements.

The question of the discipline, severity and centralized authority under Lenin's leadership in the early years is another matter. To those who forget what the Soviet people and their leaders faced in those days, we commend Alexey Tolstoy's *The Road to Calvary*.

The vast canvas of this epic novel, which brings to mind the other Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, covers the turbulent years 1914-20, the disintegration of the old Russia, the bloody travail of the new in birth, the vast upheaval in the lives of all its people. Their Calvary was the tormented road leading through world war, revolution, civil war, armed intervention by fourteen nations—to final victory; truly a crucifixion and resurrection. In the book the agony and rebirth of the people is interwoven with the agony and rebirth of their native land. It shows the young Soviet Republic and its Red Army facing not only White generals and Allied armies on more than a dozen fronts, but also the inner demoralization wrought by bandit armies covering naked aims of robbery and pillage with revolutionary slogans, and by corrupt and evil adventures.

Lenin and the other leaders did not choose these violent and terrible beginnings. They were the result of historic forces, the crumbling of a rotten old order, the efforts of outside enemies to strangle socialism at its birth. Of all the forces in Russia, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks were able to lead the people to victory, to bring order out of chaos, to consolidate and build the world's first socialist state, leading the way to the extension of socialism to a third of the world's people.

Of course there were mistakes in those days. Who can judge now what

harshness and cruelties might have been avoided? Although Lenin in the most difficult days never lost sight of human relationships, there was no time to select the best and kindest way, for careful balancing of moral issues.

Later there was time. The beginning of Stalin's errors was in carrying over the harsh measures of the early days into the period of comparative peace, on the false theory that the class struggle would sharpen as socialism succeeded.

It is not our purpose here to review again the monstrous consequences to which Stalin's excesses led. What we do want to emphasize is that the great and glowing achievements of the Soviet people cannot be obscured by what we now know of the dark side of the picture; that their successes were won *in spite of* repressions and crimes alien to socialism, and would have been far greater without them. It is to the Soviet people and no single leader that the glory must go for what has been achieved against great odds.

The process of correction—while much remains to be done and it will take a long time—is, we are deeply convinced, an irreversible one, and whatever errors and shortcomings there may be, there can be no return to the police terror and imposed conformity of the past. The guarantee of this, we believe, is in the awakened vigilance of the people, their restored initiative and increasing democratic rights and civil liberties, the new freedom of discussion, the growing economic security, the ever deepening and expanding educational system and all that it means in freeing the limitless forward thrust of the human mind and spirit.

Another guarantee, which we believe will strengthen as time goes

on, is in the new attention to questions of morality, human relations and standards of conduct. Our own Moscow correspondent, Ralph Parker, has written on some aspects of this. Articles are appearing in the Soviet press calling for a new consideration of questions of Communist ethics. The need of high moral qualities in Party leaders is stressed, and of sensitive attention to the needs of individual human beings. Recent Soviet literature reflects growing concern for such questions. There is increasing awareness in the USSR and in the newer socialist states as well that the building of a socialist society requires not only new economic foundations, but must encompass the whole range of human relationships.

What we would like to emphasize especially on this anniversary occasion is the process of reevaluation that has been taking place outside as well as within the Soviet Union. The clear position taken at the 20th Congress that war can be avoided, contrary to Stalin's thesis that war is inevitable as long as imperialism exists, carried further the easing of world tensions resulting from the Geneva Summit Conference, gave new strength to Soviet peace initiatives. The declaration on the possibility of peaceful transition and of various roads to socialism destroyed the main arguments of those who base war policies on charges that the USSR engages in stirring revolution in other lands. It pointed the way to ending the divisions among those who believe in socialism but differ in the methods of bringing it about.

Thus we consider it a privilege to publish the article written for us by the famous British Socialist, G. D. H. Cole, who has always advocated



Dmitri Shepilov
Soviet Foreign
Minister, makes his
maiden appear-
ance at the UN to
participate in the
Security Council
debate on the Suez
Canal issue. At the
right is Georgi
Zarubin, Soviet
Ambassador to the
United States.

a very different road to socialism than that followed by the Soviet Union. As a Guild Socialist, he has opposed the idea of centralized authority. Frankly critical of many aspects of Soviet policy, he yet feels that recent changes in the USSR have made it possible for Socialists of varying views and Communists to begin discussing their differences and look for points of agreement. We do not agree with Mr. Cole's viewpoint on the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact, and certain other questions. But the all-important point is that despite such differences, Mr. Cole holds that the total effect of the Russian Revolution "has been an enormous enlargement of human liberty and happiness both in Russia itself and in the world as a whole," and that the Soviet Union "brings hope and encouragement to every people that is striving to emancipate itself from colonialism and imperialist domination."

Similarly, the British pacifist and long-time Labor M.P., Fenner Brockway, (whose statement we reprint by courtesy of the British-Soviet Friendship Bulletin), for twenty years one of the severest critics of

the Soviet Union, declares that as a result of the repudiation by the 20th Congress of the "inhuman course" of the Stalin regime, "It is now the duty of those of us who were estranged from the regime by those actions to revise our attitude drastically toward the Soviet Government."

In this country, as a result of the reevaluation proceeding in the ranks of the U.S. Communist Party, a series of meetings is being held in several cities in which Communists and Socialists, representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Quakers, the American Civil Liberties Union and others, are engaging in friendly discussion and seeking areas of agreement.

Another result is the growing recognition of the falsity of the charge that the Soviet Union heads a worldwide conspiracy to overthrow all capitalist governments including our own. This has been the premise for the destruction of constitutional liberties through the Smith and McCarran Acts, the persecution of the Communists, Congressional Committee witch hunts and the evil informer system whereby the reputa-

tion and liberty of so many Americans have been placed at the mercy of professional perjurers. The questioning of the premise has been intensified by the exposure of informers whose lies have condemned innocent men and women to imprisonment. The action of the Supreme Court in reviewing a number of Smith Act cases, ordering a new trial for Steve Nelson and his fellow defendants and sending the S.A.C.B. proceeding against the Communist Party back for further hearings, evidences a healthy trend.

A new and skeptical look at the myth of Soviet "aggression" as the pretext for encroachment on American freedom is also apparent in the Friend of the Court briefs by the ACLU and others in the Smith and McCarran Act cases, the growing opposition to these laws in the ranks of labor, and the joining of prominent educators, clergymen and public figures, in the petition to amnesty Smith Act victims initiated last December by Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Henry Steele Commager and others.

In the sphere of diplomacy, our government has had largely to abandon the myth of Soviet aggression by direct or indirect means on which the whole cold war policy has been based, and to acknowledge, however grudgingly, that no military threat exists, and that the conflict has moved over into the field of economic and ideological competition. This acknowledgment has led to the abandonment of certain positions that had become untenable. But, as Walter Lippmann has pointed out repeatedly, the Administration has taken no initiative in formulating new policies to meet the needs of the new situation. It has left all these initiatives to the Soviet Union, and

has failed to take advantage of the numerous opportunities offered to strike out on a bold new course.

During the past year the Soviet Union has been engaged in cementing its relations with all nations, East and West, and especially the great neutral nations like India. It pursues this peaceful purpose through every possible avenue of trade and cultural exchange, through individual negotiations with heads of governments, parliamentary delegations and through the United Nations. In the current Suez crisis the USSR has supported the viewpoint held by the majority of the world's people that the old colonial policies must end, that a peaceful solution is possible through negotiations among the powers concerned and the machinery of the United Nations, that any threat of force must be abandoned and full consideration given both to Egyptian sovereignty and the legitimate interests of the users of the canal.

In particular, the USSR has persistently sought an improvement in American-Soviet relations as the key to all others, laying special emphasis on the necessity of reaching agreement on ending the arms race and the threat to the world of atomic annihilation. In the UN Subcommittee on Disarmament, the Soviet Union has made repeated concessions to the viewpoint of the Western nations, only to find the latter withdrawing from their own positions when agreement seemed near.

In view of this stalemate, Premier Bulganin over a year ago inaugurated a series of personal exchanges with President Eisenhower. He proposed an American-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation which was rejected. Keeping always to the fore the question of the threat of nuclear

warfare, Premier Bulganin offered a whole series of proposals on inspection and control, but has insisted that President Eisenhower's "Open Skies" plan could be effective only if part of an over-all disarmament program. The USSR has reduced its own armed forces and suggested that the other big powers do likewise. It has repeatedly called for the banning of tests of nuclear weapons as a first step toward their ultimate prohibition. Bulganin renewed this proposal in his letters of September 11 and October 17. (See page 53 for text of latest exchange).

Adlai Stevenson has performed an important service in making the ending of H-bomb tests, as an immediate and realistic step, a main issue of the campaign. He is backed in this by growing national and world opinion, and the generally recognized fact that there is no danger to national security in such a step, and no need of preliminary agreement on control and inspection since any tests anywhere can be immediately detected.

Mr. Stevenson has expressed his belief that our country should take the initiative in this because the Soviet Union and the other great powers are ready for agreement on the ending of tests.

President Eisenhower has failed to understand the contradiction between his refusal to take this first step on the banning of nuclear weapons and the atoms for peace program which he himself initiated through his proposal to the United Nations. The Soviet Union has supported this program, while continuing to hold that only through prohibition of nuclear weapons could it be fully realized.

The current 82-nation Atoms for Peace Conference at United Nations

headquarters points the way to what real American-Soviet cooperation could mean. The USSR has held that membership in the world atomic agency should be open to all nations, and especially to the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic. It has reservations on the nature of the inspection and control provisions put forward by the United States which, as India and some of the smaller nations have objected, discriminate against the smaller nations. Yet, to make possible progress in a desired direction, the USSR agreed to tentative acceptance of the U.S. principles for the international agency.

On these and other grounds, we are convinced that American-Soviet relations, however slowly and tortuously, are moving into a new phase in this month which marks the anniversary of those relations.

On November 16, 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov together expressed the hope that "the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our Nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world."

The victory over Hitler brightened that hope. The cold war dimmed it. May it be enkindled anew by whatever Administration the American people vote into office this November, and made reality by a new course ending the cold war, opening a new era of fruitful, friendly relations, trade and cultural cooperation. And above all, may progress be made toward disarmament and transforming atomic energy from a menace to mankind to a shared blessing that can bring well-being and abundance to all the people of the earth. (October 18)

A Year of Great Changes

by RALPH PARKER

ONE WOULD have to go back many years, twenty perhaps, to find a peace-time year which had been accompanied by so many changes in the lives of Soviet people as the year of 1956. The process of change is continuing and is taking many interesting and unexpected turns; it would be rash to predict what the results will be; one can do little more than denote some of the main trends, especially those that are likely to develop in the near future.

This year saw the holding of the first Party Congress in over twenty years that was not dominated by Stalin, and in which the principle of collective leadership was fully established. How has this leadership exercised its powers? In what respects is the Soviet Union today qualitatively different from the country ruled by Stalin?

A vast amount of injustice, mistakes and neglect of opportunities was revealed by the overthrow of Stalinism, and many of the activities of the government have been di-

rected to correcting harm done. Among these we may classify the re-examination of all political cases since the mid-nineteen-thirties and, where injustice was found to have been done, the rehabilitation of the victims. Sometimes, alas, this means no more than restoring their good name and reputation, though it should be noted that with certain glaring exceptions (I have in mind the case of the Jewish writers and other members of the Anti-Fascist Jewish Committee murdered in 1952), the proportion of people put to death among those arrested in the post-war period seems to have been much smaller than among those victimized during the purges of the 'thirties.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance as a psychological factor in the present atmosphere of intellectual life in Moscow and Leningrad of the release of political prisoners. The return of their names to theater bills, magazine contents lists, film credit titles and their presence at social functions, concerts and elsewhere are constant reminders to the public that injustice has been rectified.

Linked with this aspect of change is the filling of gaps in history caused by the arbitrary action of the political censorship. American

RALPH PARKER, who formerly represented the "New York Times" in the USSR, is a veteran Moscow correspondent whose on-the-spot reports are wellknown to our readers.



Ex-Prime Minister Edgar Faure of France conferring with editors of the State Publishers of Foreign Literature in Moscow.

readers of *Soviet Literature* will soon have an opportunity of examining an article, culled from the pages of *Kommunist*, which refers scathingly to the removal from the shelves of libraries of the entire works of certain writers essential for any student who wished to obtain a complete picture of the history of Soviet literature. The same process took place in art. Only now are such sensitive painters as Vonzinen able to exhibit their work. As for political history, it should be noted that for the first time in many years students at Party schools and courses this winter will hear the arguments of both sides in the struggle for power that preceded and followed the 1917 Revolution.

The process of examining the material denied them in the recent past will necessarily be a long one, and historians, literary critics and others have no illusions about the arduous research work before them. Not only is there an abundance of material but there is also the opposition of many people whose reputations were established under Stalinism to be fought. Again and again

this year these elements in the Union of Artists and the corresponding composers' organization have postponed the holding of congresses. The article by Kamensky on art from which I quoted in the September issue of *New World Review* prompted a crude dogmatic reply by a critic named Serov which left the art world confused until the octogenarian Ivan Grabar, writing in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* tipped the balance back in favor of acceptance of the main achievements in art made abroad since the days of the French impressionists.

Perhaps readers will find it easier to understand the tasks that lie before those people who are seeking to correct harm done in the past by censorship through an example from literature. Students and professional writers have for almost twenty years been denied any knowledge of the critical realist writers of the West, including Hemingway, Caldwell, Faulkner, Roger Martin du Gard, Francois Mauriac, Moravia. The works of Sinclair Lewis and Upton Sinclair, of Thomas Mann and Stefan Zweig, of Richard Aldington

and Sherwood Anderson, all of which had an important influence on Soviet writing in the nineteen-thirties and without which no fair picture of western literature is possible, became virtually unobtainable since the beginning of the war. Knowledge of the literature of the west was confined to Dreiser and Howard Fast for the U.S.A., Jack Lindsay and James Aldridge for Britain, Stil and Aragon for France. Today publishers are trying to make amends. Ambitious publishing plans have been announced. But it will take some years before writers and students, not to mention the common reader, can digest twenty years of literary achievement in the West.

While waiting for the arts to show the benefit of closer contacts with foreign work, it would only be fair to note that 1956 has seen a much wider variety in the fare being offered the public. The period of conforming to a single style which in most cases was traceable to Stalin's personal taste or to that which his police thought good for the public, is closed. The Ministry of Culture, for example, has abandoned its powers to dictate repertoires to theaters throughout the Union; theaters now sign contracts with authors direct. Furthermore, "artistic councils" which decide each theater's repertoire are now elected bodies, chosen by the whole company to guide its artistic style and the contents of its program. There are no obstacles any longer to Soviet theaters working out individual styles of production; conformity to a naturalism which concealed its lack of originality by claims to parentage with Stanislavsky is no longer expected.

In these changes we may find a clue to a much more fundamental difference in Soviet life today. This

might be described as the rejection of administrative interference in many walks of life. We see the restoration of the authority of the elected soviets, beginning at the lowest local level, and efforts being made to get the representatives of the people to control the work of the executive. We see the boards of collective farms having much more say in farm affairs and the consequent reduction in the role of the local official. We see the Soviet Writers' Union abolishing all but three of its many committees for controlling the activities of writers. Such changes are plain proof of the authorities' decision to encourage personal and group initiative.

But, things have gone much further than that. The individual has been freed from a great deal of interference on the part of authority. He is free to change his place of work at will, though it should be noted that he may forfeit his pension rights if he lapses into idleness. He is no longer liable to prosecution for minor offenses against labor discipline, which are now penalized by fines. He is no longer placed at a disadvantage for having lived in German-occupied territories during the war or for having been a prisoner-of-war. And, if public opinion prevails, the time is not far off when persons who happen to be unhappily married, may bring their married state to an end by mutual consent.

One of the most important consequences of the Party's determination to face the facts of Soviet life and to stop bluffing itself and the public that "everything in the garden is lovely" is the increased attention being paid to the lot of the poorer and handicapped section of the population. For years one had the impression that the authorities

were deliberately shutting their eyes to the fact that the old and infirm often lived in shocking conditions. How else is one to explain the fact that the old age pension was based on the wage levels of the early nineteen-thirties, since when prices and wages have risen considerably? The result of failure to readjust the pension scale meant that the maximum old-age pension was between a quarter and a fifth of the average industrial wage. Tens of millions of people have benefitted substantially from the new pensions scale introduced October 1 this year. A clerical worker, for instance, retiring from a job at which she was paid 900 roubles used to get a bare 200 roubles pension under the old scale; now she is receiving about 550.

Another example of a more humane attitude on the part of the authorities may be drawn from student life. Every Soviet student has the right to a grant throughout his or her studies at college or institute. The grants are adequate, even generous. But under a system that has now been superseded grants were awarded entirely according to exam results. Under the new system a new factor comes in—the student's needs and the ability of his parents to pay for his education. Education, however, remains free; this year, in fact, all fees for secondary education were abolished and very soon fees for higher education will also come to an end. At the new boarding schools only the better-off parents have to contribute to their children's board.

The past year has seen a striking change come over the Soviet press, mainly in its willingness to raise "awkward subjects" and in the vigor of its attacks on the administration. While the presentation of

news leaves much to be desired (at present, for example, the important Poznan trials are being referred to in the most cursory way, if at all), criticism of members of the government for administrative blunders is bold and often telling. No question is too small for the active and lively members of the correspondence departments of the papers. Let me give an example.

Not far from Moscow there works a Negro poultry specialist, the American-born George Tynes. Tynes has worked on Soviet poultry farms since he came here twenty-five years ago. He is not a Communist. Last year Tynes approached the farm management with a proposal to raise ducks in an incubator of his own design. The management turned down the proposal. It would interfere with the plan, they said; there was a risk that the immediate results would reduce average production. Tynes was convinced of the correctness of his proposal. He wrote to *Pravda* and followed up his letter with a call at the editorial offices. There he persevered until he saw the editor-in-chief, at that time Shepilov, the present foreign minister. Shepilov told a reporter to look into the matter. As a result the farm management received instructions from the responsible ministry to sanction Tynes' plans. This year I attended a celebration of George Tynes' twenty-fifth anniversary of work as a Soviet poultry specialist and heard a message from a member of the Soviet government, in which this American-born Negro was thanked for his conscientious work.

These changes in the status of the individual and in his relationship with authority are taking place against a background of intense industrial and technical effort. True,

THE EVENTS IN POLAND

THE EVENTS IN POLAND connected with the meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party and the visit of a group of Soviet leaders to Warsaw are being reported as this issue goes to press, too late for any review or commentary. Much remains unclear out of the many contradictory reports that have so far been printed. Before our next issue comes out we hope enough factual material will be available for an authoritative review of events, particularly in the light of the forthcoming visit of Polish Party leaders to Moscow to continue the Warsaw discussions.

It is at any rate clear that both sides are determined to maintain close and friendly relations. This was emphasized by Wladyslaw Gomulka, restored to leadership by the Polish Party as a direct result, it should be noted, of the re-evaluation of the Stalin era at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In his speech following the discussions with the Soviet leaders, Gomulka warned that Poland's determination to follow its own democratic road to socialism must not be exploited by the enemies of socialism. He declared that the Party and all the people must present "resolute opposition to the whisper campaign and voices aiming at weakening our friendship with the Soviet Union."

It is important to keep in mind that whatever differences there are between Polish and Soviet leaders, they are bound together by a vital common concern for socialism, for the maintenance of world peace and the prevention of any revival of German militarism, from which they have both suffered so much and which threatens again in the rearming of Western Germany.

We confidently hope that out of continuing discussions a reconciliation of viewpoints will be reached that will take into account both the special interests of the Polish people and the mutual interests of the two countries as socialist states.

THE EDITORS

the struggle for more grain and coal has caused great anxiety; heavy industry is seriously handicapped by the neglect of its technological processes; the production of light industry is still expensive and of poor standard; the shortage of skilled manpower is gravely felt in agriculture; building, though now going at a faster pace than ever before, is still costly. But there are great successes to record, the reclaiming of vast tracts of land, important ad-

vances in science and construction of new sources of power.

And moreover the government's measures—particularly its attitude towards human freedom—seem to be proving successful in persuading people that their future is secure and that it is in their own interests to make the fullest use of their opportunities in work. And this improvement in morale may prove to have been the most important feature of the year 1956.

The USSR After 39 Years

by G. D. H. COLE

WHEN the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia thirty-nine years ago, there were two widely held opinions about the prospects that the new State they set up in Russia would be able to maintain itself against its enemies—against the counter-revolution in Russia itself, and against the will to destroy it of the great capitalist powers. One view, which received widespread endorsement among the enemies of the Revolution, was that the new regime in Russia was bound speedily to break down from sheer inefficiency and lack of mass support, especially among the peasants: the other was that it would succeed because it had showed the way to revolution to the workers of the advanced countries and would be saved by being merged into a World Revolution that would bring the wealth and resources of these countries to the rescue of the suffering and exhausted peoples of the former Tsarist Empire.

Both these views were wrong. Soviet Russia came very near to collapse during the terrible period of

civil war and foreign intervention in 1919 and 1920; but by what seemed then, and seems now, almost a miracle it held out, despite the failure of the Revolution to spread effectively to the rest of Europe and despite all the efforts of the capitalist powers to destroy it. Both then and later, the peoples of what came to be the Soviet Union were subjected to terrible hardships while they struggled to build up and to consolidate their new way of life; but their new rulers, the Bolsheviks, held them remorselessly to the task of creating on the ruins of the old, backward Russia a mechanized, powerful industrial society capable, despite its isolation, of holding its own among the world's great powers and of demonstrating the capacities of a planned economy resting on public ownership and control of the means of production and on the complete elimination of the old ruling classes and of capitalist exploitation of the common people.

Throughout the world, the fortunes of the Soviet Union were watched with intense interest by both friends and enemies. Everywhere the ruling classes and the rich continued to hope that the new regime would collapse, and continued to put every obstacle they could in its way even after they had given up hope of destroying it by intervention in arms. Everywhere too the main body of the

G. D. H. COLE, professor of social and political theory at Oxford and long time member of the Fabian group, has written many books on economic and history. With other Socialists from a number of countries he recently set up the International Society for Socialist Studies.

workers hoped eagerly that the new Russia would make good and regarded its struggle as a vital part of the worldwide struggle for release from capitalist and feudal oppression. This was the workers' feeling, despite the fact that most of their leaders in the advanced countries were strongly hostile to communism and denounced the Bolsheviks as tyrants who were imposing a new oppression and as destroyers of the democratic liberties on which alone true socialism could be built. Indeed, these very leaders who denounced Bolshevism (and were denounced in their turn by the Bolsheviks as betrayers of the workers' cause), found themselves under the necessity of defending the Soviet Union against their countries' Governments' attempts to compass its downfall.

Meanwhile, inside the Soviet Union, a great contest was proceeding among the Bolsheviks themselves. Lenin, the chief maker of the Revolution, held a position of unchallengeable primacy as long as he was alive and in health; but even before his death there were clear signs of a coming struggle for power, in which Trotsky and Stalin were destined to be the protagonists. It was Trotsky who in a once-famous pamphlet, *The New Course*, attacked the rapidly growing bureaucratization of the Communist Party, of whose machine Stalin had made himself the master; and it was Stalin, aided by Zinoviev and Kamenev, who retaliated by driving Trotsky out of the Party and presently into exile, and before long made himself the absolute master of the Soviet Union. This does not mean that Trotsky was wholly right, and Stalin wholly wrong. The issues between them were tangled, and Trotsky, had he got his way, might have brought the Soviet Union

to ruin by forcing the pace of industrialization too hotly and by mishandling the peasant problem. In these matters, however, Stalin, having got rid of his rival, largely adopted his policies. The matter in which Stalin was undoubtedly right was in giving up for the time the hope of World Revolution and in concentrating on the building up of socialism (as he conceived it) in a single country. The matter in which he was wrong—and worse than wrong—was in using his control of the Party to make himself into an irresponsible dictator and in sticking at nothing in destroying, by false accusation and unjust condemnation, everyone he suspected of being a potential rival or even of claiming to exercise any right of independent judgment.

Stalin, by exaggerating every tendency towards totalitarian control—mis-called “democratic centralism”—that was inherent in the Bolshevik conception of proletarian dictatorship, and by adding further forms of tyrannical action—especially through the inflated secret police—made the Soviet regime into a ruthlessly repressive parody of workers' democracy; and he also undermined the socialist spirit of the Revolution by denouncing the idea of equality as a petty bourgeois sentiment and by encouraging an ever-increasing inequality of incomes and privileges to the advantage of those who were ready to serve him without question. To an alarming extent, the spirit of comradeship and social equality were destroyed in the Soviet Union and the growth of a new privileged body of officials and managers was deliberately fostered. The basic structure of socialized ownership, however, remained intact; and the immense widening of educational op-

opportunities prevented the new privileged groups from becoming, to more than a limited extent, an hereditary caste. In these essential respects, Stalinist Russia remained socialist even when in other respects it was being made to throw over the spirit of socialism and to subordinate everything else to the unlimited quest for collective economic and political power.

Outside Russia there were few who clearly understood what was happening inside that country under Stalin's rule. So strong was the working-class sympathy for the Soviet Union in its struggle with the capitalist world that a great many people simply refused to believe the charges that were made against the Stalinist regime; and a great many honest sympathizers with communism persuaded themselves that even the most fantastic charges of counter-revolutionary sabotage levelled by Stalin at his political enemies must be true. Some of the skeptics suffered a rude awakening when Stalin was guilty of the infamy of his pact with Hitler in 1939; but many swallowed even this, as a justifiable retort to the evil conduct of the Western Governments in their dealings with the Soviet Union during the critical months before the outbreak of war. When Hitler, despite the Pact, wantonly attacked Russia in 1941, the Pact was largely obliterated from people's minds and Soviet prestige rose to new heights in view of the heroic struggle which the Russians put up against the Nazi invaders. It was shaken again, in the West, when the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia with Russian aid, and when the Soviet Union and the satellite states rejected co-operation in the Marshall Plan—which was not then decisively

linked to the American system of alliances directed against the Communist countries. But, because this cold war structure followed hard upon it, the Western States again united in a power bloc against communism, it remained possible to regard the Soviet Union, even under Stalin, as the champion of socialism against capitalism as a world force; and this view of it appealed especially to the citizens of those countries which had been subjected to colonial rule or imperialist penetration by the capitalist countries and were beginning to assert energetically their claims to independent nationhood and sovereign equality.

In 1953 Stalin died, and the epoch of personal dictatorship in the Soviet Union came to an end. His successors, at first without any repudiation of his misdeeds, were at pains to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of any single person; but not until 1956 did they venture to admit openly not only that the Stalin cult had been a gross departure from the principle of Soviet democracy but also that Stalin had been guilty of monstrous crimes against justice and human decency, in which they could not deny that they had been seriously implicated. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at which these startling revelations were made by Krushchev and others, shook the very foundations of Communist Party discipline not only in the Soviet Union but, even more, in the satellite countries and in Western Europe, with consequences which it is still far too soon to foresee. There was, indeed, no repudiation by Stalin's Russian critics of any of the basic tenets of communism—of one-party rule, of so-called "democratic centralism," or of dictatorship

itself. On the contrary, the attempt was made to throw the entire blame on Stalin for having departed from the austere purity of Lenin's doctrine. There was, however, an explicit recognition that there could be more than one road to socialism, and that all countries need not follow the precise road that had been travelled in Russia, with its long tradition of autocratic rule and forcible suppression of dissident opinion by the police State. There was a clearly demonstrated desire among the new Soviet leaders to seek a detente in international affairs and to improve relations with the non-communist working-class and socialist movements in the Western countries and also with those countries which were refusing to identify themselves with either power bloc—especially India and other newly emancipated states in Southern Asia and the Middle East.

This change of attitude was undoubtedly due in part to the growing recognition, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that war with modern weapons would be too utterly destructive to be resorted to save in sheer desperation. The knowledge that this was so acted upon all the potential participants in world war—not least on the United States. It created a situation in which it was plain that an attempt had to be made to find ways and means of peaceful if not of friendly, co-existence; and, by greatly reducing the danger of war, it did something to lower the temperature of anti-Communist fever in the West. Among Socialists, especially those of the non-Communist Left, it engendered a mood of greater readiness, not to accept communism, but at least to contemplate the possibility of friendly discussions with the leaders of communism in

those countries in which it was either in power or commanded the support of a considerable section of the working class. At present, such discussion has still barely begun; but the ground has been largely prepared for it and therewith for a more rational and balanced estimate by non-Communists of the merits and defects of what has been achieved in the Soviet Union and in other countries under Communist rule.

It is, however, in face of all the lies that have been told, of all the distortions by both apologists and anti-Communist fanatics, and of the sheer obstacles in the way of access to and reliable information about the Soviet Union, exceedingly difficult to arrive at a correct appreciation. What is now unquestioned is the astonishing achievement of the Soviet Union in industrial and scientific advance, in the development of higher technological education, and generally in the arts of both peace and war.

The doubtful matter is the cost at which these results have been achieved, not only in holding down the immediate living standards of the bulk of the people, but also in establishing attitudes inconsistent with the claims of personal freedom and with the social equalitarianism that is a necessary condition of a truly socialist society. Time alone can show how high this cost has been: what gives the best ground for hopefulness is that the Soviet Union has so thoroughly uprooted both capitalism and the old feudalism as to make their restoration impossible and has equipped itself with a fully socialized structure of production that can easily be adapted to the needs of democratic control and diffusion of responsible authority as soon as the will to achieve these

objects makes itself felt. The degree in which this may be expected to happen evidently depends most of all on the degree in which international tension can be relaxed; for nothing has contributed so much to the growth of the police state in Russia as the sense of continual exposure to the danger of war.

Even as matters stand to-day, I can feel no doubt that the total effect of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia has been an enormous enlargement of human liberty and happiness, both in Russia itself and in the world as a whole. For the common people in Russia it has meant a prodigious expansion of educational and cultural opportunity and of social well-being as compared with the misery and contempt of the Tsarist epoch.

It has meant all this in spite of the denial of political freedom, which is felt acutely only by a fairly small minority; and a grossly distorted picture is presented when this denial is treated as if it extended over the whole field of human life. Moreover, outside Russia, the achievements of

the Soviet Union have brought hope and encouragement to every people that is striving to emancipate itself from colonialism and imperialist domination and to assert itself against its own feudal and capitalist classes, who for the most part readily ally themselves with the foreign exploiters.

Nothing indeed can remove the stain of the gross inhumanities that have been practiced in the Soviet Union during the period of Stalinist autocracy, or of the sheer murder on trumped-up charges of a host of persons whose offense was simply that they were displeasing to the half-demented new autocrat of all the Russias. But, without extenuating these crimes, it is requisite not to underestimate the magnitude of the Soviet Union's achievements on behalf of the common man, and not to forget the enormous difficulties in face of which these victories for mankind have been won. Doubtless, by now the guilt is off the Soviet gingerbread; but the gingerbread remains and is good eating for all that.

MAGAZINE USSR NOW AVAILABLE

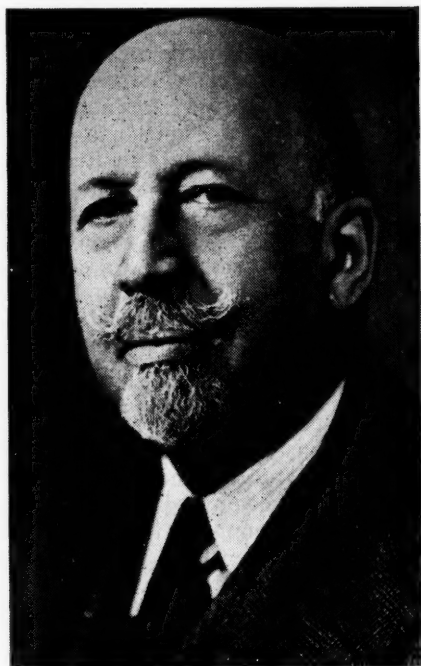
AFTER being held up several months due to negotiations between American and Soviet officials, the first issue of the Soviet-published magazine USSR was scheduled to appear on newsstands in this country on October 23rd, simultaneously with the appearance of the American-published magazine Amerika in the Soviet Union.

The publication and distribution of the two magazines is the result of an agreement between the two governments growing out of the decision for increased interchange at the Geneva Summit Conference.

USSR, published in the English language in Washington, D. C., is a 66 page illustrated monthly with a format similar to Life magazine.

Colonialism and the Russian Revolution

by DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS



DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION was the greatest event in the first half of the twentieth century. In significance it surpassed the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, the Amercian Revolution which preceded it and the Haitian Revolution which followed it. The Colored majority of mankind, most of whom until recently had in modern times lived under colonial imperialism, at first feared that the Russian Revolution would be halted in mid-air, like the French which brought "Liberty, equality and fraternity" mainly to the exploiting classes; or like the American Revolution which set up a system of human slavery, while trying to establish a democracy of freemen; or like Haiti's which made slaves free for poverty, disease and ignorance.

In my book "Color and Democracy," written during the Second World War, I expressed this anxiety of the Colored world concerning the course of the Soviet Union:

The paradox of the present war is Russia. While on the one hand Russian Communism as organized under Stalin is helping to rescue the world from the greatest disaster that has ever threatened civilization, on the other hand the partners of Russia in this crusade—Britain, the United States, and China—are opposing and denouncing Communism. This is a dangerous situation, not only ideologically but practically. . . .

The future of the USSR holds two possibilities: the first is that its admission to full partnership with the capital-exporting and technically efficient countries of Western Europe and the United States will make it a

party with them in the exploitation not only of working classes in general but especially of working classes in colonial areas. This would bring in Russia as co-exploiter and dominant power in Asia, and through Russia, the British Empire would be restored. The second alternative is that the Soviet Union, clinging tenaciously to its program of socialized wealth, will refuse to be beguiled or tempted by either England or America; will refuse to have its armed forces used for the restoration of the British Empire in Asia or for the establishment of a new American empire in the Pacific; will have no part in the exploitation of workers in any of the leading countries or of laboring classes in any colonial area; and after developing capital for its own industries will consent to export it only under conditions which will ensure the ends of social uplift and not those of individual wealth or national power politics.

As time proved, the Soviet Union took the second of these alternatives. She refused the bribery of the Marshall Plan which boosted capitalism after the war, despite the desperate need of war-torn Russia and the American refusal of help. Under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union proceeded to build the first modern socialist state without consenting to share with the West the loot of colonial peoples. It was the astonishing and increasing success of socialist Russia which helped liberate Asia and is today forcing the liberation of Africa.

Many today are distressed at the methods by which the rulers of Soviet Russia achieved socialism. True it is that a French Revolution without a Terror would have been an achievement devoutly to be wished. But the French Revolution, Terror and all, has been welcomed by the

world, in place of the senseless prolongation of the Bourbon regime. The American Revolution, even with Negro slavery, was better than the prolongation of the colonial tyranny which rising British commerce was planning for the world. So too the Russian Revolution, even at the cost of overthrowing the church of a filthy Rasputin; even with the ruthless control and exile of rich peasant exploiters; even with the death of the innocent along with the spies, murderers and liars which France, Germany and England set loose on Russia—all these evils were better than the prolongation of the Tsarist regime and its capitalist backers in Western Europe and the United States.

We could wish that all the men who in blood and tears have helped raise mankind out of the gutter had been scholars and gentlemen. But usually they have not been. Nevertheless even if their effort to raise the many has been stained by the oppression and murder of the few, we thank God that they lived and accomplished as much as they did. Not all the blame of the crimes of the Russian Revolution can today be cast on the dead shoulders of Joseph Stalin, the struggling labor leader of Baku; they would rest more fitly on the head of Winston Churchill and Herbert Hoover who tried by every means to hold the nose of the Russian worker in the dust. For the glory of a great state founded on universal education and making the exploitation of labor a crime is due to Joseph Stalin more than to any other human being.

Without the reality of a rising socialist state like the Soviet Union, England never would have freed India. Without the looming power of the Soviet Union, China would

still be under the paws of Britain, France and America. Only the support of the Soviet Union gave Egypt and the Near East, the courage to stand up and defy Western imperialism. And if in the near future, freedom and independence come to Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and British West Africa, it will be principally because one of the greatest nations on earth, having accomplished socialism today, exists and prospers.

There is no proof that the Soviet Union has spread its beliefs by force. Even in the case of the Baltic states, western aggression compelled the Soviet Union to keep this "cordon sanitaire" from control by the west in sheer self defense. In the case of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans there is no doubt but that the majority of the working people chose the Soviet Union rather than the exploitation of local landlords and foreign investors.

Elsewhere in the world where communism has spread there is no evidence that Soviet force has accomplished this. On the other hand, Soviet propaganda has without doubt been more persuasive than the propaganda from capitalistic countries. The fall, then, of colonialism in the modern world has gone step by step as socialist states like the Soviet Union and China have arisen and grown to power and progress. The Suez crisis which is tearing the near East from British, French and American control, has been made possible or even thinkable only by the existence of the Soviet Union. The growing socialization of India is following the astonishing success of New China under communism. The only modern nations whose policies oppose Strydom's barbarism is South Africa are the Soviet Union and India. The greatest fear of Western capital to-

day in South and Central America is the lure and invitation of socialism and the growth of information about the rise of the workers of the Soviet Union and China, which is spreading in these lands. When at last Africa is emancipated the credit should go in no little degree to the vast influence of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung on the thoughts of men.

The Belgian Congo, East Africa, Uganda and Kenya; the Rhodesias and the despicable Union of South Africa still are determined to build a white culture on the degradation of black folk; but they hesitate just because the Soviet Union stands in quiet might merely looking on. Neither capitalism, nor religion; not philanthropy nor science, will do as much today to emancipate and civilize Africa, as this silent "threat" of communism. Africa is not inviting communism; the Soviet Union has done nothing to force communism on Africa. But the very logic of the situation, the very promise of the stars say either western slavery, serfdom and race hate must cease to bind black Africa or these writhing millions will take hard hold of any outstretched hand. And what state or nation today offers Africa what the Soviet Union offers?

Direct political control and military force have in the past marked colonial imperialism. This was finally changed in economic imperialism which ruled by investment of capital with force of course in the background. The United States is basing its control of colonial peoples by this investment of capital in agriculture and industries whose sales markets we control. This method requires the cooperation of the colonists themselves; there must arise a class division in the colony and a bourgeoisie

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Premier U Nu of Burma and his wife visit Lenin's study in the Kremlin

in partnership with foreign capitalists must help exploit colonial land and labor. In the hands of this native dictatorship the political power rests. This colonialism began in Asia and Britain long hoped to retain India by help of the Indians. This nearly succeeded in Pakistan but Gandhi and Nehru foiled it in India. In Central and South America this type of colonialism has succeeded and most South American countries are ruled more or less completely by native capitalists in close cooperation with American and foreign capital. This is clear in Venezuela; it is growing in Haiti, it is struggling in small countries like Guatemala. Here again the shadow of the Soviet Union and its successful socialism is a looming threat which the United States is straining every nerve to misinterpret and drive away. It is not a threat of force but of reason.

In the West Indies, the exploiting capitalists were long divided by the color line and the fight between these exploiters caused revolts like that of Haiti. When the slaves threw themselves into this fray, the mulatto ex-

plorers could save themselves only by union with them. There ensued a long period of adjustment when gradually the exploiters, white and black, united, and the workers like those in Guiana united in trying to install a socialist state. The Empire moved fast and by granting greater local powers of government and starting to federate the scattered islands hopes today to ward off socialism or the more radical threat of communism.

Similarly in the United States the fight of the Negro for the ballot and civil rights after emancipation was for a long time the so-called Negro Problem. With 1900 it began to change. The exploiters began to yield along the color line until by decision of the Supreme Court legal segregation received its death blow. This concession merely makes room for a more fundamental division between the workers, black and white, and the black and white exploiters. White America fears that the example of the Soviet Union and China may tempt the Negroes of America to see salvation in socialism rather than in

the free enterprise of capitalism. Every effort is therefore now making to ward off such an attack on our government, which is dominated by wealth. No Negro college today, dependent as they are on the philanthropy of the rich or the government, may really teach socialism or the history and conditions of the Soviet Union or China. No Negro American who believes in socialism or the right of the Soviet Union or China to exist is allowed to leave the country or travel abroad.

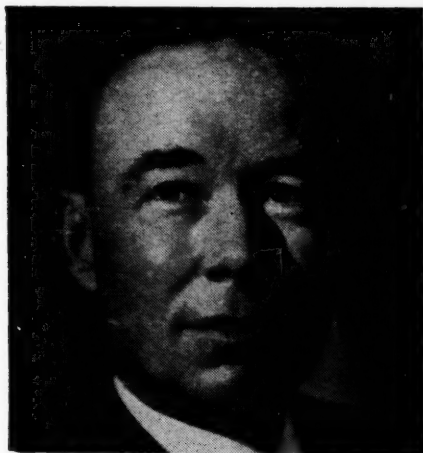
Naturally it is not wholly fear of communism which is beginning to rid the United States of the worst contradiction of its boasted democracy during its three hundred years. Decency and kindliness, dislike of religious hypocrisy, reason and common sense have played their part; but none of these motives have been so effective lately as the fear that socialism among Negroes would interfere with the profits of Big Business not only in America but in Africa and Asia. This is back of the virulent persecution of Paul Robeson; he dared advise Negroes never to fight Russians because the Soviet Union of all civilized nations had declared race prejudice illegal. But for this, if Robeson had roundly denounced the Soviets, there would have been no reward or honor beyond his reach. So too numbers of American Negroes have been allowed to travel freely if only they keep still about or praise the treatment of Negroes in the United States. While on the other hand, not only have Negro Communists been thrown in jail for no crime but belief, but Negroes sympathizing with Socialists, or consorting with them or reading radical papers, have lost their jobs and been blacklisted. One of the first questions which the secret federal police

always ask about a suspect is "Does he associate with Negroes?"

In the still current witch-hunt whites have suffered in larger number than Negroes, but in the case of Negroes the very smallness of their rising intelligentsia makes persecution for independence of thought all the more devastating. Negro literature beginning with Dunbar and Chesnutt has disappeared. The Harlem Renaissance which produced Countee Cullen, Claude McKay and Jessie Fauset has today few followers. Creative music as displayed by Burleigh and Dett has degenerated into popular entertainment. Just as there is today no real American literature, so there is no American Negro literature because authors cannot write honestly about what they think; of the tragedy through which their lives are passing. The great and central fact of this era is socialism. It is belting the world. It is destined to triumph in the United States and sooner than most expect. For socialism the Negro is suited by history and experience, yet he cannot study it nor develop it but must regard it as the great threat of civilization.

The essence of socialism is the welfare of the group and the willingness of the individual to work for this end. In America the ideal of each for himself has crowded out the social end and given us rule by power and chance. Social and group enthusiasm among American Negroes has sunk to a minimum, while among African Negroes and West Indians, among East Indians and Chinese it is becoming the most marked characteristic of our era. Thus colonial nationalism is building on socialism and socialism has been led in the modern world by the outstanding success of the Russian Revolution.

A Message from Corliss Lamont



CORLISS LAMONT

MANY individuals in the United States have become disillusioned to the point of utter defeatism about the Soviet Union since the recent revelations concerning the blunders and misdeeds of Joseph Stalin, particularly in the field of civil liberties and intellectual freedom. Much as I decry Stalin's methods, I do not believe that the situation warrants a negative attitude.

On the contrary, I think that Nikita Khrushchev's speech attacking "The Cult of the Individual"—and I take some of his statements, as released by the U.S. State Department, with a grain of salt—and Soviet Russia's frank recognition of past mistakes and even anti-socialist policies, opens the way to a sounder, more successful and, above all, more democratic type of socialism in the U.S.S.R. There is now a better chance than ever before that the civil liberties guarantees in the Constitution of 1936 will become fulfilled. At the same time, of course, steady economic progress continues in the U.S.S.R. under the guidance of socialist planning.

The obvious lesson of the past year

is that Americans who are sympathetic towards the Soviet Union cannot afford to overlook the shortcomings of that country. As I pointed out in my book, *Soviet Civilization*, it was Utopian to be uncritical of the Stalin regime; and it would be equally unrealistic now to be uncritical of the Government headed by Premier Bulganin. It is the duty of friends to criticize defects as well as to praise virtues. This same attitude of *critical* sympathy seems to me relevant towards any country in which one may be interested, whether it be capitalist England and France, or communist Russia and Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, although Stalin has been down-graded in the Soviet Union, a foreign policy which he long supported—peaceful co-existence with the capitalist world—has not been down-graded in the slightest. And peaceful co-existence between the United States and the entire communist bloc must continue to be the goal of all Americans who wish to save their country and humanity from the horrors of nuclear war.

The Basis of Socialist Democracy

by DR. HARRY F. WARD

LAST YEAR this anniversary faced questions concerning the lessening of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and the increasing recognition the world around of the necessity for peaceful, competitive, co-operative coexistence. This year it faces questions raised by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the detailed disclosures of what happened to Soviet democracy in the second half of the Stalin regime. The first question is whether the measures being taken to prevent recurrences of political repression and terrorism will prove adequate. The answer depends upon a further question: whether the way is being opened for further extension of Soviet democracy. That is, whether the social revolution—the continuing transformation of the social order for which the political revolution of 1917 was planned and accomplished—is to proceed.

The official answer of the Communist Party which is the guiding force of the Soviet Union is that, despite the admitted violations of democratic principles and practice in the political repression of the later Stalin period, Soviet forms of government, both political and economic “were and remain organs of genuine popular

authority.” Furthermore, it is asserted that during the repression, “the scope of Soviet democracy expanded incalculably and is continuing to do so.” The evidence offered is the gigantic historic task accomplished in the transformation of a technically backward peoples into the second industrial power in less than a lifetime, and the accompanying cultural revolution which has lifted the children of illiterate peasants into experts in science and technology, and made still more of them, with many of their parents, into lovers of the finest expressions of world wide culture.

The causes of this unprecedented accomplishment are affirmed to be first the nature of socialist society, and next the creative initiative of the common peoples which this order has released and developed. It is obvious that without sufficient support from the people these results could not have happened. They have the power to cripple the regime at any time. This obvious fact leads Togliatti, Italian Communist leader who is severely critical of the repression, to conclude that, “This support proves in itself that, in spite of everything, society retained its main democratic character.”

In answer to the assertion by

Students at Moscow University:
Left to right: V. Feodoreno; Z. Lechelt of the German Democratic Republic; Chen Tsu Kang and Wu Ching Peng of the Chinese People's Republic; G. Sobolev of the USSR.



Dulles and other capitalist spokesmen that the recent disclosures reveal the despotic nature of the Soviet system, and in support of the claim that Soviet democracy was growing in the days of political terrorism, the Party statement offers two further points. The first is that in Marxist thinking and in historic fact no one man can change the nature of the social order. The second is that in the struggle against capitalist encirclement, certain restrictions of democracy were necessary, regarded by Party and people as temporary, and accepted as sacrifices, "in view of the ever new successes daily achieved by the Soviet social order." It is doubtful that such consciousness of sacrifice went beyond the intellectual leadership. The two-fold fact is that the terror went far beyond the need for national survival, and gains reached where the repression did not, only the shadows of its fear.

To understand this apparent paradox of democratic losses and

gains proceeding side by side, it is necessary to recall the differences between capitalist and socialist democracy. Leninism, like all Marxism, regards democracy as an historic process which moves through three stages: capitalist, socialist, communist. It sees each as a higher stage, bringing more freedom and equality to more people. Like Lincoln, Lenin saw its essence to be "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Posing the question, "When is a government most democratic?" he answered, "When it most fully expresses the will of the people." The recent Party statement says, "The essence of democracy lies not in formal indication but in whether the political authority serves and reflects in action the majority of the people and workers."

In the Stalin era the Soviet situation was socialist democracy under Communist leadership, with the Party as the guiding dominant force. Much misunderstanding, even among

socialists, of Soviet development is due to the failure to understand or remember that in socialist democracy a party has different functions and nature than those developed in the capitalist world.

Some Soviet leaders hold that Soviet society has already reached the beginning of the transition to the communist stage of democracy. Its essential characteristic is that distribution, which in the socialist period has been according to effort, will then be according to need. Increased production with less human energy, bringing more leisure, will enable a higher cultural development for all the people. Also Lenin looked forward to such increasing development of political and social consciousness and action as would make the Party finally unnecessary. Such an end for the state has long been a Marxist hope.

The advance which socialist democracy makes over its capitalist forerunner is three-fold: It extends the people's will and power from the political to the economic sector of society; it extends the goal in moral values from freedom to equality, thus making worldwide fraternity possible; it provides the material base for the realization of these moral values. The recent Party statement puts special emphasis on the third point: "Unlike any kind of bourgeois democracy, Soviet democracy not only proclaims the right of all members of Soviet society, without exception, to work, education and leisure, participation in state affairs, freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom of conscience, but also a real possibility for the free development of personal abilities and other democratic rights and freedoms, but also insures them materially."

This is the spirit and language of the 1936 constitution, whose implementation was checked by the repressive mania occasioned by the conspiracies of the 1930s. These three advances are interdependent, freedom and equality as motivating ends, material gains as the indispensable means. None can be achieved without the others. Without an adequate economic base the higher life of moral and spiritual values cannot develop. Without the dynamic of these values and their increasing realization, economic activity does not produce the satisfactions necessary for its highest efficiency. Our recent history is evidence enough of what happens to political freedom and to the desire to give equal opportunities for health and education to all children when the people lack control and direction of the economic process. The Soviet story supplies the positive proof of what happens to the creative initiative necessary to provide the economic base for more freedom and equality when repression takes over, even in a limited section of the national endeavor.

The Party statement first records the gain. "During the first Five-Year Plans, as a result of intense and heroic efforts by the people and Party, our economically backward country made a gigantic leap in its economic and cultural development. On the basis of the successes in socialist construction, the living standards of the workers were raised and unemployment was liquidated for good. The profoundest cultural revolution took place in the country." Then as a result came the 1936 Constitution, planned to be, after study of all democratic constitutions, the most democratic yet.

In its early days Lenin described the purpose of the Soviet state as

attaining "true democracy, that is freedom and equality." The order of development was the opposite to ours. Starting at a different point in history, with an industrially and politically backward people, the Soviet founders held that political guarantees of freedom and equal rights were ineffective as long as economic power remained in the hands of the few. So they got the people first to lay the foundations of economic democracy as the sure basis for more freedom and equality. After enough of the people had learned to share in the making and execution of the plans on which their future depends, there came the unlimited political guarantees of the 1936 Constitution, which were not realized because the terror and then the war intervened.

Despite this, there came the successful war effort, the terrific reconstruction and the following enormous undertakings in socialist construction which Pravda recently called "The most striking and supreme expression of the genuine democracy of the Soviet system." These victories are a result of the unselfish labors of the millions of Soviet people who have been lifted by the socialist social system to conscious historical creativeness." This creativity I had the opportunity to examine and analyze in my study of socialist incentives in the "third and decisive year of the First Five-Year Plan," the turning point in proving that a socialist economy works, that it gives people a satisfying, sustaining moral purpose, as well as the material base for a better life is proved by the fact that the terror could not kill it.

It is obvious however that without the terror much more could have been accomplished. Again the inter-

penetration appears. The Party statement recognized the damage that had been done. Khrushchev is reported to have spelled it out. "We should also not forget that due to the numerous arrests of Party, Soviet, and economic leaders, many workers began to work uncertainly, showed over-cautiousness, feared all which was new, feared their own shadows, and began to show less initiative in their work."

To this must be added an increase of the bureaucracy which is the ever-present danger of socialist administration, and a dangerous enlargement of the centralism which is a necessary element in economic planning but which must be kept in subjection to the democratic element if the planning is to succeed. In his speech to the Kiwanis International last June, Secretary Dulles informed the world that, "the Communist system provides no safeguard against even such abuses as those that Mr. Khrushchev recounts. . . . It is a system of inevitable abuses which provides no dependable means for the correction of those abuses."

Has the State Department never heard of self-criticism? Does it not know that it was suspended during the war and for some years thereafter by failure or refusal to call a Party Congress? Is it not aware of what has been done in the three years since the death of Stalin, the Party and its associated workers in the socialist construction have been taking steps to correct the infringements upon economic democracy that grew with the terror? This has been the demand from those, particularly in the smaller republics, who had not felt the terror themselves. With that fear lifted from the economic endeavor, added to the changes already made to prevent the worst bru-

talities of the repression and others in prospect, removal of absolute powers from the political police, improvements in the penal code, there is good ground for anticipating a further expanding of Soviet democracy.

This ground is increased by other developments since the death of Stalin in which operate powerfully both to lessen the possibility of any return to the terror and to increase both freedom and equality side by side with higher economic efficiency. There is both within and without the Soviet Union the increase in knowledge of what the government is doing in regard to its professions of political freedom, which is following and must follow the proclamation over the housetops of what was done in a dark corner. Akin to this is the interchange of understanding that has occurred from the opening of the Soviet Union to thousands of delegates from every walk of life in the past few years, and will occur from its increasing invitations and its opening doors to enlarged numbers of tourists. With this, according to almost unanimous testimony of those who have had previous experience, is marked development of willingness to talk freely with foreign guests and visitors.

Even more significant is the steady development in the last three years of discussion of differing points of view in economic issues, the sciences and arts, philosophy and ethics. Along with this has come recognition of the need for more local initiative in economic planning and action with measures to provide it.

This enlargement of freedom has brought recognition of the need for more equality, in order to develop the capacities of the lowest income stratum of the population. This has

expressed itself in a minimum wage law, lowering of taxes, abolition of tuition, and reward of distinguished service by wider opportunities for education and advancement. Also there is again heard in the land the cry of the need to lessen the gap in cultural opportunities and satisfactions between rural and industrial areas.

Around, over and above these forces is the knowledge and demand of the generation that has experienced nothing but the Soviet system, but has also come to know and appreciate the classic contributions of other peoples to the development of mankind. They know both the shortcomings and the possibilities of Soviet socialist democracy and will be satisfied with nothing less than continuous progress in realizing more freedom and more equality.

Concerning this generation Paul A. Baran, a professor of economics in a large Western University who spent five weeks in Moscow before and after the Twentieth Congress talking to people in all walks of life, "both members and non-members of the Communist Party. Some of them I have known for as long as thirty years, others I just encountered," writes in the July-August issue of the *Monthly Review*:

For the country is dominated now by a new generation which, tempered by the struggle for industrialization and hardened by the ordeals of the war, is unique in its moral strength, its patriotism, and the level of its knowledge and insight. . . . The mental frame of reference of Soviet youth was not drawn by the OGPU; it was drawn by the writings of Marx and Engels, of Pushkin and Tolstoy, of Shakespeare and Goethe, that were printed and reprinted in the Soviet Union in millions of copies. Its ideals

IN MEMORIAM

FOLLOWING the death last summer of Dr. John A. Kingsbury, the ranks of leading supporters of American-Soviet friendship have suffered a new great loss in the death of Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild on October 2. Professor Emeritus of Sociology at New York University, Dr. Fairchild was the author of many books on immigration, population and other sociological questions. Former Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and a member of its National Board at the time of his death, he was a long-time and ardent supporter of peaceful co-existence among the nations, as well as of many other progressive causes. We have been honored to publish articles by him in our magazine. Professor Fairchild played a unique and remarkable role and made an indelible contribution to these difficult times in always finding it possible to work with others for a common goal he saw as good, whatever points of difference there might be on specific issues.

Another great loss last summer was the death of Ella Marshak, also an active leader in the ranks of the people working for American-Soviet Friendship and peace and the welfare of the American people. Fragile in body, she was strong and valiant in spirit, working indefatigably at all the small and difficult tasks that add up to a mighty contribution to human progress. Regularly every month she came to our office to contribute out of her limited social security check, to bring contributions from others, and to pick up copies of NEW WORLD REVIEW to distribute. She was indeed the salt of the earth.

were not shaped by Stalin's hangmen assassinating innocent people, nor were they formed by comic books extolling rape and murder. Its ideas were molded in schools and youth organizations where socialism, humanism and devotion to the common weal never ceased to be the content of education. . . ."

He judges their craving too "for unhampered development, for freedom and for justice."

The enthusiasm with which thousands of the younger of them volunteered to accept the deprivations involved in opening up to the plow large areas of the Eastern Soviet Union is a sign of the future course of Soviet democracy. It was such enthusiasm in Soviet Central Asia

which both puzzled and baffled Justice Douglas because on the basis of inadequate information, he had classified the Soviet system as a colonial imperialism.

Those of us who want to see the democratic forces in the Soviet Union overcome the anti-democratic tendencies recently revealed, will do well to spend our energies in stopping our Congress from appropriating millions to support those trying to overthrow it, and in changing our foreign policy so that it will cease bringing the world to the brink of war. If these pressures can be lifted there is no room for reasonable doubt that the natural forces in socialist democracy will continue to grow and expand.

In the Mongolian People's Republic

by REWI ALLEY

AMONGST THE IGNORANT and those who believe that any country striving for socialism is not a country at all, but merely an appendage to some greater power, it has not yet been conceded that the Mongolian People's Republic, (formerly Outer Mongolia) the country of the Khalka Mongols, the heartland of the great empire of Genghis Khan and his successors, is fit to sit in the United Nations.

In actual fact, however, we have in today's Mongolia a country of considerable size—660,000 square miles—with modern industries, transport, and highly developed scientific and educational facilities. Its strongly nationalistic people are well organized and they direct their own affairs with ability and energy. The capital, Ulan Bator, is a modern city that increases in size each year.

There have been some who have tried out the suggestion that there is rivalry between China and the Soviet Union in the Mongolian People's Republic. In reality, this country, while strengthening relations with all lands, will increasingly act for North Eastern Asia as Switzerland has done for Western Europe,

becoming more and more a place that assists in cementing relationships between peoples, helping to make various traditional cultures understand each other better. In the Soviet Union there are the Buryat Mongols and in China there are the leagues of the inner Mongolian banners. Both of these peoples have close traditional ties of understanding and friendship with Outer Mongolia, at the same time being enthusiastic and patriotic citizens of their own lands.

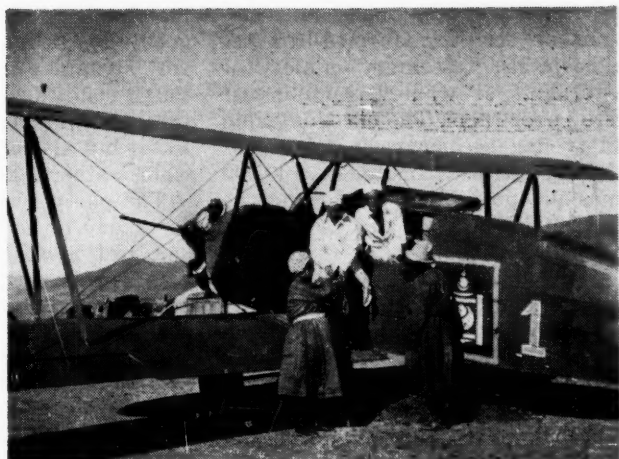
The Soviet Union has given great assistance to the New Mongolia over its thirty-five years of independence and the solid help that comes from China today is by no means inconsiderable.

The Mongolian People's Republic also now carries the new railway that will shorten the railroad journey between Peking and Moscow, passing through Ulan Bator instead of Manchuli. Ulan Bator also is an air stop on the Peking-Moscow air route and the thousands of visiting delegates who go from Europe to Peking have a glimpse of it when they touch down at the airport some miles from the city.

Now an increasing number of people come and visit this country, marvelling at the modern city that has sprung up where thirty-five years ago there was but a motley collection of yurts around temples where ten

REWI ALLEY, a New Zealand poet, has lived in China for thirty years. His writings and many translations have done much to acquaint the West with Chinese literature.

Mongolian medical workers arrive by plane in outlying areas. A yurt, typical Mongolian dwelling tent, may be glimpsed through the wings.



thousand lamas chanted and where traders came buying cheaply and selling dear, making fortunes out of a people who steadily became poorer and poorer.

The old Mongolia that the then aggressive Imperial Japan paid the White Russian maniac, Von Sternberg, and the feudal warlord "Little Hsu" to try to subject for her, caught the breath of the October Revolution and its message of hope, so that the young revolutionaries, Suhebator and Choibalsan, led the struggle that resulted in an independent Mongolia dedicated to the socialist path being set up in 1921.

In this year, the thirty-fifth anniversary of independence, we have seen a great festival in Ulan Bator, attended by many foreign visitors, including the Ambassador of India and Burma. It was a great occasion; people came from all over the country, with traditional sports like wrestling, horse racing and archery, gay and brilliant theater and gymnastic displays, white yurts studding the green valleys and trucks and busses playing between them and the festival grounds.

Then just after the festival came the visit of Kim II Sung, Pak Den Ai and their party of Korean leaders who have been touring the New World. This was quite an occasion for Ulan Bator. It was especially enjoyed by the Home for Korean War Orphans maintained here by the Mongolian Republic. They are a very lovely lot of children. I went to see them all in company with Madame Yves Farge and party who had come on a visit from France.

It is a good thing to go and see the well kept museums of Ulan Bator. In one is a big dinosaur skeleton, various finds in bronzes and exhibits of the flora and fauna of the land. The museum of the revolution is also well worth a visit. Then there are the living things, kindergartens, children's hospitals, schools, sanitarium and all the rest. We took in the new Mongolian cinema which presents some very fine movies indeed, as well as those which come from neighboring countries. Then one can go to Lama temples and see those the people still use and listen to the old priests chanting there. Those no longer in use for religious

purposes have been made into museums or else transformed for use as hospitals, veterinary clinics for pastoralists or whatever public use there is for them. The old Mongolian society had become very much over balanced with Lamanism—100,000 lamas in one million people and the creative potential of the people was pretty well stifled.

A journey of some two thousand kilometers through the countryside showed what an immensely rich country the Mongolian Republic has become. In state farms where the acreage under cultivation has increased the crops this summer stand high—wheat, oats, barley and root crops that would delight the eye of any farmer. The problems of re-orienting the minds of the rural people from purely pastoral to agricultural plus pastoral work are now being tackled—an educational process that is being dealt with creatively, as it indeed must be.

In the provinces of Bulagan and Ahangai visited, it was found that the trend towards cooperation in farming is increasing and that the function of the state farms in the various localities very materially assists the cooperatives in providing better stock for them and in carrying out the necessary experimental work with both machines and crops.

There is a lot of hope in Mongolia, for the people are not slow to pick the best they see elsewhere. They bring up their children well—food and clothing there is now in plenty for the long cold winters—and they do not spare them the toughening of struggle. Anyone who sees one of the great horse races held each summer in which children from eight upwards ride their horses in a twenty-mile course will take off his hat to Mongolian kids. The wrestling

matches held each year are also a good illustration of their eagerness for struggle and ability to meet tough conditions. It was good to see these not only at the festival in Ulan Bator but also out in country centers when gatherings were being held.

The party I travelled with stayed for a day or so in various sanatoria and rest homes, usually situated in scenic spots with a backing of forest and stream. There was one at a hot springs resort at Horohit where a hospital is being erected that plans to give treatments to people of countries other than Mongolia.

Surely, as relations with other lands come into line, the lakes, hills and streams of Mongolia will become summer holiday places for many visitors and the tourist trade will become important. There is fine hunting in the forested hills and splendid fishing in the rivers. The diversity of peoples, especially in the western end of the country, provide a fascinating study. Then the strides that are being made in stock breeding, in veterinary science, the varied nature of the herds that graze on the wide grasslands, will be of great interest to many.

In our trip we pondered over the ruins of Karakorum, from which the Great Khans ruled an empire that stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Adriatic. Excavations have been made here that show how much agricultural production was carried on in the early times, and starting this year right beside Karakorum is a new state farm being organized, with modern mechanized agricultural machinery.

Beside the ruins of the old Karakorum, there is the big museum of the Lamassery of Erdini-tzu—a city enclosure with tall stupas around its walls, inside which is a great

dagoba and many temple halls in which all the images, paintings, sutras are being carefully preserved.

The site of the old Uigur King's capital at Kara Balgasum and that of the Tu Chueh prince at Khoso Tsaidam, are places we enjoyed visiting very much. At Khoso Tsaidam, there is a T'ang Dynasty tablet with Chinese of the Kai Yuan period on the front, and ancient Turkish in the back. We also visited Changhan Baisin—the "White House" of the 17th Century national hero Tosktutaji, whose emblem is now the national one.

One of the highlights of the expedition for me was an evening swim in Lake Ughei with the light of a setting sun playing on the hills and the lake sparkling, clear and warm. Another was being taken around a forested mountain by a bunch of children anxious and happy to show off their forest lore, finding and eating wild strawberries, searching for mushrooms and lily roots.

Then there was the great rock that stands out of the plain by the Tamir River which we went to visit, afterward striking across country through forests and around cliffs, until we came to a children's rest home set below a forest glade.

The Mongolian People's Republic is a country well worth watching, for its progress over the next stages, using the basis in organization, equipment and understanding already laid, will be rapid and sure. Industry is already taking hold, as one can see around Ulan Bator when visiting the big modern tannery, part of an industrial combine there of three thousand workers, which specializes in the manufacture of leather and woolen consumer goods.

Farming now is being industrialized and communications bettered, so that the emergence of a modern state has now become a fact. Something that all peoples in the world will surely rejoice in.

In Moscow's Red Square this summer: Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the UN, and I. S. Chernyshev, Deputy Secretary General of the UN



Galina Ulanova

by B. LVOV-ANOKHIN

THE UNIQUENESS of Ulanova's art lies in its combination of beauty, tenderness and poetry with courage, integrity and almost stark forcefulness.

Ulanova does more than embellish the art of the dance; she teaches the art of discerning beauty in the world and in people.

Ulanova's brilliant success has been built on sheer hard work. It did not come to her at once. At school and in her first years on the stage the frail, sickly looking, fair girl, with pale blue eyes, was shy and inhibited. Other dancers of her age had far more stamina and brought far more sparkle and expressiveness to their dancing.

True, the purity of Ulanova's line, her lyric dreaminess, her gentle, flowing movements were always amazing. Probably she would have remained a poetic, rather cold dancer if she had not come to feel that dancing had meaning and a place in the scheme of things only if it helped to bring out the finest traits and qualities of the human soul.

Ulanova was fortunate in that her inner aspirations coincided with the quests which were being made in Soviet ballet. Great literary works were being adapted for the ballet stage.

The heroic spirit of the age and a deep sense of contemporaneity give the lyric roles which Ulanova creates a sensation of inner strength. She turns the meek, sorrowful passivity of her Maria (*Fountain of Bakhchisarai*), for instance, into an im-

placable force. In her Juliet there is stern majesty. Her lips are tightly pressed, and her eyes shine with an expression of wrathful sorrow. Juliet's love brings retribution to two warring families. Her death is a protest, laying a curse on bloody prejudices.

In a recent interview Ulanova told her questioners, "It is a pity if there are still those who judge Soviet ballet dancers by memoirs written at the beginning of last century. You should be present at meetings of our dancers and hear us discuss new productions. You would see the thought and enthusiasm which our dancers bring to their work. A case in point are the study programs of our schools of choreography. They have little in common with the programs of the years 1740, 1840 or 1916. Soviet art is developing on the basis of world culture and the general cultural advancement of our country. It could not be otherwise. We all try constantly to add to our knowledge the best way we can, despite our large number of appearances and rehearsals, and our daily training sessions, and despite the active part many of us take in social work."

There is not a shadow of the arrogance traditionally associated with a prima ballerina in Ulanova. Outwardly rather silent and shy, Ulanova is a striking example of the truth that really great art always stems from humanity and nobility of character; that only those who have trained themselves to be real people can become great artists.



Galina Ulanova and Yuri Zhdanov in "Giselle". Bolsboi Theater, 1956

Monticello and Moscow

by MURRAY YOUNG

VISITORS to Monticello in the later years of Jefferson's life have left us vivid accounts of how after making the trying journey by horse-back to the top of the "little mountain," they were at once revived by the formal beauty of the classical house Jefferson had built for himself; refreshed by its elegant and convenient interior, and above all enchanted by the charm of their host surrounded in his study by all the latest books from Europe about which he talked with unflagging enthusiasm to his delighted guests. Talk, moreover, that was made livelier still by Jefferson's constant references to his correspondence with philosophers, scholars, scientists in all the major European countries, and by his quotations from the reports sent back to him by younger Americans who had gone to Europe at his insistence to prepare themselves for leadership at home.

For Jefferson, for Franklin and the other members of that extraordinary group who shaped and directed the foundation and first years of our country, the widest possible exchange of ideas and culture was the very basis of a society whose goal was the realization of a representative government—an ideal that was itself a product of the whole

intellectual development of Europe since the Renaissance and which the Declaration of Independence had declared boldly to the world.

To the men of this generation, the stifling of ideas, the limiting of free inquiry, the exclusion of creative concepts, would have been regarded as examples of those very restrictions on the human spirit it had been one of the chief purposes of the revolution to overthrow.

Truly men of the 18th Century Enlightenment, the Founding Fathers accepted without question the belief that civilization was the widening of man's consciousness and the extension of his controls over nature. And the rapid growth of the republic that followed its foundation was a testimony to what could be realized with the fullest use of the achievements of the past wedded to the ingenuity and genius that soon manifested itself in a new and politically advanced society with its own special problems.

Today the means of communication tie the whole world together in a manner undreamed of in the past: the exchange of ideas, scientific discoveries, music, art, literature, is a matter of minutes, or at the most, hours—as against the weeks, months, years even, that once separated one

Charles Munch, conductor of the Boston Symphony, is greeted after the first concert in Moscow by representatives of Soviet musicians.



people from another. Yet as the means of communication have been more and more perfected, a variety of restrictions have tended to be placed upon those exchanges that have been the source, however slow and painful their dissemination in the past, of all the progress of society.

Suspicious from the beginning of the new Soviet Government, we did not recognize it diplomatically until 1933, and even so, except for the period of the wartime alliance, our relations with the USSR were always marked by anything but frank and mutual trust. Equally suspicious of the People's Government of China, we have not yet officially recognized its existence. With the setting in of the "cold war" in 1946, restrictions on the part of our government toward many countries became more and more the rule. But the Geneva Conference of last year with its recognition of the impasse we had come to in the matter of atomic warfare brought about at the same time a partial recognition of the pos-

sibility of coexistence, and with coexistence the inevitable renewal of cultural exchanges. What has been accomplished so far?

The greatest number of exchanges have been made both in materials and people in the field of science, for by its very nature science forces through artificially erected barriers. The conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Power in August last year followed directly the Geneva Conference and initiated the new stage in scientific exchanges. We have seen in the past year a number of scientific delegations from the Soviet Union and certain of the People's Democracies visiting America, and American delegations in the Soviet Union conferring on matters of specific interest. Also there have been exchange visits of farmers, housing experts, movie producers, businessmen, Red Cross officials and church groups.

The number of Americans going to the Soviet Union as tourists has increased very much during the course of the year—some 2,000 it

is predicted will have visited there by the year's end. Unfortunately there have been no parallel visits by Soviet tourists because of the fingerprinting restriction our government has chosen to place on all save diplomatic visitors from the USSR and the People's Democracies. And it is this absurd restriction that has caused most of the difficulty in the important field of artistic exchange, although last winter saw tours in this country by three leading Soviet artists—Oistrakh, Gilels and Rastropovich. In the Soviet Union an American touring company of "Porgy and Bess" was warmly acclaimed, and both the violinist Isaac Stern and the tenor Jan Peerce were enthusiastically greeted by Soviet audiences. Just this fall the Boston Symphony had a tremendous reception in Moscow and Leningrad.

China has not been accorded even these tentative exchanges. Her invitation to American journalists to visit and report their findings was turned down flatly by the State Department but, it must be added, not without sharp protests from the newspapers and news services involved. This deliberate attempt to isolate China is particularly noticeable in view of the fact that America has had a long tradition of educational foundations in China itself and for many years in the past welcomed Chinese students to be trained here so that they might take back with them the scientific and medical training made possible by scholarships and grants set up in American schools for this purpose. Even books and magazines published in China may be distributed here only under the most severe licensing laws which makes any wide reading of the remarkable literature and outstanding theoretical work being

done there virtually impossible for Americans. As for Chinese cultural groups coming here—such as the Chinese Opera which last year enchanted Europe and is this year having a great success with its tour of Latin America—this is wholly out of the question.

The core of the problem of cultural restrictions in all fields—science, art, literature, music—is, of course, the fear of the dissemination of political, philosophical and economic ideas that, out of hand, have been labeled "dangerous," "false," "un-Christian," "subversive"—whatever term at the moment may seem to produce the most frightening effect and thus keep alive at whatever cost in truth, intellectual probity or simple human decency, the calculated terrors of the cold war.

Just as in the 18th and through a considerable part of the 19th centuries, democratic ideas from America were regarded with suspicion by the monarchical countries of Europe, so today in an America far different from the early republic, the ideas of socialism are regarded officially with apprehension verging on hysteria.

This it is that lies behind the refusal to grant passports to China; this it is that has established an almost complete censorship on books dealing sympathetically with the Soviet Union, China, or the People's Democracies; this accounts, too, for the fact that none of America's major magazines print articles dealing with the achievements of socialist industry without casting dark clouds of sinister foreboding over the purpose of these accomplishments; nor do articles or studies appear discussing with objectivity the theoretical problems arising in a planned and socialized economy, or attempt to analyze the absorbing new personal

and social relationships evolving in a socialist society.

Dr. Du Bois points out in his article in this same issue the situation in the Negro colleges of our country where all courses in the theory of Marxism are rigidly excluded. No very different picture emerges from a survey of the other colleges where class-room discussion of socialism in an objective manner is almost never permitted and as far as courses dealing with Marxist theory itself, these are virtually unknown. True, there are in various universities "Russian Institutes" which publish studies from time to time, but without exception these are tendentious books that under a considerable display of scholarship point their results to acceptable conclusions.

Most significantly of all, the leading publisher of books on Marxist theory, philosophy and history in this country—Alexander Trachtenberg—has for many years been persecuted and has just this fall been sentenced to a year's imprisonment. Indeed what purpose has the whole persecution of Communist Party leaders served but as an attempt to prevent the free expression of ideas?

The fact that a good third of the peoples of the world today interpret the world and guide all their major decisions by the philosophy of Marxism makes this contrived exclusion all the more astonishing. Even President Eisenhower has called recently (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Sept. 9, 1956) for a recognition of the importance of the teaching of information about the socialist countries and the theories which guide them: "... our teachers are presented with a matchless opportunity to teach the truth freely. . . . They [American students] must be taught

to discriminate between the American form of government and the Soviet form. When they have all the facts I am confident they will make the correct choice as they have for the last 181 years."

Important as his proposal is for at least the recognition of the importance of making known the facts about socialism, it hardly touches the problem as it presents itself to the intellectuals and the creative writers in our country who for the most part have turned away from a consideration of socialism altogether and have left the challenge it presents in the hands of professional anti-socialist publicists whose pay is proportionate to their sensational distortions, or to the anti-human nightmares of a George Orwell.

The concepts of socialism are, like the concepts that inspired the establishment of our own republic, the product of the whole intellectual development flowing from the Renaissance. First scientifically formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the 19th Century, they mark the great social changes brought about by the industrial revolution. The guiding philosophy for over 900,000,000 people today, it is as well the guide of millions of people in the capitalist world, and it is a potent force in the great nationalist movement among colonial peoples.

It is hard to imagine Jefferson and the other great seminal minds of his generation, so eager to know, to test, to understand all the important ideas of their day, deliberately turning away from ideas that have now for over a hundred years held the imagination and determined the actions of increasing millions of people throughout the world.

This November, the Soviet Government will have been in existence

for 39 years, in China the People's Government was as of this October 7 years old, and the People's Democracies are into their second decade. Are we to continue our refusal to look openly and objectively at the ideas that have changed so swiftly the world in which so many of our fellow-men live? Almost without exception the exchanges between the socialist countries and the non-socialist countries of Europe and Asia, where the fear of the concepts of socialism is not so rampant as it is here, have in the past few years been enormously speeded up. We alone, suspicious, fearful, stand aloof from this warm and fruitful coming together of peoples that technical advances today make possible.

Again, President Eisenhower, addressing a group of people he had called together for the purpose of establishing what he called "person to person" contacts, pointed out how

vital it is "to work out not one method but thousands of methods by which people can gradually learn a little bit more of each other" and to "bring the family of Russia . . . that is laboring to better the lot of their children, as humans do the world over, closer into our circle—to show how we do it, and then to sit down between us to say, 'Now, how do we improve the lot of both of us?'" (*N. Y. Times*, Sept. 12, 1956)

Many obstacles stand in the way of such a direct, human suggestion, some of which have been indicated in this article. But surely this is the right course, in line with our greatest traditions. For the sharing of the world's cultural heritage and the ever-expanding creative achievement of man in the broadest sense—a fact never questioned by the great men who founded our country—is the basis and guarantee of all human progress.

Students of the Moscow Institute of Chemistry at an evening devoted to American music and painting. On display are pictures of American composers and reproductions of American paintings.



39 Years: What Has Been Done

by D. N. PRITT

**Prominent British lawyer, former MP, winner of last year's
International Peace Prize.**

IT IS USEFUL to look back thirty-nine years, to remember the "ten days that shook the world," the birth of the new Soviet state whose final death was reported approximately once a week for its first few years, later only once every few months, and in the end not at all!

And what a world it was that was shaken! An old, still almost complacent, capitalist world of foot-slogging armies and a gold standard, which was thought to be "as safe as the Bank of England" (and, after all, that is how safe it was!) Its controllers even thought it was safe enough for them to indulge in a world war without any danger of "those dreadful Socialists" doing anything (there were not yet any "Communists" in the modern sense of the word); and they were quite bewildered when they found that it wasn't so safe after all!

What tremendous developments there have been in those thirty-nine years! I must not of course write the history of the world in this article, but merely consider the effect of the Revolution both within and without what is now the USSR.

Within its own territories, what has the USSR won? In spite of all the efforts of the press, the story is well-known, to those who are not "as

the deaf-adder, which stoppeth her ears," and I must not relate it at too great length. Materially, one of the poorest and most backward states in the world has become the second most advanced and powerful—and will not long be second. And that material advance, greater in achievement than anything done—as yet—in any two centuries in any other part of the world, was won without any normal "accumulated capital" to start on, without any help from outside, without even the help that can be derived from *intelligent* hostile criticism.

Spiritually, what it has done, in terms of human dignity and happiness, for women, for children, for exploited people, for colored peoples, for minority groups, as well as for the general body of citizens, is equally remarkable. If there were later grave slips and shortcomings for a time—a topic on which I have written earlier—we can remember that the tremendous achievements that have been won in spite of those shortcomings are even more remarkable for the very fact that they have been so won; that the advances now should be swifter than ever; and that it ill becomes those of small achievements to pick holes in the mighty work of those who really are build-

ing the new world, and not just talking about it (or trying to stop it).

So much for the effect within the Soviet lands. What of the effects outside? Here, I must first consider separately on the one hand the effects—whether immediate or long-term—on the countries whose rulers are not friendly to the new socialist world, and on the other the effects on countries which are friendly; and finally I must add a word about effects produced equally on all countries.

On the first, there are both the immediate reactions and effects, in 1917 and the three or four years that followed, and the effects in relatively recent times, from say 1921 onwards.

The immediate reactions, studied now as one looks back, are very interesting. The ruling classes of the U.S.A. and Britain reacted much more intelligently and profoundly (from their own selfish point of view) than may have been generally realized at the time. They saw plainly that the revolution was of the greatest importance, that its example might well lead the working-class of other countries — including economically advanced countries to similar revolutionary activity, and that (the First World War being, of course, by no means then over), the “safest” of capitalist countries was not safe, and could not even calculate how unsafe it was. They accordingly adopted three lines of policy to meet the situation. The first was to try to head off revolutionary sentiment by the conciliatory proposals contained in President Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” (shamelessly abandoned at Versailles when they had, so to speak, “earned their keep”). The second was to try to conceal from

the mass of the workers in the capitalist countries the true essence and scope of what had taken place in Russia by wholesale misrepresentation and suppression of news, of a type and on a scale that can best be described by the comment: “The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors.” (This quotation does not come from a twentieth-century writer. The author of it was Jefferson.)

The third line was to start the wars of intervention in the vain hope of achieving the military destruction of the infant socialist state—with a view, as Winston Churchill put it, “to kill off the old hen before she hatches too many chicks.” It is a reminder of how bitter was the hostility to the socialist state at the time that, even before the end of the war against Germany, French, German, and British troops fought side by side against the Red Army in Southern Russia; and that one of the terms of the 1918 armistice was that the German armies then occupying the old Tsarist territories of Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia should not surrender or withdraw to Germany, but should remain on the spot, intact and armed, in order to keep the Red Army out until the Allied armies had time to come up and take over the business.

These three lines of policy, between them, caused infinite damage, hardship, loss of life, and delay in socialist development; yet all together, they achieved, as against the successful growth of the Soviet Union, nothing but a little delay. How far they postponed revolution in other countries is a speculation

on which I need not embark here.

The longer-term reactions—reactions which, in one form or another, have lasted from, say, 1921, to the present day—are more complex and interesting still; they concern home politics in the U.S.A., Britain, and other countries almost as much as they concern their relations with the Soviet Union.

They include the continuation of the policy of wholesale misrepresentation and suppression of information about the Soviet Union; the State Department and the British Foreign Office do not easily change their (thick) skins. But they also include something much more serious and deadly—the use of weapons which in the end damage the users more than they damage the target.

What are these weapons? And, indeed, what are the targets at which they are aimed, for there is no longer just one Soviet target? And what is the score?

The targets are: firstly the Soviet Union; secondly the working-class and trade union movement in the U.S.A., Great Britain and elsewhere; and thirdly the progressive movement generally in those countries. The weapons are the wholesale use of the “Communist bogey” propaganda—the witch-hunt at home, the economic boycott abroad, the agitation for a world crusade to “destroy Communism” by force. The objects are not merely to destroy, or at least to weaken, the Soviet Union and all other socialist states, and to prevent any socialist developments “at home” (in the U.S.A., Britain, and elsewhere); they are also to weaken the working-class and the whole progressive movement in those countries in their industrial and political fight against the ruling class, with a view

to maintaining reactionary rulers.

And the score? The score is a disastrous negative for those who carry on the anti-Communist campaign. It has scarcely any effect on what is apparently the main target, the socialist states; it has disastrous effect on the peace and prosperity—and the trade—of the world, by dividing much of the world into two hostile groups; and it impoverishes the whole world by the armaments race which is an integral part—or at any rate an inevitable result—of the whole policy. (But it does not impoverish the armament-manufacturers, who are part of the forces which create and maintain the policy). And, finally, it has a most destructive effect on freedom of thought and expression, particularly but not solely in the U.S.A., where that freedom has been for a time destroyed by McCarthyism (which has not died with the reputation of the Senator who gave it its name)*

Turn now to consider the second field in which the Revolution has had effects in countries outside the Soviet Union—that of the “friendly” countries, China and the “New Democracies” in Europe. What exactly are the effects? How far has the Soviet Union been responsible for the creation and the subsequent activities of these countries?

One thing, of course, is clear; the Soviet Union, by the example of its own achievements, has stimulated and encouraged the other countries to choose and to follow the paths they have chosen (which, be it noticed, are different from the path of the Soviet Republics in 1917, although the goal is the same). Without that example, all the other countries, in-

* For the possibility of being thoroughly anti-Communist and yet trying at the same time to preserve freedom of thought and expression, see Mr. W. L. Cheney's *Freedom of the Press*.

President Sukarno of Indonesia on his recent visit to the Soviet Union. He is greeted warmly by the people of Moscow on his arrival.



cluding China, would have had a longer journey to the stage which they have by now reached; and in the case of the European new democracies, there is the additional circumstance that, had it not been for the entry of the Soviet Army into their territories, the forces of the Western Powers might have come into the countries in question in order to buttress up in the crucial post-war years the old reactionary ruling-classes. (It was in the hope of doing just that that Winston Churchill struggled so long to change the Roosevelt policy of the "Second Front in Western Europe" into one of driving from the Mediterranean into the "soft under-belly" of South-Eastern Europe!).

But the propaganda stories that the Soviet Union "imposed communism" on the new democracies (which are indeed still a long way from a position which can even loosely be called communist), or that it dominates them by "Soviet imperialism," are just further examples of the fantastic misrepresentation I

have stigmatized above. As for "imposing communism," it is of course not so much impossible as futile to attempt it; communism and revolution are not articles of export, and can only win and hold ground if they are brought in by the will and power of the people, in a revolutionary situation. (Fortunately, as Walter Lippmann pointed out—*New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 8, '56—it is equally impossible to reverse a genuine revolution by military action from outside). And anyone who visits the European new democracies can see that the story of "imperialist domination" is complete nonsense.

The position of China is different in many respects. It won its way to its present socialist position by long civil wars, followed—rather accompanied—by shrewd economic policy and a high standard of conduct of the revolutionary forces towards the mass of civilians; its course has thus been very different both from that of the USSR and those of the new democracies. But every Chinese leader will state un-

hesitatingly that his country has derived and is deriving the greatest help from the examples of the Soviet Union, not merely in general but in dealing with innumerable specific problems, and also from the technical aid and advice now being given in many material problems.

The third head of study is in the effects of the revolution, or rather of the existence today of the great socialist state, on the world in general, and not specifically on friendly or unfriendly countries. It is clear that the mere existence today of the Soviet Union has a profound effect on the international behavior of all States.

One need only think for a moment what would be the attitude and conduct of the governments of any of the Western Powers in any major problem or crisis, if the USSR were not there, able to express its views with the knowledge that they are backed by its own prestige and

power and that of a number of allies. This point need not be elaborated; it is enough to ask how Britain and France would have behaved to Egypt over the Suez Canal if it were not for the Soviet Union.

What of the future, of the fortieth and subsequent years? There is no need to prophesy or speculate; it is enough to record that the socialist countries are all advancing, the capitalist world receding. If I may quote two other American journalists—Joseph and Stewart Alsop, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Aug. 30, '56: "In essence, the danger"—they think of it as a danger, but *we* need not do so—"lies in the rapid and progressive shift of the world balance of power against America and all the West. It is not the military balance only that is shifting. It is the political balance, as one can see in Suez and in Singapore and indeed in almost every vital region of Europe and Asia and Africa."

MINIMUM CODE OF JUSTICE ENDORSED

THE INTERNATIONAL Association of Democratic Lawyers, of which Mr. D. N. Pritt is President, endorsed a "minimum code" of justice for citizens of all countries, at its Congress in Geneva last May. The Congress was attended by 170 lawyers from 32 countries, including the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies.

It is interesting to note that among the nine points of the code unanimously agreed upon, was the ending of all corporal punishment, and the abolition of the death penalty in time of peace.

The other points agreed upon were in brief: 1. No crime without a law expressly creating the offense. 2. The need for accused to be brought to trial speedily. 3. Fair trial—no punishment involving deprivation of liberty imposed except by judicial tribunal. 4. No discrimination against an accused on grounds of race, religion, class or any other causes. 5. Right of defense must include representation by qualified lawyers, equal rights with prosecution, unsupervised consultation with counsel from moment of arrest. 6. Conviction should be based only on facts proved in evidence; confessions must be corroborated; no arrested person should be subject to any physical pressure threats or promises calculated to produce a statement. 7. There should be at least one appeal in all criminal proceedings. 8. (See above) 9. No state of emergency abrogating these principles shall be permitted in time of peace.

Russia: A New Perspective

by FENNER BROCKWAY

*Member of Parliament
and leader of British Civil Liberties struggles*

FOR twenty years I have been one of the severest critics of the Soviet regime. I admit frankly that I have found it difficult to analyze its significance and effects objectively. So many of my personal colleagues in the international socialist movement have been the victims of Stalinism.

The proceedings of the Twentieth Congress have lifted a weight of subjective emotion from my mind. I hope I can now make less prejudiced judgments. I can never forget or forgive; but I can estimate more clearly.

The Soviet revolution was the biggest event of the first half of the century. It ended the tyranny of tsarism. It was a revolution of the working class. Personally, I supported the view of Rosa Luxembourg rather than the view of Lenin. I doubt whether the inhumanities of Stalin could have occurred if her plea for democracy had been followed. I was critical later of the policy towards the peasants. But even so, even adding the crimes of Stalin, there can be no doubt that in the circumstances of Russia, where no preceding experience of democracy had been enjoyed, the Soviet revolution was a great progressive landmark.

The Twentieth Congress repudiated so thoroughly inhuman courses under Stalin, that it is now the duty of those of us who were estranged from the regime by these actions to revise our attitude drastically toward the Soviet Government. The Khrushchev denunciation of political persecutions might have been extended further; one is not convinced that a sufficiently fundamental analysis was made of the structural defects in the administration which allowed the Stalin excesses to be committed. But, allowing for these reservations, the frankness and extent of the Twentieth Congress' repudiation were so great that they demand a wholehearted revaluation by all Socialists. Only those who hold capitalist convictions can remain unaffected.

This duty becomes all the more imperative because the Twentieth Congress declarations have been followed by action which is the best proof of their sincerity. This is admitted by all who follow Russian events closely. There was, for example, the article by Edward Crankshaw in the *Observer* of 29 July. Mr. Crankshaw has been consistently critical of the Soviet regime for many years, yet, replying to those who believe that nothing has funda-



The Soviet passenger jet-plane "TU-104," first of a new jet-plane passenger service, discharging passengers at the Warsaw airport.

mentally changed and that everything said and done by Mr. Khrushchev and his friends is an elaborate deception designed to hoodwink the West, he insists that very real changes are taking place.

His list of these includes the steady liquidation of the forced labor system, the reduced power of the Security Police ("the sense of arbitrary terror has vanished"), changes in the judicial system (not less the recognition that a prisoner should be considered innocent until he has been proved guilty and that a prisoner's own confession should not be accepted as evidence of his guilt), the revision of labor laws (abolition of "corrective labor" and freedom to change jobs), the new social services (particularly the new Pensions Bill which will "transform the lives and futures of the lowest-paid workers"), the new freedoms for scientists, technicians, writers, musicians and painters. When sceptics say that the Russian collective leadership could reverse this process as easily as they initiated it, they surely underestimate the effect which these changes must have had upon key sections of the population and upon the people as a whole. Russia, like other countries dependent upon industrial

development, cannot ignore her scientists and technicians; they are inhaling a new atmosphere of freedom and would not readily surrender it. The masses of the people are enjoying further social security and are anticipating still more. They will not lightly acquiesce in a reversal of their advance and their hopes.

Mr. Crankshaw's evidence bears out what many of us are learning in our own experience. Over three years I have been taking up many cases of residents in the Soviet Union and other communist countries who have wished to come to this country. I find that there is a new responsive attitude when one makes these applications now. I have had an opportunity to observe cultural contributions from communist countries and have been surprised by the absence of doctrinaire propaganda. The facilities for exchange visits, particularly of students (of which I hope the utmost advantage will be taken), are further evidence of the spirit of liberty which is now breaking down the barriers of the past.

I hope I am not writing with any "superiority complex" towards Russia and the communist countries. They have much to teach us, I believe, in the application of industrial

democracy which is so fundamental to socialism. And when one has criticized the absence of liberty under Stalinism I have always been very conscious of the denial of freedom in British colonial territories, the dictatorship which is now being practiced in Cyprus, the 40,000 detainees in Kenya who have never had an opportunity of public trial, the deportations from a number of colonies, the thousand Africans who have been hanged in Kenya (less than one-third of whom have been charged with killing).

Freedom is indivisible. One would never have had the right to condemn what has occurred in communist countries if one had not also condemned what has happened in British

territories—indeed, if one had not condemned denials of liberty wherever practiced, in America, in French colonies, in South Africa, or anywhere else.

The changes in Soviet Russia provide a great new opportunity for the friends of freedom in Britain to establish friendship with the Russian people. I believe that very wide opportunities are opening before us, which will in time affect the international Socialist movement as well as the relations between our peoples. This will not happen in a day; but it is the duty of all of us who are internationalists, who desire peace, and who love liberty to contribute what we can to the broadening of Anglo-Soviet friendship.

FROM SCOTT NEARING

WHEN WE LIVE in a neighborhood we may feud and quarrel with neighbors on any one of a thousand sources of irritation and misunderstanding, or we may "get on" with those who live near us by making allowances and going out of our way to avoid conflict. The good neighbor is the one who cheerfully and repeatedly overlooks forgets, forgives and tries once more.

The United States and its people live on the Planet Earth, among neighbor states and peoples. Among these international neighbors the Soviet Union, born in 1917, is a newcomer. But during its two score years of existence, it has climbed into a position of major consequence in world affairs.

Since the cold war was begun in 1946, the Government of the United States has gone out of its way to denounce the Soviet Union. Meanwhile the people of the United States have been taught to look upon the USSR as public enemy number one. The results of this propaganda have been, to say the last, unfortunate; if they end in a shooting war, they will be disastrous.

It is high time for us to apply to the world neighborhood the obvious rules of good neighbor relations. If the U.S.A. and the USSR are to live together on the same planet, they must overlook, forget, forgive and try once more to live neighborly.

Poznan: The Background

by BEATRICE KING

While this article was written by the author, who recently visited Poland, before the Poznan trials, we believe that it throws important light on what led up to the Poznan events and on developments arising out of them as well as out of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Foreign correspondents present at the trials have reported on the fairness with which they were conducted, the vigor with which counsel for the defense handled their clients' cases, and the mildness of the sentences pronounced by the court. We hope later to publish a fuller account of the trials.

LIKE VULTURES scenting the prey, the Western press swooped on the Poznan demonstrations to gorge themselves on "dead socialism" in Poland. Actually few of them were present at the occurrence. Their information generally came second, third, or even fourth hand, from centers that appear to exist solely for the purpose of misleading the

BEATRICE KING, distinguished British educator, is known to our readers for her articles on Soviet education. She has traveled widely in Poland and the other Peoples' Democracies.

world about the People's Democracies.

But the affair was serious enough. The official figures were 53 people killed and 300 wounded. For Poland whose people died in their millions in concentration camps, in gas ovens, in cellars and behind barricades in the fight against Hitler, for her to lose 53 men in peace time, killed apparently by their own people, is too horrifying to contemplate. The shock reached into every home.

The event can be clearly separated into two parts. One was the workers' demonstration wrongly informed that their deputation had been turned away by the Government in Warsaw. The other was the shooting from tanks and machine guns.

It is probable that in no country that had suffered from the Hitler occupation, was there so much demanded from the people on the cessation of war. In addition to the loss of 6 million, among whom were the flower of Polish life, the skilled and highly trained professional workers and administrators, the whole economy had been destroyed and schools were dismantled and ruined, cattle either sent to Germany or slaughtered, men, women and children sent to Germany to work as slaves. For

at least five years the people starved and resisted. It is important to recall this.

When the war ended, the people who hoped to get back their properties and their wealth, combined with the politicians of the West in an effort to prevent the radical change which alone could save Poland as a nation. For a time the country's forces, physically and intellectually, were engaged in the internal struggle for power. When finally the people won, and Poland set out on the road to socialism, the country immediately turned to rebuilding its ravished cities and its devastated economy. Rebuilding was soon accompanied by the building of new centers of heavy industry to lay the foundation for the country's economic independence. There was no let up. No breathing space. No time or possibility to recuperate after the terrible war years.

And because in the first flush of national pride, the first glorifying in freedom, people gave themselves willingly, the government continued to demand more and more without giving sufficient immediate return. The people were tired, very tired, strained almost to breaking point. The improvement in living conditions was much slower than they had expected, and the reasons for this were not explained adequately or sufficiently to the workers.

The demands for increased labor norms continued unceasingly. There seemed to have grown up a great gulf between the governmental apparatus and the men on the job in factory or mine. Often the democracy the new regime had promised turned out to be bureaucracy. And the Polish workers had had enough of bureaucracy. The Poles are a very proud and even wilful people. They

do not take kindly to discipline imposed from above. They held it was time they saw, here and now, some of the benefits they were being promised for the future. That many of them were even now better off than they had been under the pre-war regime was admitted to me on many occasions even a year ago. There were many however, who in respect to some foods and housing, were not so well off. The main thing however, was that they were tired with the strain of the demands being made on them. So the workers in the factory at Poznan sent a deputation to Warsaw to lay their grievances before the Government.

Before this happened, the 20th Party Congress in the USSR had had its effect in Poland, which in any case had been following its own national line to socialism. Thousands of political prisoners were almost immediately released. Without doubt there were many among them as bitter enemies on release as they were when imprisoned. They were a godsend to agents seeking at least to hinder, if they could not actually prevent, Poland becoming socialist.

The deputation from the factory was for some reason not received immediately. At once the rumor was spread that the Government—the people's Government—had refused to meet the workers' representatives. The workers in the factory decided to march through the streets in protest. It was to be quite orderly. But as the procession formed up machine guns appeared on the roofs. Young men with guns and revolvers started shouting slogans. Then tanks appeared. One asks where did the tanks and machine guns come from? Not from the factories. The workers do not have these weapons in their homes or in the factories. They do

not need them. They will not shoot their own people. The question has not yet been answered as to the extent to which the justifiable grievances of the workers were exploited with the hope of bringing about a serious rising just when the Poznan Fair was being held, and there were many foreign business men in the country.

Since the event, there have been searching inquiries into the causes, and there have been ministerial dismissals. There is now to be an easing of the demands made on workers and greater attention to consumer goods. This year the harvest is expected to be much better than the previous year when drought took its toll of yield. The recent cut in the armed forces and in arms expenditure, which was so great a drain on the country's resources, has released men and funds for industry and agriculture. Above all the political education of the workers, to give them an understanding of the situation, of the reasons for measures that have to be taken and sacrifices that may have to be made, is to be greatly improved. Certainly the Government and the Communist Party were shaken up by the event. But any hopes for an overthrow of the People's Democracy of Poland and a return to capitalism of any kind are completely out of the question. I was convinced last year of the firm support for the regime of the workers and of the intellectuals, who though they grumble, are ready to make their contribution to the new life. Nothing that has happened since alters my conviction. On the contrary, I am now more convinced than ever of Poland's success in building socialism.

The Polish Communist Party reacted quickly to the 20th Party

Congress of the Soviet Union and the measures being taken will lead to the genuine democratization of the country. Let us not forget that from even before Poland's division among Russia, Austro-Hungary and Germany, the country had no experience of genuine democracy. The essential security for democracy is only now coming within reach, and experience is being gained. Freedom of intellectual discussion, desirable and necessary as it is, does not of itself solve a people's daily problems, does not of itself lead to democracy. Speakers' Corner at Marble Arch in London, makes little if any contribution to the solution of Britain's problems. The really important and far-reaching effect of Poznan has been to make the Communist Party realize where it had gone wrong and admit it publicly. In the future the whole nation must be involved in building democracy, which means cooperation with all honest people whether outside the Party or not. Local leadership and local political education, in factory and in field is to be greatly improved by much better and freer lines of communication between the head and the body. There is to be no more exclusiveness among Party members. The National Front Organization is to be national in deed as well as in name.

With this change in political approach should be coupled the new approach in trade union activity as expressed in the report of chairman Wiktor Klosiewicz in which he stressed the necessity for the democratization of factory trade union organization. The old practice of ignoring members, of not consulting them, of frequently imposing decisions from above, must cease. The principle of collective work in the trade union is to be encouraged.

The response of the workers to all this has been immediate and possibly startling to some of the leaders. Workers are insisting on the removal of bureaucratic directors, and insisting successfully. Others are going further and recommending forcefully collective responsibility for the running of the factory, that the director appointed by the relevant ministry be also answerable to the directorate elected by the factory. A new draft law is to be presented to the Sejm in October by the Central Council of Trade Unions, whose aim is to give the workpeople of any enterprise a considerable say in the management of the works.

One should not exaggerate the ef-

fect of the Poznan demonstration with its tragic consequences. The leaven of democratization had begun to work long before that, and before the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The two events speeded up the process, released springs that habit had kept coiled. Increasing international security, increasing trade and the successful fulfilment of plans, have all been combining towards an easing of restrictions of all kinds, towards a greater trust in the abilities and wisdom of the ordinary people. But, as so often happens, the reactions to the changing situation was too slow at the top. The lesson is now being learnt thoroughly.

NEW YORK TIMES REPORTS POZNAN TRIALS

"THE CONSENSUS of Western observers is that the Polish Government has so far made good on its promise of 'fair and open' trials for the accused in the Poznan riots. These observers have serious reservations about the code of justice under which the accused are standing trial, but the actual courtroom processes in their opinion have been conducted with scrupulous fairness. . . .

"No hindrances have been put in the way of foreign newsmen reporting the trials. Post office officials were instructed to give them the best possible service. . . . Polish authorities have provided facilities for broadcasts to the West. Western diplomats . . . have been allowed into all sessions. Three Western legal observers . . . have been treated as honored guests. . . ." (Sidney Gruson, *New York Times*, Oct. 1)

"Lenient sentences were pronounced today in the first verdict to come out of the major Poznan riot trials. . . . The same fairness and impartiality that had marked Judge Celinski's conduct of the trial was evident in his verdict. The court, he said, had considered only the statements made in the courtroom where 'the accused could talk freely, and had thrown out pre-trial interrogation at which the police allegedly had resorted to brutality. . . ." (October 9)

"The Government has gained considerable credit at home for allowing complete freedom in the courts. The people of Poznan certainly did not expect it nor did the lawyers defending accused persons. Somewhat hesitant at first, defense attorneys have become progressively bolder as they realized that the Government meant to carry out its intention of permitting 'fair and open trial.'

"The result has been a noticeable relaxation both among Poznan's populace and the large militia corps assigned to duty in the city as the outset of the trials." (October 11)

Bulganin-Eisenhower Exchange on H-Bomb Tests

ON OCTOBER 17, Premier Bulganin of the Soviet Union addressed a letter to President Eisenhower declaring the readiness of the Soviet Government "to conclude an agreement with the United States of America immediately for discontinuing atomic weapons tests." On October 21 the White House released the text of the letter, which had previously been made public by Moscow, and of President Eisenhower's reply.

The President's letter, couched in very sharp terms, charged that Mr. Bulganin's letter, coming in the midst of a national election campaign, constituted an interference in our internal affairs. In view of the fact that the Soviet Premier had raised the question in previous communications, the latest one having gone unanswered, and that the Soviet Union has been repeatedly proposing the cessation of tests for over a year, and long before this had been made a main campaign issue by Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson, this charge seems to be an unwarranted one. It is certain that the American people will be disappointed that President Eisenhower has refused to take steps on the vital matter of ending H-bomb tests, supported by leading scientists all over the country.

Mr. Stevenson issued a statement in connection with the Bulganin letter repeating his pledge that if elected the taming of the H-bomb would be a major objective. His running mate, Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate Estes Kefauver, declared that "we should talk with Mr. Bulganin about his proposal" and urged that the very survival of the world required "calling a halt to these deadly tests."

The texts of the two letters and the Stevenson statement follow:

BULGANIN'S LETTER

Translation from the Russian

The Kremlin, Moscow,
October 17, 1956.

Dear Mr. President:

In this letter I should like to broach a subject to which—for readily understandable reasons—a great deal of attention is being paid, especially recently, in the United States of America and elsewhere. I have in mind the question of atomic weapons, and in particular the testing of this weapon.

We have more than once had the opportunity to exchange views on this subject, both during my personal meeting with you in Geneva, last year, as well as in the subsequent correspondence. However, since it has not as yet been possible to reach agreement on the question of atomic weapons, it would be desirable to try again to evaluate the existing possibilities for progress toward the conclusion of a pertinent inhibition of atomic weapons.

It is precisely for this reason that I am addressing this letter to you.

We realize, of course, that an election campaign is being conducted in the United States, in the course of which the discussion of various questions of international significance, among them the question of disarmament, acquires the form of polemic. However, we cannot fail to note the fact that in a number of cases, in speeches by persons in an official capacity, there has been obvious distortion of the policy of the Soviet Union concerning the above-mentioned questions. Unfortunately,

this applies particularly to the statements by Mr. Dulles, who does not hesitate to make direct attacks against the Soviet Union and its peace-loving foreign policy.

I have already had the opportunity to call your attention to the importance which is attached by the Soviet Government to the problem of disarmament and to the search for ways of achieving agreement on this problem. Therefore you will understand our desire to have complete clarity, in considering the problem of disarmament, as to the positions taken by our Governments concerning the problem of disarmament and in particular the atomic question.

I think, Mr. President, that you will agree that the problem of atomic weapons remains one of the most urgent international problems.

I need not speak at length of the fact that the Soviet Government has been and is in favor of an unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, inasmuch as the present situation, with its ever-increasing race in the production of these weapons, is inconsistent with the aim of further easing international tension and freeing nations from the fear of atomic war. It is well known that, even in the United States of America, there is increasing anxiety as to the possible consequences of the present race in atomic armaments.

I can only express regret at the fact that the United States Government still does not consider it possible to cooperate in the effort of many other nations, efforts which are directed toward the prohibition of atomic weapons and toward the conclusion of a pertinent international agreement to this end. But let us assume that for a certain period of time no agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons will be achieved. Does this mean that no effort should be undertaken to find various partial solutions for this question, solutions which would facilitate future agreement on total exclusion of atomic weapons from the national armament, with the provision that atomic energy should be used only for peaceful purposes? I think that such efforts should be con-

tinued and their results depend to a great extent on the position of the United States and the USSR.

Until the necessary agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons is attained, it would, in our opinion, be desirable to reach agreement at this time on at least the first step toward the solution of the problem of atomic weapons—the prohibition of testing atomic and hydrogen weapons, as proposed in my message to you of Sept. 11, 1956.

I think you will also agree that, in the event that an agreement is reached on this question, no serious problem will arise in connection with the supervision of the implementation of such an agreement, since any explosion of an atomic or hydrogen bomb cannot, in the present state of scientific knowledge, be produced without being recorded in other countries. Would not the best guarantee against the violation of such an agreement be the mere fact that secret testing of nuclear weapons is impossible and that consequently a government undertaking the solemn obligation to stop making tests could not violate it without exposing itself to the entire world as the violator of an international agreement?

We fully share the opinion recently expressed by certain prominent public figures in the United States concerning the necessity and the possibility of concluding an agreement on the matter of prohibiting atomic weapon tests and concerning the positive influence which this would have on the entire international situation.

I cannot conceal a certain degree of surprise on my part, Mr. President, concerning the doubts expressed by you as to whether the Soviet Union is really willing to discontinue testing its atomic and hydrogen weapons. There is decidedly no basis for such doubts. I must say the same thing regarding your statement that discontinuance of testing the atomic weapons by the United States would be "a unilateral American act." Such a step on the part of the United States cannot in any way be unilateral, since the Soviet Union itself

proposes that coordinated action be undertaken by the nations with Soviet participation.

We have also noted your statement to the effect that the question of prohibiting the testing of atomic weapons can be decided only by concluding an agreement on the program of disarmament as a whole. It would, of course be well if such an agreement on disarmament could be reached in the very near future. But it is a well-known fact that such an agreement is not within sight at present. This is attested by the fact that the United States, as well as certain other participants in negotiations on disarmament, renounces its own proposals as soon as the Soviet Union accepts these proposals. This was the very thing that happened, for example, with the proposals concerning the question of establishing a limit on the size of the armed forces of the five great powers.

Since this is the situation, it is our deep conviction that the solution of the problem of testing atomic weapons should not be made contingent on an agreement concerning the problem of disarmament as a whole.

As far as the Soviet Government is concerned, it is prepared to conclude an agreement with the United States of America immediately for discontinuing atomic weapon tests. We proceed, of course, on the basis of the assumption that other states having the atomic weapon at their disposal will likewise adhere to such an agreement.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Government will, as always, continue to contribute toward the achievement of an agreement on other problems of disarmament, not to mention the fact that it has, as you know, recently undertaken a unilateral reduction of its armed forces by 1,840,000 men without waiting for such an agreement.

I shall be grateful, Mr. President, for whatever considerations you may consider it possible to express in connection with the foregoing.

With sincere respect,

N. BULGANIN

EISENHOWER'S REPLY

Oct. 21, 1956

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have the letter which your embassy handed me through Secretary Dulles on Oct. 19. I regret to find that this letter departs from accepted international practice in a number of respects.

First, the sending of your note in the midst of a national election campaign of which you take cognizance, expressing your support of the opinions of "certain prominent public figures in the United States" constitutes an interference by a foreign nation in our internal affairs of a kind which, if indulged in by an Ambassador, would lead to his being declared persona non grata in accordance with long-established custom.

Second, having delivered a lengthy communication in the Russian language, you have published it before it could be carefully translated and delivered to me. Because of this, and of the necessity of placing the facts accurately before the public, I am compelled to release this reply immediately.

Third, your statement with respect to the Secretary of State is not only unwarranted, but is personally offensive to me.

Fourth, you seem to impugn my own sincerity.

However, I am not instructing the Department of State to return your letter to your embassy. That is not because I am tolerant of these departures from accepted international practice but because I still entertain the hope that direct communications between us may serve the cause of peace.

You and I have exchanged a number of letters since our meeting in Geneva on the reduction of armaments and related matters in our effort to make progress toward the goal of peace. I hope that that practice may be resumed in accordance with accepted standards.

The United States has for a long time been intensively examining, evaluating and planning dependable means of stopping the arms race and reducing

and controlling armaments. These explorations include the constant examination and evaluation of nuclear tests. To be effective, and not simply a mirage, all these plans require systems of inspection and control, both of which your Government has steadfastly refused to accept. Even my "open skies" proposal of mutual aerial inspection suggested as a first step, you rejected.

However, though disappointed, we are not discouraged. We will continue unrelenting in our efforts to attain these goals. We will close no doors which might open a secure way to serve humanity.

We shall entertain and seriously evaluate all proposals from any source which seem to have merit, and we shall constantly seek for ourselves formulations which might dependably remove the atomic menace.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

STATEMENT BY ADLAI STEVENSON

Chicago, Oct., 21

The Russians have previously indicated their interest in stopping H-bomb explosions. Although there appears to be nothing new in Mr. Bulganin's latest communication, it is encouraging that

Russia appears to be still disposed to curb these dreadful weapons.

Last Monday I said that, if elected President, the taming of the H-bomb would be a major objective. That is still my position. Nobody can say at this point how sincere the Russians are in this matter, but I do know that we cannot afford to let them continuously appear before the rest of the world as more devoted to peace and disarmament than we are.

The White House seems to have dismissed the Russian offer out of hand, but the world and the American people expect sober consideration from our leaders of all possibility for reducing tension and the danger of war—most of all nuclear war. This White House attitude is hardly consistent with Mr. Eisenhower's previous estimates of Soviet intentions. After all it was only last year at the Geneva summit conference that the President informed us that the Soviet leaders desired peace just as much as we do.

Finally, we should bear in mind that curbing the H-bomb can be undertaken without relying on Russian good faith. Scientists have repeatedly emphasized that H-bomb explosions are detectable anywhere in the world. As I said a few days ago you can't hide an H-bomb explosion any more than you can hide an earthquake.

SENATOR ELLENDER URGES NEW POLICY ON USSR

SENATOR ALLEN J. ELLENDER (D-La) called for a new Western approach to the Soviet Union in a press interview in Brisbane, Australia, following a visit to the USSR. According to the *New York Times*, Sept. 12, he said that Nikita S. Khrushchev, with whom he had a long talk, "has a lot of sense." The dispatch said Senator Ellender reported that he was allowed to see anything he wanted in the Soviet Union and that no one outlined a program for him. He found that the Soviet Union is enjoying a greater amount of freedom today than it ever knew under the Tsars. He also declared: "I saw chimneys everywhere billowing smoke all over the horizon. I have never seen as much building as I saw in Russia—houses, apartments and factories are going up everywhere." Senator Ellender urged a trial period of coexistence free of force or intimidation.

How the USSR Teaches the Blind

by ANNA SEGHERS

The distinguished German writer Anna Seghers is especially known in this country for her best-selling novel *The Last Cross*. Among her other books are *The Revolt of the Fishermen*, *The Price on His Head*, *The Road Through February* and *The Rescue*. We have translated this article from a series that was published in book form in Germany upon her return from a trip to the Soviet Union.

IN THE Museum of the Revolution in Moscow, I was looking at the photograph of the Bolshevik deputies to the Duma who had in 1914 raised their voices against the war. A little old man comes into the museum hall; he introduces himself as Petrovsky—one of the deputies in the photograph I was looking at. Although shriveled and old, he was still as sprightly and merry as he appeared in the photograph.

In the museum, in which old photographs have suddenly come to life, there are also rooms filled with objects that have traveled the opposite road. Originating in pulsating life, they now repose in display cabinets. The numerous presents which people from all over the country, from the whole world, had sent to Stalin—feather head-dress of Indian chiefs and reindeer carvings from the White Sea, dolls from a toy factory and silk embroidery from Turkestan. I saw how these objects came to life as one class of school

children after another was conducted through the museum. The whole globe then seemed to be present in the museum room—varying regions and climes brought to life by the white hands, brown hands, black hands that all had shaped the things in here. The nations came alive in the eyes of the many children.

One class of teen-age boys and girls walked in with hesitant, careful steps, holding one another by the hands, their heads bent forward. With faltering steps they moved between the display cabinets. With strange and to me at first inexplicable expressions on their faces they listened to the teacher. When she knocked on one of the glass cases, they bent their heads in unison. Their eyes did not light up visualizing distant lands and peoples—they were the graduating class of a boarding school for the blind. With a peculiar intentness, seemingly with a sixth sense, they absorbed what was being described to them. They

"saw" and yet they could not see. The more the teacher described to them, the more colorful and varied her descriptions became, the more intently they listened. They found complete fulfillment because numerous things, new to them, were made accessible to them in terms of what they were familiar with. Did they really understand? Or did they understand only in part?

Living in a society in which most people appear happy and strong, how can those whom nature has dealt with so unkindly, be happy or strong?

The next morning I went to their school. The director was not particularly happy about my visit, because they were just getting ready to move into a new building. He did not like to have to show a visitor through an establishment which he had come to consider entirely inadequate. The first class we went into was studying biology. Models of reptiles were passed from hand to hand and were carefully felt. Fingers explored the snakes' windings the tortoises' armor. Sometimes a student took a long time touching and feeling an animal, until finally an expression of recognition appeared on his face.

There are throughout the world devoted, even superb teachers of the blind. In Switzerland, in Scandinavia, in the United States, in many countries there are excellent schools for the blind, in which the best of teachers apply the most advanced methods. The blind children of Moscow are devoted to their school, as children everywhere, especially the blind ones, are devoted to a school in which they have found love. When they return on visits as adults, they embrace the models and stuffed ani-

mals in the hallways who had been their playfellows.

Only a few of them had been born blind. Most of them had lost their sight through illness or accident, some were blinded by the war, in bombing attacks or as young soldiers—those are the oldest students here. Since pictures are inaccessible to them, only shapes being meaningful, they are very attached to reliefs and sculptures of people. The children of this school eagerly feel the sculptured figures of the Soviet leaders, they want to know how they looked, those to whom they owe their government and school. Above the sculptures of persons of whose appearance the children are to acquire a vivid conception, are their pictures, which their teachers describe for them, so that when the names are mentioned they have a concrete conception in their minds. As in all Soviet schools, there are slogans and flags and emblems of the different Soviet Republics on the walls. The children describe them—for they are as well acquainted with their classrooms as the children elsewhere.

In science and crafts specially constructed instruments and apparatus are used, with scales and dials in braille. Demonstrations and experiments which are usually visual, are arranged so that they become accessible to touch—as for instance the water level in communicating tubes. This is similar to what is done in other countries. But the question arises: how will the students be able to use what they are learning here? The usual carving and basket weaving is considered of minor importance in this Moscow school for the blind. "We feel that the blind person can learn the same things

as a seeing person; that in our society he can, in interaction and cooperation with his fellow-humans, take part in the work in which all participate."

I knew a woman who was a teacher at a school for the blind in Madrid. Her favorite student, a wide-awake, gifted boy, had finally graduated from the school. It was time for him to go out into the world. His leaving was heartbreaking. A few weeks later the teacher met him again. The boy was sitting at a street corner, repairing damaged wicker chairs which people brought to him out of compassion. At school he had enthusiastically studied music and had eagerly read everything on a variety of subjects that was available in braille. Sadly the teacher went away without approaching him. What good would it have been for the boy to be reminded of his school life, of the care of a teacher who for a few years had conveyed knowledge and learning to him? His parents did not have the means to continue his education in these subjects.

The director of this Moscow school maintains a continuous written record of the life of his former students. "For myself, and when I'm gone, for my successors."

Every student remains in touch with the school after leaving. The school keeps track of him, and also is in touch with his family and his work associates. At an early date before he leaves school, the administration establishes connections for him with the Society of the Blind, which during such a time of transition from school to working life takes special care to help in this adjustment.

Those who left last year chose a

variety of occupations. Only a few stay home and do housework. Others went into factories such as textiles and precision mechanics, others became artisans.

Some were allowed to keep the special tools, etc., to which they had become accustomed in their occupational training. Some became musicians. The Moscow Institute for the Blind has the same program of studies as other schools, taking over one year longer to cover the complete curriculum of all grades. Those who have passed the university entrance examinations are entitled to the services of a special reader who is assigned to them for all needed reading matter not available in braille.

Both classical and modern Soviet authors are published in braille, as are translations of many foreign authors. The school's reading room is crowded. Fingers glide rapidly over the raised braille letters; faces, though not bent over the books, and with unseeing eyes, reflect intent interest.

Reading preferences are somewhat different from those of other schools. Interest in novels and historical material overshadows that in adventure and travel books.

Musical instruction (where solo performances and choruses for the May Day celebrations were being prepared at the time I visited the school), the wall newspaper in braille, gymnastics and sports, where, for instance, the target for throwing is indicated by knocking—all these activities prepare the children to lead a full, happy life with the rest of the community. To them, too, applies the inscription over the delivery ward of the women's clinic: Every human being

is a welcome guest at the table of life!

The Pioneer Group of this school regularly visits the groups at other schools, so that the children learn early to adapt themselves mutually and to be helpful.

The director has been working in the field of instruction for the blind since 1921, until last year in regular school. His two assistants are equally experienced in this field. "We consider it senseless to have laws which would limit the rights of the blind in the choice of occupation, marriage, the raising of families. Most of the causes of blindness are disappearing. The more man succeeds in subjugating nature, the more he increases his knowledge, his inadequacy decreases, and the causes of

blindness: war, accidents, sickness, will be done away with. I foresee a time, when I and my assistants will be out of jobs."

The biography of Helen Keller, who owed her whole education and training to a devoted young teacher, is well known in America and Europe. The book has had considerable influence on teachers everywhere. Montessori learned from it, as she wrote, "to liberate the imprisoned soul through the training of the senses."

A similar book has appeared in the Soviet Union. (Skorokhodova: "How I Became a Participant in My Surroundings.") In it, speaking for many like herself, she reports how Soviet society "frees the imprisoned soul" of its blind and handicapped.

NUMBER OF DOCTORS (Including DENTISTS) IN THE UNION REPUBLICS OF THE USSR

	1913	1940	1950	1955
USSR	28,068	155,323	265,031	333,776
RSFSR	15,726	90,385	159,480	197,612
Ukrainian SSR	7,841	35,258	51,727	64,864
Byelorussian SSR ..	1,167	5,214	7,210	9,455
Uzbek SSR	139	3,153	6,571	8,821
Kazakh SSR	244	2,751	6,479	9,762
Georgian SSR	461	4,894	9,510	11,768
Azerbaidzhanian SSR	353	3,340	6,446	7,406
Lithuanian SRR ..	421	1,971	2,750	3,880
Moldavian SSR ...	293	1,055	2,462	2,972
Latvian SSR	638	2,502	2,946	4,275
Kirghiz SSR	21	600	1,751	2,345
Tadzhik SSR	19	648	1,310	1,818
Armenian SSR	73	1,020	2,575	3,357
Turkmenian SSR ..	70	1,019	1,640	2,081
Estonian SSR ...	531	1,056	1,491	2,398
Karelo-Finnish SSR	71	457	683	962

—From "National Economy of the USSR,"
statistical hand book, 1956



How I Met Lysistrata

by G. RYKLIN

IT HAPPENED in the village of Verteyevka, Bryansk Region, twenty-five or perhaps thirty years ago.

My paper had sent me to a village in Bryansk Region, I don't remember the name, and about an hour after my arrival, I was whirled away by a young reporter from a local newspaper.

"We're going to meet Lysistrata in Verteyevka," he said, and that's all I could get out of him.

I sat in the car remembering Aris-tophanes at the Art Theatre.

Lysistrata, the wife of an Athenian captain, an independent, resolute woman, led a strike of the Athenian women to make their husbands stop the war with Sparta.

The women refused their husbands everything, even food. Weakness or treachery among the wives was severely punished.

For three acts the men stormed and threatened, to the strains of music. In the middle of the fourth act they capitulated, and the war ended before the final curtain.

Lysistrata had won.

And now I was again to see Lysistrata—known in the village as Aksinia Karaseva.

Semyon Karasev, the husband of this village Lysistrata, was not a captain of men—but he liked fighting, and his fighting was done mainly with Aksinia.

She had developed a habit of going to meetings, she was letting her tongue clack, sticking her nose into public matters, making speeches!

Semyon felt the affront to his dignity as a husband. So one day, after a few glasses, he gave her a couple of blows just to teach her her place.

Aksinia hurried over to Lizaveta Maksyutina, the women's organizer. An hour later women streamed into the school from all parts of the village. Dusk fell. The sun sank. But the men, instead of enjoying peace, found themselves harried and worried out of their senses.

The children screamed, the cows lowed for water, the pigs announced in the most impolite ways that it was supper time.

What on earth had happened? Where



were all the wives? A village full of women and not one to be seen.

Darkness fell.

At last came a rumor that all the "better halves" were in the school.

The men went running there as if to a fire. Semyon Karasev with them.

They surrounded the school and raised a fine hubbub.

The women were silent. Ominously silent. It was like the calm before the storm.

Then out came Aksinia to the porch, holding a paper.

Looking very hard at Semyon, she announced that they would get nothing by shouting, they'd better listen to what was written on that paper.

When silence fell, Aksinia—never dreaming that she was almost repeating a scene from Aristophanes' comedy—unfolded the paper and began to read.

I copied down that unusual document into my notebook and give it word for word.

"To all male married citizens of the village of Verteyevka. From all female married citizens of the village of Verteyevka, Ultimatum:

"Inasmuch as we, married women citizens of the village of Verteyevka, live in bad conditions, are at times

beaten by our husbands, and never hear a kind word from them,

"And inasmuch as our patience is ended and we have had enough of it, we herewith present the following ultimatum:

"We are prepared to be workers at home and helpers to our husbands, and in return demand that the said husbands should keep their fists to themselves and moreover should not use violent language.

"To this we add: we shall not disperse or return to our husbands until all the men place their signatures on this paper."

The men stormed and stamped about . . . and then one by one they started coming up and with trembling fingers signed the paper.

I was recently reminded of this story of 30 years ago when I went to a cinema showing a film made by village dancers and singers of Bryansk Region.

I was enjoying the show, thinking of nothing in particular, when suddenly the announcer's voice said:

"Now you will hear Yekaterina Karaseva of the village of Verteyevka."

It seemed as though I were meeting an old friend!

I enjoyed her songs—gay, merry songs about the new life in the collective farm village and women's part in it.

And then I learned that the singer was the daughter of Aksinia, my village Lysistrata.

—from "Soviet Woman"



"New Minds for a New World"

A Timely British Analysis

THE BRITISH weekly, *The New Statesman and Nation*, published in its issue of September 8 an article entitled, "New Minds For A New World," a comparative study of technical education in Britain, the U.S.A. and the USSR. We reprint a selection of excerpts from this article below:

We have never been very good at seeing the bread-and-butter side of Russian life. Even their educational process has been regarded with a kind of mystified resentment, as though there were something sneaking and underhand about it, as though they were taking an unfair advantage. . . .

In fact, nothing could be more straightforward or businesslike. It has been going on for 30 years, though now the results are accelerating. They have taken us at a loss by just doing no more and no less than they said. For Communism set out to conquer the natural world: in order to conquer it, one has got to understand it: that means, everyone has to be taught the principles of natural science. The basis of the Russian educational system is precisely that. . . .

Scientific education for everyone means, of course, that the Russians aim at producing the maximum number of scientists; no one who is capable of being a scientist is going to be missed. They expect to be getting somewhere near that aim in 5-15 years; their claim is that no country of 200 million will be able to do better or produce more. Already the acceleration is really happening: they are gaining the benefit of investing in scientific teaching as no country has done before. Something like one-fifth of each crop

of scientific graduates go back to teach at technicums and secondary schools. This investment of one-fifth of the yearly output has been going on for a good many years (the war excepted). The number of qualified scientific teachers in Russia is now something over 250,000. That figure, which is extraordinary by any present standards (the corresponding figure for Great Britain is less than 20,000; for the U.S. it is less than 50,000), is the secret of the whole thing. It is the figure which all bosses, civil servants or industrialists, in the U.S. or here, ought to have posted in their offices. Incidentally, there are indications that many of these teachers have gone enthusiastically to their jobs, and not just as directed labor. The pay and even more, the status of science teachers have as a consequence been kept very high in Russia—considerably higher, for example, than the status of the medical profession. From the autumn of 1956, every university student, however good he is and whatever his ultimate destination, is to do a term's practice teaching during his third year.

They have another source of initiative, very much under-estimated, in the number of scientists they possess *en disponibilité*. If we could send a few thousand English scientists and engineers to the Middle East and India tomorrow—to help start the new Indian capital industries, to teach in schools and technical colleges, to train agriculturalists and geologists—our chances of earning the national living would be healthier. But neither we nor the Americans have the scientists to

spare: and those jobs are being filled and are going to be filled increasingly by Russians. Trade will follow them. It is sometimes said that scientists by and large do not make good administrators: there is something in it. But it is at the same time forgotten that scientists by and large make the best ambassadors: the language of science is a common language, and no group of men is freer from the sillier kinds of race and color sense.

At this point it is perhaps worth asking: have the Russians been overdoing it? Wouldn't they have got on as well with something less radical? Cannot we and the Americans improvise our way through without anything like this mass of scientists? These questions do not have much meaning to those who have any kind of insight into the next stage of scientific industry—a stage not in the remote future but in the next 20 years. But if the questions are allowed for argument's sake to have meaning, the answer is bound to be this: very well; let us assume it is only a matter of judgment; the Russians may have made an active misjudgment, alternatively we may be making a passive one. But the penalties attaching to the two misjudgments are not the same. If the Russians are wrong, their penalty is a surplus of scientists. If we are wrong, our penalty is industrial ruin.

It is this transformation into a scientific culture that has supported the faith of men like Bernal and Joliot-Curie in Russian Communism, and supported them despite the episodes of intellectual wickedness, like the Lysenkc affair, and all the rest which is intolerable to most of us. They have still believed that, in the very long run and in a deep and ultimate sense, Communism and science are one. Until America and Great Britain can train a commensurate population of scientific minds, Bernal and Joliot will not have been proved wrong.

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Socialist Challenge

THE PATTERN OF WORLD CONFLICT, by G. L. Arnold, Dial Press, New York, 1956. 250 pp. \$4.00.

MR. ARNOLD views the conflict between East and West—the Atlantic World and the Eurasian Bloc as he prefers to call it—as a normal historical process. The present conflict, according to him, is the result of a worldwide drive toward economic planning, toward “a new technological level.” The process is inevitable, since society must “end the dreadful poverty and squalor in which the bulk of mankind still lives at the present day.” But the conflict is going to be resolved according to which credo? The author favors the Western—provided “the Western democracies can demonstrate their ability to solve the social problems of the world.” For this “time and patience” is needed, to work out “the elements of a genuine strategy of coexistence; a strategy . . . which tacitly accepts the division of the world, realizes that its causes are linked to the universal groping toward a planned and controlled international order.”

While Mr. Arnold favors a Western solution, he is not too certain that the “planners and politicians” of the West will follow his advice; they are often the subjects of “misjudgement and intellectual error.” For instance, when “they allowed it to be inferred that but for Soviet espionage the secret of the bomb might have been preserved indefinitely”; or in “the crude techniques of intervention displayed in . . . Guatemala”; or the “constant danger that American policy will in practice override these wishes and interests (of America’s associates), until brought up short by some disaster.”

Editor of the well-known English journal “The Twentieth Century,” Mr. Arnold brings wide knowledge to his consideration of the problems considered in his book. Familiarity with the writings of Marx and Lenin gives substance

to his discussion of the achievements and goals of socialism in its challenge to Western capitalism.

A. A. HELLER

Sukarno Address

ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, by President Sukarno of Indonesia. Far East Reporter, P.O. Box 1536, New York 17, N. Y. 15c a copy.

“PRESENT-DAY America as a world phenomenon, with all its impact on the peoples of the earth, was the child of a marriage between the revolutionary America of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln and the technological America imbued with the prodigious technical spirit of Edison and Ford.

“The shot that was fired at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1765, was heard around the world. It echoes still in the hearts of all who have recently won their independence, and it echoes still in the hearts of peoples who still struggle against their colonial bonds.”

This is a quotation from the remarkable speech delivered by President Sukarno of Indonesia before the Congress of the United States on May 17, 1956. In memorable terms President Sukarno described the situation of his country so recently freed from the yoke of imperialism and boldly placed before the members of Congress the terms upon which his countrymen will accept assistance in their great effort to build a new nation:

“We welcome assistance on terms of mutual benefit. We reject the idea of exchanging intellectual and spiritual independence or physical liberty for momentary advantage.”

The Far East Reporter has made reprints of this historic speech available in pamphlet form.

Security and Freedom

SECURITY THROUGH FREEDOM,
by A. T. Mason. Cornell University
Press 1955. 232 pp., \$2.90.

THIS BOOK presents a keen analysis of American political thought and practice. Prof. Mason traces the conflict between thought (theory) and its application in life (practice) from the days of the Founding Fathers to the present time. The role of the Supreme Court in the development of American society is given special emphasis, particularly in the middle nineteen-thirties when President Franklin Roosevelt took a hand in the reconstitution of the Court and was accused of designs to control

it; whereas the President only wanted to speed up its procedures.

The author maintains that: "American political society exhibits conflict, instability, and change as the normal pattern. . . . Today we are fearful of revolution. Yesterday Jefferson feared the absence of revolution. . . . American experience shows that the vitality of free government depends primarily on the people themselves."

Prof. Mason displays a markedly liberal attitude in his evaluation of American political history. He finds that at the present time, "The foundations of our heritage are at stake." Hence he feels we must not seek security in repression. Only freedom can bring about our security.

A. A. HELLER

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