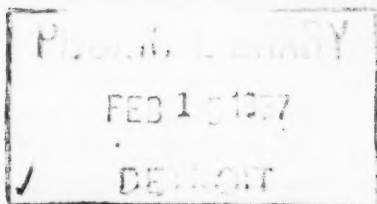


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Hungary

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

Soviet Union

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ON CREATIVE FERMENT**

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WARSAW UNIVERSITY: *A Year of Change*

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

THE DRAMATIC events of the past year in Poland have left all of us breathless, not to say a bit groggy. First of all, the shattering revelations about past leadership in the Soviet Union, with ramifications in allied countries; then the events in Poznan (beginning with demonstrations and culminating in riots, arrests and trials); the rehabilitations and restitutions (some of them, alas, all too late); the shifts in Party leadership and revisions of policy; the revival of types of organization previously abandoned — all these transformations have been so rapid that it is still hard to take them in and evaluate them. It will be the task of history to estimate and interpret their significance. Though close to the actual stage on which these events were being enacted in Poland, I have often felt quite baffled in my attempts to judge them. Nor has it been easy to maintain one's balance and a sense of basic principles and continuity along with the changes.

Yet continuity has been present, and as events settle down and life goes on, that element in the situation appears to be increasingly im-

portant. There may be further shifts in the near future, in one direction or another, to be sure. No matter how things develop in the next few months, however, I am convinced that the factor of continuity will remain one of essential importance, even when and if the limelight is taken by factors of change.

The re-emergence of Wladyslaw Gomulka as a widely supported and greatly admired leader, and the re-orientation of the Polish United Workers' Party in a series of meetings leading up to its recent historic Plenum, occurred for the most part while I was away in England, enjoying a leave of several months for research. I returned to Warsaw just before the decisive October days, in time to attend the big mass demonstration at which Gomulka first spoke to the nation as a whole. I heard new names on everyone's lips and learned about all sorts of fresh issues and problems previously unknown to me. The changes of that period are now widely known, of course, and are already a matter of history, upon which I cannot pretend to throw any new light on the basis of a very limited experience. What I can do, however, is to tell something of one specific transformation, smaller and quieter than the big ones featured in the world press, which is nevertheless directly

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, former Professor at New York University and Johns Hopkins, is now Director of the English Department at Warsaw University.

connected with the big events and may contribute to an understanding of them.

I am referring to the change in the program of studies in the universities; concretely to the program for modern philology which I know best of all. It may serve as an example typical of the rest.

For some years now there has been criticism of the general course of philological studies. First of all, because it was too burdensome, involving too many hours of required lectures, seminars and exercises. Students sometimes had as many as six or even more hours thus occupied in a single day almost without break. There was obviously not enough time left for quiet reading in the library, and never any time at all for independent adventurous reading, outside of obligatory assignments. Secondly, there were too many required courses—so the students claimed with increasing annoyance over the years—outside their special field. The program called for introductory general linguistics, political economy, logic, history, fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, philosophy, and other languages and literatures. Even in the last (fourth) year not enough chance was given to elect courses voluntarily, either within the given department or in others close to it. Writing the master's thesis and preparing for a general oral examination at the end of four such crowded years often left the young candidates very tired indeed.

Talk about these grievances began to be very vocal in the academic year 1954-55. In the spring term the Teachers' Union conducted a week-end conference on reform of the

program, after some preliminary discussions in various university divisions had led to initial proposals. The Union, it is now generally admitted, was too passive in recent years, functioning too much as a welfare organization or a debating society, (not too efficiently run), and too little as a body aiding in the correction of grievances. In this case, though, its initiative led to something, chiefly of course because mass forces were at the same time working in the same direction. At the conference, the desire was clearly expressed to have the M.A. course extended to five years, and also to reform and simplify the program.

During the next year the discussion among students became more and more active, even stormy. This coincided with the well-known revelations about the type of leadership now generally condemned as Stalinist in the pejorative sense. Meetings were held in departments and in entire sections of the universities. There was sharp correspondence in the columns of the student press.

All sorts of complaints were aired, some well founded, and some (I should say) demagogic. Here is one small example. In our Department of English in Warsaw a bright second-year youth rose up to make an acidulous attack on the system of numerous required courses outside of English. He stated that our graduates finish without any real knowledge of contemporary literature, especially about contemporary writers in the United States. During the discussion that followed I spoke up from the back row where I had been sitting and asked the critic what specific writers are omitted from our lectures and reading lists,

which include a whole galaxy of names ranging from Eugene O'Neill to Steinbeck, Fast, Hemingway and others. The speaker simply couldn't answer. He sheepishly confessed that he didn't know what he was talking about because he had not yet taken the course in American literature. Yet he had been making some valid points before he allowed himself to be carried away by his own denunciatory eloquence. As one result of this meeting, everybody (teachers as well as students) agreed that the courses on the historical development of English literature should be multiplied and extended, while others should be curtailed.

At this time there was widespread criticism of the "ideological courses" such as political economy and Marxist philosophy. Not that anyone, so far as I could gather (and this is important) seriously questioned the value of such courses in and of themselves. Persons of all shades of opinion admit that you just can't function in a socialist society (or a quasi-socialist society, if you will) without understanding the history and principles of socialism. That means studying Marxism. It is agreed that the way lies forward, by whatever routes the nation may choose, to a socialist society; not by any means backward to the old system of landowners and capitalists. I put the question to a group of my younger colleagues, just at the time of the most devastating revelations about past wrongs. They simply booed at the thought of a return to anything like the old regime. Hence the criticism of ideological courses centered much more on the way they were conducted than on their actual content.

An important issue was the way in which Marxist courses were related to the history of philosophic thought in general. Very soon after I came to Poland I began to have the impression that students were not getting an adequate background for their lectures on dialectical materialism. They were learning about this specific modern philosophy as an isolated school, without knowing enough about the long development of Greek science and philosophy, the various forms of ancient and medieval idealism (which can't just be dismissed by a wave of the hand!), and the complex currents of thought in the Renaissance and Enlightenment. To understand Marxism, whether or not you finally accept it, you have to understand all this rich background; and you have to know something more than a few superficial second-hand polemics about modern schools of thought that dissent from Marxism, too. Both the crowded program and the rigid, unimaginative planning were to blame for these deprivations.

Then too there was the problem of the method of instruction. On this I have heard conflicting individual reports. One of my first impressions was derived from a conversation I had with an older student back in 1952. She herself was an outspoken idealist, having a strong mystical streak in her disposition. In fact, she solemnly assured me that her dead mother's spirit was looking out for her, and had saved her life by diverting from her path an avalanche that threatened her while on a hike in the lofty Tatry Mountains. I asked her with some curiosity how she had fared in her oral examination on

Marxism. Oh, she exclaimed, that experience had been an intellectual treat. She had thoroughly enjoyed discussing with the examiner Lenin's theory of knowledge in relation to historical materialism. The questions had not been inquisitorial, such as "What do you think?" but factual: "What did Lenin say, and how did he differ from his predecessors?" When I heard this, I assumed that the ethics of teaching were being observed in all such courses, as one would wish them to be. By some they were so observed. But alas, not by all.

Too many of the instructors, it now appears, were quite unlike the one referred to. Too many were hastily trained, ignorant of the broad stream of human thought antedating the 19th century, and doctrinaire in their methods. At the very time when official Party pronouncements were admirably calling for free discussion in the realm of science and condemning scholastic methods of rote learning, by question and answer, the practice in many instances was the contrary: a demand for mechanical learning, repetition of the assigned text, and unselective attention to minor details. I have heard quite fantastic anecdotes about this kind of teaching. Even though we allow for the exaggeration of student gossip, there must have been a solid basis for much of it in this connection.

In other words, original thought was being discouraged in fact when the theoretical statements of educators and political leaders called for its encouragement. In addition there were cases where instructors were, it appears, not only rigid and unimaginative but also bullies by tem-

perament. This is a type not confined to one age, country or system, but the general situation at the time gave such persons a chance to exercise a kind of intellectual compulsion, inexcusably, under the guise of zeal, social responsibility and all sorts of false pretexts used by bullies everywhere.

That sort of abuse had to be stopped, of course. And the widespread demands for a reformed program had to be taken seriously. There was never any question about that.

In response to all this upsurge, the Ministry of Higher Education last May invited professors from all over the country to attend conferences of several days devoted to problems in the main fields of instruction. I attended the one dealing with social sciences, which included history, law, economics, philology and others. There was general consensus of opinion about the kind of changes needed. After general speeches along these lines, representatives of various disciplines met and worked out concrete programs according to suggestions. These projects were then turned in to the Ministry, re-discussed by commissions of professors, modified, re-submitted, modified again, until a new, workable program emerged. This went into effect in September of 1956. There may be further modifications but in outline it seems to correspond to majority wishes very well.

We now have five years instead of four to prepare candidates for the M.A. degree. Required subjects have been reduced. There is much wider scope for optional courses. The burden of hours has been reduced in all years. The study of Marxism has

been integrated into a history of western philosophy in general.

All this is to the good. Not all difficulties are solved, of course. Since attendance at lectures is no longer compulsory, there has been a certain dropping off in subjects which are valuable but do not have a superficial appeal. The reorientation in the teaching of philosophy is, I gather, not being realized with equal effect in all quarters. One lecturer is said to go too far in replacing all the traditional lore about classical and medieval thought uncritically; another persists in focusing attention too much on the 19th century; while still another continues to discuss the 18th century almost exclusively from the point of view of what Marx and Engels said about its philosophers. There is a need for various departments to decide among themselves what reading lists are to be used now. There is a need for new text books in every field.

All in all, the situation in philosophical studies is now fairly stabilized, but discussion still goes on in wider fields. The dynamism leading to the reforms is still very much in evidence. The student press is lively and interesting as never before. To be sure, there are many articles appearing now with which I disagree.

Yet it is no doubt better to have these attitudes come out in the open, to be answered and challenged in debate, than to have them buried under a layer of insincere conformity. We have had too much parroting of slogans instead of creative thinking. When challenges are expressed we must simply re-argue and so far as possible re-convince: that is to say, when we are dealing with friendly dissent, not with destructive attitudes which are inaccessible to the processes of reason. Among students the general trend of discussion is undoubtedly constructive even when most effervescent.

Errors may be made still in the planning and realization of our educational policies, but the experiences of the past months have made me optimistic as never before, and I believe that there is everywhere among students a new enthusiasm for their work. Our job now is to settle down and to sustain the positive results of the changes, while avoiding the dangers of confusion and compromise. Granted a peaceful future for Poland in an environment of world peace, I am sure that the dangers will be avoided and that Poland will go forward with renewed effectiveness in the great task of building socialism.

FERMENT IN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL LIFE

LIVELY discussions and controversy mark Chinese intellectual life today. . . . In the universities and colleges students are now getting a systematic introduction to all schools of philosophy so as to train them to think for themselves. It is confidently believed that free controversy and comparison will put materialism itself on a firmer basis.

People's China, November, 1956

CHINA HONORS BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

by ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

THE NAME of Benjamin Franklin is on the lips of thousands of people in China today. With Pierre and Marie Curie he was honored at a packed meeting of leading scientists, writers and cultural workers in Peking on December 12. A new edition of his autobiography is on display in the bookstores. Articles on Franklin have appeared in the leading papers throughout the country and the story of his life and achievements has been carried on the radio.

At the Peking meeting he was cited as "not only a great scientist, but also a great humanist" by Kuo Mo-jo, President of China's Academy of Sciences, and a fine tribute to his life and scientific contributions was paid by Wu Yui-hsun, Vice-President of the Academy.

The meeting was a very good one, with all 1500 seats filled. It was held in the big People's Political Consultative Conference hall with simultaneous translation in English and French (and Chinese when the visitors spoke); the platform a bank of chrysanthemums and three large portraits of Franklin, Pierre and

Marie Curie on the backdrop. After the speeches there was a program with a reading from Franklin in Chinese, American songs and Chopin.

The sense of a reciprocal seeking of new contacts between the Chinese and American peoples was very great at this meeting. None of the Americans invited were able to come, but their messages were warm. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Professor Linus Pauling cabled that they wanted to attend but were prevented by the difficulties in getting a passport. Dr. C. L. Jordan, chairman of the 250th Anniversary Committee for the Franklin Institute, sent pamphlets, booklets, photographs and other material from the Institute and asked for some from China. He concluded by saying: "Let me thank you . . . for the honor you are paying to Benjamin Franklin. We are deeply grateful for this courtesy." Richardson Dilworth, Mayor of Philadelphia, sent a message of regret that he was unable to attend, and many other prominent Americans sent cordial greetings.

Despite the obstacles placed in the way by the idiocy of the State Department's passport ban, an American speaker did give an address which drew from the audience perhaps the greatest applause of the evening. He was Abe Capek, engaged on research in U.S. culture in

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY during the Sino-Japanese war was a correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph." She spent some time in the United States and now lives and works in Peking.

the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

"I can see for myself," he said, "that the New China does not view Americans as enemies, that China respects the democratic heritage of the people of the United States, and keeps alive the tradition of American-Chinese friendship despite the obstacles that official Washington places in the way of friendship." He described the policy of non-recognition of the New China, in Franklin's words, as "an empty bag which cannot stand upright" and mentioned the widening criticism of it in the United States.

Pointing out that the commemoration of this great American at this time had special significance, Capek recalled that as a scientist and economist Franklin was never divorced from the people and the struggles of his day. He was, Capek said, "one of the early great figures of the historic battle which is reaching its climax in our day: the disintegration of the colonial system. He was the author of the first plan for the unity of the British colonies in North America; he went to England to advance the anti-colonial cause of the American colonies and finally became the Ambassador to Europe of the American Revolution for national independence. Franklin was a practical and clear-headed fighter against colonialism. . . . His life and works have profound meaning today when the attainment and consolidation of national independence and the international cooperation of the democratic forces in all countries to preserve both world peace and national independence are of such decisive importance."

There is nothing in common,

Capek said, between Franklin's philosophy on these matters and the attitude of the "American newspapers that work so hard to misinterpret the moral and material aid of the Soviet Union, China and the other countries building socialism to the nations fighting for their national independence as a threat to the American people." These papers, he said, would "do well to remember the lesson of Benjamin Franklin, of the foreign aid that made the birth of the American nation possible. It is one of the perverse twists of history that the country founded under the anti-colonialist banner of Franklin and Jefferson is today the last prop of colonialism in Asia, Latin America and Africa."

But the spirit of Franklin is still alive in the United States and the contrast between that spirit and many of today's phenomena has sounded the alarm for a great many Americans holding a variety of views on the subject, Capek told his Chinese audience. To show this he quoted a passage from an address given by the late Robert E. Sherwood before the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1955:

It is rather embittering for us of today to realize that . . . more than a century and a half after Franklin's death, his ideal is so out of tune with the temper of the times as to seem downright subversive.

Sherwood, Capek recalled, had condemned "the new, oppressive climate in which we live and attempt to breathe" in the United States and cried out that "it is time for the members of this Academy and this Institute to make them-

selves heard in protest—loud protest.”

In conclusion Capek said he had no doubt but that Franklin “if alive today, would appreciate and welcome the gigantic transformation that is taking place in China as something that is good and important not only for the Chinese people, but for world peace, for the independence of all nations, for the true interests of the American people. Franklin, an American spokesman of the Age of Reason, would have only contempt for the unreasonable State Department ban against American newspapermen coming to China, for the repressive travel regulations which bar Americans from visiting China, such outrageous proceedings as the persecution of the American journalists John and Sylvia Powell who are threatened with imprisonment because they did their best to tell the truth about China to the American people. It seems the State Department is afraid to have the American people know the truth about China, is afraid of the great potential of American-Chinese friendship. But this tradition and potential cannot be repressed forever and the spirit of Franklin cannot be banished from the United States.”

A burst of applause greeted his

words that, in a not too far time, “we may see public meetings in the United States honoring Sun Yat-sen and Lu Hsun as there is a public meeting in Peking honoring Franklin. And the fight for American-Chinese friendship, for normal and friendly relations between the United States and China, is a part of the fight for the triumph of the spirit of Benjamin Franklin in his native land.”

Among those sending greetings to the meeting were: L. P. Eisenhart, Executive Officer of the American Philosophical Society; Gaylord P. Harnwell, President of the University of Pennsylvania; Philip D. Morrison, professor of physics at Cornell University; S. Wyman Rolph, President of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania; Dr. Harlow Shapley, former Director of the Harvard Observatory and Lecturer on Cosmography.

Other messages of regret that they could not attend came from: Carl D. Anderson, Nobel Prize (1936), professor of Physics, California Institute of Technology; Detlev Bronk, President, National Academy of Sciences and concurrently President, Rockefeller Institute; Arthur H. Compton, Nobel Prize (1927), Chancellor, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; Donald Cooksey, Associate Director Radiation Laboratory, University of California; Ben Hibbs, Managing Editor, Saturday Evening Post; Ernest O. Lawrence, Nobel Prize (1939), Director of Radiation Laboratory, University of California; Kirtley F. Mather, professor of geology, Harvard University.

POLISH ELECTION RESULTS

ON JANUARY 22 the Polish electoral commission announced that 98.4 per cent of the votes cast in the Parliamentary election, described in the U.S. press as “the freest in years,” went to the single ticket of the United Workers’ Party headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka. Communists made up 50 per cent of the ticket, the Peasant Party 25 per cent, the Democratic Party 10 per cent, and Roman Catholics and others grouped as “Independents,” 15 per cent.

EYE-WITNESS IN HUNGARY

**Translated by Amy Schechter from firsthand reports
on Hungary by Sergei Perucchi in *Vie Nuove***

Vie Nuove (New Life) is a noted Italian illustrated weekly, broadly left, with about a quarter of a million circulation, which covers the Italian and foreign scene usually effectively, sometimes brilliantly. To Hungary the magazine sent Sergei Perucchi, with the experience of Poland behind him. He was in Hungary twenty days, crossing the border from Austria on October 29, seeing the country at the height of its disintegration when the play of conflicting forces was nakedly visible. This is frontline reporting, in the midst of battle. Perucchi talked with scores of Hungarians and with Soviet soldiers; with leading figures—Janos Kadar, Georgi Lukacs, noted writer and critic, then Minister of Culture, now reported to be in Rumania with Nagy, and others.

Profoundly shaken by what he saw, which he sums up as "the most shattering tragedy of our time," Perucchi writes about it in terms of human beings, with pity and anger. He writes, also, with political intelligence, especially about the Hungarian Communist Party, and he shows, in vivid detail, the consequences of the shattering and splintering of the power of organized government.

The problem has been to condense his three articles (*Vie Nuove*, November 10, 17, and 24), into less than a third of their wordage. I have tried to keep the writer's balance in doing this.

A. S.

I. First Days of the Struggle

FROM Nickeldorf, a village on the border between Austria and Hungary, we came to the city of Gyor in a truckload of the insurgents; they were soldiers from the Hungarian army, blond youths around 20, evidently of peasant origin. On their berets they wore the national colors—red, white and green—and were armed with mortars.

This was the morning of October 29; a fine rain was falling, drenching the Hungarian flags flying from military as well as civilian trucks, the Red Cross signs protecting the long columns of cars driving in the direction of the frontier. We attempted to form some sort of judgment on

what was happening from our own first impressions, but the things we saw firsthand we found even more confusing than the constantly shifting and always contradictory rumors we had been hearing in Vienna.

In the main square at Gyor a mass meeting was going on. Someone asked if volunteers would be coming from the West. Those standing in the square, shouting, arguing, exchanging all sorts of rumors, obviously were moved by many different interests. The views of those who spoke nostalgically of the Horthy regime certainly did not gibe with those of Szigeti, who represented the city. A young musician from the "Red Star" hotel accused the Jews of being responsible for Hungary's

difficulties and the crimes committed by the security organs. The harsh—and substantially correct—criticism of the Rakosi government was mixed with observations of quite a different nature; from anti-Semitism they passed to running down the university students from the villages who had reached that level of education thanks to the regime.

We reached Budapest after traveling through a country without a legal government able to exercise its proper functions, without an insurgent government, without organized military occupation. The Soviet troops seemed to be in a position of awaiting developments. The old streets of Pest were alive with excited crowds of civilians, armed men, regular soldiers. There were children, women, workers. From the windows of the houses, at the gates of factories, on the roof of Parliament where the Nagy government had its headquarters, alongside the Hungarian flag, black flags hung signaling those who died in the course of the first days. Every so often isolated shots could be heard, the rattle of machine guns. Reports circulated that it was not only agents of the A.V.H. (Security Police) they were shooting but Communists, as such. On the afternoon of October 30, many of them were hanged from trees in Republic Square.

Atrocious scenes were repeated in various parts of the city during the following days. On the night of November first the mutilated bodies of Communists still swung from the trees in Republic Square. I saw their bodies which had been subjected to horrible torture; a cigarette stub was thrust into the mouth of a half

naked corpse of a man around thirty, whose eyes had been gouged out.

On the night of November 2 and the whole day following it, the white terror, the old fascist terror which the Hungarians had known in 1919, began steadily to gain the upper hand. From house to house they hunted down the Party members, dragged them out of their houses by their heels or by their hair, shot them down in the streets before the eyes of their children and their wives.

Despite the appeals of the press, isolated deeds of this sort still continued; and still there existed no authority able to put a stop to them. During these first ten days, no real authority of any kind existed.

Who, in reality, was at the head of the movement in Hungary? What was its character? What were its aims?

One thing is clear—that important strata of the population were taking part in it. The government was itself made up of men who had personally paid the price for the mistakes of the Socialist state and ought to have been the natural leaders of a movement directed towards democracy; but power had been shattered, fragmented, rendered incapable of controlling except to a very minor degree, the great floodtide sweeping aside all restraint.

The force that at the very beginning could have given coherence to this great popular tidal wave seeking its way towards democracy was the membership of the Hungarian Workers' Party. In the rational initial movement for socialist democratization these Party people had been active—workers, peasants, students, intellectuals—but it was not an easy

thing to distinguish them; they participated as citizens—as individuals—in the elections for the Workers' Councils, but the Party, which for many years had been the principal party in the country's leadership, how did it exercise its function?

I put this question to Georgi Lukacs, Minister of Culture in the current government, world famed philosopher and literary critic.

"A party which has estranged itself from the masses is incapable of exercising its function effectively," Lukacs said, "but here something even worse took place: beside this, the sectarian policy of Rakosi broke the bonds that existed between the membership of the Party and the Party leaders."

"All the good decisions came too late," he added, "... and what was good Tuesday and Wednesday, by Sunday had become impossible. Unfortunately, it was only on Friday and Saturday that the Rakosi group was forced out. . . . From 1945 to 1948-1949, the popularity of our Party was steadily rising because it interpreted the most profound needs of our country. But after that time sectarianism began growing from day to day"

To a score of persons I put this question: Where, in this grave moment, is the Hungarian Workers' Party? They answered me that the Party had disastrously weakened its position because of measures taken against some of its members the full consequences of which had only now become fully clear.

This internal policy inevitably had repercussions on the whole country's life — even the basic achievements of socialism were compromised.

Stormy student mass meetings began at Szeged, the largest university center, then spread throughout all Hungary. It was a movement similar in character to that of the Polish youth. The writer [of this article] was in Poland during the days following Poznan, at a difficult time for the socialist forces of that country, but the socialist forces appeared alert, intolerant of their own mistakes, determined to remedy them; the harshest critics raised their voices *inside* the United Workers Party. In Budapest the 200,000 who recently [October 6] followed Rajk's coffin and demanded Imre Nagy in the government asked for socialist democratization; but all this was taking place *outside* of the Party. . . . Each one went his own way; the students who organized the October 23rd demonstration were not the real guiding force of the movement.

At 6 o'clock the morning of October 24, after the Soviet troops came in [by request of Hegedus and Gero] Imre Nagy began to exercise his powers as President of the Council. But what powers? The revolutionary councils, the army, the police, the National Front parties, the armed citizens were by now each moving along its own path; anyone at all—whether what he wanted was a socialist democracy or the return of the past or none of this at all could get his hands on a gun during these days. Clubs sprang up, associations of every kind and description, often duplicating one another. Thursday, November 1st, news came to Budapest that in the provinces beyond the Danube they had elected their own separate governments.

Now, in Budapest, calm is far from being restored. The govern-

ment and insurgents are trying to establish a provisional regime, but it is difficult to predict what turn events will take. The sole substantial guarantee for the future of this country is the new social reality that was created here—the nationalization of the factories and the agrarian reform. Bela Kovacs, freed from deportation three months ago, who returned to his post as Secretary of the Smallholders' Party, stated in a meeting of the Pest Council "let neither barons nor counts nor Whites consider returning to Hungary. . . ." But this viewpoint is certainly not shared by some of the other oldtime leaders, nor by the fascist émigrés who are now waiting at Vienna to reenter the country. . . .

II. The Time of Terror

It is difficult to say when things began to "change"; or rather when the people here began to judge what had happened differently. For some days after the Nagy government set up, they still spoke about "the revolution for socialist democracy" and justified what had been happening on the ground of the tendency towards excesses cropping up in every movement involving force, even a just one.

On October 23 the people gathered to demonstrate against the policy of Hegedus and Gero; it was that same evening that the first armed formations launched their attacks; because of this it is extremely difficult to establish to what extent the two movements coincided, and to what extent the second either grew out of, or was a switch from the first.

It is true that the night of the 23rd, side by side with workers calling for socialist democracy there were groups calling for "democracy without adjectives"; but it is also true that little or no note was taken of the fact that the latter were the *only organized groups*, and the only ones which had a definite program already worked out.

In the days that followed, as the manhunt spread out over the city, most people thought: "They're meeting out justice to the agents of the political police"; and appeared not to see that, in reality, they were aiming at physically liquidating the Communist Party, the trade union leaders, the cooperatives, the state apparatus. Individuals began appearing again about whose objectives no doubt at all could be entertained, many of them returned from abroad whence they had fled in 1945. But people thought: "When water is stirred up mud comes to the surface—when things quiet down these characters will crawl back into their holes again. . . ."

In the revolutionary committees, it is true, right-wing elements kept pushing their way into leadership, shoving aside worker and peasant elements; but people thought: "As soon as the government restores order the workers will take over leadership of the movement once again."

The government, it is true, did not restore order, but people thought: "As soon as things are cleared up with the Russians, Nagy will start getting tough with the counter-revolutionaries now raising their heads. . . ."

In short, the people did see the danger of reaction, but did not, most of them, believe the danger serious.

It was, most probably, when Nagy announced he was taking Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact, and when he recast his government for the second time, that things began to get clearer for many people. By November 1 it became clear to a large part of the population that the "... revolution for socialist democracy" was slowly but surely being transformed into counter-revolution. For the sincere democrats, however, by then it was too late to do anything about it. The massacre of Communists had now assumed giant proportions; the trade unions were being swept away; the cooperatives being destroyed; the revolutionary committees were now quite definitely in the hands of fascists of the Dudas type; a central government no longer existed except on paper; the State was in ruins; the only law was the law of the gun—and the counter-revolutionaries were the ones who had the guns. It was then that the Soviet troops came back again, called in by the new emergency government which Kadar had established. They returned not alone to halt the orgy of bloodletting but returned, as well, to save the Hungarian State.

I shall not here insist on describing the massacres that preceded this intervention. I would not have believed so many ways of torturing and slaughtering human beings existed; they are too monstrous for me to find the words to write about them now. But I hope that if not today, then tomorrow the correspondents who were with me will have the courage, and the opportunity, to tell about the spectacles they witnessed, and the number of times they witnessed them.

But I shall speak here of one of

the minor incidents which also can serve to show what was taking place. The first incident I saw took place in a quiet little square on the outskirts of town. A hundred or so women were lined up waiting their turn on the sidewalk in front of a general provision store. Suddenly a truckload of rebels drove up, blocking the door of the store, the armed men got out yelling wildly, and went crashing into the store. They were blind drunk. But with a speed that revealed a technique they were already thoroughly familiar with, in a few minutes they did a complete job of pillaging the store, smashing to bits whatever they were unable to carry away. Oil trickled down the street from the steps of the store; sugar from the sacks they had gutted was scattered all around. Then an explosion—one of them even more hopped up than the rest had bombed the store. This was just one of many similar incidents I saw.

The Nagy government no longer existed: by now it was only a hypocritical mask which the counter-revolutionaries maintained so that it would—under threat of their guns—deal with the Soviets. As in Budapest, so in the provinces. In village after village I was told that bands of rebels invading the countryside were smashing the headquarters of cooperative farms, murdering the managers, rushing out to the fields to plant stakes to mark "their own" property; in many cases restoring to his castle the one-time baron who now returned as victor.

No one is able to say what would have happened if the Soviet intervention had not blocked this madness, this orgy of blood letting. Perhaps at some point the population

would have turned in desperation and rebelling against the rebels, snatched the guns from their hands. In some districts this might have succeeded, in others not. But out of it would have developed the most frightful civil war a country has ever seen—war not between an anti-State movement and a State; not between government and anti-government forces, but war between man and man. By now without principle, without goal except that of conquering in order to survive. Already the last days before the Soviet troops return had this quality in them.

In this utter destruction not the State alone but even the most rudimentary organized forms of a human community of some sort were being destroyed.

III. *"It Can't Go On Like This"*

The dawn of November 7 was grey, mist rose from the Danube to the Buda hills; the sound of artillery fire came from the hills, directed towards Csepel Island. On Tokoli, for the first time, the Soviet infantry began to advance, accompanied by armored cars; from Ujpest, in the fourth district, came the crackle of light arms. When the sharp sound of firing from Ujpest became audible in the lull when the cannons were silent, young Josef Kovacs [an art student with whom the author had struck up an acquaintance] said: "Magyar . . . Hungarian. . . ." Then he shook his head: "It can't go on like this" . . .

Josef and three student friends were killed that same day in one of the last bloody clashes in the center of the city; and on Friday, November 9, their coffins were carried out

of the Academy of Fine Arts, between the Soviet tanks, meeting on their way the stretchers of the Red Army which was gathering up its dead. The students in the funeral procession and the Soviet soldiers looked at one another without hatred while together they opened up a path through rows of the lamp posts smashed and twisted by the bombs. Without a word they helped one another clear the road.

Thus a gesture of human compassion accompanied four of the last to fall during the Budapest days. Then there descended over Hungary a calm that was not yet peace. Over Radio Budapest the voice of Kadar spoke to youths like Josef, trying again to establish a faith which a monstrous chain of blunders and the bloody events of the past weeks seemed to have destroyed.

Would Kadar succeed in rebuilding the contact and the faith which existed before a crisis without precedent in working-class history dissolved, in only a few days, Communist Party organization in Hungary? Kadar was probably the most popular leader among Hungarian Communists. In Hungary they tell about the moral strength of Kadar which let him stand firm both against fascism and the Rakosi police. After miraculously escaping the Gestapo, Kadar, accused of treason in 1949, resisted the tortures of the Rakosi police. Even his physical appearance, his frank and open way of doing things, inspire confidence, while no shadow of compromise can be found in the past of this man who fought consistently against the degeneration of the socialist State. His judgements on the past are harsh, minimizing nothing.

When we were received in his office, he said, simply: "We are Communists and have no right to renounce our faith, but the regime governing Hungary during the past years represented nothing. It was a police regime which ignored the country's problems." His language pleased the Communists and inspired respect in opponents. Today, however, Kadar is faced by an agonizing problem: is it possible in a short time to break through the wall of distrust, to reconstitute the very framework of the Hungarian state which the insurrection has shattered?

The second Soviet troop action, on the invitation of the new Kadar government, began at 5 in the morning of Sunday, November 4. Only on November 8 did the Red Army establish control over the city. They ask why the Soviet troops took so many days to occupy Budapest in spite of the superior forces at their command. The truth is that the soldiers of the Red Army did not, as a general thing, fire first, but limited themselves to answering attacks. . . . The Soviet troops permitted life to go on in the city streets, even though this made it difficult to distinguish

the men bearing arms from the ordinary citizens. Certainly their guns fired on zones from which firing came; but the truth seemed to be that sometimes they disregarded even elementary measures for their own safety. The rebels transported arms practically under their eyes. If the Hungarians gave proof of their courage, the Soviet troops demonstrated the will to reduce the number of victims and the damage to a minimum, at the risk of slowing down occupation of the city.

The Soviet soldiers had no liking for this battle. We spoke with some of the officers—one was a captain, from Kiev, another, a lieutenant from Odessa. They were members of the Communist Party of the USSR. They told us that the struggle was for them an atrocious thing, but that they saw it as necessary.

The lieutenant, a 23 year old youth who spoke our language, pointed to a large apartment house whose windows were closely shuttered.

"From up there" he said, "may come my death—at the hands of a man whom I think of as a friend. If we live through this . . . I know that we will be friends."

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY ON HUNGARY

"**M**ORALLY, I am no more able to condone these tragic events than our attack upon Egypt from which the events sprang. But politically—and it is always difficult to disentangle the moral from the political—the situation is different. 1) Soviet intervention in Hungary was invited by the Hungarian Government. We were not invited into Egypt. 2) The Soviet troops were in Hungary and had been for many years, both to keep peace for the progressive elements and to strengthen a barrier against fresh fascist trouble. . . . 3) Our actions were attempts to put the clock back to imperialism and colonialism, whereas the Soviet Union's was to prevent it being put back to fascism, that Fascist Hungary which resulted from our action in 1919. The danger of that relapse was imminent. The workers in no Eastern state could tolerate such a relapse."

—from a statement by Dr. Hewlett Johnson, *British-Soviet Friendship*, Dec., '56

"NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

by RALPH PARKER

Our correspondent reports on the creative ferment in the USSR

The general process of reassessment, reevaluation and weighing of many aspects of Soviet life that has proceeded now for a number of years and which was given a dramatic development by the discussion and revelations at the 20th Congress has of course been reflected in all fields of Soviet artistic life. Ralph Parker has sent us the following article, based largely on the recently published novel *Not by Bread Alone*, by the young novelist Vladimir Dudintsev. Not only the subject-matter of the novel, but the wide public interest it has aroused and the critical writing about the book which Mr. Parker describes, will, we think, help clarify certain tendencies manifesting themselves in Soviet life.

Various writers in the press here have called attention to *Not by Bread Alone* and several other recent novels and plays as indicating deep unrest within the Soviet Union. It is well to remember that Russian literature has almost from its inception been passionately involved with the social life from which it grew. Never simply concerning itself with descriptions of the subjective moods and feelings of isolated characters, the typical examples occupied a place in the intellectual, political and philosophical life of the people to a degree unknown in any other country.

If there was a relative quiet period during the rigidities of the late 30's and the 40's, this was certainly an exception to what was the general nature of Russian writing until long after the establishment of the Soviet government.

Increasingly in recent years, novels and plays have returned to the tradition of open and passionate social commentary. In our August issue we published a review of *Those Who Seek* by the young novelist Granin which included a remarkably hard-hitting exposure of bureaucracy. Published several years ago in the Soviet Union, it is only one of an increasing number of such writings of which *Not by Bread Alone* is the most recent and in many ways the most searching.

That official comment upon much of the material in these new novels and plays is cautionary and that there is insistence that the general aims of all creative work should be in the interests of the goals of a socialist society is not surprising. Socialism, after all, does not support the claims of a wholly irresponsible individualism.

What seems clear from the present situation in the Soviet Union is that a freer creative period has been for some time growing in depth and dimension and that whatever limitations and guidance the Party leadership may consider necessary at times to impose, it will continue steadily towards the creation in many fields of newer and richer Soviet art forms. M. Y.

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SVIRIDOV'S cantata on the text of Yesenin's poetry, a Picasso exhibition covering fifty years of the artist's activity and the publication of Vladimir Dudintsev's *Not by Bread Alone*—these were the events that caused the greatest stir in the world of the arts in the USSR last year. Other events that we might mention are the publication of a number of highly controversial articles asserting that Soviet art and drama have been in a state of stagnation and regress during the past twenty years, a debate on the pages of *Iskusstvo* (Art) and *Sovietskaya Kultura* (the organ of the Ministry of Culture) about the role of the Impressionists in the history of world art, the revival of an early Meyerhold production at a Moscow theater and the steady growth in the reputation of the writers Tendryakov, Granin and Ovechkin, authors of honesty and considerable skill.

Though it would be unwise to try to define general trends during this period we can risk drawing the following conclusions. In the fine arts the application of the Chinese principle "Let all flowers flourish. . . ." has led to the restoration of greater variety in the museums and art galleries. In literature and drama the satirical note has tended to predominate while both authors and critics have taken a keener interest in questions of form and style. The theaters of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tiflis and elsewhere have regained their separate "faces." As regards foreign literature in translation the Soviet reader has in 1956 acquainted himself with the works of Graham Greene, Alberto Moravia, William Saroyan, Ernest Hemingway, Francois Mauriac, and of

many other writers virtually unknown in the USSR until recently.

Towards the end of the year the Communist Party took steps to remind the public that while broadening their knowledge of the world outside their country Soviet people should remember that they lived in an atmosphere of sharp ideological struggle. "We require a careful ideological and aesthetic analysis of those foreign works with which we propose to acquaint the Soviet spectator and reader," wrote Boris Izakov, prominent in the Foreign Commission of the Soviet Writers' Union. Similarly, people were put on their guard against being led astray by anti-realist tendencies among some of their own painters, by talk of some "golden age" of the Soviet playhouse allegedly buried under archival dust, and, above all by "nihilists" who interpreted honest and well-intentioned books criticizing the crimes and errors of the past as a wholesale attack on the Soviet system, on the Party, on the pillars of the Soviet state. This recent reassertion of the Communist Party's authority in intellectual fields has been seen most clearly in connection with the stir caused by Vladimir Dudintsev's novel *Not By Bread Alone* and by an article that appeared in *Questions of Philosophy* on problems of the Soviet theater.

Vladimir Dudintsev is a young writer. Educated as a lawyer, he fought in the second world war and soon after demobilization, won a literary prize offered by the youth newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. For some years afterwards he was employed as a publisher's reader. *Not By Bread Alone*, his first full length novel, was serialized in *Novy*

Mir, the literary monthly edited by Konstantin Simonov. It aroused great interest and in November, after the publication of the final installment, readers' conferences were held throughout the Soviet Union and the novel subjected to searching criticism, mainly favorable. Only after the public's acclamation of the book had taken a form considered by the authorities as harmful to political morale did sharply hostile criticism of some aspects of *Not By Bread Alone* appear in the press.

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Dudintsev's novel opens in a provincial Russian town named Muzga where during the war a large factory was built. This factory is directed by a middle-aged man named Drozdov who has recently married a young schoolteacher, Nadya. The Drozdovs are seen returning from a business trip to Moscow where the manager has been gratified to learn from his friend Shutikov, a highly-placed ministerial official, that he may soon expect promotion to a post in Moscow. In Muzga this short, sly-looking man with an energetic, rather patronizing manner, is something of a local personality. He has a comfortable apartment, he rubs shoulders with local Party and municipal officials, he keeps a whole retinue of faithful subordinates in their place by shutting an eye to some of their human failings, though taking the precaution to keep the evidence in his safe. Nadya, on the other hand, is a decent, naive Russian girl, tall and pale, with sad grey eyes, who until she married the 52-year-old factory manager had many friends in Muzga among her fellow schoolteachers and the work-

ing-class parents of her pupils. She is expecting a child and Drozdov has made her a present of an expensive fur coat.

On arrival, Drozdov goes straight to his office. Among the people waiting to see him is Lopatkin, an inventor whom the factory has had under its wing since the ministry in Moscow gave its preliminary approval to his invention of a machine for centrifugally casting-iron pipes. Not for the first time, Lopatkin had asked Drozdov to make inquiries in Moscow about the ministry's plans. Was he going to be allowed to finalize his designs in the factory drawing department, enlisting the aid of engineers and designers with more professional skill than himself, a physics teacher who had been shocked during a school excursion to the factory to see how how primitive and wasteful were the methods in use for casting pipes?

But Drozdov, like Shutikov and others in the ministry, feels instinctive hostility towards this "amateur" inventor whose design has come out of the blue, not according to the "plan." On one of his previous visits to Moscow he had learned that a group of the ministry's own designers, headed by a distinguished Academician, were at work on a similar machine for pipe-casting and that this would soon be sent to the Drozdov factory for tests. Now, returning again from Moscow, he informs Lopatkin that the ministry has turned down the latter's invention once and for all. "You have no one to support you. . . . Your mistake is that you work on your own. Our machine is the product of the collective mind." As Lopatkin leaves Drozdov's office the factory manager

says to himself: "A broken man." Then, characteristically, he calls up the supply department and gives instructions for half a ton of coal to be delivered to the address where Lopatkin is living. It is only two or three years after the war and Drozdov knows that since Lopatkin gave up schoolteaching to work on his design he has earned little money.

After three years of married life Nadya Drozdov has discovered many sides to her husband's character that displease, even shock her. At times it seems to her that he rejects outright many of the things she had been brought up to believe. "My dear," he said once, sitting beside her on the sofa, "The point is this: everything you're saying belongs to the nineteenth century. Just pretty phrases. . . . Listen, this is what I have to tell you about what you consider my tactless attitude towards my subordinates. It's our job to feed and clothe people. I judge a man according to whether he is a good or a bad builder of Communism. I have the right to do that because it's the only standard I apply to myself. At home and in my office, I'm a worker, that and nothing else. We're running a race against the capitalist world. The first thing we have to do is to build our house, only then can we think about hanging pictures on the walls. . . . I'm one of those who are producing material values. The main spiritual value of our times is the ability to work well and create as many useful, essential things as possible. . . ."

Drozdov even took Stalin's *Short History of the CPSU* to bed with him and, spectacles on nose as he lay beside his young wife, he would read to her extracts from the fourth

chapter—the philosophical chapter.

"You tell me I go to extremes," he said to Nadya one night. "There can't be any extremes for those who are working on the material basis. Matter, you see, is primary. The firmer I build the basis the stronger our state will be. That's not Turgenev, my dear."

"You've got it wrong," Nadya said to him one day, timidly. "The basis is the relationship between people concerning things, not the things themselves."

"I am strengthening the basis. I'm producing the things with which people have relations. . . ."

In addition to her feelings of distaste for this sort of primitive thinking, Nadya compares unfavorably the relations between her husband and his local acquaintances and those between "ordinary" people in Muzga. She is still working at school and one day on her way there she notices Lopatkin in the street. She had been attracted to him when they worked at the same school before her marriage and now her feelings towards the lone inventor are a mixture of regret, envy, admiration and remorse. When, one evening, her duties take her to a factory-worker's humble cottage where Lopatkin lodges, she is struck by the difference between the real comradeship that exists among "ordinary" people and the selfish and heartless ways of the people of her husband's world of privileged folk; struck, too, by the difference between her husband's approach to his work—as a means to power—and that of Lopatkin, living in penury on boiled potatoes and herring for the sake of an invention that will benefit society. (For Lopatkin has

not taken the ministry's rejection of his design as final and goes on perfecting it). Soon after this chance meeting, Nadya's mixed feelings about Lopatkin, added to the dismay she experiences at the thought of bearing Drozdov's child, have the result of an hysterical outburst in the presence of her fellow-teachers, in which she pours ridicule on Lopatkin for his quixotism. He overhears her and her remorse is the greater. Now she entertains a feeling of real guilt towards him, the guilt of a woman who has abandoned not only her own world for one whose values she rejects but also, she is beginning to realize, her personal happiness. Her love for Lopatkin is already real though unexpressed.

Nadya's child is born. Soon she and Drozdov move to Moscow where the manager takes up a post under his protector Shutikov. Meanwhile Lopatkin's perseverance is rewarded. He is instructed to perfect his design with the aid of the factory draughtsmen. In Moscow the Lopatkin case has become a bone of contention between the Drozdovs. "I don't believe in the existence of so-called spirits," Drozdov says to Nadya during one of their arguments. "Besides the concept of genius there is the concept of the mob. I am descended from the mob, from poverty." "Listen," says Nadya. "You say you are descended from the mob. But don't forget that even in poverty a man may ponder over his own fate and over the fate of mankind, and in doing so may come across some really great invention. . . . What you called exalted spirits are really decent ordinary people. . . . Lopatkin may be an

individualist, if you like, he may be working outside the collective, but he is working for others, not for himself."

After a spell of work in the factory designing rooms where he meets the jealousy of some, the sympathy of others, but where he is fortified by the belief in his mission that he puts into the words: "However hungry I have been I would always exchange my crust of bread for a spark of faith," Lopatkin travels to Moscow to defend his design before the experts of the ministry. The commission he faces has been carefully "rigged" by Shutikov and Drozdov, now deeply involved in the process of getting the ministry's own machine accepted and put into production. Incidentally, the best features of Lopatkin's design have been stolen and introduced into the ministry's version. By a combination of conservatism and pure self-interest the commission turns down Lopatkin's invention. Only one member, Galitsky, is convinced that the lone inventor is on to something good. Galitsky himself is connected with the defense industry and has powerful friends in the army.

After the dismissal of the project Drozdov and Shutikov, now a deputy-minister, receive Lopatkin. "You are really a most tragic figure," Drozdov tells him. "What you fail to realize is that we could manage without your invention even if it were a really important one. We wouldn't feel the loss of it because we calculate everything carefully and have a planning system which ensures our progressive advance. Admit, even, that your invention was a work of genius. But the problem you have solved on your own

would anyway be solved at the right time by our collective of constructors and technologists. And our solution would be a better one than yours just because it was the product of collective research. The collective is always cleverer than any single genius. . . . We are builders. You with your gigantic ideas and your little legs are unnecessary to us. . . . We advance to the required solution gradually, without panic and we reach it on the right day, at the right hour even. . . ." To which Lopatkin replied: "One of your ants, however, has taken it upon himself to climb up higher than the others and to permit himself to think for all and to decide what is good and what is bad for other people."

Undaunted by his succession of failures, Lopatkin counts his savings and reckons that by the strictest economies he can spend a few months in Moscow. He starts pestering various organizations and newspaper offices with his complaints against the bureaucracy, denouncing all who have stood in the way of an invention which, he is convinced, is of great potential benefit to society. One day he reads an article signed by Shutikov in which the deputy-minister boasts of the assistance that every inventor and innovator can count upon receiving in the Soviet state. In great indignation Lopatkin writes to the press, stating that 95 per cent of those innovators who address themselves to Shutikov for assistance would confirm the fact that he did nothing for them. He sets out the full story of his own case. At the newspaper office, when he delivers the letter, he meets an old inventor named Bukso, a man embittered by

his experiences who has taken refuge in a solitary life, his inventions put away in a cupboard. Bukso offers to put Lopatkin up in his room in a communal flat.

Several months pass. Lopatkin sets up his drawing board in a corner of the room in a dilapidated house in Moscow. The two men live on black bread and cod-liver oil, on the potatoes that kind-hearted neighbors put outside their door, on what they can buy for money earned by casual work in the railroad freight yards. Lopatkin keeps up his offensive against the bureaucracy. "He realized that above all he had to fight against lassitude, against betraying himself. He walked a lot, reflecting on his fate. I am not a genius, he tells himself, I am simply that fellow out of Dostoyevsky's *A Raw Youth*."

"If you disguise yourself from your enemies," he tells Bukso, "you disguise yourself from your friends too. You must go to war openly, that's the only way. With your flag unfurled and with your motto written on it in big letters. When I realized the importance of my machine I knew I would have to tighten my belt. To the last hole. I understand that Communism is not something cooked-up by philosophers but a force that has existed for a very long time in people's minds and which has been gradually preparing cadres for the future society. . . . But Communism has already reached me. How do I know that? Listen, I'll tell you. I've never worked as I'm working now. I'm working according to my *abilities*. When I save time it isn't just for anything, it's for my work. As to my *needs*, I could go straight to a

factory, earn two thousand a month and buy a heap of things. Or save up to buy an automobile. I could put my money in a savings bank. I'd be saving money, for I'd be earning well. But I'm not that sort at all. I don't want any of those things. I don't want the sort of happiness you see in the movies. Food, more food, a flat with a separate bedroom, lace curtains. . . . Of course, I wouldn't refuse those things. But I wouldn't be happy if that was all I had. . . ."

"You're a dreamer," says Bukso. "How can you speak of Communism if you have to drop the thing that's dear to your heart in order to earn your daily bread?"

"I don't say we've got Communism. But I need Communism now. Not so that I can *receive* but so I can *give* without running into obstacles."

The old man presses him to follow his example and put his invention away in the cupboard.

"No. I'm not going to put it away and I'm not going to disguise myself. We must be quite open with ourselves, and with others."

Nadya learns from her husband that Lopatkin is in Moscow, learns too of his activities. She traces him and sees what abject poverty he is living in. She sells her fur coat and sends the money to him, without revealing that she is the donor. Later they meet at a concert. She tells him that in the ministry a machine including many of Lopatkin's ideas is being completed. She quarrels openly with her husband and begins to come to Bukso's room. Soon she is assisting Lopatkin. Due to her researches in foreign technical journals he is able to introduce an important improvement in his design.

Lopatkin and Nadya become lovers. Shortly afterwards he is called to the procuracy and told that a group of scientific workers in the ministry have gone to law, accusing him of having slandered them in one of his letters to the press. Lopatkin defends himself stoutly against the accusation that he is an "enemy of Soviet science." "What kind of enemy am I? A certain person does not like my machine and at once cooks up something like Weissmanism-Morganism, pins a label on me and sends me packing with a black mark against my name. I'm accused of being heterodox. Every innovator is heterodox, whatever branch of knowledge you take." No proceedings are instituted against him at this stage.

Lopatkin completes the latest version of his design. His energy and stubbornness are as great as ever. "Nothing will make him drop his cause or turn aside from his path," Nadya says of him to herself, "he will break down all doors and fight his way to the end, though he knows the end is often an unhappy one."

At this stage Lopatkin's life takes a sudden turn for the better. Through an act of personal kindness by a subordinate he manages to get his designs examined by the minister himself. Now, it happens that the minister is under pressure from the "Big House" to contribute to the building program. He is happy to be able to announce that he is encouraging the production of a new machine which will considerably lower building costs. Shutikov, Drozdov and their hangers-on are not alarmed: they know that their "own" machine will be in production long before Lopatkin's. Know-

ing that Lopatkin is in the minister's favor Shutikov offers him, a cushy job. Lopatkin refuses; he is going to devote all his energies to the production of his pilot model. "What surprises me," Lopatkin says after that interview "is to find that there isn't a single honest man among all those constructors, engineers and all the rest of 'em in this building."

And it is not long before the news reaches him that the rival machine is in production. "I have proved that an inventor is a dying remnant of the past," says Lopatkin to himself in one of his rare moments of despair. However, before long Galitsky shows his hand. The defense department with which he is connected sends for Lopatkin, shows interest in the design, and commissions Lopatkin to produce a pilot-model. When the contract is signed and the work is classified as secret, Lopatkin insists that Nadya Drozdov be named in it as co-author. This is agreed. Lopatkin and Nadya go on working in a section of the ministry. The jealousy of the former's colleagues is intensified when they discover that few of them are admitted there under the stringent security rules. Before long a document is placed on Shutikov's desk denouncing Lopatkin for having associated Nadya with secret work under false pretenses. Shutikov takes it to the minister, the minister gets in touch with "you know who" (this was before the death of Stalin) and not many days have passed before both Lopatkin and Nadya are summoned to the military procurator's office.

Captain Abrosimov, the young but experienced interrogator, sees

Lopatkin first. Abrosimov is adept at "luring his bird into the trap." For him this is an easy case anyway. "His chief had told him that in this case there was nothing left to prove: the betrayal of a state secret was obvious." Lopatkin, entirely unaware of the details of the charge that was to be laid against him, insists under interrogation that Nadya had been of real assistance to him and that she was a genuine co-author. Did he and Nadya have "sexual relations" the captain asks apologetically. Certainly not, replied the chivalrous Lopatkin.

On the following day (Lopatkin was kept in custody) Nadya, equally ignorant of the nature of the charge, tells the captain that she had had little to offer Lopatkin since the invention was due to him. "Was there physical intimacy between you?" she is asked. "Yes," she replied, blushing.

Lopatkin is tried in secret by a military tribunal. Two witnesses are called. One of them is the man who denounced him, a jealous colleague. The other is Nadya. She has little to do but confirm her statement that her part in the invention was insignificant. Thus her attempt to defend Lopatkin against what she had imagined to be the real reason for his arrest—a charge of incompetency—proved to be the most telling evidence against him on the charge of bringing her into the work on a false pretext. However, during the brief and purely formal proceedings Lopatkin is able to convey a message to Nadya that it is up to her to save the designs of his machine. Moreover, one of the members of the tribunal, a major, has doubts about the justice of the

whole proceedings and files a minority judgment that insures that the case be re-examined by a higher instance even after Lopatkin has been sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Lopatkin is sent to Siberia. Nadya busies herself with extracting from the ministry those parts of the work to which she has a formal right as co-author. Galitsky enters the picture again and his friends proceed to put the Lopatkin machine into production. Meanwhile the case is being reconsidered and after a few years Lopatkin is fully rehabilitated and returns, a free man, to Moscow. He finds a new situation. The ministry's version of the machine has proved an expensive failure, his own a success. Yet his opponents have not been dislodged from their positions of influence and power. Drozdov, indeed, has been promoted and to the very end he and his toadies continue to mock Lopatkin for his individual stand. Lopatkin realizes that the struggle is not over. "What are you thinking about?" Nadya asks him at the end of the novel. "'About many things.' . . . He leaned heavily against the granite embankment moving his shoulder as if adjusting his load better before taking to the road again. It was a much stouter shoulder but his load was heavier now. This was the load of new concerns—concerns about the people."

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Not by Bread Alone was received as no other book in the post-war era. Long before any of the professional critics had expressed an opinion, readers' conferences throughout the country were hailing it as a bold and true piece of writ-

ing. And though its literary shortcomings were obvious to most readers, its topicality, its message, struck home. Bureaucratic cruelty and unjust imprisonment are aspects of Soviet life of which millions upon millions of Soviet people had had bitter experience. But there were other, deeper aspects of the book that insured it widespread popularity: its championing of the public spirited citizen who, though cold-shouldered by official organizations, persevered in his implacable uncompromising fight, and its assertion that socialism is based first and foremost on ethical values of fraternity, truth and no compromise with evil. (Perhaps many readers—and this applies surely to many of Dudintsev's fellow authors—felt their consciences stir as they read of a man who was never afraid of declaring his principles, "who wore his motto boldly on his flag.")

However, on second thoughts, some critics, with an eye more to the stir the book had caused than to the book itself, were soon finding serious fault with *Not by Bread Alone*. It was the *Literary Gazette* which struck the first note of warning that it would be wrong to read into Dudintsev's novel a general criticism of the system that produced Drozdovs and Shutikovs: "Drozdov is typical, of course, not as a new 'anti-social type' that has developed in Soviet society but as a representative of the old gradually disappearing species of officials. These men are doomed no matter how successfully they may be stepping from one high office to another."

By the end of the year Dudintsev himself was being blamed in high Party circles for what appeared to be

an ambiguity in his treatment of the role of the individual in relation to the collective in Soviet society. *Trud* which had been the first newspaper to print a favorable review, a month later published a reader's letter which contained these words: "Do we not have public organizations, the Party, trade unions, the Comsomol? Could not this force be shown in the novel in all its might? Why does the reader not see anything of this in the novel? What is shown is an isolated inventor, and on top of all this we see in the last pages of the novel the triumphant scoundrels mocking Lopatkin." And an *Izvestia* critic wrote: "Lopatkin is an individualist, the sense of comradeship is alien to him, the collective does not attract him. . . . Individualism is a trait alien to our reality. . . . Why doesn't the novel reflect the main element constituting the insurmountable power of the Soviet people: their collectivism, their unity?"

A better understanding of the reasons that lay behind the sudden swing of official opinion against Dudintsev—or, rather, against the interpretation that many readers had made of his novel—may be obtained if account is taken of the fact that this swing coincided with a decision by the Party to assert its leadership in cultural matters more firmly than had been the case during most of 1956. This decision appears to have been motivated by a determination to combat the tendency of denigrating everything in Soviet life during the period roughly limited by the years 1936 and Stalin's death. Perhaps the best example both of this tendency and of the countermeasures it provoked is provided by the

fuss that arose over an article on Soviet drama, appearing in *Questions of Philosophy* during the summer of 1956.

"Plays and the Playhouse: Their Arrears," by B. Nazarov and O. Gridneva, was an article essentially concerned with the problem of freedom in art. After considering the early period in Soviet dramaturgy and the theater during which the "golden fund" was created ("Lyubov Yarovaya" by Trenev, "Armored Train 14-69" by Ivanov, "Storm" by Bill-Belotserkovsky, "Collapse" by Lavrenev are mentioned) the authors ask why after the early nineteen-thirties a period of stagnation set in. The reason, they suggest, is that from that time onwards the individuality of the artist was suppressed by bureaucratic interference with his work in the theater, and they argued that in the 'twenties the Party and the Soviet state were careful not to impose on the theater a single style. They refer to passages from Party statements which, to them, appear to call for toleration of competition between various schools and styles, for letting the public "use its own judgment," and go on to demonstrate that at a later stage in Soviet development the Party and state, under Stalin's leadership, abandoned this principle and sought to keep the arts in leading-strings. Has the time not come to trust the intellectual, to drop day-by-day guidance from above and allow the art of the theater a wide measure of autonomy?

At the end of November, *Pravda* published a long article in which these views were sharply attacked, and a few days later the Minister of Culture himself described the pub-

lication of the Nazarov-Gridneva article as a serious error on the part of the magazine *Questions of Philosophy*. There were two main lines of attack: the critics' charge that the Soviet theater had been in a state of stagnation and regress since the early 'thirties was indignantly denied, and their call for freedom from guidance was described as dangerous and quite inadmissible.

"The advanced representatives of Soviet culture understand full well and support with all their heart the mighty vital power of Party direction" wrote the Minister of Culture. "Strong as bureaucracy in certain administrative organs of the theaters may be, deplorable as the results of the personality cult may be, a whole generation of Soviet theatrical men, fighting, committing mistakes, conquering new positions in art, honestly and devotedly worked with deep faith in the great cause of socialist construction and was closely bound up with the people. . . . We can never agree with those who, under cover of struggling against the effect of the personality cult, attempt to cancel all those valuable things that have been accomplished, that exist, that have served and continue to serve the people. For us there is great inspiration in the Leninist words that in the creative process it is necessary to allow wide scope for personal initiative, individual inclinations, scope of thought and imagination, for form and content. But we are also well aware of another statement made by Lenin about the direction of the process of formation of socialist art: 'We should not stand by with idly folded arms and let chaos develop in any given direction. We must guide this

process strictly according to plan and shape its results.' . . . The Party seeks to unfold rather than suppress the individuality of the artist. That is why we reject that part of the article which is essentially aimed against the direction and the development of the theater by the Party and state and supports spontaneity, drifting in art. We are deeply convinced that with the aid of the Party we shall succeed in avoiding a repetition of the mistakes of the past years."

The men of the Soviet theater who wrote these words concluded: "We must master in a more creative spirit the legacy of Stanislavsky, Nemirovich-Danchenko, Vakhtangov, we must appreciate and conceive anew the works of Meyerhold, Tairov and Mikhoels, and, casting aside what is untrue, take everything valuable from them. We are deeply interested in remarkable phenomena in the field of culture, be it a visit of the talented Chinese artists or an exhibition of Picasso's paintings, be it a new production with bold ideas, or a striking, colorful concert of Indian artists.

"We do not want stereotyped theaters and playwrights, we are well aware of our mistakes. Our entire creative impulse must be directed towards the creation of something new, towards dreams of the future. And we do not want to cast doubt on our plans, dreams, desires, owing to pseudo-historical excursions into the past or because of the still quite imperfect work of the various government departments and organs of the Ministry of Culture. We must take upon ourselves a conscious responsibility for our work in art before the Party and the people. . . ."

REVIEW AND COMMENT

by JESSICA SMITH

The Cold War in the Middle East — United Nations Disarmament Talks — Worldwide Pressure for Peace

WHAT happened to the bold new initiative for peace through a new approach to the question of European security, and a constructive new disarmament program, of which there was so much talk in Washington at the end of the year? Instead, the Administration's gift to the world as the New Year dawned was a rash new initiative for war in the form of the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, (the area so vaguely defined it could be stretched or contracted at will.) Under the program placed before Congress by the President and Secretary of State Dulles, authorization is asked for the President to employ American armed forces to protect Middle Eastern nations against "overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international Communism," and American dollars to protect them from subversion.

The enunciation of the Eisenhower Doctrine was followed by the President's message to Congress restating the policy of continuing the cold war, and the budget message. The record peacetime budget of \$71,800,000,000 as against \$68,900,000,000 last year, bristles with plans for nuclear weapons and guided missiles. With two thirds of the total budget already going for military purposes, most of the in-

crease is for still further destructive ends, while comparatively infinitesimal amounts are allotted to housing, schooling, and saving our people from such deadly enemies as heart disease and cancer.

Military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin wrote (*New York Times* Jan. 20) that the new defense budget is "still another step on a road that may have no turning . . . another progressive stride toward committing the nation to a nuclear strategy." He said it was framed against the background of a recent Presidential directive ordering "that military planning be based on the assumption that nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be used in the event of a general war."

The Eisenhower Doctrine

The new Middle Eastern policy and the new budget, taken together, mean an intensification of the cold war and of the deadly arms race, a new dance to the brink of the abyss wherein lies atomic annihilation.

No one, including the proposers of the plan, sees any danger of overt Communist aggression in the Middle East. Everyone, including the proposers, knows that the only aggression in the area has been by Britain and France, with the aid of Israel as their catspaw; the only sub-

version the attempted overthrow of the Nasser Government in Egypt which was part of the plan that ended in such a fiasco. The whole world is aware that the only protection envisaged by the plan is not on behalf of the Middle Eastern nations, but on behalf of the U.S. monopolists who want to take over whatever is left of the British and French colonial positions and more of the rich oil profits of which only an infinitesimal portion would be returned in the amount of "economic aid" envisaged. The real "subversion" feared is represented by the national independence movements within these countries which are determined to end all forms of colonial domination. The outside penetration feared is the support for these movements from the Soviet Union, which must be fenced out by closing this gap in the military alliances and chain of military bases surrounding it.

There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality about Secretary Dulles' arguments for the Eisenhower Doctrine. Testifying before the House Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees in the January hearings, Secretary Dulles declared that possible international Communist aggression in the Middle East is "the most serious threat we have faced over the past ten years." At the same time, he acknowledged that no one could reliably predict "whether . . . there would be Communist aggression," and that only the "Communist capability" and "the temptation" are known. However, he added later, "The fact that we don't have evidence of attack doesn't prove that

they are not going to attack." ("Have some wine?" the March Hare said in an encouraging tone. Alice looked all around the table, but there was nothing on it but tea. "I don't see any wine," she remarked. "There isn't any," said the March Hare.)

With similar Mad Tea Party logic, Mr. Dulles cited as one of the military aspects of the dangers of aggression from international communism, which required the authorization to send U.S. troops, the fact that "Soviet ground, naval and air forces are stationed in areas adjacent to the Middle East—Bulgaria, the Black Sea, the Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia." ("It wasn't very civil of you to sit down without being invited," said the March Hare. "I didn't know it was *your* table," said Alice; "it's laid for a great many more than three.")

It is not clear whether Mr. Dulles considers that the presence of Soviet troops on Soviet territory is the menace to the United States which must be guarded against, (the USSR might with equal logic propose sending troops to Mexico because of the presence of U.S. troops in Texas) or whether he took it for granted that the Senators' geographical knowledge was somewhat weak. Nor is it clear why he threw in Bulgaria, where there are no Soviet forces. In fact, Mr. Dulles' was presenting a rather compelling argument as to why the Soviet Union has quite as much if not more right than the United States to sit at the Middle Eastern table.

When a Senator asked Mr. Dulles whether he thought American troops would have to fight in the Middle East, he declared that there was

"very great likelihood" that they would have to do so unless Congress approves the resolution authorizing the President to send them, but "very little likelihood" if the resolution passes. ("You might just as well say, "added the Dormouse, who seemed to be talking in his sleep, "that 'I breathe when I sleep' is the same thing as 'I sleep when I breathe'!")

The mind reels from the riddles and contradictions of a doctrine that proposes to solve the basic questions of the Middle East while leaving aside the vital Israel-Arab conflict, cites United Nations Charter sanction for a policy that violates its central principles, threatens war in the name of peace.

But in the grim shadow of atomic war, the Dulles' fantasies take on a nightmare quality which require waking up and facing reality. The reality is that this policy is a new and dangerous extension of the whole cold war and military pacts policy. Its very enunciation has already added gravely to existing international tensions and if permitted to go through it would create a grave new war danger.

The proposal has already encountered strong Congressional attacks. While some attack it for good reasons and some for bad, some objecting to the military provisions and some to the economic, all opposition is helpful in gaining time for its ultimate defeat. Among the Senators who have expressed opposition are Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mon.), Sen. Wm. Langer, (R-N.D.), Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), Senator Wayne Morse (D-Oregon). Former Democratic Vice-Presidential

candidate Estes Kefauver charged that if adopted the plan could lead to World War III. Among opponents in the House, Rep. James D. Roosevelt (D-Cal.) said that the President was asking for an "undated declaration of war."

While the proposal was damned by the strong praise of ex-Presidents Herbert Hoover and Harry S. Truman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, assailed it as a war threat.

Reactions in leading U.S. newspapers generally supporting Eisenhower policies have indicated great uneasiness. James Reston, commenting on the first announcement of the program (*New York Times*, December 31) compared the Eisenhower with the Monroe Doctrine, warning that the obvious contrast would not escape Moscow's notice:

President Monroe and Secretary of State Adams were, in fact saying to the Europeans: 'You stay in your part of the world and we'll stay in ours.' Mr. Dulles is proclaiming a more difficult doctrine, namely, "you stay in your part of the world and we won't stay in ours, for the resources of the Middle East are now essential to the security of the free world.

The influential *Wall Street Journal*, declared in an editorial on January 9:

Somewhere in the progression from World War I through World War II, the leaders of the United States became obsessed with the idea that this country had a duty to re-make the world. . . . Our statesmen sat down, helped divide the world by their lights and make it what it is today. . . . Now we are to become the defenders of the Middle East. Indeed, we are taking up the mantle to protect the

non-Communist world in every quarter. That is the way it is. But this newspaper cannot rejoice at the journey that led us here. Nor look without misgivings at the journey that lies ahead.

Walter Lippmann, in a number of columns, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, has warned of the dangers of legislation amounting to a "blank check" to employ U.S. military forces. On January 3 he urged respect and encouragement for the "natural line of the Arab states toward neutrality," as the most desirable solution for the United States as well, and proposed that the best way to assure "stabilization and neutralization" in the Middle East would be "to have some talks with the Russians."

Abroad opposition is strong within the whole Middle Eastern area, among all neutral nations and the whole socialist world, and in the ranks of U.S. allies as well.

Whatever lip service British and French leaders feel constrained to pay to the Eisenhower-Dulles program in order to hold the shaky Western alliance together, they cannot help but gag at the bitter pill given them without any sugar coating, designed to purge them of their remaining colonial positions in the Middle East for the benefit of the administering doctor.

Drew Middleton wrote from London (*New York Times*, January 7) of the "skepticism and aloofness that marked the British reception of the Eisenhower plan. Criticism in both Conservative and Left circles, he said, was exacerbated by appreciation of the factor that

... the massive entry of United States power into the area and the

promise to use force, if necessary, appears to many Britons as an almost unbearably hypocritical acceptance by the Administration of much of what was criticized in the British intervention in Egypt.

Aneurin Bevan, Left Wing British Labor Party leader, said the plan was "calculated to plunge the world into the nightmare of a final war."

A dispatch from Lebanon to the *New York Times* on general reactions in the Middle East said the Eisenhower proposal "has aroused resentment and mistrust throughout the area," and that while officially the Lebanese government stands with the United States, a pro-American Lebanese politician said privately, "the United States will lose all the prestige it won by its conduct in the Suez crisis."

Prime Minister Nehru, addressing the Indian National Congress (*Information Service of India*, Washington, D. C., Nov. 10) "spoke strongly against the concept of a 'power vacuum' being filled from the outside," and said it could only be filled by the "strength and progress" of the countries in the region themselves. He deplored the fact that the cold war was being intensified, and condemned military pacts and alliances such as SEATO and the Baghdad Pact as dangerous to peace.

One of the most dangerous effects of the new policy is its inevitable consequence of worsening relations with the Soviet Union, already at a very low point. On January 12 the Moscow radio broadcast a statement on the Soviet Government's position. The Soviet Union, it said, has a vital interest in peace in this area in direct proximity to its own frontiers, and considers the national in-

dependence and economic prosperity of these countries "the best guarantee of the peace and security of the area."

The position of the Soviet Union was reinforced by the joint Soviet-Chinese statement of January 19 at the conclusion of the visit of Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai to Moscow. The two countries joined in strong condemnation of the Eisenhower doctrine and determination to render support to the peoples of the Near and Middle East "to prevent aggression and interference in the affairs of the countries of this area" as well as to all peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America striving to achieve national and economic independence.

Both countries reaffirmed their belief in the contributions to peace of the Geneva Summit and Bandung conferences and urged a return to this course. They expressed their belief that all exclusive military alignments in both East and West, such as the NATO, Warsaw, Manila and Baghdad Pacts should be replaced by a system of collective peace and security, and stressed the importance of disarmament.

The statement emphasized the "unbreakable unity" of the two countries, and the need for close unity of all the socialist countries on the basis of "complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs." It affirmed that such unity is the best safeguard "of the cause of socialism and the strengthening of world peace."

This statement, following Chou En-lai's unifying mission to Hungary and Poland, indicates the fail-

ure of the plans of those who have been trying to utilize the tragic events in Hungary to drive a wedge among the socialist states, as well as taking advantage of the acknowledged mistakes and difficulties there to build up a new anti-Soviet hysteria. It points the way to the continuing and strengthening possibilities for replacing cold war and military alliance policies with constructive East-West negotiations for peace.

UN Disarmament Discussions

The new U.S. cold war policies and the military build up represented in the proposed new budget inevitably cast a pall over the UN disarmament discussions. Yet the hopeful fact remains that East-West positions have drawn close enough together on certain points so that a beginning might be made if public pressure reached massive enough proportions.

The United States plan was offered by U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., when the General Assembly Political Committee opened discussion on January 14. The five points of the U.S., program are as follows:

1. An agreement "under which at an early date under effective inspection all future production of fissionable materials shall be used exclusively for non-weapons purposes under international supervision."
2. After such an agreement is put into effect, the United States proposes "to limit, and ultimately to eliminate, all nuclear test explosions." Pending such agreement, the United States "is also willing to work out promptly methods for advance notice and registration of all nuclear tests."
3. First stage reduction, under ade-

quate inspection of conventional armaments and armed forces to 2,500,000 for the USSR and the United States, 750,000 for France and the United Kingdom. (While the United States has previously placed the condition that an inspection system be established prior to such reductions, it now proposes that it be established progressively, *concurrently* with the reductions.)

4. International inspection and participation of testing of "outer space" objects, such as "earth satellites" and "space platforms," to insure their use "exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes."

5. Progressive installation of inspection systems to guard against the possibility of "great surprise attack." (In this point, the United States accepts the Soviet proposal of ground inspection along with the Eisenhower "open skies" plan. It has now abandoned the condition that the complete inspection system be set up in advance, and now proposes it be installed concurrently.)

Soviet delegate Vassily V. Kuznetsov submitted the disarmament plan of the USSR, as outlined by Premier Bulganin November 17. Mr. Kuznetsov urged steps for the immediate implementation of those proposals where the positions of East and West had become identical or close. The Soviet proposals follow:

1. Immediate cessation of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the banning of all such weapons within two years.

2. Reduction of armed forces of the big powers (The figures correspond with those of the American proposal as far as the first stage goes.)

3. Reduction during 1957 by one-third of the armed forces of the United States, the USSR, Britain and France stationed on German territory.

4. Considerable reduction during 1957 of the armed forces of Britain, the United States and France on the territory of the NATO countries and of the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact countries, *and within two years,*

liquidation of all military pacts on the territory of other states.

5. Strict international control over the fulfillment of these measures in accordance with detailed proposals submitted separately. (Mr. Kuznetsov here explained that the Soviet Government, is ready to employ aerial photography to a depth of 800 kilometers (500 miles) West and East of the line between the armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.)

Mr. Kuznetsov also expressed Soviet support of the Swiss proposals for a five-power top level parley to consider disarmament and other questions. He suggested an enlargement of the UN Committee and sub-committee on disarmament. He declared that Mr. Lodge's proposals "deserved attention" and would be "carefully studied" by the Soviet delegation, and urged that all disarmament proposals submitted should be examined by the Disarmament Commission and Sub-Committee, and General Assembly.

On January 15 Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN, urged that the Administration expand its disarmament proposals to include negotiated withdrawal of both American and Soviet forces from Germany. An article in the *New York Times* (January 16) noted that Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.) had recently called for "negotiations with Moscow for a united Germany which agrees to be unarmed and neutral, but otherwise free," and said there was some support for this proposal in the Executive branch in Washington, although so far President Eisenhower had deferred to Secretary Dulles.

The growing support for such a solution in Europe in this country

and abroad, which we reported in our last issue, continued. The opposition to rearmament within West Germany itself, led by the powerful Social Democratic Party was reflected even by Adenauer (with an eye to the elections later this year) in his recent statement on the importance of banning H-bombs.

Public Pressure for Peace

It is interesting to note that the World Peace Council, representing hundreds of millions of peoples of differing political views in both East and West was able at its meeting in Helsinki last November to reach unanimity on measures necessary for peace despite sharp disagreement on Soviet intervention in Hungary. They agreed on a program of an end to all military blocs and alliances, the banning of nuclear tests and weapons and urgent high level negotiations. The separate peace movements in many countries where they are very strong are bringing great pressure on their governments to this end. While no such movement exists in the United States, a similar program is being advocated by such important groups as the Quakers, the Women's International League, and many church and community organizations.

Already the Senate Committee hearings on the Eisenhower Doctrine have been extended far beyond what was originally planned. This gives the opportunity to individuals and groups to demand a hearing, as well as to send protests against the proposed Middle Eastern policies to State Congressmen and Senators, and to heads of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees.

Now is the time, too, for every individual and organization concerned with peace to demand of the Administration in the most urgent terms that a beginning be made toward disarmament. Agreement already reached on reduction in armed forces should immediately be implemented. The question of ending nuclear tests which could be decided at once, since no inspection measures are required for their detection, should be raised insistently both to safeguard the people of the world and future generations from further radiation dangers and as a step which would open the way to the complete abolition of nuclear weapons.

Full support should be given to the idea of an all-European security pact, with the withdrawal of forces by both East and West from European countries, a neutral instead of a rearmed Germany, the end of divisive military pacts in both Europe and the Far East, and universality of membership in the United Nations so that it may more effectively fulfill its functions, especially by granting to the Chinese People's Republic its rightful seat.

All these and many other problems, but above all the question of disarmament, could be considered by a new top-level five-power conference. Let us not forget that the Administration at first opposed the Geneva Summit Conference, but finally accepted it through the pressure of the people. We are firmly convinced that such pressure can again achieve results, and turn our country from the path of cold war back to the road of peaceful co-existence which alone offers humanity a safe and secure future.

TOWARDS A BALANCED VIEW

a review by SHIRLEY GRAHAM

THE STALIN ERA, by Anna Louise Strong. *Today's Press, Altadena, California*, 1956. 128 pages. Cloth, \$2.25; paper \$1.00.

THE FACT that "intelligentsia" came into our language from the Russians is reason enough for people on this side of the Atlantic between the 25th and 49th parallels to regard that word and any of its clan with suspicion and dislike. "Egg-head" is our derisive designation for the individual who presumes to think. Yet, the ability to recognize, assimilate and assess vital and durable facts remains a product of the disciplined mind. And intelligence, rather than emotional reactions, wishful thinking, or even blind patriotism, must be exercised in accepting or rejecting any communication.

Book stores and air-ways are filled with accounts of what has happened and what is happening in the Soviet Union. Any reporter is prepared to explain the "spiritual degeneration" behind it all, commentators give stenographic descriptions of "private conferences" and "eye-witnesses" are a dime a dozen. Anyone, however honest, is hopelessly confused and bewildered without some scale of values for making distinctions. Sound knowledge of the history of Eastern Europe and Asia is needed. But, until very recently, the History Departments of our best colleges and universities offered few such courses and the number of students enrolled in them was even fewer. High Schools quickly relegated Asia, Africa and India to the nether regions of "backward peoples."

Lacking, therefore, this fundamental historical knowledge, one may ask two ques-

tions which are deeply embedded into every research student: "Who is the source of the information" and "Why should this source be accepted as authoritative?"

With these two questions in mind I should not, as one reviewer of Miss Strong's book recommended, preferably seek enlightenment on the Stalin era in the Columbia University Russian Institute's *Selection of Documents* "The Anti-Stalin Campaign and International Communism." It is clear to me that the very title of these papers is slanted and prejudicial. They will undoubtedly furnish material on the anti-Stalin campaign in the west—should one need more information on that subject. On the other hand, and after applying the same test, I recommend Anna Louise Strong's *The Stalin Era*. Its author lived in Russia most of that epoch-making period, lived there not as an outsider, but the wife of a Russian, member of a Russian family, with all this means with regard to language, historical backgrounds, traditions and mores. During the trying days when the first socialist state was being born in suffering and anguish, Anna Louise Strong took part in the birthing. She founded and edited the first English language newspaper in the new Moscow. She worked under Stalin. She knows the Stalin era; she gloried in its victories, recognized its pitfalls; she shared in its pain.

The Stalin Era is a slender volume. Historians will fill libraries on this period. Their task is not anticipated here. Anna Louise Strong is a journalist, who, while still within ear-shot of battle scribbles in her note-book. She writes rapidly, in broad, bold strokes that capture the magnitude of her theme. She writes precisely, simply, frequently referring the reader to more intensive studies for data. She does not attempt to tell everything or discuss every issue. Her responsibility at the moment is to call a halt to hysteria, to remind us of the obvious, to illumine our understanding.

"It is too soon to sum up the era," she writes in the Foreword, "and yet one must

SHIRLEY GRAHAM is the author of many books widely read in this country and abroad. They include biographies of Frederick Douglass, Benjamin Banneker, Phyllis Wheatley, and Booker T. Washington (recently published). She collaborated with her husband, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, in his "A Battle for Peace."

try to. For controversy has arisen over it and the beliefs of many around the world are being torn. It is the very best people who are most disturbed by Khrushchev's revelations of thousands of brutal injustices and harsh repression when socialism was for the first time built."

Throughout the book she stresses the task to be done—the most gigantic conceived in modern times, perhaps in any time.

"The world's first socialist state was built in a backward peasant country. By all past theory, this could not be done. Socialism implies, or was thought to imply, a more plentiful life, built on surplus, with widening freedom and culture. It was expected to come when capitalism had fully developed the mechanism of production but could not satisfactorily distribute the surplus goods. It implied technically competent workers, aware of the defects of capitalism and conscious of collective power to make plenty for all. . . . Tsarist Russia had no modern productive mechanism and no surplus. When it collapsed in World War one there were no goods and little food. Peasants lived in the Middle Ages.

"It was Joseph Stalin who formulated in August, 1924, the idea of building socialism in Russia *without outside help*." (Italics mine)

And when the western world combined savagely to strangle the infant state still in swaddling clothes, Stalin proclaimed grimly, "Build, or be crushed in ten years by foreign invaders."

Like gladiators they stripped for the combat. Every impediment was thrown aside or ruthlessly torn away. Those who opposed or seemed to oppose The Plan were pushed aside. And, they called their head of state "Steel" after the shining, flashing Damascus blades of their ancestors. They expected him to cut through every obstacle to achieving victory. A Chinese scholar, watching the struggle going on beyond ancient walls wrote:

"The process of changing the world on the basis of scientific knowledge . . . includes the persons who are opposed to change. To be remolded they will have to go through a stage of compulsion before they enter into a stage of remolding of their own accord. When the whole of mankind, of its own accord, remolds itself and changes the world, that will be the

age of world communism." (*On Practice* by Mao Tse-tung.)

Editors of *The American Socialist* deplore "the Anna Louise Strong extreme" in denominating "a country still behind the Western world in living standards, productivity and political rights, as full blown socialism." Anna Louise Strong does not write of "full-blown" socialism. What she refers to is:

"Socialism," defined by the Oxford Dictionary, "A theory or policy of social organization which advocates the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, property, etc. by the community as a whole, and their administration or distribution in the interests of all."

One need only read reports made at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR to ascertain how "full-blown" socialism is in the Soviet Union. Later or private "Reports" do not change statistics.

Anna Louise Strong does not gloss over the many injustices, curtailments of individual freedoms, tyranny of organized police or loss of innocent lives during these years of carrying forward the plans.

"Socialism thus built was never the socialism men dreamed, the socialism of freedom and plenty for all; it was speckled by many flaws. How far those flaws derive from Stalin's personality, how far from the dark Russian past, how far from the Nazi fifth column and the forty-year threat of war—this will be a theme for future historians and all will differ in apportioning blame."

Since she knows the Russians (as we do not) Anna Louise Strong may well be justified in having some reservations with regard to the "Khrushchev Report," at least of that pilfered version which appeared in the western press. She fully accepts the substantiated evidence that outside the regular sessions of the Twentieth Congress, Nikita Khrushchev, head of the Soviet Communist Party, made a long and impassioned speech to a body of Communist officials. What he said, or was reported as saying, rocked the world. When a giant stumbles, the earth trembles.

Time, and sober second thoughts would seem to be shaving down Khrushchev's revelations to proper proportions. It may be that history will label the speech as an inappropriate, emotional outburst pro

duced by the same kind of tensions, pressures and anxieties that tormented and drove the aging Stalin. It is the fashion now to sit in judgment of the Soviet Union. That Anna Louise Strong does not do so is evidence to this reviewer of her broader understanding and superior intellect.

I believe most people will agree that *The Stalin Era* is correctly named. Nothing can obliterate the stamp of Joseph Stalin from this period. Nikita Khrushchev himself bears witness to this seal when he said (or, is reported as saying) on New Year's Day:

"I grew up under Stalin" (*New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1957) "Stalin made mistakes but we should share responsibility for those mistakes because we were associated with him. The imperialists call us Stalinists. Well, when it comes to fighting imperialism, we are all Stalinists."

EDITORS' NOTE

It is a sign of the times, a good sign, that we seek to present more varied opinions in our magazine these days than was always the case in the past. And it is a measure of some of the complexities of the present situation that we now feel impelled to register editorial dissent on certain matters we ourselves once most strongly defended!

Because the book by Anna Louise Strong and the above review deal with the very core of all discussions around the Soviet Union since the Khrushchev revelations about the Stalin era, we are taking the liberty of adding a brief comment.

We are honored to count Miss Strong and the distinguished writer of the review among our contributors. Our differences with them are of course, wholly friendly ones within a larger common agreement. Both writers perform an important service in helping to redress the balance in the present discussions by emphasizing the great and positive achievements of the Soviet Union. This is necessary to counter the new and dangerous wave of anti-Soviet hysteria set in motion following the Khrushchev speech.

Miss Strong, out of her own first hand knowledge, has set down an eloquent and true record of the positive side of the building of the world's first socialist state against incredible difficulties. It is to her everlasting credit that she has never per-

mitted her own sad experience to blind her in any way to all the magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union. But we cannot go along with the rationale Miss Strong presents for many of the injustices and repressions of the Stalin era, or with the implications that such methods were either due mainly to a Hitler Fifth Column within the Soviet Union, or were inevitable under Russian conditions.

While we feel that the methods whereby Khrushchev's disclosures reached the outside world were unfortunate, we cannot agree with our reviewer that the verdict of history may find the revelations themselves inappropriate, since we believe historic truth was itself responsible for bringing them out. It is our hope that some day a more fully rounded picture will come from the Soviet leaders themselves. Meantime, we feel that we must accept the facts already revealed, however painful, be prepared for more disclosures as history is further corrected, and yet maintain our own balance in our assessment of both errors and achievements of the USSR. The risk of making the revelations was great indeed, as events in Hungary have already so tragically demonstrated, but the risk to socialist progress of further concealment would have been far greater. And surely, it is to the eternal glory of the socialist system that such frank acknowledgement of past evils should have been made, as well as the best guarantee of their correction.

G. D. H. COLE ON SOCIALISM

WORLD SOCIALISM RESTATED, by G. D. H. Cole. *New Statesman and Nation*. London. 1956. 25 cents.

THERE IS no good reason for taking the present stalemate in western democratic socialism as a sign that its impetus has been permanently lost. The case for it remains unshaken: what has happened to it is that it has allowed itself to be temporarily diverted into an anti-Communist blind alley, which prevents it both from engaging in a whole-hearted struggle against capitalism and imperialism and from being able to offer to the peoples even a substantial further improvement in their welfare."

Thus Professor Cole summarizes what he sees as the dilemma into which the socialist movements in the Western countries have drifted. A socialist since his undergraduate days at Oxford where 48 years ago he started and edited a Socialist journal, Professor Cole has in the almost half century since made many valuable contributions to working class and socialist history. His series of volumes on the history of socialist ideas now being published are an important addition to our knowledge of political thought. With his exhaustive grasp of historical background and his many years of direct experience in the socialist movement, Professor Cole's analysis as presented in this pamphlet is particularly illuminating.

He indicates five basic propositions which seem to him to be the necessary condition for the solution of the stultifying situation: 1) recognition that the Welfare State is not an end in itself; indeed, since it accepts the capitalist system without fundamental changes, is not socialism at all; 2) fullest acceptance and sympathy with the colonial peoples in their struggle for national independence; 3) acceptance of both the Russian and Chinese Revolutions as great strides forward in human liberation; 4) recognition of what Professor Cole believes to be a greater resiliency in capitalism than seemed possible to Marx in the 19th Century; 5) the working together of Socialist and Communist on a generally accepted program against capitalism and imperialism and the remnants of feudal and military domination, and for an end to the Cold War, that is for disarmament, East-West trade and help to the colonial peoples.

Professor Cole maintains throughout the pamphlet that by its very nature socialism involves a great appeal to human idealism, and this appeal, he feels, has been too frequently forgotten. He sees the struggle for socialism as "a world war of mankind against want and ignorance, against squalor and disease, waged with all the constructive weapons men possess or can devise to serve the purpose of the great crusade." And the final purpose of this crusade "is to raise not only the material standard but also the *quality* of human life and to enable mankind to live more nobly and in full fellowship as well as better in a material sense." The socialist

movement, he insists, must again bring this great appeal to the fore.

In our November anniversary issue we published an essay by Professor Cole entitled "The USSR After 39 Years." In this essay Professor Cole found much he sharply disagreed with in the methods by which the Communist Party had attained power and proceeded to change a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial society. At the same time he stated his belief 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."

It is with the same balanced viewpoint that he has written this important pamphlet which throws considerable light on the present dilemma of the left in the world today.

MURRAY YOUNG

CORRECTION

We wish somewhat belatedly to note that the article by Fenner Brockway which appeared in our November, 1956, issue, was a reprint from *British-Soviet Friendship*, the monthly magazine of the British-Soviet Friendship Society. While this was mentioned in the editorial section it should of course have been printed in connection with the article itself. Our biographical note on Mr. Brockway was also not quite accurate. Apart from his work on behalf of the Labor Party and as a Labor M.P., Mr. Brockway's main public activities in recent years have been in connection with the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

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