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NEW WORLD REVIEW

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TO OUR READERS

As we go to press your generous re-
sponses to our appeal have started to
come in. Our warmest thanks to you!

But we must tell you again quite
frankly that we need an especially large
return this time in view of the rising
costs of paper, printing, mailing. There-
fore if you have not sent in your con-
tribution, please make it as large as you
possibly can in relation to the rising
costs that affect, we very well know,
your own budget these days.

We have been most encouraged too
by the answers sent in to the question-
naire. Your criticism and suggestions
for improvement help very much to es-
tablish contact between us that is most
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To the Summit— and Peace!

by JESSICA SMITH

THE world's best hope for peace now lies in the Summit Conference projected for late summer, following a foreign ministers' conference opening May 11. In agreeing to this during the visit of British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, the Administration has modified—although to what extent is not clear at this writing—its former condition that the Summit meeting would be dependent on prior success of a foreign ministers' meeting.

That such a change has taken place is due to the pressures of the people of America and the world, of America's allies, and the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union toward settlement of international problems, at the highest level, over the conference table.

Mr. Macmillan on his arrival in this country declared he was persuaded the Soviet leaders want to avoid war and, according to the *New York Times*, March 20, "re-stated his conviction that on his recent trip to Moscow he had won Khrushchev's support for the principle of settling differences by negotiations rather than by force." Well, fine, if Mr. Macmillan, with his eyes on the British elections, wants to put it that way. The important thing is the results.

The astute Republican commentator, Joseph Alsop, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, March 20, underlines the distaste for a Summit meet-

ing shared by the President and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who have "used every imaginable dodge to avoid such a meeting for the past two years." Alsop writes:

If the President's hand had not been forced, he would not be talking with Macmillan about what to say at the summit. He would be trying to avoid going there. Realism requires the admission that Khrushchev has had considerable success already, in the sense of compelling the American policy makers to do something they greatly wished not to do. In a lesser sense, Prime Minister Macmillan has also had a success. Macmillan's Moscow visit, its European sequels, and the certainty that he would press the President very strongly for a summit rally, all combined to crystallize the reluctant American decision that a summit was unavoidable.

. . . The Foreign Ministers' meeting is no longer being used as a blocking tactic. The summit meeting is accepted as virtually unavoidable. That is the big concession.

Yet even as this trend toward peaceful negotiations was developing, there arose in Washington a chorus of voices of an incredibly wild and reckless character, calling for mobilization for a "limited war" over Berlin or for readiness for all-out atomic war.

What is this terrible "threat" which called forth these belligerent statements? One would think from the outcry that the Soviet Union is threatening some kind of attack, preparing to send its troops somewhere, planning a new world war. Instead, the USSR is proposing to

withdraw its forces from East Berlin, ending an occupation regime that no longer has any validity. It is asking that Western occupation troops likewise be withdrawn from West Berlin, which is 110 miles within the borders of the German Democratic Republic, and that it be made a free city, its status to be guaranteed by the United Nations, by forces of the four Big Powers or of neutral nations.

If the West does not agree to this, the USSR has said it will withdraw its own troops anyway, turning over all authority to the GDR which, backed by the Soviet Union, *has guaranteed to keep open access to West Berlin from both West and East.*

Thus it would seem that the hot-heads are ready to go to war over the matter of whether traffic checkpoints are to be manned and access permits stamped by representatives of the Soviet Union or of the GDR, a government which exists, even though not diplomatically recognized by the West.

Other aspects of the "threat" are that a peace treaty be made with Germany, that the existence of two sovereign German governments means that unification can only take place by direct agreement between them and might begin by confederation, that an atom free zone and gradual disarmament and some sort of disengagement be agreed upon to remove the threat to peace in Central Europe.

Where is the threat in all of this? Is the main threat to *all of us* not rather in a rearmed Western Germany equipped with nuclear weapons, with Hitler's generals in command, and former Nazi officials in

high posts? Is it not rather in this Germany's revived industrial empires under the Krupps, Thyssens, I. G. Farben, Flick and other rehabilitated war criminals who were the backbone of the Hitler regime? All these developments are carried on with our help and encouragement. Our foreign policies have been constantly concerted with Chancellor Adenauer who wants a unified Germany with its pre-war borders, and is ready to risk war to achieve it.

True statesmanship would seek to find those areas of *common interest* between the United States and the Soviet Union, between East and West, on the basis of which a peaceful solution, conforming to the basic interests of all the peoples of the world, could be found.

There are an increasing number of people in this country who understand this. There are voices like those of Senator J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has supported the idea of disengagement in Central Europe and urged peaceful negotiations, and Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), who has also advocated a demilitarized zone in Central Europe and has taken the realistic view that the existence of the German Democratic Republic must be recognized as a fact. (Both these Senators have withdrawn somewhat from their earlier good positions and joined to some extent the hue and cry for "standing firm" and "positions of strength," which can only complicate negotiations.)

The Gallup Poll in early March showed that the question of keeping the peace is the one which concerns

the American people most deeply. In the crises over Quemoy and the Middle East the people made known their opposition to policies that could lead to war. It is equally important that the hands of those who stand for peace should be strengthened by massive evidence of support for their positions.

The best way to prepare for the success of the coming conferences would be to ease international tensions beforehand and to refrain from poisoning the atmosphere with threats that can only cause further distrust and suspicion. The hate and fear inducing war cries that have been uttered recently in Washington should be stopped by the demands of the people. This applies to all the talk of mobilization, air lifts, tank columns "battering their way through," a super alert for the Strategic Air Command, threats to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union and even of preventive war itself.

On March 6, Secretary of Defense Neil H. McElroy was quoted in the *New York Herald Tribune* as saying that if hostilities break out over Berlin "You're not going to have a limited war." He added that this country would, with reluctance, use nuclear weapons "whenever necessary for military purposes," and implied that the day might come when the President, having received intelligence that the Soviet Union was preparing a knockout blow "will face the awful choice of having to attack first." He declared that the present policy that this country will not strike the first blow might not always be true.

Testimony of heads of the armed services before the closed session of

the Senate Preparedness Committee March 12, later released in censored form, was almost all couched in belligerent terms.

Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor said the Berlin crisis might erupt into conventional war but when asked whether we would eventually have to face the decision to use small atomic weapons, he answered:

I would go further and say that, from the very outset, you must be resolved to use as much force as necessary to accomplish the mission.

Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, declared the United States would gain nothing by "knuckling under" in Berlin, and went on:

But I think if this Berlin crisis goes on, if it gets deeper, we have got to move. We can't wait until the last minute. . . . It is getting worse. . . . If Russia chooses war . . . what we have is the capacity to destroy Russia no matter what she does.

Most blood-curdling of all were the statements of Gen. Thomas D. White, Air Force Chief of Staff. He expressed the opinion that any hostilities springing from the crisis in Germany can lead to general war in which "nuclear weapons would have to be used." Asked about the length of such a war, with the Strategic Air Command utilized to the maximum, he responded:

It is the Air Force thesis that a few days, two or three to four days, will conclude the decisive phase of a nuclear war.

General White belittled the dangers of fall-out on neutral and Allied nations. This is a horrifying example of what can happen to the military mind so attuned to the idea

of mass destruction weapons that all consideration of what they mean in human terms vanishes. Why worry about a war whose "decisive phases" would be over in a few days? What difference that the lives of hundreds of millions of people would be over too, and that those who remain on earth and their descendants would be threatened forever with the radioactive poison a nuclear war would leave behind?

The horrors of nuclear war as well as of continued nuclear weapons tests were brought home anew to the American people in a report made public March 21 by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, whose contents have been withheld by the Pentagon for months. The report said the deadly Strontium 90 falls to earth much more quickly than the AEC had previously estimated, and that its concentration is greater in the United States than in any other country in the world.

Pentagon sentiments have been echoed in Congress. Republican Senators launched an all-out attack on the disengagement proposals made by Senator Mansfield in his February 12 speech. New York Republican Senators, Kenneth B. Keating and Jacob K. Javits agreed, before the latest decision was made, in rejecting East-West negotiations as a "sell-out" of the West Germans and "a grave threat to world peace."

In general Democrats in Congress have failed to justify the hopes placed in them by the people in the last elections, which showed plainly the dissatisfaction of the people with Republican foreign policies. Instead, Democratic leadership has for the most part been shouting for

greater military expenditures, mobilization, "limited" war.

Senator Lyndon Johnson (D., Tex.) said "The countdown has begun," urging national unity. Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.) called for a go-day program of "urgency" to prepare the nation. Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.) suggested that the President call up four or five additional divisions as "a diplomatic signal to the Russians that we mean business." Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) urged that the U.S. should "stand firm" and be willing to go the long way," meaning, he said, "the hard way."

Dean Acheson, former Democratic Secretary of State, beat the war drums in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 7, warning that Soviet proposals on Berlin are "the gravest threat since Korea," and calling for all-out preparations for war, building up NATO strength, mobilization of the army, a crash ICBM program—all moves that could only inflame the war spirit and bring closer the danger of war itself.

What is behind all the warlike clamor? It cannot of course be said that all who are a part of it really want war.

There is, of course, the basic anti-communism which for years has been a determining factor in U.S. foreign policy. There is the fear and hatred of the socialist countries so blinding that there are many in high places who would rather have the world destroyed in nuclear war than see the further strengthening and spread of the socialist system, who fail to see that a longer life for capitalism itself is dependent on peaceful co-existence and trade

with all of the socialist countries.

There is the futile hope of those who still count on the break-up of the socialist system from within, and feel that keeping alive the war spirit and an ever more frantic arms race will help this process by forcing the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to divert ever larger sums from economic upbuilding to military purposes.

There are all the vested interests who make huge profits from war preparations and the ever-increasing war orders they mean. Some of them are dependent for their profits on bigger ground armies and the arms and equipments they need. Some are dependent for their profits on ever increasing air war preparations, ever new types of aircraft and bombers, continued testing of ever more deadly types of A and H bombs. Some are dependent for their profits on ever greater appropriations for military aid to all the countries involved in U.S. military alliances, and supplies for the U.S. military bases that ring the world.

All the armed service branches of the Pentagon, big businesses themselves and serving monopolist interests, have a stake in the war clamor. Many Senators and Congressmen have ties with special monopoly groups which fatten on war orders.

There are the great monopoly and financial interests with huge investments in Western Germany, who want no curbs on its growing military and industrial might, forgetting the lessons of two world wars.

But whether those who represent these interests are ready for all-out war or seek the continuing profits of war preparations and a mounting arms race while hoping to avoid war's ultimate disaster, the policies they promote equally threaten all the people of the earth with agony, desolation and death.

We can rejoice in the victory that has been won over all these forces. But the victory lies not alone in the decision for a Summit conference. This is a first and necessary step. The people must now do their part to make the negotiations succeed, to insure that out of them will come moves toward a peaceful settlement of the German question, disengagement in the heart of Europe and an end to the rising threat of a re-armed Germany. There must be, too an end of nuclear tests and further steps toward disarmament, an end of the cold war and a new beginning toward peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial trade.

— J. S.

East-West Diplomatic Moves

THE present situation is not something suddenly precipitated by the USSR. It has been developing ever since the end of World War II with the constant hacking away at the Potsdam agreement by Western policies which led to the division of Germany into two separate states, and the re-

militarization of Western Germany, creating a hot-bed of cold war controversy and a new world war danger in the heart of Europe.

More immediately, it has grown out of the differing interpretations of the Geneva Summit directive of 1955 which registered East-West agreement "that

the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security."

To the West this meant elections under conditions that would insure the victory of the Federal Republic of Germany and the disappearance of the German Democratic Republic, with the resultant unified Germany free to join the NATO military alliance, directed against the USSR and the Eastern European Democracies.

To the Soviet Union it meant elections only under conditions that would give adequate representation to the adherents of socialism and create a unified Germany which would not be a part of either NATO or the Warsaw Pact, but a neutral participant in an all-European security system.

Since that time, the Soviet Union has entered into diplomatic relations with the FRG as well as the GDR, although the West has refused to recognize the latter. With the further consolidation of the sovereignty of both German states, the Soviet Union has developed the position that reunification could not be imposed by outside powers but must be a matter for the German people themselves.

Last summer the USSR and the GDR proposed to the West that representatives of the four big powers and of the two German states hold consultations on a peace treaty with Germany, and noted that unity was a matter for the competence of the two German states alone.

On September 30, the United States, Great Britain and France turned down these proposals, objecting to the drafting of a peace treaty because of the absence of a united Germany, at the same time refusing to consider unification through agreement between the two states.

On November 27 the Soviet Union sent a note warning again of the dangers to peace from increasing West

German armament, including atomic and rocket weapons, in violation of the Potsdam agreement. It proposed unifying Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis through a confederation, which would retain the social system of each state, and create the conditions for a gradual rapprochement between them. It declared the absence of a peace treaty could not be an excuse for continuing an occupation regime the basis for which no longer existed.

The note pointed out the abnormal situation of the West's occupation regime in the Western half of Berlin, situated 110 miles within the GDR, of which East Berlin is the capital; and declared that its continuance, and the use of West Berlin as a center of hostile activities against the GDR, the USSR and the socialist states, could not be tolerated.

(A *New York Times* dispatch, July 28, 1957, said "A reporter recently ran up a tally of twenty-eight Allied intelligence agencies known to have offices in West Berlin." The GDR has reported more than double that number.)

The Soviet Union proposed that Western Berlin be made a demilitarized Free City, under a four-power and UN guarantee. If no relevant agreement were forthcoming with the Western powers within six months, the USSR declared its intention of withdrawing its own troops, turning over arrangements for access to and from West Berlin to the GDR (as the civilian area is now administered). It proposed negotiations to this end. (In this as in all other communications on Berlin, the USSR made clear that the West's right of access would be continued, whether by Soviet or GDR representatives.)

On December 31 the U.S., Britain and France rejected this proposal, offering to negotiate the question of Berlin only in the wider framework of Germany as a whole. On January 7 the State Department issued a long statement charging the USSR with building up Hitlerism, responsibility for the World

War and the cold war and violation of the Potsdam and other postwar agreements.

To take the last of these charges alone, it must be recalled that the Potsdam agreement was based on the concept of a united Germany. The GDR was not set up until after the FRG was established. Only after the inclusion of the latter in NATO did the USSR and the Eastern European countries organize the Warsaw Treaty group, including the GDR.

As to violations, let it suffice to quote the following provisions of the Potsdam agreement:

Article 3. (in part) The purposes of the occupation of Germany . . . are: The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. . . .

Article 12. At the earliest practicable date the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular in cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.

One has only to look at the two Germanys today to see where the violations have taken place.

Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan during his visit to this country in January persistently declared that the USSR was ready to negotiate on any counter proposals the United States might offer. None were forthcoming.

In the meantime, Secretary of State Dulles made two statements which gave indications of some modifications in U.S. policies which might help pave the way for negotiations. He said the United States might deal with East German authorities as "agents of the Soviet Union." And he declared that "free elections" might not necessarily be the first step toward German unification.

In a new note on January 11 the USSR proposed the convocation of a peace conference to negotiate a peace treaty with Germany, to be attended by

the governments of the countries that took part in the war against Germany on the one hand and on the other by the governments of the GDR and FRG, both of which could sign a peace treaty pending the formation of a unified Germany. Since the occupation of both Germanys would cease once a peace treaty comes into force, agreement on a treaty would automatically solve the Berlin question.

On February 16 the United States and the other Western powers sent a note charging the USSR with endangering world peace by its announced intention of unilaterally renouncing "internationally agreed responsibilities and obligations" in regard to Berlin and declaring that the Western powers "have no choice but to declare again that they reserve the right to uphold by all appropriate means their communications with their sectors of Berlin." Ignoring Soviet proposals on a peace treaty, the notes proposed a conference of foreign ministers to "deal with the problem of Germany in all its aspects and implications," and suggested that "German advisers should be invited to the Conference and should be consulted."

In late February during Prime Minister Macmillan's visit to Moscow, Khrushchev in a speech to his electors, expressed his preference for a Summit meeting rather than one of foreign ministers, although not rejecting the latter, and offered to Britain a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. This gave rise to a wild press campaign in the United States charging Khrushchev with insulting his guest, trying to torpedo negotiations, etc., etc.

Nevertheless, the parleys ended on a warm note. The joint communique agreed that the exchanges had resulted in better understanding, pledged mutual efforts for ending nuclear weapons tests and toward disarmament. While unable to agree on "juridical and political aspects" of the problems of Berlin and Germany, they jointly recognized the urgency of reaching a settlement and the

need for negotiations. A key point was the Anglo-Soviet agreement:

... that further study could usefully be made of the possibilities of increasing (European) security by some method of limitation of forces and weapons, both conventional and nuclear, in an agreed area of Europe, coupled with an appropriate system of inspection.

An agreement was made on further development of Anglo-Soviet cultural exchanges and on moves toward expanding trade.

The Soviet reply of March 2 (to Western Feb. 16 note) expressed preference for a Summit conference but said that if the Governments of the Western Powers are not prepared for this:

The Soviet Government considers that the questions of a peace treaty with Germany and of West Berlin could be considered at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, France, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

When Khrushchev visited East Berlin, he made clear that if Berlin negotiations were under way the deadline for Soviet withdrawal of troops from East Berlin could be extended to June 27 or even July 27 or later. In the communique issued at the end of his visit the Government of the German Democratic Republic "again expressed its readiness to insure unimpeded communication between the free city of West Berlin and the outer world in both easterly and westerly directions."

In press conferences throughout this period, President Eisenhower gave a rather confusing picture of U.S. policies. He continued to talk about "not retreating an inch," about the need to defend our rights in Berlin as a symbol of the "free world." He declared we would never fight a ground war over Berlin, leaving the implication that a nuclear war was possible, then declaring a nuclear war could not free anything. He sought to calm some of the hysteria in Washington while at the same time

contributing to it by emphasizing the threat from the Soviet Union.

Yet, through all of this confusion and the warlike clamors in Washington, the pressures toward peaceful solutions resulted in President Eisenhower's statement in his March 17 radio broadcast, modifying his previous position that the foreign ministers must produce firm evidence that there can be a settlement of major East-West issues before a Summit meeting could be arranged:

It is my hope that thereby all of us can reach agreement with the Soviets on an early meeting at the level of foreign ministers. Assuming developments that justify a summer meeting at the Summit, the United States would be ready to participate in that further effort.

In response, Mr. Khrushchev held a press conference on March 19 in which he emphasized the Soviet Union's desire "to have the storm clouds of a new war disappear from the international horizon forever." Declaring that he accepted in advance the proposal of the West for a foreign ministers' conference, he added that it should be confined to the questions of a German peace treaty and the future of West Berlin, and be followed by a Summit conference. He said the USSR would do everything in its power to make the negotiations successful, and "if the Western participants have reasonable proposals we are ready to consider them along with our own proposals."

The first reports of the Eisenhower-Macmillan talks which ended March 24, indicated that a definite decision had been made for a foreign ministers' conference May 11, followed by a Summit conference in late summer. There was, however, a divergence between U.S. and British views as to the exact form of the decision, and how it would be put in the projected Western notes to the USSR.

As we go to press, this divergence has been reflected in statements by the President and Mr. Macmillan, and will reportedly also be reflected in the Western notes.

The Cultural Exchange Program

by MURRAY YOUNG

THE INTERNATIONAL Geophysical Year, described as the most nearly universal effort in the history of mankind, ended December 31st. Sixty-six nations participated and its results, according to Walter Sullivan, science writer of the *New York Times* (Jan. 1, 1959), "has given to the eighteen-month period, from mid-1957 until the end of 1958, a stature comparable to that of the year 1492, when Columbus broke the bonds that had confined his ancestors to the region surrounding the Mediterranean."

Fortunately the I. G. Y. has continued, even though on a reduced basis and under less centralized organizational forms. Two of these forms, International Cooperation 1959, and the Committee on Space Research, are both being participated in by the U.S. and the USSR, the launching of whose satellites were the most sensational achievement of the year and a half of world-wide cooperation.

The I. G. Y. grew out of the necessities of what Professor J. D. Bernal calls the "scientific revolution," through which we are now living, and whose possible goals Professor Bernal spells out in such graphic and memorable terms in his new book *World Without War*, the concluding chapter of which we reprint in this issue.

The agreement on cultural and scientific exchanges signed in Janu-

ary 1958 between the U.S. and the USSR also arose out of the necessities of the present period: from the wide demand for sharing scientific information in many fields and from the deep desire of the people of both countries for mutual understanding in this time of grave crisis.

The State Department's East-West Contacts Office, reporting at the end of the year (*New York Times*, Jan. 1), said that about two-thirds of the exchanges listed in the agreement had been completed. These include all of the industrial, six of the nine agricultural exchanges and nearly all of the educational exchanges. Thirty-three Soviet technical delegations, cultural, sports, and entertainment groups came here; thirty-eight similar U.S. groups went to the Soviet Union.

According to the report, contacts between U.S. and Soviet citizens will expand steadily this year. Specifically mentioned was an increase in medical exchanges arising from suggestions made by Premier Nikita Khrushchev to Senator Humphrey of Minnesota during their eight hour conversation in Moscow last December. It was also indicated in the report that exchanges in the field of entertainment would expand considerably in connection with the two exhibits to be held this summer in Moscow and New York. The report also mentioned the exchange of movies—seven Soviet

movies to be shown here, ten U.S. movies to be shown in the USSR—agreed upon last fall, and it indicated that the radio-television exchanges would begin shortly.

The Bolshoy Ballet

Last year the Moissejev and the Beryozka dance groups won the hearts of their audiences by their exuberance, brilliant technique and wholly captivating freshness. This year we are to see the supreme expression of the Russian genius for dancing. On April 16 the Bolshoy Ballet will give its first performance in the U.S. at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. The largest ballet group ever to come to this country, it is also the most famous. The company of almost 200 dancers is headed by the superb Galina Ulanova.

This is one of the great achievements of the cultural exchange program for it brings to us one of the glories of the theatrical world. Four full-length ballets are promised: *Swan Lake*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Giselle*, *The Stone Flower* (which had its first performance on March 7 at Moscow and has never been outside of the Soviet Union) and a program of divertissements made up largely from short scenes from other ballets in the repertory.

Some 40 tons of scenery are to be brought by the company for its eight weeks stay. Apart from New York, other cities so far listed for performances are Washington and Los Angeles.

Already this year we have been introduced to two fine Soviet artists, the violinist Igor Bezrodny and the mezzo soprano Zara Dolukhanova (see review, p. 45). Before the year

is out we will undoubtedly have the pleasure of hearing other Soviet artists who have increasingly won a place for themselves throughout the country, not only from their concert appearances but from the wide sale of their records here.

"Holiday on Ice," an American ice show, will spend April and May in Moscow and Leningrad. This company includes the Olympic skating champion Dick Button and is the first American company of its kind to go to the Soviet Union.

Later this year the great Negro singer Marian Anderson is to give a series of concerts in Soviet cities as is also the Metropolitan soprano Roberta Peters. The distinguished American violinist Nathan Milstein has also been signed for concerts in the Soviet Union this year. The New York Philharmonic, under the direction of Leonard Bernstein, will go to Moscow this summer in connection with the U.S. exhibit to be held in the Soviet capital.

New York-Moscow Exhibits

Indeed the U.S. exhibit to be held in Moscow and the Soviet exhibit to be held in New York this summer would seem to be one of the high points of the exchange program. The U.S. Government has set aside \$3,600,000 to be spent on its exhibit which is to be held in Sokolniki Park about fifteen minutes by subway from the center of Moscow. The exhibit is to be housed in four major structures that are to be sold subsequently to the Soviet Government. According to advance stories great consideration is being given to the aspects of U.S. life to be shown in the exhibit, much experience having been gained from the successes

and failures at the Brussels Fair.

Of particular interest is the announcement that the great photographic exhibit, "The Family of Man," created by Edward Steichen in 1955 for the Museum of Modern Art, is to be shown. Whitmanesque in its theme of the oneness of mankind throughout the world, this exhibit has already been circulated in 28 countries and has been seen by nearly 4,000,000 people. It seems especially fitting that Carl Sandburg, who more clearly than any other American writer has continued in his poetry Whitman's theme of universal brotherhood, should be going to Moscow with Edward Steichen for the opening of the exhibit on July 4th.

The Soviet exhibit, to be held in New York from June 28 to July 27, is to be housed in the Coliseum and is to occupy two floors of that building—an area amounting to approximately four acres. There will be 50 interpreters to answer questions about the various displays which will include models of the sputniks, atomic-powered ships, and the Bratskaya Hydroelectric Station in Siberia, the world's largest. There will also be on display electronic computers, electric microscopes, atomic research material and seismographic equipment used for measuring sound waves in petroleum exploration.

Moscow University will be shown in the form of a model and there will be typical classrooms of Soviet primary and secondary schools. Examples of Soviet painting and sculpture will be displayed and a section will be devoted to literature. Recent Soviet movies and television products are to have a prominent place

in the exhibit. For refreshment typical Russian food will be available.

Of special interest to the American visitor will be the large section devoted to Intourist, the Soviet tourist agency. This display will make available the latest information on hotels, airlines, railways, buses, restaurants and recreational areas.

Five thousand U. S. visitors went to the Soviet Union last year; 10,000 are expected to go during the course of this year. Travel agencies all over the country report increasing interest in Soviet tours. Current magazines and newspapers carry many ads detailing facilities offered, routes to be covered, forms of transportation available. The reasonableness of the rates offered, of course, makes Soviet tours possible for many Americans. It is a pity that rates for Soviet tourists to this country should be so high. Only four groups of Soviet tourists came to this country last year. Intourist has indicated that many more Soviet citizens would come here this year if costs were lower.

The National Council of American Soviet Friendship has announced three tours to the Soviet Union that should be of great interest to our readers. The writer of this article is leading one of the tours. (See ad p. 47)

Again this summer there will be an exchange of students, this time considerably enlarged. Seventy-two U.S. students are to go for a 40 day visit to the Soviet Union and 24 Soviet students are to come here in October for the better part of a month.

The most important of the student exchanges began last fall with

20 U.S. graduates students beginning a year's work in the universities at Moscow and Leningrad and 17 Soviet students beginning their study here in various universities.

Sports

Last year one of the most interesting developments in the sports field were the competitions held between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. (Even to the participation of two Soviet racing horses in the Washington International held in Laurel Park, Maryland, last November 11!) Field and track, rowing and basket-ball competitions were held in the Soviet Union last summer and in this country a series of weightlifting contests took place in various cities.

This March a team of 13 Soviet skiers participated in the North American ski championship matches at Squaw Valley, California. Pavel Kolchin, the 5-foot, 4-inch, 116-pound skier created a tremendous sensation in winning the 1,500 kilometer cross-country championship over his much larger rivals. In February a Soviet ice-hockey team played eight matches in various cities here, winning five of the matches and tying the other three.

A field and track meet (a return for last summer's meet in Moscow) will be held at Franklin Field in Philadelphia July 11-12. At the same time on the Potomac, at Washington, a Soviet rowing crew will compete with a U.S. crew in the Pan-American trial races.

Science

The exchange of scientists between the two countries has been one of the slower parts of the ex-

change agreement to be realized. It was not until last fall that preliminary details were worked out between Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, President of the U.S. Academy of Science and Dr. A. N. Nesmeyanov, head of the USSR Academy. According to a report in the *New York Times* for January 19, the agreement when it is completed is to involve an exchange of 100 Soviet and 100 U.S. scientists. The exchanges are to vary in length from one month to two years.

The first of these science exchanges was completed in March when Dr. Herbert A. Lechevalier of Rutgers University returned from a five month period of work in the Institute of Microbiology of the Soviet Academy of Science. His stay at the Institute was in exchange for the five month period of work that Dr. Georgi Konstantinovich spent at Rutgers last year.

Also in March three Soviet scientists finished a month's visit to U.S. laboratories engaged in research on the physiology and pharmacology of the nervous system. This visit follows one made to similar Soviet institutes by five U.S. scientists last November and December. Dr. Vladimir S. Rusinov, head of the Soviet group, said that shifts in brain research programs in the two countries had already resulted from exchanges made during a meeting held last October in Moscow. Dr. Sergei V. Anichkov, another member of the Soviet group, pointed out that U.S. and Soviet research to find drugs that were active on the central nervous system differed in emphasis. "For a profound study giving important answers," he said, "it will be necessary to combine these

approaches." (*N. Y. Times*, March 3.) All three scientists stressed the importance for medical science for more frequent contact and interchange of research discoveries.

Apart from the exchange program a variety of other contacts are in progress. For example, a group of three Soviet scientists spent the month of January here as guests of the Quakers in exchange for three Quaker doctors who visited the Soviet Union last September. The three scientists, who visited different institutions throughout the country, were Madame Alla Massevich, an astrophysicist, Ivan Artolevsky, a theoretical physicist, and Dr. A. A. Vishnevsky, heart surgeon and Director of the Soviet Society of Surgeons.

Another example is the joint project being carried on by a group at the University of Michigan and a group of Soviet mathematicians in compiling a mathematical dictionary—the U.S. group responsible for the Russian-English half of the dictionary, the Soviet group responsible for the English-Russian half. The work of the two groups is being sponsored in this country by the National Academy of Sciences and the American Mathematical Society and by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The problem of language is of course of the first importance in all matters having to do with exchanges in any field. Study of the Russian language in this country has seen a phenomenal rise in the past two years. According to the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*, March 3, 210 of the 1,937 colleges and universities are now offering courses in Russian; in 1956 only 173 institutions offered

such courses. In October, 1957, only nine public schools offered Russian; this year 146 such schools are reported with an average of fifty pupils in each class.

Further Exchanges

The visits of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, Cyrus S. Eaton, Senator Humphrey, Walter Lippmann and others to the USSR, and the visit of Vice Premier Mikoyan to this country, have shown the importance of personal contacts between prominent people in both countries. Is it not time for an exchange of delegations between leading members of Congress and leading representatives from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR? Concerned as they are with the vital foreign policies of their countries, would not direct discussion between them go far to bring greater understanding and thus provide an atmosphere in which negotiations, particularly at the summit level, might be more realistic?

Many years have now lapsed since trade union delegations between the two countries have been exchanged. Is it not time also for these to be renewed? Would not visits, consultation, exchange of experience between the great organizations of the workers of the two countries be invaluable in furthering mutual understanding, in hastening an end to the rigors of the cold war?

Brought into being by the demands of the American and Soviet people, the exchange program has succeeded in furthering contacts and understanding between the two peoples. Continuation and much wider expansion of the program in every possible field is an essential condition for a peaceful future.

The Only Alternatives

**The destructive use of science for war or
the constructive use of science for peace**

by J. D. BERNAL

This is the concluding chapter of Prof. J. D. Bernal's book, World Without War, which we feel may well be the most important book of these times. It is both a passionate plea for peace and a reasoned, scientific analysis of how the stagnation forced on large parts of the world by the cold war and the ultimate destruction of the hot war to which it might lead, could be replaced, under proper planning and use of the world's resources, by a world of plenty for all its inhabitants.

Professor Bernal is well known to our readers through the articles he has contributed to New World Review in the past. University Professor of Physics at Birkbeck College, London, author of Science in History, published in this country by Cameron Associates, he was described as "One of the most remarkable men of the age . . . quite possibly . . . the greatest scholar of science alive," in the review of this latest book by C. P. Snow in the British weekly, New Statesman, November 15, 1958. Not content with his monumental contribution in the field of science, he is an active and leading figure in the world peace movement.

We are publishing this chapter of World Without War by courtesy of Professor Bernal and his American publishers, Monthly Review Press (66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.). We hope it may stimulate reading of the entire remarkable volume.

THE EDITORS

THE years we are passing through are years of decision; the choice between the alternatives of peace and war cannot be delayed much longer. And people are feeling this. As we move towards a position in which the fate of humanity can be determined by a couple of men standing at the buttons which will release the fatal rockets, everyone in the world is beginning to realize the danger that we have allowed to grow to these monstrous dimensions. War, always wicked, has now lost any sense. It has ceased to be a way of imposing the will of the stronger on the weaker. It has become a suicide of madness. A future world war will have no victors but only

vanquished. Even if we did not have a better alternative—we would still have in the interest of self-preservation to end the present nightmare. But we do have such an alternative. With the knowledge and experience already at our command we could build a world that would provide for every single person in it more than the richest can hope for today, a world in which men's energies would be turned away from struggle against each other to the conquest of the forces of nature.

It has been my purpose here to examine this alternative critically and constructively and to describe it in as concrete way as possible. And these are the only alternatives—the

destructive use of science in war or the constructive use of science for peace. In either way we cannot do without science. As I have tried to show, the lives of hundreds of millions of people today depend on the continued use and the further development of science. We cannot go back to a period which made no use of science. Even if those days were happy, they were the happiness of ignorance which our knowledge has now dispelled for ever. As in the fable of the fall, knowledge of evil or good cannot be taken back, we have passed the point of no return. We must now go forward, but not to destruction. Unfortunately, ever since the Cold War started, that is the direction in which we are aimed. Unless the peoples of the world act in time all—contestants and neutrals alike—are doomed to the slow painful death that will follow the horror of nuclear bombardments.

Now in these wide and general terms, this situation is being recognized by more and more people. In fact, I should think it is fairly well recognized by the great majority of people all over the world—in Africa and Asia, just as much as in Europe and America. But it is clearly not sufficient to realize it in these general terms. To be effective we must look closer and find more precisely what to do to arrest this madness and to set us on the other course. This is what I have tried to do in a small way in this book—to chart and make provision for a reasonable future, where men's knowledge can be turned to make use of the resources of this planet for the benefit of the people on it. I have tried to show that the resources themselves are adequate. If we are wise

we have no reason to fear, for an indefinite future, any shortage of human necessities, of food and shelter, or of the means of constructing all the instruments and machinery that we need to make the things we want. Indeed what I hope to have brought out is that we are on the eve, in fact have already embarked on a second Industrial Revolution much more conscious, more scientific and carrying far greater hope for humanity than the first Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century. To complete this revolution, to release men from the tyranny of monotonous labor as well as the hard physical toil, is now within our grasp.

The second objective, at least equal in importance, though it can only be effected by the use of the new Industrial Revolution, is to remedy the gross inequalities of human opportunity in the world today, inequality which the advance of science and industry have made far sharper than it ever was before. The majority of the people in the world, perhaps, are not much poorer than they were in the past. But that is only because they could not be much poorer and be alive at all. The wealthy everywhere—and in privileged countries large sections of the population as well—are much better off than any substantial number of people have ever been in history, and their wealth is increasing at a more rapid rate than has ever been known in the past. The most urgent task for humanity is to see this inequality corrected, to see the division between wealth and poverty abolished. The real solution is so to organize society that there should be enough and to spare for all. This objective, never before

possible, has now come within reach thanks to the advance of science. The most rapid raising of the standard of living of all the poorer parts of the world and all the poorer classes in all parts of the world can be most rapidly effected through the use and spread of a scientifically directed and controlled productive system.

My objective was to show in the most concrete terms how this could be done, how in the span of a generation or less the industry and the agriculture of the world, and even science itself, could be transformed by material means already in existence and by use of knowledge already available. I have tried to show not only how it could be done in detail in this country or another, but also how it could be done in all spheres of human activity all over the world. I hope I have shown that what might be called "Operation Plenty" is far more likely of success than any military operation in any war, but that like military operations it needs to be thought out, planned, and executed not only with intelligence but with general good will, energy and enthusiasm.

I have also been concerned to show that, though this is a quite possible task, it will not be a simple and easy matter to carry it out. In setting out and finishing it we have to face obstacles far more serious than those presented by the indifference or cruelty of Nature. We will have to face entrenched interests and ancient suspicions and hatreds which have been turned to serve those interests. Science is no fairy god-mother that will just shower gifts on people who have not worked to

get them. If people turn away from the difficulties of the present situation, say that it is no concern of theirs, or that nothing that they can do would make any difference, they are evading their plain responsibilities as human beings and really deserving the worst fate that can befall them. But I do not think many would do this once they saw not only the dangers but also the possibilities and the way to achieve them in action. This way is inevitably one of political discussion and action. However, in a book such as this, dealing primarily with world problems, the political aspects can only be indicated in the broadest lines. Finding what must be done is a different problem in every country and with every turn of the political situation.

Only the first step is abundantly clear—that is, to end the Cold War, to disarm, and to make peace. These are not, though they are often represented to be, extremely complicated, technical, military and diplomatic problems. To solve them only requires one thing—the will to peace. And if that will is not to be found in the statesmen—or not in all the statesmen—who rule the world today, it is the business of the peoples to see that it becomes their will, or else to change their rulers. To do this we need to gather together in all the countries the positive forces of the people, which in their diverse way will all help in one great movement for peace.

With the hydrogen bomb, war has reached the limit of its destructiveness. No further piling up of weapons could make it worse. Already there are enough atom and hydrogen bombs in store with planes and rockets to carry them to blot out every

big city in the world and these bombs would release enough radioactivity into the air to poison fatally, or perceptibly, every living thing on the earth and damage untold generations of those that survive. Whatever the reasons, real or pretended, that are given to retain nuclear war in any form, the first and most persistent demands of the people should be for its absolute abolition. Every country has its own reasons for wanting this abolition, but whatever the reasons are, whatever the particular forms of nuclear warfare that have to be resisted, all the resistances add up to one great repudiation which must be made effective without delay. Every year we lose makes the danger greater, and there may not be very much more time.

In Britain we are, for example, committed to a complicity in nuclear warfare as the site of ballistic rockets. These weapons can no longer be claimed to defend our people, they will serve only to attract a hydrogen bomb counter offensive which will wipe out everything in the country. However, as it is only by the cooperation of the people of Britain, and not only of that of the government of the day, that these bases can be built and the whole system of which they are a part can be maintained, there lies on the people of Britain a special responsibility. If we hold out, if we repudiate this policy, then the policy will be dropped, and another step will have been taken to ensure the success of a negotiated peace. Such a peace would necessarily include the total abolition of nuclear weapons and such a degree of conventional disarmament that military aggression would be impracticable.

Other countries which may not feel themselves so directly threatened by atom and hydrogen bombs are in reality hardly less interested in securing their abolition because the spread of radioactive fall-out will not respect national boundaries. What we need as soon as possible is the expression of a universal popular opinion which will leave no government, however wedded to the policy of nuclear warfare, any possibility of preparing to wage it. And if they cannot do that, they cannot, in fact, afford to have war of any kind. For in an age in which even the knowledge of nuclear weapons exists any war may sooner or later turn into a nuclear war.

To put an end to war for good it is not sufficient just to call a truce. It must be stabilized by positive constructive action, if only to take up the energies now used for armament production. The alternative to war needs some degree of international cooperation to set the world to rights even if in its first stage it may appear as peaceful economic competition. What people find hard to realize now, because they have never experienced it, is the enormous material benefit that would accompany the abandonment of the military solution and would bring with it an immense feeling of relief from a fear which, although we may not really be conscious of it, weighs on our every hour. I have tried to show in this book what stores of resources are immediately available and would be released by the cessation of arms manufacture, what potentiality of the most advanced science that could be switched within a few months from destruction to construction.

The nature of that constructive

task was my major theme. I have tried to show how the new powers brought by science—among them atomic energy and electronic automation—could transform industry, increasing without limit our supplies of materials and manufactured products and at the same time removing the necessity for all monotonous as well as arduous work. I showed something of how the advances of biological science could transform agriculture to provide abundant food and medicine for better health and longer life.

Most important of all, because it is the key to success in all these fields, is the advance of science itself. The flourishing of science in research and teaching is indeed the characteristic feature of the social and economic transformation of the present and near future. It is here, even more than in the idea of planning, that the Soviet Union has realized in practice the ideal of socialism, and in doing so has brought a gift that the whole world can use. It has shown that a whole population, boys and girls together, can be given a basic scientific education and can provide the great proportion of scientists and engineers which can speed up the new Industrial Revolution without which it will be impossible to make it succeed.

Throughout I have stressed the need to consider the economic, political and military problems of our time from the outset as world problems. They cannot be solved in isolation in each country but only in a general framework. It is in this way that the gross economic disparity between countries, which at present is actually growing, can be halted by a process of leveling up

to be achieved in the first place by the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries.

I hope to have shown that the two immediate objectives, the ending of war and of poverty are essentially one. The energies released by lifting the immense burden of the costs for war, which now for years has terrified and paralyzed the world, would find their best use in helping the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. It would at long last enable them to use their own resources and their own labor to raise themselves to a high technical level, and for the first time in history provide them within a generation with the opportunity of a full life free from hunger, disease and ignorance.

However, it is not just to alleviate the economic dislocations of disarmament that such a program needs to be undertaken. It would be what William James called it many years ago, "The moral equivalent of war," and needs to be undertaken all over the world with the same intensity, with the same vigor and sacrifice, as war has been throughout history. But the enormous difference will be the consciousness among the people taking part in this common effort that they are working for good and not for harm. In this new war against poverty and for the fullness of human life there will be no vanquished but only victors.

The idea that all will gain and none need lose is one still unfamiliar to many people in the countries which at present enjoy the highest standard of living. They feel and indeed are made to feel by the propaganda that others can only gain at the expense of their losses, and they

are prepared to inflict the most horrible destruction on any, however poor or deserving, who seem to threaten their standard of living. However, as I hope I have shown, the prospect of a scientifically reconstructed world in which the standard of life in all countries is leveled up, holds no threat to any country, even the richest. The more they give to others the more they are enriched themselves, and not only in a spiritual sense. The enormous new market provided by the industrialization of the backward countries is the stabilizing factor needed for the further transformation of industry into its fully automatized scientific form in the advanced countries, pending its introduction and further improvement in the underdeveloped countries themselves. The people of the old industrial countries have indeed the greatest interest in effecting this change.

But it would be too much to expect people in the wealthier countries to be first to see the benefits that they will get from helping others. It would indeed be better if their natural instincts of justice and for the restoration of what they have taken from others—or what their fathers have—were to be the first motive power for the change, and this is happening to some extent in many countries, particularly in Britain. However, the real drive behind the change must come and is already coming from the peoples of the underdeveloped countries themselves. Starting with the example of the Soviet Union, and now with the renewed efforts which are going on in China, in India, in Egypt, and elsewhere, the whole of the fifteen hundred million peoples

in Asia, Africa and Latin America are insistently demanding their full right to live. They are insisting on the right to participate and work in a modern productive system that can alone give them the elementary needs which they have gone without for so long and that is already absolutely necessary if they are to avoid mass starvation.

This great movement has taken as its first demand national political independence, and many countries have won that independence in the last few years. Soon after—a state already reached in many countries—there comes a demand for economic independence—the right to use their own resources and not have them exploited and taken out of the country by foreign governments or business concerns under any pretext whatever. If this natural desire is badly handled, it can lead and indeed has led in the last decade to wars, some of which are still going on in countries like Malaya and Algeria. These wars are both futile and dangerous: futile because it is impossible now, with the way the world is, to resist for long the movement to full independence in any country; dangerous because they cause lasting bitterness and division not only in the countries in which they occur, but throughout the world, and provide the most likely occasion for the outbreak of a nuclear war—as nearly happened in Viet Nam and more recently in the Middle East.

In contrast, the opposite policy of helping to restore prosperity and dignity to the peoples of these formerly oppressed countries gives aid to the forces of peace. By doing so people will be working not only for

material reconstruction but also for the advancement of knowledge and culture. Many of these countries, whose peoples today are among the poorest in the world, were great contributors to culture in the past. Indeed the whole culture of the so-called Western World derives from them. Not only have they the right to contribute to the culture of the new world, but that new world will gain greatly from their contribution. This will not merely be in numbers but also because, drawing on a different source in tradition, they would be more likely to introduce new and exciting elements to science and art.

The point I have tried to make is that both parts of the world, the old-industrialized and the new underdeveloped countries, need each other, that their economies are complementary. The concrete task of changing the world is an operation whose stages I have outlined, in which the surplus capital of the industrial world can set going, through a new industrialization, the rest of the world, without the foreign exploitation which has accompanied capital export in the past. It will help to bring into action a viable and harmonious adaptive world economic system yielding returns to all on a scale far greater than any can achieve today.

We already know how this can be done. We have seen it being done in our lifetime in the Soviet Union and in China. There we have seen the possibilities of raising the productive level of a country far more rapidly than anyone thought, and at the same time the extreme difficulties of doing it without any financial assistance from abroad, and

in the face of sustained hostility of the capitalist powers and active wars of invasions supported by them. It was these conditions that from the very beginning, and once again after the Second World War, forced the socialist countries to sacrifice the present to the future and to accept hardships which in a juster world order would never be necessary.

Under these new conditions the pace could be the same or faster, but the rewards would not have to be so long deferred. Indeed, with any reasonable generosity they could come almost at once. As I have pointed out, enough food exists in stocks or could be raised by rapidly expanding agriculture, to ensure a basic level of nutrition within three years all over the world. These immediate rewards should be clear enough, and behind them come further possibilities that I have discussed, the full extent of which can only be revealed by scientific analysis and experiment. As we know well enough from the achievements of the past this is something that can be relied on, we are not likely to be held up by intrinsic natural impossibilities but only by the human difficulties.

In the problem of leveling up the economies of the former colonial territories these difficulties may well loom large. On both sides there are obstacles to be overcome. On the side of the imperial powers there has been for centuries an assumption of superiority which barely covers a sense of guilt. The justification of the imperialist has always been that it is only because the natives of other countries are inferior that it has been a moral duty to exploit their resources and work them for their

own good. On the other side there is a deep sense of grievance and suspicion—after all the Westerners came into their country in the first place bearing gifts. These attitudes and suspicions can only be dispelled in a common working task.

Such obstacles, however, are not the most important of those that stand in the way of a peaceful and prosperous world community. The chief among these, and the most obvious, is the present political division of the world between the two great economic systems—the old and the new—which bear to their various protagonists different names. Here the Free World stands opposite to Communist Dictatorship; there the world of Socialism to Capitalist Imperialism. But behind this quarrel about names, there is in fact little doubt about what the struggle is really about. The old system is one based on private profit, the new on production organized for the benefit of the whole people. . . .

Now that it is becoming clear that no attempt to conquer the world by military means can be successful without a destruction which would make the conquest entirely meaningless, the two systems must stand up to be judged by their merits: by what they can give to the peoples of the world. I believe that the socialist system can give so much more that sensible people will come round to see this as soon as the immediate danger of war has been removed, and with it much of the deliberately created misunderstanding between the two parts of the world.

By the very act of entering into such peaceful competition, some may think it possible—though I do

not—that within the framework of the capitalist system a way may be found to stop the exploitation of the backward countries, and actually to help them on their way to full independence, industrialization and prosperity. I believe that far more effort will be needed by the peoples of the capitalist countries to secure this end, and that in doing so capitalism itself will be changed out of all recognition.

Even before this happens, however, under combined internal pressure and the needs of competition with socialist countries, real aid on a substantial scale may come to the underdeveloped countries from the capitalist countries. At the same time the socialist countries, relieved of the burden of military preparations, will be able to multiply the aid they have given already and to show how it can be given in a way that will help the peoples of the underdeveloped countries to stand on their own feet in real economic independence.

And there, with the easing of the pressure of military threats which has hung over the socialist countries from the very moment of their liberation, we may also expect to see a corresponding internal political easing. It should reduce and ultimately remove the features in them which have prevented many people of good will, workers and intellectuals, in the older industrial countries, from supporting communist regimes and have even ranged them in support of the Cold War front against them. With the easing of Cold War tensions, together with a much greater possibility of mutual exchange and travel, people throughout the world will be able to judge political systems

on their merits, to make rational choices between them, and to make those choices felt in changes of their own governments. As a scientist I want to see the thing work out as a social experiment, which will unequivocally decide between the rival social theories of the socialist and capitalist worlds.

Certainly we cannot hope to go forward to achieve the kind of transformation of the world that I have discussed, in an atmosphere of mutual hatred and suspicion. These are the seeds of war and not of peace. With the arrival of nuclear weapons, war can no longer lead to the triumph of right or even of might. That is the new fact, which has been recognized in theory at least in all parts of the world, but it is far from being recognized in practice, as the continual preparation for war and as the refusals of some powers to accept any serious disarmament bear witness.

Our first task, therefore, is to work to reduce the antagonisms which have led to the dangerous stalemate in which the world finds itself. We need to persuade people that they have to live together in peace for the simple reason that if they do not, none of them will be able to live at all.

To overcome such human difficulties is one of the tasks I set myself in writing this book. I wanted to show enough of the possibilities and the visions of the future to attract people and at the same time to give them an idea of the practical steps necessary to realize them. But this is not just my task, it is also the task of the scientists, the economists, the writers and politicians, and of all others who see all or part of these

possibilities. It is their responsibility in the first place to make these clear in their own ways, to let people see that by turning from the absurd distortions of the present economic system to one of real, general utility, they will infallibly get what they want and more than they expect.

It is not only the responsibility of the scientists, it is also a release for them. The frustration which all socially conscious scientists and engineers have suffered all their lives—the enormous gap between what they felt they could do and what they were allowed to do, the years they have had to waste on trivial or negative activities, in the service of war for example—all this will disappear once the constructive job can be got under way. . . .

The scientists and technologists, although they have their special responsibility at this critical time, are not a class of people apart from the others, nor in any reasonable view of the future should they ever become so. Rather, the future holds out a promise for a much wider distribution of knowledge and experience all through the populations of the world—everyone being to some degree a scientist, and all scientists being full citizens and sharing the experiences and the enjoyments of the others. I have never been able to separate, as some of my colleagues have, my responsibilities as a scientist from those as a citizen. I feel that together we need, now as never before, to assume our common responsibility. We must in every country throughout the world organize and struggle against the madness of war and the crime of scarcity.

THEODORE BAYER

October 1, 1893—March 7, 1959

by JESSICA SMITH

WHAT SHALL we do without Ted? So many who knew him, so many who loved him, are asking this question today.

Through all the four years of suffering from cancer, and repeated operations, Ted refused ever to regard himself as an invalid, facing his illness and pain with unfailing courage, and showing recuperative powers that amazed his doctors. He kept right on functioning, his brilliant mind and indomitable spirit sustaining both himself and others. As long as he was physically able, he continued to go to his office at the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, took part in meetings and conferences, wrote, spoke, worked actively in the cause of peaceful coexistence, the central problem in the world today, on which all our lives depend.

In the periods when he was confined to his hospital bed or his home, he kept in touch with everything, reading, studying, constantly conferring with his associates. He always had something important to contribute. Even on his last day in the hospital, he used what little breath was left to him to ask questions about how things were going, summoned his ebbing strength to give something more to the life he loved so well.

Theodore Bayer was born in Odessa, October 21, 1893. He emigrated to this country in 1910 and

later became an American citizen. Never forgetting his native land, a scholar of both Russian and Jewish culture, he also made America his own, learned our ways and our language, loved all that was best in this country, and played his part in helping to preserve its finest traditions. An economist by training and experience, a Marxist by conviction, he was a profound student of the American economic and political system. To practical work in the field of business and foreign trade in his earlier days, there was added his abiding interest in music, art and literature. He was a great and many-sided human being.

In the years between the Russian Revolution in 1917 and recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933, Ted was an active leader in the campaign for establishment of American-Soviet diplomatic relations, and trade and friendship between the two countries. From the beginning, he saw this work as essential not only to the normal growth and development of the world's first socialist state, but to the highest national interests of the United States.

I first knew Ted when in 1936, soon after I had become editor of *Soviet Russia Today* (predecessor of *New World Review*) he joined our staff as Managing Editor. Association with him in the work of international understanding and peace continued when in 1946 he

became Administrative Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. These twenty-three years of knowing Ted as co-worker and dear friend, the help and guidance he always gave so generously, were a privilege to be treasured as long as I live.

Many of our present readers will remember the years when they depended on Ted's special department in SRT "Your Questions Answered" to provide them with the facts about the Soviet Union and Soviet policies they most needed to know.

In his years with us, in more recent years, working closely with Rev. Richard Morford and others in the National Council, Ted made an incomparable contribution to the furthering of East-West relations.

Ted never stopped learning and growing. He always looked beneath the surface of things, seeking their essential meaning. He brought a statesmanlike approach, in its highest sense, to the question of how to improve American-Soviet relations. All during the darkest days of the cold war, when he along with others in the Council felt the harsh blows of McCarthyism, he never lost his faith and courage. He always tried to find the essential link which must be grasped to help move forward the chain of events. Long before the present program of cultural and scientific interchange and interchange of people got under way he saw this as one such link which would help provide a solid foundation for the cooperation on government levels which must one day come. He always sought those special areas of *common* interest between the two key countries in world affairs which needed emphasis in

bringing pressure on the men in Washington to end their hostile policies toward the Soviet Union and enter on a new course for their mutual benefit and the peace of mankind.

On the German question, for example, the immediate burning issue in American-Soviet relations, Ted saw that what needed to be recognized was not alone the threat to the USSR and Europe, but the dangers to America's own interests of the resurgence of German military and economic might, making a negotiated, peaceful solution a *common* vital need.

Last fall, ill as he was, Ted visited the Soviet Union with his wife, Minna, his first visit in nineteen years. How good it was they had this trip!

A large part of the time had to be spent in a sanitarium, where he had wonderful rest and care, but where, the inroads of disease having gone so far, only palliative measures could be taken. Yet before he returned, he spent full and busy days in Moscow, seeing many people, gathering information and materials to give the Council's educational work the soundest possible basis.

Unable to get around much beyond office interviews, he saw enough to come back and tell us of the overwhelming improvements he had noticed since his previous visit. In the offices he saw a new efficiency, a new way of work. "You know," he told me, "it used to be that there were always people running around with papers, picking them up here, laying them down there—no one knew what for. They're not around any more. There's a new business-like atmosphere—no more bureau-

crats—at least, not many of them!"

He was deeply impressed by all the new housing, the new conveniences, the new planning of little self-contained cities all around the outskirts of the big one. With Minna he visited friends in one of these new housing projects, and saw how much easier life had become for the people who used to travel long distances for necessities. Here was a community center, close to the supermarket idea, with its own shops for food and merchandise, a restaurant, school, kindergarten, spacious playground. It was these new concrete demonstrations of concern for the people's needs that meant most to Ted.

In the new Seven-Year Plan, already being projected and discussed, Ted saw the guarantee of the material abundance which would give full satisfaction to the Soviet people's needs. And beyond that, he saw the great positive challenge to peaceful competition with our country which, if taken up, could be the guarantee against mutual atomic destruction, and pointed the way to peaceful solutions.

In telling of his stay in the sanitarium near Moscow, Ted stressed not only the efficiency and skill of the doctors and personnel, but the

warm human relations that existed among them and between them and the patients.

It was his concern for humanity that brought Ted to the work of American-Soviet Friendship. This concern was not confined to the larger issues in the struggle that today has become the struggle for human survival. It manifested itself as well in his attention to day-to-day individual needs. His wide interests, his wisdom and understanding, brought him a wide circle of friends who loved him and brought their problems to him. Whether these problems were political or personal, Ted always was ready with useful counsel and practical help. Warm and loving ties bound him closely with members of both his immediate family and his larger family of friends.

A salute to Minna, who shared Ted's interests and whose devoted care made it possible for him to continue to work for them until the day he died.

A salute to our beloved Ted for his full and useful life which has enriched us all and left with those who knew him a legacy of added strength and determination in the work for peace and human brotherhood to which he gave so much.

Man's most precious possession is life. It is given to him only once, and it must be lived so that dying he can say: I gave all my life and all my strength to the most splendid thing in the world—the struggle for the liberation of mankind.

V. I. LENIN

You Russians and we Americans! Our countries so distant, so unlike at first glance—such a difference in social and political conditions . . . and yet in certain features, the vastest ones, so resembling each other . . . the fervent element of manly friendship throughout the whole people . . . the deathless aspirations at the inmost center of each great community, so vehement, so mysterious, so abysmic—are certainly features you Russians and we Americans possess in common. . . .

WALT WHITMAN

CHINA and AFRICA

by DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

Dr. Du Bois, our great American Negro scholar, novelist, historian, poet, is now visiting China with his wife, the well known writer Shirley Graham. On February 23, the 91st birthday of Dr. Du Bois was celebrated in Peking at a dinner attended by Chinese government officials and leaders in many fields. Premier Chou En-lai sent a special greeting and gift. Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee which, with the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, was co-host at the festivities, congratulated Dr. Du Bois, on behalf of the Chinese people, on his lifelong activities for peace and freedom. He declared: "We see in Dr. Du Bois a worthy representative of the American people with whom we hope very much to maintain peaceful and friendly intercourse." NWR correspondent Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, who attended the dinner, writes: "It was a wonderful evening, with the atmosphere of a big family." She sent us the text of the address made the same day by Dr. Du Bois to more than 1,000 members and students at Peking University, which we publish below.

BY COURTESY of the government of the 680 million people of the Chinese Republic, I am permitted on my ninety-first birthday to speak to the people of China and Africa and through them to the world. Hail, then, and farewell, dwelling places of the yellow and black races. Hail human kind!

I speak with no authority: no assumption of age or rank; I hold no position, I have no wealth. One thing alone I own and that is my own soul. Ownership of that I have even while in my own country for near a century I have been nothing but a "nigger." On this basis and this alone I dare speak, I dare advise.

China after long centuries has arisen to her feet and leapt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation for the last 500 years and face the rising sun. Behold a people, the most populous nation on this ancient earth which has

burst its shackles, not by boasting and strutting, not by lying about its history and its conquests, but by patience and long suffering, by hard, backbreaking labor and with bowed head and blind struggle, moved up and on toward the crimson sky. She aims to "make men holy; to make men free." But what men? Not simply the rich, but not excluding the rich. Not simply the learned, but led by knowledge to the end that no man shall be poor, nor sick, nor ignorant; but that the humblest worker as well as the sons of emperors shall be fed and taught and healed and that there emerge on earth a single unified people, free, well and educated.

You have been told, my Africa: My Africa in Africa and all your children's children overseas; you have been told and the telling so beaten into you by rods and whips, that you believe it yourselves, that this is impossible; that mankind can only rise by walking on men; by cheating them and killing them;

that only on a doormat of the despised and dying, the dead and rotten, can a British aristocracy, a French cultural elite or an American millionaire be nurtured and grown. This is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the down-trodden and the children of despair.

SPEAK, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. What people have been despised as you have? Who more than you have been rejected of men? Recall when lordly Britishers threw the rickshaw money on the ground to avoid touching a filthy hand. Forget not, the time, when in Shanghai no "Chinaman" dared set foot in a park which he paid for. Tell this to Africa, for today Africa stands on new feet, with new eyesight, with new brains and asks: Where am I and why? The Western sirens answer; Britain wheedles; France cajoles; while America, my America, where my ancestors and descendants for eight generations have lived and toiled; America loudest of all, yells and promises freedom. If only Africa allows American investment. Beware Africa, America bargains for your soul. America would have you believe that they freed your grandchildren; that Afro-Americans are full American citizens, treated like equals, paid fair wages as workers, promoted for desert and free to learn and earn and travel across the world. This is not true. Some are near freedom; some approach equality with whites; some have achieved education; but the price for this has too often been slavery of mind, distor-

tion of truth and oppression of our own people. Of 18 million Afro-Americans, 12 million are still second-class citizens of the United States, serfs in farming, low-paid laborers in industry, and repressed members of union labor. Most American Negroes do not vote. Even the rising six million are liable to insult and discrimination at any time.

But this, Africa, relates to your descendants, not to you. Once I thought of you Africans as children, whom we educated Afro-Americans would lead to liberty. I was wrong. We could not even lead ourselves, much less you. Today I see you rising under your own leadership, guided by your own brains.

Africa does not ask alms from China nor from the Soviet Union nor from France, Britain, nor the United States. It asks friendship and sympathy and no nation better than China can offer this to the Dark Continent. Let it be given freely and generously. Let Chinese visit Africa, send their scientists there and their artists and writers. Let Africa send its students to China and its seekers after knowledge. It will not find on earth a richer goal, a more promising mine of information. On the other hand, watch the West. The new British West Indian Federation is not a form of democratic progress but a cunning attempt to reduce these islands to the control of British and American investors. Haiti is dying under rich Haitian investors who with American money are enslaving the peasantry. Cuba is showing what the West Indies, Central and South America are suffering under American Big Business. The American

worker himself does not always realize this. He has high wages and many comforts. Rather than lose these, he keeps in office by his vote the servants of industrial exploitation so long as they maintain his wage. His labor leaders represent exploitation and not the fight against the exploitation of labor by private capital. These two sets of exploiters fall out only when one demands too large a share of the loot. This China knows. This Africa must learn. This the American Negro has failed so far to learn. I am frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment at high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers. What shall you do?

First, understand! Realize that the great mass of mankind is freeing itself from wage slavery, while private capital in Britain, France, and now in America, is still trying to maintain civilization and comfort for a few on the toil, disease and ignorance of the mass of men. Understand this, and understanding comes from direct knowledge. You know America and France and Britain to your sorrow. Now know the Soviet Union and its allied nations, but particularly know China.

CHINA is flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood. China is colored and knows to what a colored skin in this modern world subjects its owner. But China knows more,

much more than this: she knows what to do about it. She can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her own machines or go without machines, when America refuses to sell her American manufacturers even, and throws her workers out of jobs. though it hurts American industry, China does not need American nor British missionaries to teach her religion and scare her with tales of hell. China has been in hell too long, not to believe in a heaven of her own making. This she is doing.

Come to China, Africa, and look around. Invite Africa to come, China, and see what you can teach just by pointing. Yonder old woman is working on the street. But she is happy. She has no fear. Her children are in school and a good school. If she is ill, there is a hospital where she is cared for free of charge. She has a vacation with pay each year. She can die and be buried without taxing her family to make some undertaker rich.

Africa can answer: but some of this we have done; our tribes undertake public service like this. Very well, let your tribes continue and expand this work. What Africa must realize is what China knows: that it is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek not the progress of the people but their use as means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana. It is wrong for the Catholic church to direct the education of the black Congolese. It was wrong for Protestant churches supported by British and American wealth to control higher education

in China. The Soviet Union is surpassing the world in popular and higher education, because from the beginning it started its own complete educational system.

The essence of the revolution in the Soviet Union and China and in all the "iron curtain" nations, is not the violence that accompanied the change: no more than starvation at Valley Forge was the essence of the American revolution against Britain. The real revolution is the acceptance on the part of the nation of the fact that hereafter the main object of the nation is the welfare of the mass of the people and not of a lucky few.

Government is for the people's progress and not for the comfort of an aristocracy. The object of industry is the welfare of the workers and not the wealth of the owners. The object of civilization is the cultural progress of the mass of workers and not merely of an intellectual elite. And in return for all this, communist lands believe that the cultivation of the mass of people will discover more talent and genius to serve the state than any closed aristocracy ever furnished. This belief the current history of the Soviet Union and China is proving true each day. Therefore don't let the West invest when you can avoid it. Don't buy capital from Britain, France and the United States if you

can get it on reasonable terms from the Soviet Union and China. This is not politics; it is common sense. It is learning from experience. It is trusting your friends and watching your enemies.

Refuse to be cajoled or to change your way of life so as to make a few of your fellows rich at the expense of a mass of workers growing poor and sick and remaining without schools so that a few black men can have automobiles.

AFRICA, here is a real danger which you must avoid or return to the slavery from which you are emerging. All I ask from you is the courage to know; to look about you and see what is happening in this old and tired world; to realize the extent and depth of its rebirth and the promise which glows on yonder hills.

Visit the Soviet Union and visit China. Let your youth learn the Russian and Chinese languages. Stand together in this new world and let the old world perish in its greed or be born again in new hope and promise. Listen to the Hebrew prophet of communism:

Ho! every one that thirsteth; come ye to the waters; come, buy and eat, without money and without price!

Again, China and Africa, hail and farewell!

THE SPRINGTIME OF MAN

KUO MO-JO at the dinner for Dr. Du Bois said, in wishing the visiting scholar a long life, "Spring has come to mankind. Through your continued efforts, future development will further encourage and strengthen the confidence of the peoples of the United States, Africa and the whole world in a glorious and happy tomorrow. You will become younger and younger with each passing day."

The 21st Congress on Television

by **ESLANDA ROBESON**

Our readers will be glad to know that following receipt of this article we had news that the treatments Mrs. Robeson was receiving in Moscow had been successfully completed, and that she was preparing to rejoin her husband, Paul Robeson, in London, where, having fully recovered from his illness, he is now rehearsing the role of Othello for the coming Stratford Festival.

I HAD the good fortune to "attend" the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Jan. 27-Feb. 5) by means of the television set at the foot of my hospital bed. The sessions were fully photographed and recorded, with close-ups of the speakers, the Presidium, various sections of the audience, and panoramic shots of the meetings as a whole. Flat on my back, watching the TV screen, I had the feeling that I was present, in person, in the hall.

I had thought I would not understand much of the proceedings, since I know very little Russian. But I was happily surprised to find that, because I was not trying to follow the words, I was free to sense and appreciate the spirit and quality of the proceedings—the confidence, the enthusiasm, the attentive interest, the high spirits of the participants.

February 5, the closing day of the Congress, was a beautiful sunny day. Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, First Party Secretary and Soviet Premier, opened the session with a broad smile, and pointing to the sun streaming in

through the windows, said gaily: "Look. There is bright sunshine again. From the beginning of our Congress right through to its closing it has accompanied our work."

The Congress laughed and applauded. For indeed, both literally and figuratively, the sun did shine upon the proceedings of this 21st Congress, with its emphasis on the people's well-being and peace.

The principal work of the Congress was to consider and take decisions upon the Seven-Year Plan. This now world famous plan had been presented to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its plenary session in November, and after that had been given over to the people in all walks of life for discussion, criticism and suggestions. Men and women and youth, working in all levels of industry, agriculture, education, defense, science, the arts had been consulted. A large number of the useful proposals made were accepted. Thus did the Soviet people, who will, together, carry out this magnificent program, participate in and contribute to it.

I shall not here repeat in detail the substance of Khrushchev's opening report on the plan, since this was published in the March issue of *New World Review*. The report was unanimously approved and the control figures for economic development, 1959-1965, were endorsed in a resolution passed at the end of the

Congress, "with the amendments and addenda introduced on the basis of the discussion at the Congress and during the pre-Congress discussion," and providing that the many concrete and useful suggestions be studied and applied in practice.

My colleagues of the Soviet press very generously helped me to "cover" the proceedings of the Congress. Every morning one of them would call at the hospital to bring me a collection of the big Soviet Information Service sheets, containing verbatim transcripts of the speeches, together with summaries and excerpts from all the Soviet press—all in English. Thus I was able to supplement what I had heard and seen on my television screen.

There were many heartwarming incidents which had to be seen to be fully appreciated: The spontaneous warm murmur and tremendous enthusiasm with which the Presidium and the Congress greeted Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The charming modesty of the impressive Ho Chi Minh, Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The quiet, solid assurance of R. Y. Malinovsky, Soviet Minister of Defense. The immense confidence and radiating good humor of Nikita Khrushchev, presiding.

There was a great deal to be confident and good humored about. Members of the Central Committee, officials responsible for the soundness of policy and progress in the many important areas of Soviet society reported comprehensively upon the situation in their various departments.

We, the Soviet people, are doing

well, they told the Congress, and through it the 200 million Soviet citizens; we are rich in natural resources; we now have the skills and techniques and equipment and personnel to develop and use and enjoy them; our multi-national peoples are successfully welded into one Socialist family. Our country and our people enjoy the security of the most advanced scientific national defense.

They spoke, not boastfully, but with immense gratification, and gave evidence for their optimism that the Seven-Year Plan could be not only fulfilled but surpassed.

A. B. Aristov, a secretary of the Central Committee and member of its Presidium, told the Congress:

We are richer than any other country in the world. I have in mind not only mineral wealth, but also the boundless expanses of our fertile agricultural lands. As we study the subterranean stores of our country more and more, we discover new, truly fabulous riches, particularly in Siberia and the Far East. . . . The natural wealth of our country is an important factor which makes our country independent of the capitalist world. . . . But what makes up our most important advantage is Soviet people . . . the skilled workers, proficient farmers, specialists, scientists, business executives, Party workers . . . who are capable of accomplishing any task the country sets before them. . . .

And how is all this wealth to be used? Mr. Khrushchev answered this question: Heavy industry is to be expanded. There is to be a tremendous all-round advance of all branches of the economy. This will be the basis for achieving continuous improvement in the standard of living. There will be a shift to a shorter working day and week, without reduction in wages, but, on the contrary, a substantial rise. "The

USSR will have the shortest working day and the shortest working week in the world, with a simultaneous rise in living standards," Mr. Khrushchev told the Congress.

And how is this to be managed? Mr. N. M. Shvernik, Presidium member and veteran trade union official, explained:

The object of socialist production is not the extraction of profit, but the full satisfaction of the requirements of all members of society. It will obviously never come up against such problems as unemployment and over-production crises and shrinking markets due to insufficient consumption by the masses. . . . We can and will make full use of all possible mechanization and automation.

The plan envisages more nurseries, kindergartens, schools of all levels; hospitals, clinics and sanatoria, and childrens camps. The task is to provide an apartment for every family; to set up more and better dressmaking and tailoring establishments, and more and better public catering to free women from kitchen drudgery.

Mr. N. A. Mukhitdinov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, spoke of the harmonious, brotherly and equal relations between the more than 100 diverse peoples of the USSR, and of some of the reasons for this:

. . . The Party helped all the peoples of the country to gain their national sovereignty, to wipe out their economic backwardness within an historically short span of time; insured the creation of powerful modern industries and the conversion of the once backward outlying regions into highly developed industrial and collective farm Republics. This is characteristic of all 15 Republics, but is especially graphic in the country's Eastern Republics, where the working masses

leaped from the patriarchal feudal relations and colonial slavery to socialism, having skipped the capitalistic stage of development. . . .

In Khrushchev's final speech, summing up the results of the Congress, he announced that the Soviet specialists working in India on the construction of the Bhilai metallurgical mill, built by the Indian Government with the help of the Soviet Union, had reported that the mill produced its first coke on February first and its first pig iron on February third.

He noted that as a result of their joint friendly efforts with Indian specialists and workers, the Soviet specialists had completed the first section of the mill sooner than two similar mills being built, one by Britain and one by West Germany, which had been started one to one and a half years earlier. He declared:

We greet the Indian people, and the Government of India, headed by Prime Minister Nehru, in connection with this big accomplishment of utmost importance for the industrialization and strengthening of the country's economic independence. . . . May the heat of this furnace warm up the friendship between our two great and peace loving nations. May our friendship be as strong as the metal produced by this plant, put up by the joint efforts of the Governments of the Soviet Union and India.

Lest anyone should misinterpret the Seven-Year Plan as a program for war, Mr. Khrushchev emphasized again and again that the only kind of "challenge" involved in the plan was one of peaceful competition:

We want to compete with the capitalist countries in peaceful fields—the development of the productive forces,

of the country's economic potential, and the improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the people. We want each system to show its economic and spiritual powers in the process of this competition.

Whether this be called contest or competition, he urged—

... in both cases we propose that matters be settled without the rumble of guns; without the use of nuclear weapons; without chemical, bacteriological and other means of annihilating people; without war; without the destruction of the treasures accumulated by mankind.

Mr. Khrushchev stressed that above all an improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is essential for relieving international tension, and urged extension of trade and cultural relations and personal contacts between statesmen and public leaders, as well as delegations of various kinds and tourist exchange, to increase mutual understanding. Recalling his own pleasant recollections of President Eisenhower at the Geneva Summit meeting, and the hopes raised for a further "thaw" as a result of Mikoyan's warm reception in the United States, he said:

And if the President should wish to come to our country, he would be received with heartfelt hospitality both by our government and the Soviet people. He can bring along anyone he likes. They will all be welcome guests. Let the President study a map of the Soviet Union and pick out the places in our country he would like to visit. . . . His visit would unquestionably be useful to both our countries. . . . And we make such a proposal without any condition of reciprocity.

We proceed from the fact that reciprocal meetings and talks, reciprocal visits by statesmen and public leaders, promote better relations between states and make for an atmosphere which warms body and soul and creates the op-

portunity to live without fear of the future, to exclude war and establish peaceful coexistence.

Khrushchev urged the necessity of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and finding a solution of the Berlin problem, and asked that the United States make its own suggestions on these matters as a basis for negotiations. He declared the Soviet Union was not interested in winning the cold war, but in ending it . . . and would be willing to concede victory in the cold war to the United States "so long as you end it forthwith."

Affirming that the USSR desired to reach an agreement at Geneva on cessation of nuclear tests, Mr. Khrushchev emphasized that the Soviet Government is in favor of establishing proper control over cessation, but only under conditions "that are really equal for us and the Western powers." Under such conditions, he said, "We are prepared to sign a treaty at any time on this question."

I kept thinking, as I lay there in my hospital bed, of Khrushchev's words of peaceful challenge to the United States:

We want to compete in the production of industrial goods, meat, butter, milk, clothing, footwear and other consumer goods, rather than in the arms race and the production of A and H bombs and rockets. . . .

And letting my imagination wander, I thought of the rejoicing and gratitude with which the American people would greet an acceptance of this challenge by the Eighty-sixth Congress in Washington, with its own answering Plan for well-being, progress and peace!

US - USSR Trade Relations

**N. S. Patolichev, USSR Minister of Foreign Trade,
answers questions of Pravda correspondent**

When Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan visited this country, he made proposals for the expansion of American-Soviet trade to Mr. C. Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, which were rebuffed. Subsequently, in an address to the Mississippi World Trade Conference in New Orleans, Mr. Dillon charged that the Soviet Union's foreign economic policies were "geared to its main goal of world domination," and that Soviet overtures for increased trade with the United States were "insincere." On February 18 the Moscow Pravda published an interview, based on the full text of the Dillon speech, with the Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade, which we publish below in slightly condensed form.—THE EDITORS.

Question: What is your opinion of the statement made by Deputy Under Secretary of State of the United States Dillon, regarding Soviet-American trade and economic relations, in New Orleans on Jan. 27?

Answer: The recently concluded Extraordinary Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave due attention to relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, including questions of Soviet-American trade and economic relations.

The program of peaceful economic construction in the next seven years, adopted by the Congress, stipulates a big advance in the Soviet Union's national economy and opens up broad prospects for the further development of all economic relations with foreign countries. In his report to the Congress, Khrushchev pointed out that in the next seven years the Soviet Union would develop economic contacts with all countries and would be able to expand the volume of its foreign trade at least 100 per cent.

The Congress re-emphasized the

peaceful nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and called for the ending of the "cold war," the improvement of relations between the states, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

We proceed from the premise that the improvement of political relations between states helps to create normal conditions for the development of economic contacts between them. On the other hand, the development of economic relations promotes the establishment of good political relations.

I must note, however, that our economic proposals have thus far run up against the American Government's unwillingness to normalize commercial relations, and political motives for such an approach to the matter are not concealed. To justify this negative stand, the American Government leaders often resort to various inventions in attempting to shift the blame for the abnormal state of relations onto the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, Mr. Dillon's statement in New Orleans was made in this same vein.

Why did Mr. Dillon have to make this speech in the spirit of the cold war?

It seems that in this case he was guided by a desire to cool down the American business circles who have shown of late, particularly in connection with Mikoyan's trip to the United States, great interest in the normalization and development of Soviet-American trade. Obviously, the purpose of this statement is also to try to parry the criticisms leveled at the State Department by broad sections of the American public and to justify in some way the delay in answering the Soviet Government's concrete trade proposals outlined in Khrushchev's message to President Eisenhower of last summer.

Mr. Dillon is not only trying to cool the desire of American businessmen to develop trade with the Soviet Union, but to intimidate them with the alleged "communist threat."

What we need now are not polemics along cold-war lines, polemics which prevent us from finding a reasonable approach to the solution of questions related to the development of Soviet-American trade—both sides must search for a mutually acceptable solution of this problem.

Mr. Dillon does not like the socialist system in the Soviet Union. But we do not like the capitalist system in the United States. This does not mean, however, that trade and cooperation between the two countries cannot be established on the principles of peaceful coexistence which have now become the generally recognized basis of international intercourse.

Question: What have you to say about the state of trade relations between the Soviet Union and the

United States, and about the possibility of their expansion?

Answer: Our trade with the United States is very insignificant at present. Last year it amounted to only some 120 million rubles. This state of affairs, to our mind, is abnormal, but it does not depend on the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev's message to Eisenhower last June said: "Guided by the sincere desire to improve relations between our two countries, the Government of the Soviet Union approaches the Government of the United States of America with the proposal to take jointly resolute steps toward expanding trade." This appeal clearly indicated the possible ways for developing Soviet-American trade and economic relations, including Soviet purchases of industrial plants and goods in the United States to the sum of several billion dollars over the next few years, greater exports of Soviet goods to the United States, the creation of normal, contractual and legal bases.

The Soviet Union has trade treaties and agreements with Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Sweden, Japan and many other capitalist states. These treaties and agreements, along with other provisions, recognize the Soviet Union's state monopoly on foreign trade, stipulate mutual most-favored-nation treatment in trade and shipping.

Experience shows that trade develops successfully with those countries really striving to cooperate, despite different social and economic systems. The USSR's monopoly on foreign trade, which Mr. Dillon obviously dislikes very much, has in no way obstructed the development of trade. This is shown specifically

by the history of Soviet-American trade before the war. And in the early postwar years the United States had a trade agreement with the Soviet Union, concluded as far back as 1937. The unilateral abrogation by the United States of this agreement in 1951, as an introduction by the American authorities of bans and restrictions on the delivery of American goods to the Soviet Union, discriminatory steps with regard to Soviet goods exported to the United States—all this was dictated by the "cold war" policy pursued by the United States Government.

Mr. Dillon noted in his speech that all the representatives of official quarters with whom A. I. Mikoyan conversed, starting with the President, assured him that the United States now stands, as it always has, for the expansion of peaceful trade between the two countries. But how can this be reconciled with Mr. Dillon's objection to agreement in principle on the most-favored-nation treatment, with his advocacy of discriminatory restrictions and bans on the sale of American goods and the purchase of Soviet commodities?

Mr. Dillon is trying to assert that higher tariffs and bans on several items of Soviet goods have little affected Soviet exports to the United States. Actually, this is not so. Let us take as an example 1946-1950—the five years preceding the United States' abrogation of the trade agreement. At that time the share of goods which are now subjected to higher tariffs or whose import to the United States is prohibited amounted to some 65 per cent of our total exports to the United States.

As regards United States' restric-

tions on the export of goods to the Soviet Union, Mr. Dillon deliberately keeps silent about the fact that besides direct bans on exports to the Soviet Union, American firms are required to obtain individual licenses on many commodities, though their export from the United States is not formally prohibited. In this way the American authorities actually ban their export also.

Thus, our organizations have conducted talks with several United States firms on orders for the delivery of chemical equipment and plants. The firms agreed to accept these orders, but declared that they must have the permission of the State Department. Much time has passed, but the State Department has given neither consent nor refusal.

Of no little significance also is the fact that a psychologically unfavorable attitude has been adopted in the United States with regard to firms wishing to trade with us. One cannot help seeing that life itself prompts the need for doing away with all obstacles so as to pave the way for mutually beneficial trade between the two countries.

Question: In his speech Mr. Dillon touched on the question of American credit to the Soviet Union. How is this matter faring?

Answer: Mr. Dillon asserts absolutely without reason that in his message to Eisenhower, Khrushchev allegedly pointed out that the goods which the Soviet Union wished to buy in the United States could not be paid for by Soviet exports. To elucidate this point, I shall cite the corresponding passage of Khrushchev's message: "The Soviet Union is able to pay for its purchases by

deliveries of Soviet goods of interest to the United States of America." The message also listed definite Soviet goods.

"We realize," the message says, "that interruption of trade between our two countries has created definite difficulties for the resumption by American firms of early purchases of large quantities of Soviet goods. A certain period will obviously be needed for this. On the other hand, American firms are already interested in getting our orders now. If this is so, we are ready to buy more American goods in the first few years and sell less of ours.

"In view of this, specifically, the question arises of a possible deferment of payments and the granting of long-term credit on normal terms.

"Of course, we could start developing trade on the basis of mutual deliveries, but in view of the above-said circumstances a credit-and-payment postponement could create conditions for immediate, much larger Soviet orders and purchases in the United States."

As you see, there is no indication that the Soviet Union cannot pay for its purchases in the United States by deliveries of its own goods. Mr. Dillon's statement that the Soviet leaders have allegedly suggested that the United States help finance the development of Soviet industry is absolutely surprising.

We are compelled to explain once again to Mr. Dillon that our seven-year plan does not make provision for foreign credits, and that we can fulfill and overfulfill our seven-year plan without American credits.

I am aware that American firms have shown interest in the idea ex-

pressed in Khrushchev's message concerning possible ways for creating conditions under which the Soviet Union could make large purchases and orders in the United States immediately.

However, the United States Government leaders are trying to restrain these firms' interest by referring to the Johnson Act of 1934 which prohibits long-term credits to countries which have not repaid their debts to the United States. This provision obviously does not apply to the Soviet Union which has always been and is a reliable payer in regard to its obligations. No one can point out an example proving that the Soviet Union is an unreliable payer. Mikoyan has told me that during his conversation with Mr. Dillon, the latter did not deny this fact himself. The Johnson Act has obviously nothing to do with it. Nevertheless, Mr. Dillon says that the Soviet Union has allegedly not paid its former debts to the United States. He refers to the fact that no agreement was reached with the Soviet Union on the settlement of lend-lease accounts.

But what has lend-lease got to do with commercial credits? There is no reason or legal basis for linking these two questions, as Mr. Dillon is doing.

Question: How should we understand Mr. Dillon's statement that trade must simply be started, in light of the terms which, as you say, have been established in the United States for commercial relations with the Soviet Union?

Answer: We have repeatedly suggested to the United States: Instead of arming, let us trade. At first glance it may seem that Mr. Dillon

is calling for the development of trade, but actually he is suggesting we buy goods in the United States which it is having difficulty selling, and to sell our goods on disadvantageous terms set by the U.S. Government. If Mr. Dillon actually wants to honor the interests of both sides, if he wants to trade on mutually beneficial terms, then his call to start trading would not remain an empty phrase. It is not without reason that Mr. Dillon has not uttered a single word of encouragement to American firms interested in developing business relations with Soviet economic organizations.

Question: In his statement Mr. Dillon touches on some questions of the Soviet trade policy and the pattern of Soviet export. What can you say about these pronouncements by Mr. Dillon?

Answer: I should like to cite some factual data testifying to the groundlessness of Mr. Dillon's assertions about some sort of "inconsistency" in Soviet foreign trade and the Soviet Union's desire to develop its economy, allegedly in isolation from foreign trade.

In the postwar years Soviet trade has grown steadily. From 1950 to 1958 the Soviet Union's trade with foreign countries increased 160 per cent. What is more, Soviet trade with the capitalist countries went up from 2.5 billion rubles in 1950 to 9 billion rubles in 1958.

If we take the past five years alone, we shall see that during this period the Soviet Union has concluded long-term agreements on mutual goods deliveries with many capitalist countries. The Soviet Union has such agreements with France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy,

Austria, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Greece and other countries. The number of states with which the Soviet Union trades is growing continuously. Today we trade with more than seventy countries, whereas in 1946 the USSR had commercial relations with only forty states.

Mr. Dillon groundlessly claims that the pattern of Soviet export differs substantially from that of the industrially advanced capitalist countries. In 1958 manufactured goods accounted for more than 60 per cent of the Soviet Union's total export, including 18 per cent of machines and equipment, which is characteristic of industrially advanced countries. Our exports of machinery and equipment are growing from year to year.

Mr. Dillon's statement concerning the pattern of Soviet export has, obviously, the purpose of picturing the Soviet Union as a rival of the economically underdeveloped countries and putting us at loggerheads with them.

I should also like to draw attention to the fact that in pursuing the aim of slurring Soviet foreign trade, Mr. Dillon advances fabrications contradicting each other. He says that the Soviet Union is striving for self-sufficiency, i.e., isolation, and then resorts to intimidations of a "Soviet economic offensive" in the world market.

The pattern of Soviet export and import is so broad and diversified that we can establish a mutually profitable exchange of goods with practically any country without harming other states.

Question: It can be understood from Mr. Dillon's statement that the Soviet Union relies considerably,

in the fulfillment of its seven-year plan, on the purchase of machines and equipment in the Western countries. What can you say on this?

Answer: Here, too, Mr. Dillon has difficulty in making ends meet: First, he speaks of the Soviet Union's desire for self-isolation, and then he says we cannot do without imports from the Western countries, particularly for fulfilling our 7-year plan.

The Soviet Union's foreign trade helps, of course, to develop the economy of our country. But I must note that our seven-year plan rests on the solid foundation of our country's domestic resources. Due to the advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet Union has ensured unprecedented technical progress, has achieved a level of development which permits it to secure the early development of new models of machines in line with the latest achievements of science and technology in meeting the needs of all branches of the national economy.

Dwelling on the development of the chemical industry in the USSR, Khrushchev noted in his report to the plenary meeting last May of the Central Committee of the CPSU that "our industry is now at a level at which it can provide our chemical undertakings with top-quality equipment."

To step up the fulfillment of our economic plans we shall continue, nevertheless, to develop our foreign trade relations. If the ruling quarters of some Western Powers think that the fulfillment of the seven-year plan, our country's further technical progress, depend on trade with them, on the purchase of equipment abroad, they are seriously mistaken.

Question: What can you say about Mr. Dillon's pronouncements concerning the Soviet Union's economic relations with economically underdeveloped countries?

Answer: The Soviet Union sympathizes with the struggle of the colonial and dependent nations for strengthening their national independence, for the advancement of their national economy and for raising their living standards.

We do not force our aid, economic cooperation or trade on anyone, but we readily agree to develop trade and economic relations with all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who want to cooperate with us. We base our relations on principles of mutual benefit and equality, without any political, military or other strings attached.

Mr. Dillon's statement that the Soviet Union intends to "seize" the less economically developed countries through methods of trade and aid is absolutely groundless. The facts show that the cooperation of these countries with the Soviet Union helps them to develop their national economy.

Is the truth of this not borne out by the Soviet Union's aid to India in the construction of the Bhilai Iron and Steel Mill, by Soviet cooperation with the United Arab Republic in the implementation of that country's economic plans, in the building of the Aswan Dam?

In his concluding speech to the Twenty-first Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev announced, and this was received with great satisfaction by the Congress, that the Bhilai plant produced its first coke on February 1, and its first pig iron

on February 3. The commissioning of the Bhilai Iron and Steel Mill is patent proof of the fruitfulness of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation and an instance of the Soviet Union's unselfish aid to India in her efforts toward strengthening that country's economic independence.

Of course, we can understand the dissatisfaction of certain Western quarters with the fact that the Soviet Union lends a helping hand in the independent economic development of these countries. This, naturally, does not suit the colonialists. They have to change their attitude, give up their favorite methods of colonial trade, and even make some concessions to the economically underdeveloped countries. We can understand their dissatisfaction, but nothing can be done about it.

If we speak of the Soviet Union's "offensive," it is rather assistance to the offensive on economic backwardness and poverty left behind by colonialism in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, an offensive which is conducted by these nations themselves. We have repeatedly declared that we are ready to compete with the United States in this matter.

Question: Mr. Dillon calls on the Soviet Union to permit private U.S. firms freer contacts with Soviet producers and consumers. What does he actually have in mind?

Answer: Indeed, it is difficult to understand what Mr. Dillon has in mind. We do not have an "iron curtain" preventing trips of U.S. businessmen to our country. On the contrary, we welcome such trips and want them to be more frequent.

During their stay in the Soviet Union American businessmen are

able to establish contacts both with our foreign trading organizations which, under Soviet law, are charged with foreign trade operations, and with the industrial organizations and undertakings of our country.

This brings to mind last Summer's trip to the USSR of a large group of influential Canadian businessmen, who were given every opportunity to see everything they wanted to in the Soviet Union. As far as I know, all the Canadian businessmen were satisfied with their trip and said so in the press. Last Autumn our country was visited by a large group of Swedish businessmen, one hundred in all. They established broad business contacts with the Soviet economic organizations and this trip was useful to both sides.

Concluding the interview, Pato-lichev said that Mikoyan had informed him of his conversation with Mr. Dillon in Washington and had said that it was sharp but frank and therefore useful, inasmuch as it was a help in better understanding the two viewpoints. Undoubtedly, Pato-lichev said, the considerations set forth by the sides during this talk should be studied by them, so as to return to them again with a view to finding a mutually acceptable basis for the development of Soviet-American trade. As for us, we are ready to search for ways to achieve such a mutually beneficial agreement with the United States, Pato-lichev said in conclusion.

A dispatch in the New York Times, March 3, reported that a Presidential study group had urged "a concerted counter-attack by the United States and allied nations on the economic offensive of the Communist block" rather than seeking a constructive program of trade expansion.—Ed.

An Ode to Man

a review by ALBERT E. KAHN

Of Men and Mountains, by Rockwell Kent. Asgaard Press of Ausable Forks, N. Y., 1959. Paper-bound. \$1.00.

TOWARD the end of Rockwell Kent's stirring tale of his most recent odyssey, *Of Men and Mountains*, he indicates the maxim of his beloved William Blake from which the title derives: "Great things are done when men and mountains meet." Another phrase from another poet, Edwin Markham, comes to mind: "A man to match the mountains and the sea." Such a man is Rockwell Kent.

If there is a mountain-like steadfastness and splendor to this man, his exploits and accomplishments have the infinite variety of the sea. What other contemporary, indeed, has encompassed in a life's span the multifarious qualities of painter, writer, explorer, illustrator, farmer, sailor, book designer, architect, carpenter, orator, lithographer, wood engraver, pamphleteer, and political figure?

In commenting on any work of Rockwell Kent, I must state at the outset that I am prejudiced. Not simply because he is a dear friend of mine but also, and especially, because he is a dear friend of Man. I admit a bias for his credo that artists have a duty to society and for the way in which his life has served that credo. If there is an artist on this or any other continent who has done more to brighten people's hearts with the beauties of the earth and humankind, I do not know his name.

Most fitting, then, it was that the greatest of all exhibitions of Rockwell Kent's works be held in that land where first the common people took command of their own destiny, and that they asked him to be their honored guest at the exhibition's opening. Fitting, too, because he was Chairman of the National Coun-

cil of American-Soviet Friendship and for years, in multiple ways, had fervently espoused that friendship without which there can be no meaningful peace in the world. But while hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens viewed his works, Rockwell Kent was being held without passport in "continental imprisonment," as he trenchantly puts it; and only months later did his Supreme Court victory (a victory for all Americans) free him and his lovely Sally for their journey toward the rising sun.

Whenever Rockwell writes of his travels, the reader voyages with him, transported by the poetry of his prose; and, in this instance, first to Ireland, and there to the remote and sparsely settled coastal valley of the county of Donegal, whose brooding moors and craggy seaswept cliffs Rockwell first sought out and painted three decades ago. It is typical of Rockwell, who values warmth of heart above all honors, that he records the heart-rich hospitality of his old, rediscovered Irish friends—"hospitality as generous and warm as, it would seem, only the very poor can afford"—in no less eloquent detail than the lavish hospitality he received as the fêted guest of his new-found Soviet friends. And how symbolic a transition it is to travel with Rockwell and Sally from the humble cottages and flaming hearths of Irish peasants and fishermen to that vast domain where Soviet workers and peasants are shaping wondrous changes in the earth about them and the heavens above them!

Those who seek statistics in Rockwell's account of his sojourn in the Soviet Union will not find them; those who seek a measurement of man's joy and creativity will be fully rewarded. In words that have the urgent magic of his paintings, he conjures up a vivid panorama of the vibrant giant of Moscow, the hauntingly beautiful Leningrad, the gar-

den city of Kiev, the little sun-drenched town of Gurzuf on the rocky coast of the Black Sea; of comradely meetings with artists and critics, of festive banquets and hectic press interviews, of concerts, operas, sports events and agricultural exhibits; and always, and above all, of days and nights rich with the exuberant friendship of people in all walks of life. "Your closest friends," writes Rockwell, "your waiter, the door-man and the chamber maid in your hotel, the stranger you may happen to accost: they are all Comrades. Servants in Russia? There is no servility. And hands await your handclasp, not a coin."

Of an evening at an artist's home, he relates: "The welcome there—the lighted room, the blazing hearth, the warmth—embraces us. Are we five thousand miles from home? *The House I Live In*: here it is. Here, for a night, we're home." Indeed, as Rockwell says, from the moment Sally and he set foot on Soviet soil they felt the great land was a home of theirs, and they and its people of one kin.

"If only peace—true, lasting peace—could come to be," writes Rockwell, "and mankind's universal innate goodness flow and mingle like the waters of the seven seas!" He says of the Russians' implacable resolve to safeguard peace: "... born of war's agony, it is a faith to be devoutly served and passionately lived." And he declares: "Moscow, Stalingrad, Leningrad: mankind must never forget the debt it owes the men and women who defended them. We never will."

One theme runs through and dominates the melody of this beautiful booklet (beautiful, I must say, not only for its writing but for its illustrations and format). The theme sounds in this passage about Paris: "We stood in the great nave of Notre Dame and worshipped there not God but Man who had conceived and reared it." Of the structure rising in the Soviet Union, one sees through Rockwell's eyes that its greatest magnificence is Man. Like the

sum of Rockwell's works, *Of Men and Mountains* is an ode to Man.

A Novel About the Cold War

The Survivor, by Carl Marzani. Camer-on Associates. New York, 1958. 442 pages. \$5.95.

THIS is a political novel of a kind all too rare today. Its bold probing into the background of crucial events that have affected all our lives makes for absorbing reading.

The focus of the novel is a presumably routine hearing preliminary to the promotion of a brilliant young man in the State Department. The hearing takes two days in the spring of 1947.

The year 1947 marked an important stage in the development of the Cold War. Marc Ferranti, the young man in question, has had an exceptional career in the department both during the war and afterwards. But in the changing political atmosphere much that had seemed merely a part of the complex task of winning the war in Europe and strengthening the hand of China in the East is coming to be viewed in quite another light by the growing reactionary forces in this country.

The hearing for his promotion proves to be anything but routine, ultimately involving other members of his family: his sister, Teresa, a Communist Party organizer; a younger brother, Dino, a college athletic director; and an older brother, Gus, who is a Congressman from Pennsylvania.

One of the members of the group conducting the hearing is a retired senator, Richard Bassett, who represents an older America whose values differ widely from those he senses hardening everywhere in a Washington he is happy to be on the point of leaving. Ferranti feels the Senator is sympathetic and asks him to read an autobiography he has written which tells the story of his family's arrival in this country from Italy

in the early 20's. These autobiographical fragments describing the poverty-stricken years in the Pennsylvania coal-fields that shaped the lives of himself and his brothers and sister contain some of the best writing in the novel.

Mr. Marzani in telling the story of the two-day hearing and in the course of it revealing more and more fully the nature

of his characters, throws much light on American post-war foreign policy which led to the period of McCarthyism.

At his best Mr. Marzani writes with great dramatic skill and because of his own experiences in government service his novel has the real ring of authenticity.

MURRAY YOUNG

Two Soviet Artists

a review by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

A GIFTED musical artist from the Soviet Union, the violinist Igor Bezrodny, making his debut at Carnegie Hall on Washington's Birthday, has again captured the affections of a large New York audience. And so the music of Handel, Bach, Prokofiev and others was followed by another kind of music in its own way equally touching; that of waves of applause and cheers from the listeners, saying quite plainly, "We have become friends, and we will be around to hear you again." Each expression of warmth like this melts a layer of ice off the cold war glacier. Bezrodny is about thirty years old and was born in Soviet Georgia. His highly talented collaborator at the piano was Sofia Vakman.

A question that arises in the minds of many music lovers, particularly those who are reluctant to be drawn from their homes for anything but the absolute, guaranteed "best in the world," is, "How does he stack up against Oistrakh and Kogan?" It is hard to answer such a question. Bezrodny shares one quality in common with all the Soviet musical visitors here, violinists, pianists, cellists and dancers, for that matter. It is that of a serious dedication to the art at its greatest, abhorring show-off acrobats or capricious displays of temperament. But far from this producing a similarity of effect, it inspires the emergence of quite different personalities. A touchstone of comparison was provided by Prokofiev's *Sonata No. 1 in F minor*. This is one of the modern violin masterpieces, in which Prokofiev poured all

the tragic feelings engendered by the anti-fascist war. It is revered not only by Soviet violinists, but by other luminaries like Szigeti, Menuhin and Stern. Oistrakh probed the tragic depths of this work in a way that will always remain in my memory. (A fine performance, by Oistrakh and Oborin, can be heard on a Vanguard record, VRS-6019). Bezrodny's reading did not replace Oistrakh's in my mind. And yet his performance had qualities of its own; particularly a lively sparkle and rhythmic bite in the fast movements, that brought out different and valid aspects of the music. His performance of the Handel *E major Sonata*, which opened the program, and of the colossal Bach *Chaconne* that followed, revealed a deep thoughtfulness and musical understanding, and also a masterly command of the instrument. He has a bowing arm equalled by few in the profession. It gives the impression of an athlete's strength, and yet it is used most often to create effects of an exquisite, controlled sensitivity. He has a marvelous ability to "orchestrate" his playing, making the violin sing with a variety of contrasting and beautiful voices. And along with this completely mature artistry, he offered some shorter works, like two Gershwin *Preludes*, transcribed for violin by Heifetz, and an encore piece, a transcription of music from Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*, which had the most engaging youthful wit and laughter.

A Monitor record called *Bezrodny*

Plays Gershwin (MC-2028) offers the three Gershwin *Preludes*, Bloch's *Nigun*, the above-mentioned *Peter and the Wolf* transcription, and a number of other short pieces of a lightweight nature. Such a program cannot of course display Bezrodny's full stature, although it makes for pleasant listening.

ON MARCH 13 an audience that packed Town Hall and overflowed into the standing room area in the back of the balcony gave, to a great singer from the Soviet Union, the mezzo-soprano Zara Dolukhanova, an ovation such as has rarely been heard in that New York musical institution. Since this was the artist's American debut, and New York audiences are notoriously cautious about new names, the presence of so many people can only be attributed to a musical counterpart of the "grapevine" long known to army men and factory workers; a form of person-to-person communication of news and prophecy, unaided by newsprint, which is nevertheless more sensitive than radar and more accurate than an electric computer.

From the first two groups, consisting of three songs by Tchaikovsky and three by Rachmaninoff, it was apparent that Miss Dolukhanova combined a magnificent voice with profound interpretive artistry. Reminiscent of the "golden age of singing" were the richness of timbre, the even movement from the lowest to the highest register, the command of infinite shadings, and the marvelously long, unbroken line. To these qualities were added a responsiveness to every word and human situation of a song, and the ability to create a deeply affecting interpretation through sheer voice, conceiving each reading as an individually thought out work of art, moving with a feeling of inevitability to its climax and resolution.

By the middle of the first part of the concert, all questions of technique had fallen to a secondary place in honor of the artist's devotion to the manner in

which music speaks powerfully from the heart. By the time she reached Prokofiev's beautiful air from *Alexander Nevsky*, "I shall go across the snow-laden field," the audience was completely entranced. The following folk song arranged by Prokofiev, "The Monks," was a charmer, in which the splendid accompanist, Alexander Yerokhin, also showed his keyboard brilliance. An Armenian folk song arranged by Dolukhanian, "The Crane," evoked cries of delight with its soft, airy and flowing coloratura phrases.

Having sung the first half of the program in two languages, Russian and Armenian, Miss Dolukhanova added two more, German and French, in the second half, showing not only absolute stylistic authority but her customary heartfelt communication in art songs by Schubert, Richard Strauss, Ravel, Faure and Debussy. Then, for the encores, the singer moved to English, with Cyril Scott's "The Lullaby," and went on to Italian, astonishing the audience as well with her command of still another and most exacting realm of historical vocal art; Cherubino's air, "Non so piu cosa son" from Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* and Rosina's sparkling Cavatina from Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*. To sing the latter coloratura aria in a low voice is not a *tour de force*, but historically accurate, since Rossini wrote his leading female roles for a florid mezzo-soprano. Zara Dolukhanova seems to be one of the few singers today equipped to carry on this tradition. It is a safe prediction that any time Miss Dolukhanova visits us, there will be carpets unrolled and crowded halls.

The first American recording devoted wholly to Zara Dolukhanova is issued by Monitor (MC-2029). It contains the great Verdi aria, "O don fatale," from *Don Carlo*, which, after a shaky start, shows the singer's immense power and grandeur; four Russian folk songs arranged by Beethoven; two especially captivating Greek folk songs, sung in Greek; and a fine group of Russian art songs.

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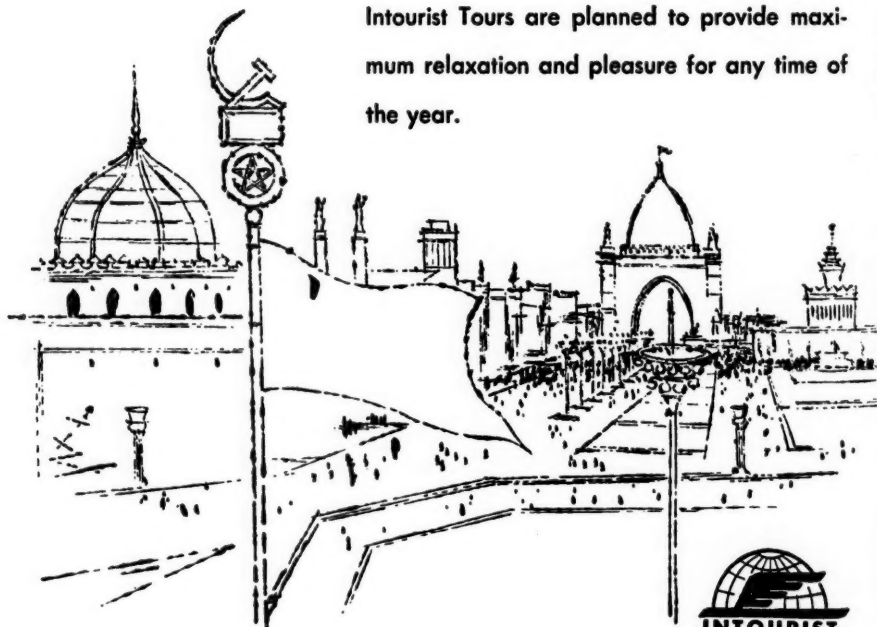
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