

DECEMBER, 1960

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New World

REVIEW

AND NOW TO WORK - FOR PEACE!

Soviet Trade Unions

JACK SPIEGEL

On Soviet Agriculture

CHARLES J. COE

In Soviet Schools

DR. EDMUND KING

Planned Industry in Rumania

VICTOR PERLO

USSR - LATIN AMERICA

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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AND NOW TO WORK-FOR PEACE!

by JESSICA SMITH

AMONG the American people who contributed to Senator John F. Kennedy's razor-thin majority over Vice President Richard Nixon were a large number deeply concerned with peace.

These were impelled, perhaps, more by the fact that certain leading peace advocates were grouped around Kennedy, by deep distrust in Nixon and fear of a continuation of the present Administration's foreign policies than by any wholehearted confidence in Senator Kennedy himself.

Along with peace forces around Kennedy were also cold war forces. And Kennedy himself, while showing on some issues a somewhat more constructive attitude on foreign policy than Nixon, continued the line of anti-Communism, intensified cold war and vastly increased arms spending. He spoke of the necessity for *arms control*, but not of disarmament. His support of the idea of intervention in Cuba, while slightly modified later, was an ill omen and undoubtedly cost him many peace votes.

If Kennedy had taken a stronger stand on the end of the cold war, disarmament, negotiations with the Soviet Union and peaceful coexistence, undoubtedly he would have had a far larger majority.

This young man will want to be President for a second term. He will not want to risk a near-miss again. For this he will have to take into account the mandate of those who

voted for him for a peaceful foreign policy, for guaranteeing the rights of the Negro people, for an end to repressive labor legislation and a halt to unemployment and other measures for the people's well-being —and above all to stop the trend toward war.

But in the light of the great pressures from the cold war and militarist forces, it is up to the American people *now* to get to work and let him know the strength of their desire for peace, to press urgently above all for a start toward disarmament and an end to nuclear weapons tests.

The Khrushchev-Kennedy Exchange

Already Premier Khrushchev has made good on his promise to reopen with the new administration the negotiations and friendly relations with the United States blasted by the U-2 incident. On November 9 he sent the following telegram to President-elect Kennedy:

Allow me to congratulate you on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the United States.

We hope that while you are in this office the relations between our countries will again follow the line along which they were developing in Franklin Roosevelt's time, which would meet the basic interests not only of the peoples of the USSR and the United States but of all mankind which is longing for deliverance from the threat of a new war.

I think you will agree that the eyes of many people are fixed on the

United States and the Soviet Union because the destiny of world peace depends largely on the state of Soviet-American relations.

We have declared and continue to declare our respect for the peaceable and gifted people of the United States, and we are ready to develop the most friendly relations between the governments of the USSR and the United States.

We are convinced that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the preservation and consolidation of peace. For the sake of this goal we are ready, for our part, to continue the efforts to solve such a pressing problem as disarmament, to settle the German issue through the earliest conclusion of a peace treaty, and to reach agreement on other questions whose solution could bring about the easing and improvement of the entire international situation.

Any steps in this direction will always meet with the full understanding and support of the Soviet Government.

I wish you fruitful activity in the responsible capacity of United States President, and prosperity to the American people.

Senator Kennedy did not respond to the specific points raised by Mr. Khrushchev. However, the cordial tone of the reply holds out some hope for better relations.

I am most appreciative of your courtesy in sending me a message of congratulations. The achievement of a just and lasting peace will remain a fundamental goal of this nation, and a major task of its President. I am most pleased to have your good wishes at this time.

The Job Ahead

The job of the peace forces becomes all the more urgent when we consider how deeply entrenched in American life is military thinking, an arms economy and our vast military establishment with its tentacles

reaching around the world. The dismantling of this system, however complicated, rather than its intensified development, is nevertheless imperative to the peace of the world. One task of course, is to prove that our economy can be converted from a war to a peace economy with more employment, not less, with military spending transferred into the peaceful building essential both to avoid war and for the welfare of our people. Fortunately there are an increasing number of studies along these lines, both from conservative and left sources. In one of them, *Disarmament and the American Economy* (see page 47) Robert W. Dunn puts graphically the astronomical costs of war preparations to our country and the world. He writes:

Every hour the world spends about \$8,500,000 for armaments which could eventually be used to blow the world to bits. Of this amount the U.S. alone spends about \$4,000,000 an hour every hour of the day and night.

One of the sharpest warnings recently issued about the measureless dangers of a continued arms race is contained in the booklet *Community of Fear* by Harrison Brown and James Real, issued by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of the Fund for the Republic.

The authors declare:

There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power.

They show that if expenditure on the weapons systems increases during the next five years at the same

rate as during the last five, about half of the total of U.S. production and business in 1965 may be directly or indirectly war goods and services. This must be borne in mind in pressures on Kennedy who has repeatedly called for *greater arms spending*.

The authors also show that if the arms race continues at its present rate the probability of war, by accident or otherwise, is very high. Tens of millions would die in a nuclear attack. Others might be saved by underground shelters:

The new developments will cause people to burrow more deeply into the ground. Factories will be built in caves, as will apartment houses and stores. Eventually most human life will be underground, confronted by arsenals capable of destroying all life over the land areas of the earth. Deep under the ground people will be relatively safe—at least until such time as we learn how to make explosives capable of pulverizing the earth to great depths . . .

Once the people are convinced that they can survive the present state of the art of killing, a broad and significant new habit pattern will have been introduced and accepted, one grotesquely different from any we have known for thousands of years—that of adjusting ourselves to the idea of living in holes. From that time onward it will be simple to adjust ourselves to living in deeper holes. . . . The epic of man's journey upward into the light will have ended.

The authors ask for the common consent of all the world's powers to ending the war system and an arms race that can produce no winner—only surrender, stalemate or death.

There is a mass of material supporting the conclusions of these writers. A series of official studies printed for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by various influential U.S. organizations indicate a profound distrust of disarmament.

Summing up these reports in *U.S. Foreign Policy Goals: What Experts Propose* in its Headline Series, the Foreign Policy Association declares:

An adequate United States defense strategy is viewed by all studies dealing with the subject as a necessary precondition to success in any other area of foreign policy. Without an effective deterrent to war and, in a showdown, without the willingness to wage and the capacity to survive war, all other foreign policy objectives are ephemeral. . . . The consensus seems to be that disarmament or arms control is not a rational objective in itself, since it would not insure political stability, and could, in fact create greater instability than we now enjoy.

A recent book, *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age* edited by Col. Walter H. Hahn and John O. Neff, resulting from a conference of the National Strategy Seminary for Reserve Officers held at the National War College in Washington, reflects the kind of thinking and propaganda supported in high official circles. It comes close to being an open call for war on the Soviet Union. Such a war might only mean "some 20 to 50,000,000 American deaths"—and this country must make clear it is ready for it "if provoked again." It speaks of Soviet proposals for disarmament and peaceful coexistence as a snare—and, of course, calls for greatly increased military spending.

General Nathan F. Twining, on retiring as Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff declared September 28 that the U.S. must get "tough-minded:"

Our national objective must remain clear. It is to develop and hold power sufficient to win all aspects of military struggle, all-out or limited. . . . We can now destroy Russia and China if we are attacked, and the Communist leaders

know it. . . . The American capability for decisive, war-winning response to any attack must be kept sure, whatever the costs. It is the only reliable guarantee of peace.

These are only a few examples of the flood of reports, articles, books along these lines. We quote them not to discourage our readers but to try to bring home as forcibly as possible the job that must be done.

These are not words alone. They are expressions of U.S. policy. The military build-up continues. U.S. military bases everywhere are being strengthened. The rearming of Germany and Japan intensifies.

Plans are afoot for making NATO a fourth nuclear military power. A dispatch in the *New York Times*, November 17, reported:

The United States is planning to reassure the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that it will not hesitate to use nuclear weapons to fight aggression in Europe. [Reassurance indeed to the people of Europe who will be the victims of such weapons!]

The belief that such reassurance is needed is understood to be the basis of U.S. proposals for a possible reorganization of the military structure of the Atlantic Pact. This would include an international striking force armed with nuclear weapons and under NATO command.

The agreement with Britain to establish Polaris submarine support bases in Scotland leaves the U.S. free to launch Polaris missiles without prior consultation. This has raised a storm of protest in Great Britain. U.S. naval operations chief Arleigh Burke had previously significantly declared that the Polaris submarines "can be dispersed without regard for foreign sovereignty, or bases, or right of transit."

And as these lines are being writ-

ten, United States naval units and aircraft carriers have been sent provocatively to patrol Central American waters, and "to shoot if necessary to prevent any Communist-led invasion of Guatemala or Nicaragua," at the request of these countries. This action follows the demonstrative "holiday" of U.S. marines going ashore at the Guantanamo base in Cuba.

If all these preparations for nuclear war and warlike actions were not enough, the U.S. army has recently been carrying on a nation wide propaganda for its extended plans for the development of chemical and bacteriological weapons. We are told how much pleasanter it is to die by such means than to be blasted by A or H bombs—or simply to go to sleep for a while as an enemy takes over.

The Fight for Disarmament Here and in the UN

What has been written above should go far to explain the difficulties in the disarmament and nuclear test negotiations, and, we repeat, to emphasize the people's responsibility in making disarmament the very heart of the struggle for peace.

The lead article in *Four Lights*, organ of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom for November, begins:

Key to deadlocked disarmament negotiations is the U.S. State Department. WILPF National Board members were told at their Fall meeting. Unless rigid official attitudes change, there can be no progress toward a nuclear test ban, disarmament, the seating of China at the UN, normal relations with Cuba, and the solution of other dangerous issues. This is where the basic work needs to be done, where pressure must be applied

The U.S. Mission at the UN can only reflect the inflexibility of our State Department.

Things have become rather dull around the UN since Nikita Khrushchev and the other world leaders his presence attracted have left. Yet the impact of his coming remains in the General Assembly discussions of vital world issues.

In the all-important question of disarmament now under discussion in the Political Committee due to U.S. efforts to defeat Khrushchev's proposal that it be taken up directly in the General Assembly, the general feeling among UN delegates seems to be that no important decisions will be taken until the new U.S. Administration takes office.

Before the UN are the USSR and U.S. resolutions which reflect the deep-going differences between the two countries on this question. The USSR resolution calls for complete and universal disarmament within four years with, it must be understood, a complete control organization under the UN setup as soon as the treaty comes into effect, and inspection measures for every stage. With all the U.S. talk about "dangers of surprise attack," it should be emphasized that the first stage of the Soviet proposals, which have taken positions of the West into consideration, provides for eliminating the retaliatory systems of both sides, through scrapping all means of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets, and simultaneous elimination of all military bases of any nation on foreign soil. It also calls for beginning the reduction of conventional armed forces in the first stage.

The United States, while referring to the goal of complete disarmament

in a general way, refuses agreement on an over-all treaty to this effect, and proposes only a first stage treaty with an elaborate inspection system, any further stages to be dependent on how the inspection system works.

There is considerable support for the Soviet proposals in the UN. Joseph Lash wrote in the *New York Post*, November 16:

The hard political reality is that first in the Congo, then on enlarging UN Councils, and now on disarmament, the neutralists are lining up with the Soviet bloc against the U.S. and its allies.

In view of the doubt as to whether the United States will permit the UN to pass any effective measures for real disarmament, a number of partial proposals have been thrown into the hopper.

Most important of all, V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian Defense Minister and UN delegate has offered a proposal that the General Assembly make a finding that general and complete disarmament, with effective machinery for inspection and control at each stage, is "not only imperative but urgent." It spells out the following measures:

1. Elimination of armed forces, armaments and arms production.
2. Total prohibition of the manufacture and use of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons.
3. Elimination of all equipment and facilities for the delivery, the placement and the operation of all weapons of mass destruction.
4. Elimination of military bases on national and foreign territories and of launching sites of all categories.
5. Maintenance of defense forces and training establishments, arms and their production, exclusively for internal security and contributions to a UN international police force.
6. Changes in the United Nations

which would prevent the international peace force from being used for any purpose inconsistent with the UN Charter or in the interests of one state or group of states against another state or group of states.

This resolution followed weeks of consultation by the Indian delegate with Western, Communist and neutral nations. It was co-sponsored by Burma, Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Nepal, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

Following closely the lines of the Soviet disarmament proposal, the Indian resolution was warmly welcomed by Soviet delegate Valerian Zorin. He declared that the USSR was ready for constructive negotiations for general and complete disarmament with the new government of the U.S. and other interested states, and hoped they would be successful. He said it was up to the United States whether negotiations began soon or would be deferred for a considerable time.

U.S. delegate James Wadsworth said that while the United States favored some of the provisions in the Indian resolution it was unacceptable in its present form. He complained that it favored the Soviet position for general and complete disarmament and ignored the Western position for negotiation of partial measures pending a final treaty.

A LONG with pressure for disarmament, so ardently desired by the peoples of the world, it is also necessary that pressure be continued for an agreement at Geneva on the complete banning of nuclear weapons tests. Many articles of a treaty to this effect have already been

agreed on. On Oct. 17 the United States, Britain and the USSR agreed on the legal framework for a nuclear test-ban system. It is generally recognized that the Soviet Union has made one concession after another, while the pressure on our side is for resumption rather than abolition of tests. Dr. Edward Teller, Vice President Nixon, AEC Chairman John A. McCone and others have tried to bolster this position by spreading vicious rumors that the Soviet Union has been carrying on clandestine tests during the moratorium that has already lasted for more than two years. (The United States has declared it no longer considers itself bound by the informal moratorium agreement.) U.S. Defense Department officials however, have acknowledged that there is no evidence whatever that the Soviet Union, which initiated the voluntary moratorium, has violated it.

The pressures that can be brought now on the President elect, even before he takes office, and in the first days of the new administration, can be a determining factor in his whole future course, if they are sufficiently strong and insistent. Let every peace organization, every group and individual that has a concern for peace, use every method of resolutions, meetings, letters to the press and to Senator Kennedy and members of Congress, demonstrations and actions of all kinds to make known the overwhelming demands of the American people for disarmament, an end of the arms race, and nuclear tests, and a foreign policy directed toward peaceful relations with the Soviet Union and all countries.

Let us get to work!

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Our Visit to Soviet Trade Unions

by JACK SPIEGEL

We are glad to publish herewith the speech made by Mr. Spiegel at the November 8 meeting in Carnegie Hall of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship. The meeting was held in honor of the 43rd anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State, and the 27th anniversary of the establishment of US-USSR diplomatic relations.

FRIENDS of peace, fellow trade unionists. I bring you greetings from thousands of workers whom we met while in the Soviet Union, workers who pleaded with us that upon our return to the United States we tell the American people, and especially American trade unionists, that the Russian people want peace. Over 1,700 of their towns and cities were destroyed and 25 million of their people remained without shelter after the last war. You see thousands upon thousands of cripples all over the Soviet Union. In every factory we visited, they pointed out to us a group of orphans, whose fathers and mothers were killed in the last war.

From morning till evening, during our crowded three-week sched-

ule, when we visited collective farms, auto, textile, shoe, meat processing and other factories, the words *Mir Miru*—peace in the world, and *Mir i Druzhba*—peace and friendship, were words we soon learned, because they were uttered with deep sincerity. We promised these workers we would bring their message and their greetings to the American people.

Secondly, I want to bring to you greetings from an ever growing number of trade unionists who are beginning to realize that the present AFL-CIO policy encourages, and is in fact one of the strong props for the cold war. I assure you the American workers, and the majority of the American trade unionists don't want war—hot or cold.

Leaders of the AFL-CIO like Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, in your city, and Patrick Gorman in our city of Chicago, head of the Meat Cutters and Butchers Union, have taken the first steps to dislodge this disastrous cold war policy being advocated by the official trade union leaders. It took real courage and independence on the part of Brothers Curran and Gorman to visit the Soviet Union, visit factories, speak to trade unionists and see for themselves. Despite

JACK SPIEGEL is organizational director of the Chicago District United Shoe Workers of America, AFL-CIO. He was secretary of the group of ten AFL-CIO trade union leaders who visited the USSR this summer unofficially, not as representatives of their unions, which included the Automobile, Building Service, Textile, Shoe, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Office Workers, Butcher Workers, Railroad and Dining Car and Hotel and Restaurant union. The group visited Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, and the Sochi resort area.

the loud declarations of "independence" on the part of the official trade union leaderships they actually are *not* independent but follow the cold war policy of the State Department.

It is my hope that in 1961 there will be more trade union leaders and trade union groups, officials and rank and file workers, who will truly act independently and go and see for themselves how the Soviet people live, how the trade unions act and function.

In 1945, 15 years ago, the CIO sent an official delegation to the Soviet Union. The delegation was led by James Carey who is now head of the AFL-CIO Electrical Workers Union. Brother Carey and his delegation had this to say when they returned: "It has greatly strengthened our own determination as CIO representatives to do everything within our power to cement our cordial relations with the Soviet trade unions, and to establish *even closer unity between our two great countries*, for the maintenance of lasting peace and for growing prosperity and democratic progress." This was true in 1945. It is even more true in 1960.

Our group of 10 trade union officers met dozens of English, French, Dutch, Asian and African and other trade union leaders, all of whom had gone to the Soviet Union to see for themselves what the Soviet Union had accomplished, what the trade unions are doing and how they operate.

Sad to say, we were never able to answer their questions as to why the American trade union officials have taken their rigid, dogmatic and unfriendly attitude towards the trade unions in the Soviet Union.

I'D LIKE to tell you just a few of the things that impressed our group.

The U.S. Embassy in Moscow told us that our visit would be restricted, that we would not be able to go where we wished, we would be told where to go.

I want to tell you here and now, as clearly as I know how—that this was absolutely untrue. Every one of us went around by himself, or in twos, in fours, and in groups. We roamed the streets freely and spoke to hundreds of the Soviet people without interference of any kind. We visited people at their homes, we talked to them, argued with them, debated with them. We criticized many of the things we found. And they in turn criticized some of the things they didn't like about the United States—for example the discrimination against Negroes, the fear of losing jobs, and the unemployment of millions. We had friendly discussions in the factories and we asked probing and critical questions.

We had interviews with writers and journalists, economists and heads of universities and we tried to see as many phases of Russian life as we could. As a trade unionist for many years, what impressed me was the great contributions the Soviet trade unions are making in the building, and in the growth and progress of the country. The Soviet trade unions exert a great power and influence in the planning of the entire country's economy.

First, the union in the factory and the management decide on what plan to pursue. The plan is then discussed by the workers. Suggestions to improve or revise are made.

Then it is sent up to the regional and national economic boards, then it's sent back again for more discussion and more revision and changes, so that for example, before the vast 7-year plan was finally adopted over 70 million Soviet workers and farmers participated in the discussion, and nearly 5 million suggestions and changes were proposed.

We visited factories where the trade union committees told us that the previous manager had been removed—and it was the trade union that exerted their power in the removal. We visited other factories where we were told that the management wanted certain workers fired—the union disagreed and the union had the last word! Similarly as regards grievances, the Trade Union Committee has the final say.

It is hard to understand if you look at it through the eyes of an American trade unionist, why the Russian workers are so interested in production. Here in America speed-up of production means loss of jobs—there it means shorter hours—higher wages—more consumer goods. We were in automobile, textile, garment and shoe factories. We saw with our own eyes how hours are being reduced and wages raised!

In our country we are worried about automation. We don't know how much employment it's going to cause. For example, we had in our group some textile union officials, and when we visited one of the large textile factories in Tashkent, in Central Asia, in the Republic of Uzbekistan, these officials told us that in America just in the last 11 years the textile workers were reduced from 1,500,000 to 800,000—over 700,000 workers out of work!

IN THE SOVIET Union they're not afraid of automation, because they're reducing the hours. Incidentally, let me tell you how we got into the textile factory. They led us through several blocks of a garden-like arrangement, with apple and pear trees all around us. This led into the large textile factory employing 16,000 workers. Nearby were trade schools and a night sanitarium where workers receive special diets and care, free of charge.

We asked the trade union people in Russia why, when consumer goods are still in short supply, they are cutting the hours of work? Their answer was that the first consideration is the welfare of the workers. They expect to increase production through new and automated machinery, and not through the speeding up of the workers.

Our investigation found that the tempo, the speed of work, in the Soviet factories is about 60 to 70 per cent of our speed in U.S. factories we are familiar with. In the factories we visited we found that when they cut the hours from 46 to 41, approximately 12 per cent, and when they reduced the hours to 36 in some other factories, about a 17 per cent cut—wages were increased to compensate them for the reduced working week. In fact, the workers in the lower earning categories received a bigger increase, so that despite their reduced hours their total "take-home-pay" was higher, even though they worked shorter hours!

WE SAW the rapid housing construction in Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad and in every city we visited. Wherever we looked, we saw blocks

and blocks of new housing construction that will put about 88,000,000 persons into new homes at the end of the 7-year plan. You have no idea what this means to the millions who still live in crowded quarters, sometimes two and three families in one or two rooms. The trade unions are helping in this gigantic construction plan, too. Each factory sets aside a considerable sum to help in this project. The unions select the people, on the basis of need and urgency, who move into the new houses.

What will interest you—you who pay 25 to 30 per cent of your wages for rent—is that in the Soviet Union rent including utilities costs the "gigantic" amount of 5 per cent! This includes rent, plus utilities. Rent, in other words, is practically free in the Soviet Union. When you, therefore, hear that wages in the Soviet Union are lower than in the United States, don't forget to include this little item of 5 per cent rent and utilities, as against our own 30 per cent!

With rent only 5 per cent, and education, medical and hospital care free, transportation an insignificant cost—the bulk of the workers' wages goes for food, clothing, and entertainment. Food is abundant and reasonable—so is entertainment. Clothing, however, is still very costly and the plan provides for reduction of prices as more shoes and clothing are produced.

With an average wage of 900 to 1,000 rubles a month, and with more than one working in the family, the working people can live adequately, without fear of unemployment and with the knowledge that their wages and standard of living will continue to improve.

EDUCATION is free. Children of workers can go to any school they choose and learn any job or profession they desire. If they want to study and learn, there is no limit to their education and it's all free—in fact they even get paid for going to school through receiving a "stipend."

Sickness there as here is unwelcome and unpleasant—but in the Soviet Union a worker knows that his recovery does not depend on the amount of money he can afford for doctors and hospitals. All social security funds come from the industry, not from the workers' pay.

Working men in the Soviet Union can retire at 60 years of age, women at 55. Pensions range from a minimum of 55 to 100 per cent of their wages.

We saw workers on vacation during our three day visit in the resort area of Sochi. Workers receive one month paid vacation. Seventy per cent of their expenses at places like Sochi are paid from a special fund. Some workers in the lower paid categories pay nothing. Of course not all workers go to Sochi but thousands do. Others go to different resort places and some to country cottages. New and expanded vacation spots are being built and many workers own their own private cottages, as thousands own and build their *own homes* with loans obtained from the government at 2 per cent interest.

IN THE AUTO factory we visited, the union agreement—a copy of which I have here before me—provides that out of the 14,000 auto workers, management is responsible to train 3,000 for higher skills each

year. They get paid while learning these new skills. After they learn them they are upgraded with higher pay. The biggest amount of "grievances" in the factories is just this one problem—the constant "upgrading" and the constant demands for higher pay for these newly acquired skills.

Over 11,500,000 workers are learning new and higher skills each year, out of a work force of about 55,000,000—that is, over 20 per cent—are upgraded into higher skills each year, getting paid while learning these new skills.

The Soviet trade union committees in the shop are elected by secret ballot and we were told that there are many contests in the elections. Although there is no closed shop—99 per cent (53,000,000) of the Russian workers belong to trade unions, where they pay 1 per cent of their wages for dues. From what we have seen the Soviet Trade Unions play a powerful role in the life of the country. It is expected that in the future their role will be even greater, exerting more influence in planning and participation.

WE WERE greatly impressed with the progress and growth in the Soviet Union. Consumer goods are rapidly expanding. In the past six years retail sales have more than doubled. The policy of the Government is to continue producing consumer goods at a more rapid pace.

The constant concern and fear of the Russian people is that war will again ravage their homes and land. Some of our criticisms about restrictions of civil liberties and prohibition of sales of foreign publications—newspapers and magazines—were

answered that with American U-2 flights and the U.S. Government boasting that they still hope to undermine their socialist system, they must continue to be vigilant as long as war is still a fearful threat.

We are of the firm opinion that as American trade unionists we can help in diminishing this fear of war and help create an atmosphere of friendship between ourselves and the Russian people. Visits by trade unionists can do a great deal, frank and serious discussion of mutual problems, criticism and debates. The Russians are not afraid of criticism. Above all, let us do everything in our trade unions to change the present policy which is the big prop for our state department's cold war policy.

Let us send more delegations to see for themselves. I urge you, who are trade union members, to speak up in your union. Get your business agent, your shop chairman to organize a visit to the Soviet Union, and yes, get rank-and-file delegations. Go and see for yourself. Investigate. Criticize if you find things to criticize. And let's bring some Soviet trade unionists to our country. Let them see what we are doing and let's give them the same right to investigate and criticize. We can learn much from each other.

As workers we have much in common with the Russian workers. Once we learn to talk, to argue to debate—that is the first big step in getting the trade union movement in our country to work for friendship, for understanding for peace. Let us resolve that in 1961 we will redouble our efforts for peace and let us in the trade unions take our proper place with those fighting for peace.

MEETING WILLIAM SAROYAN

by K. SEREBRYAKOV

William Saroyan recently visited Soviet Armenia, the birthplace of his parents, for the second time. In Yerevan, the capital, Saroyan was interviewed by a reporter from Literaturnaya Gazeta between attending rehearsals for a production of his play My Heart's in the Highlands (recently done as the "Play of the Week" on Channel 13, New York) and sittings for his portrait being painted by the distinguished Armenian painter Martiros Saroyan.

THE well-known American author William Saroyan spent a few days in Armenia recently. This was the second time he had come to Armenia—his first visit was in 1935. He saw the museums and the theaters of Yerevan, the historical monuments and sites, went out to the Byurkan Observatory and met writers and scientists.

When I asked Saroyan for an interview for *Literaturnaya Gazeta* we were standing at the foot of the 7th-century Zvartnotsa Temple.

"Oh, any time you like. Even now. Fire away."

The interpreter was about to step in at my request—I thought it would be easier for Saroyan to speak English—but he flatly turned down the offer and spoke Armenian instead. Though he was at times at a loss for a word he did not switch to English once.

"You say you want to know what I think about the dynamics of Soviet development?" Saroyan asked and added with a smile:

"Oh, I am a 'great expert' on

politics and economics. But joking apart, every time I come to the Soviet Union I see truly incredible changes for the better. One can only have respect for these tremendous achievements and changes. And I think that in the coming ten years your successes will be still greater than in all the 40-odd hard years past. America cannot help noticing these changes and no wonder it fears that Russia will overtake it. The Americans were flabbergasted when they saw your sputniks. It suddenly hit them that they were already the second and no longer the first power in the world.

"America will have to learn from you and first of all how to treat other peoples, which it hasn't done so far. The ordinary American began to understand the Russian during the past war when he saw how the Soviet people were defending Leningrad, Stalingrad and Odessa. Americans love the Russians. But the Russians also have some enemies in America. As the years pass there will be less and less of these and in some ten years from now, perhaps even earlier, the Americans and the Russians will all be good friends, I am sure.

"I guess there will be no war. People used to think that disputes could be decided only by force. But now it is high time for all to realize that the sword cannot be used in disputes, because it has become too big and too formidable. The mean-

ing of the word 'win' has now changed. We must live in peace. We must argue and compete but without the sword. The Russians teach patience and we must really be patient—for five or ten years because nowadays war is suicide, and few people want to be suicides."

Saroyan said he had been in many cities but knew of no other city that was growing so fast and was so beautiful as Yerevan. He said that he admired the economic and cultural progress throughout Soviet Armenia—what he had seen was an entirely different land from what it was on his first visit twenty-five years ago.

He spoke with pride of his meeting with Victor Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian Academy of Science.

We resumed our talk the following day. I called on William Saroyan at his hotel at 9 o'clock in the morning. He already had some guests. They were the producers and actors of the Sundukyan Theater which is staging Saroyan's play, "My Heart's in the Highlands," as well as writers and students.

A middle-aged woman entered the room. We could see that Saroyan was expecting her. They hugged each other in a touching embrace. She was a relative of his. The lot of wandering Armenians had once thrown them apart to different countries. They were now meeting for the first time in their lives, this eminent writer who during his life had known what it was to be an orphanage boy, a news-vendor, a California farm laborer and an unskilled workman, and the already aged Martha, who had returned to her homeland only in Soviet years to regain tranquility and well-being.

We started talking about literature and art. I asked Saroyan about his literary sympathies and antipathies and about his creative searches.

"I do my reading only in English. That is why I can pass judgment only on books in English. But regardless of all that, I would like to say that though I am not a Communist I have always believed that literature and art should serve the people. I do not recognize any other literature and art. Literature must be near to man because it reflects his life and serves him.

"The Russian people are a generous folk," Saroyan continued, "and the world knows of their great heart from the works of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Gorky, Mayakovsky and many others."

"What do you think of the modern novel?"

"Twentieth century literature must not resemble that of past centuries. The times have profoundly changed. Before people moved about on foot and on horseback. Now, as you know, the case is different. Modern man is a very busy man and he has not got the patience or the time to read huge and ponderous novels. People read such novels when they lie in hospital. But if we are writing for the healthy and not for the sick, we must write more tersely. However, there are many good writers who do not share this point of view. They write fat books and people do read them."

Saroyan glanced at his watch.

"Oh, it's already 10 o'clock. I have to hurry off to Martiros Saroyan. He is painting my portrait which I consider a great honor."

(*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, September 29.)

Soviet Agriculture— *Some Facts and Figures*

by CHARLES J. COE

BIG changes have taken place in Soviet agriculture during the last seven years, and even bigger ones seem yet to come. At the end of 1953, Soviet leaders launched a major campaign to overcome shortcomings and strengthen the country's agriculture. In opening the campaign, Premier Khrushchev made a comprehensive report (Sept. 7, 1953) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on "Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the USSR."

In proposing these measures, Khrushchev not only criticized past mistakes but also cited achievements and praised Soviet farmers for rapidly overcoming the harsh effects of the war. As usual, however, anti-Soviet critics in our country were interested only in seizing upon the criticisms, magnifying them beyond recognition and brushing aside the new measures as propaganda. Unruffled by these detractors, the Soviet Union went right ahead with its full-scale effort to lift farm production. Collective and state farms were strengthened with specialists, machine operators and managers; material incentives were adjusted so that all farms would benefit from increased production; more and better machinery

was made available; and state capital investments totaling 100 billion rubles were made during the 5-year period through 1958.

90 Million New Acres

The most heroic ("hazardous," said the critics) undertaking during this post-1953 period has been the virgin land project, involving the plowing up of some 90 million new acres of semi-arid land in Western Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Urals, Volga region and North Caucasus. These areas have a climate similar to Montana and eastern Wyoming, with an annual rainfall of less than 15 inches and mean July temperature of about 70° Fahrenheit. The results so far have more than justified the enthusiasm of its sponsors and were a major factor in making possible the increase in the country's wheat production from 41 million tons in 1953 to 69 million in 1959. Said Khrushchev in his 1959 report to the Party Congress: "... in the past five years the virgin land development gave the country additional thousands of millions of tons of grain and not only recovered all the money originally invested in the undertaking but, according to the central statistical board and the Ministry of Finance, yielded a net income of more than 18,000 million rubles."

On my visit to a Soviet farm this summer an agricultural official told

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me with warm enthusiasm: "When we began work on the virgin lands, we invited our young people to lend a hand. We told them how hard it would be but millions applied, including actors, artists and typists. Committees were set up to decide who should be allowed to go. I was on one. We said, 'We want only big, strong applicants.'" "But," he added with a hearty laugh at his unfounded fears, "that was a mistake and later, when we let the smaller and frailer ones go, girls as well as boys, they did very well indeed. Many have now settled there and are raising families."

So pleased are the Russians with the results of their virgin land development that they are now thinking about a follow-up, large-scale venture in livestock feeding, fully mechanized. As yet, this is still in the planning stage with many problems still to be worked out, but I gathered that its sponsors look for it, now that more ample grain supplies are available, to provide a major breakthrough on the meat front. According to the 7-year plan, the Soviet Union expects to produce twice as much meat in 1965 as in 1958, an ambitious goal.

Corn Yields Improving

U.S. farm experts who went to the Soviet Union in 1955 took a dim view of the campaign then under way to greatly expand the acreage planted to corn. Professor D. Gale Johnson of the University of Chicago said: "If more corn is desired, the corn should be concentrated in the Kuban and the Ukraine with the best growing conditions. Instead corn is being planted everywhere. . . ." Others

on the exchange delegation also thought that corn could not be grown except in a small area of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet farmers have a long experience with the problem of pushing all sorts of plants and trees northward into colder climates. They have accordingly concentrated their efforts on growing earlier varieties of corn requiring less moisture and the results are highly favorable.

Though the Soviet farms raise most of their corn for silage, cutting it in the milk stage, they also shell some of their corn and as earlier varieties are developed, they are shelling a larger proportion. Unlike American farmers who disc in the stubble, however, they are also interested in getting as much green-mass as possible to feed their livestock. In mid-August outside Moscow I saw beautiful fields of 10-foot corn whose large, well-filled ears even then were almost mature despite the short growing season. Earlier in the Krasnodar region to the South I saw good stands of corn, planted as a second crop after the winter wheat crop had been harvested and intended for silage. While corn is not a new crop in Russia, it was not planted extensively in former times but now the Soviet farmers are adapting it to their conditions, bringing in new varieties, many from the U.S., and crossing these with their own plants to meet their own needs. From what I saw this summer, I would say that Soviet farmers, aided by able selectionists such as Prof. E. T. Varenitsa, have already proved that high-yield varieties of hybrid corn can be grown even in the northern areas of the country.

At the Kuban State Farm

At the Kuban State Farm in the southeast part of the Krasnodar region, I saw several varieties of hybrid corn, one of them from Roswell Garst's farm in Iowa. The farmers there spoke with warm appreciation of the help Garst had given them and Director Lev. I. Maximov added, "But now he says that we are 'on our own' as he has taught us all he can." In addition to other crops and livestock, the Kuban raises hybrid seed corn for farms in many regions. One of its top-yielding varieties is Orel from which yields of as much as 143.4 to 159.3 bushels per acre have been obtained in the Krasnodar region under favorable growing conditions, and another is Glory, a simple hybrid, which this season, a moderately favorable one, was expected to yield 95.6 bushels per acre in the field we inspected in early August. (Iowa's 1959 average was 66.0 bushels per acre.) We also saw an early variety, VIR-42, intended for northern areas and grown here for seed, which would probably average 71.7 to 79.6 bushels this year at the Kuban. In addition, there were other varieties being grown for silage.

For those who have never seen a Soviet state farm, perhaps a thumbnail description and a few figures will help to show how large-scale and varied are its operations—also giving an example of how the Soviet Union is improving its agriculture. Having won two banners, the All-Union and Order of Lenin, the Kuban State Farm is a top-ranking, highly efficient enterprise, which was set up in 1933. Though the countryside is beautiful and

its farm buildings well-built, the Kuban is certainly not a showplace intended to impress skeptical tourists. Its farmers are too busy with more important work.

The farm comprises 44,480 acres of which 37,313 are arable and 30,899 are cultivated. The soil is excellent, mainly chernozem (black soil), but the rainfall is quite uneven and badly distributed, ranging from 15 to 30 inches a year, being heaviest in April, November and December. About 60 per cent of the farm's income comes from animal husbandry. Its livestock population numbers 4,200 cattle of which 1,400 are cows, 30,000 poultry and 17,000 hogs, most of which are sold to other farms for fattening.

Except for some "small" projects involving 321 acres in orchards and 121 acres in vineyards, the Kuban State Farm gets the other 40 per cent of its income from crops: 60 per cent from grain, 36 per cent from fodder and 4 per cent from technical crops. Chief purpose of its crops, other than those raised to feed its own livestock, is to produce high-quality seeds for other farms—viz., selected seeds for winter wheat, corn, perennial grasses and sugarbeets. The Kuban's grain output this year will be over 26,000 metric tons (2,205 lbs. each), nearly double its total of 13,460 tons in 1953. This has been achieved without increasing the acreage but by boosting yields. From 32.7 bushels per acre in 1950, the winter wheat crop this year rose to an average of 56.5 bushels (highest state average in 1959 was 37.5 bushels in Washington). "On fields covering 741 acres, we averaged 71.4 bushels,"

one farmer told me with a note of pride.

From 1,370 head of cattle in 1953, the farm has boosted the total to 4,200 this year and, of these totals, cows numbered only 361 in 1953 compared with 1,400 this year. This year's milk yield (3.7 per cent butterfat) for the herd should average 7,055 lbs. per cow, above the U.S. 1959 average of 6,438 lbs. but below the state high of 8,950 lbs. in California. The Kuban's milk yield this year is about the same as in former years, but in view of the rapid increase in the number of cows and a larger proportion of calves currently in the herd, the Kuban farmers have done well to maintain their output. Their main aim has been to increase total milk production and this they have done—from 1,232 tons sold in 1953 to over 3,500 this year. Their total meat production has increased from 755,306 pounds in 1953 to 4,188,797 pounds, this year's target.

From marketing receipts totaling 11.23 million rubles in 1956, they estimate this year's total (on the basis of the first 7½ months) will be 32 million. For the work force of 1,500 persons on the farm, I found that direct wages will average about 8,600 rubles per worker this year (official rate of exchange, 4 rubles to one dollar; tourist rate, 10 to 1). "We will also get a 10 per cent bonus this year, about 860 rubles apiece, and since we won the All-Union banner this year, we'll get a special bonus—I don't know how much," one of the farmers told me. In addition, each worker has his own private plot, like families on collective farms, which they use to raise crops or livestock for their

own use or for sale. "We figure the plots add about 30 per cent to our income in cash or kind," one farmer said and others agreed. Here as elsewhere, the workers also get paid vacations, free medical care, and old-age pensions as well as free education for their children, including tuition and stipends for study in advanced institutes or colleges. Even if full allowance is made for the difficulties of converting rubles into dollars, I doubt that many farms in the U.S. could boast of paying their farm workers as much as they get on the Kuban.

Some idea of how highly mechanized is the Kuban State Farm may be had from these figures on the number of machines it has: 184 tractors (6 are U.S. models for comparative purposes); 33 grain combines; 22 corn harvesters; 10 sugar-beet combines; 5 silage choppers; 2 self-propelled hay foragers; 107 sets of mounted plows; and 2,000 seeders, rakes, sprayers and inter-cultivators. Cows are milked by machine, also watered and fed mechanically, and though an overhead rail system is used to collect manure and machines to spread it, the farmers are not satisfied with the present method and the chief engineer said, "This is now our toughest mechanical problem." Most of the cows, a large "Red Steppe" type, are kept in stanchions. "We've been leery of health conditions in loafing barns up to now," a livestockman explained.

Secretary Benson Spurns Challenge

Secretary of Agriculture Benson prophesied last October that the Soviet farmer will not attain the Amer-

ican level of output either in this generation or in any future one. It should be noted, however, that Benson's record as a prophet is somewhat less than brilliant. American farmers are only too familiar with his predictions of higher incomes, which have usually been followed by further declines. By writing off the Soviet farmers with such finality, Benson no doubt hoped to halt any more talk about peaceful competition between U.S. and Soviet farmers, both of whom seemed to like the idea of friendly contests in corn and milk production.

Soviet statisticians readily admit that U.S. agriculture is currently outproducing the Soviet Union, has higher yields per acre, uses more fertilizer, is more efficient and more highly mechanized. Why then do our officials spurn Soviet challenges to compete in the production of milk, meat or crops?

Soviet economists figure that in 1958 total farm output in the USSR was 75 per cent of the U.S. total and, on a per capita basis, even less, about 60 per cent.* Their farm labor productivity they put even lower—one-third of the U.S. level. Yet they estimate that by 1965, at the end of the 7-year plan, they will be ahead of the U.S. in both total farm output and per capita output. To do it, Soviet farmers must increase their total farm output 70 per cent over the 1958 level. This is no mean achievement and while Soviet agriculture has come in for a great deal of criticism during recent years, some just and more un-

Output of Major Farm Products,
1959
(USSR as percentage of USA)

All Grains	67%
Wheat	223
Corn	11
Potatoes	784
Sugarbeets	284
Raw Cotton	48
Milk	110
Meats and Animal Fats	50
Butter	128
Wool	238
Eggs	37

just, its critics, especially those in our own country, should give the Soviet farmers credit for the speed and vigor with which they are now stepping up their production. According to their current timetable, they are striving to surpass the U.S. five years sooner in agriculture than in industry—by 1970 they expect to surpass the U.S. in both total and per capita industrial production.

Soviet farmers have already overtaken the U.S. in total milk production. In 1959 they produced 62 million tons compared with our 57 million. They also topped us in both total and per capita butter production—845,000 tons in 1959 or 4 kilograms in the U.S. Even if butter is limited to that produced in creameries, which is more typical in the U.S., they were ahead—730,000 tons or 3.5 kilograms per capita to our 608,000 or 3.4 kilograms.

We are ahead of the Soviet Union in total grain production, however, leading by a 25 per cent margin in 1958. Of course, corn is our major grain crop, comprising over half of our total, while wheat is the major Soviet grain, comprising half

* V. Starovskii, *On the Methodology of Comparing Economic Indices of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.*, translated in *Problems of Economics*, July, 1960, and Ya. Yoffe on *The Level of Labor Productivity in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.*, same issue.

of its total. In 1959, the Soviet farmers raised only 11 per cent as much corn as U.S. farmers but they produced more than twice as much wheat (223 per cent). As yet, the Soviet Union lags behind the U.S. in the production of cotton, vegetables, fruit, meat and eggs. It exceeds the U.S. in the production of potatoes, wool and sugar (combining sugar beets and sugar cane on the basis of their sugar content). It also produces large quantities of flax fiber, sunflowers and other crops which are not raised at all or only in small quantities in the United States.

In the last 15 years (1945-59) the average annual rate of growth of farm production amounted to 6.7 per cent in the Soviet Union and 1.7 per cent in the U.S. In the last six years (1954-1959) the average annual rate was 7 per cent in the Soviet Union and 2.3 per cent in the U.S. Soviet farmers are not at all reluctant to admit that the U.S. is ahead in agricultural production and often post charts on barns or buildings to make comparisons easy. Unlike Secretary Benson, however, they seem quite confident that they will soon catch up and overtake us. They are counting on speed, their faster rate of increase, to close the gap, and when they say that they expect to do this "approximately" in 1965, what they really mean is "probably sooner" since plans are usually fulfilled ahead of time.

Socialist vs. Capitalist Plowshares

The Soviet Union's bid for a friendly race with the United States to see which country can produce more food in 1965 cannot be lightly brushed aside as our officials are trying to do. Soviet farmers, undismayed by a 25 per cent handicap, are already racing. "What's wrong with such peaceful competition?" they ask.

In Washington, however, the prevailing attitude seems to be that armaments are the only things needed to make our country strong. While publicly our officials have sought to ignore the Soviet food challenge, a Congressional Joint Economic subcommittee did ask a few U.S. farm experts to submit papers at the end of last year on Soviet agricultural developments. Though most of the papers were concerned chiefly, if not solely, with discrediting Soviet figures on farm production, one of them written by D. Gale Johnson and Arcadius Kahan of the University of Chicago, stated in its conclusion, "There can be no question that the growth of agricultural output in the Soviet Union has been at a rather rapid rate in recent years."

Irrespective of what attitude Washington chooses to take, however, the eyes of the world will be watching this race between socialist and capitalist plowshares.

FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY OPENS

FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY in Moscow opened its first academic year in October. There were young people from 59 Asian, African and Latin American countries enrolled for four years of study which they are to enjoy free of expense to themselves as guests of the Soviet people.

Industrial Planning in Rumania

by VICTOR PERLO

BUCHAREST is the most beautiful city we saw in Europe. Because it did not suffer war damage its many trees have grown to great heights and their dense canopies of leaves share the boulevards. As in Soviet cities, there are flowers everywhere. The boulevards are wide and clean; the side streets narrow and clean—one has the impression that this is a very old, very sophisticated city.

Within sight of our mid-town hotel is a large group of new apartment houses. They are beautiful—modern and light, but not severe, and with just the right amount of color, bright color. These new buildings blend in with the well preserved old buildings, many decorated with distinctive traditional designs.

The city lives outdoors in the summer. Working hours are from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m., so that people can rest, or go swimming, in the hot afternoon. Open air gardens and sidewalk restaurants are everywhere. Shops are varied and attractive.

From what I could see and learn of people, the things they buy,

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the prices they pay and their incomes, I found the standard of living in Bucharest considerably higher than I had expected, and not so far behind that of Soviet citizens.

My main conferences were in Bucharest, including a discussion of economic planning with leading people of the Economic Research Institute of the Rumanian People's Academy of Science, my host organization during this visit. The group at the discussion was headed by Roman Moldovan. He is president of the Economic Research Institute, vice president of the Planning Commission of Rumania, and perhaps the best known living Rumanian writer on economic questions. His dual function, in research and operations (economic planning is an operating job) is not an oil-and-water mixture under socialism.

The conflicts between "operating" and "research" people characteristic of American government and corporate organization were nowhere apparent. Instead, there is an amazingly consistent attitude of complete cooperation and mutual respect, with a considerable degree of functional interpenetration, so that the "operators" strive for scientific methods, while the "researchers" strive for the maximum gain in practical application.

Moldovan reminded me that prewar Rumania was a raw material source of imperialist economy, with

a very low level of economic development, and corresponding relations of production and living conditions. He outlined the five main long-range aims of Rumanian economic planning, all in various degrees of completion.

FIRST, the all-around discovery, evaluation, and development of the natural resources needed for a modern economy. Accomplishments in this field have included not only the discovery of a variety of non-ferrous metals, a new coal region, and important natural gas deposits. In the traditional product, oil, the Ploesti fields formerly accounted for 99 per cent of the country's output. Now through discovery and development of other areas, Ploesti's share in the national oil output has been cut to one-third.

Requirements of industry and the population also dictated a great enlargement of agriculture of which more later.

Second, industrialization, with special emphasis on the construction of machines for heavy industry, the equipment necessary for further economic development.

Third, the creation of proportional relations in the economy. Even while still small, Rumania has built a complex economy, so that the whole can develop harmoniously, without bottlenecks. Moreover, Rumania has started early to develop the most advanced types of industrialization, with emphasis on polychemicals, gas-chemicals and petrochemicals for which it has such an excellent raw material base.

Fourth, emphasis on the newest techniques to give a scientific basis

to economic growth. Recent stress on this aspect has further spurred machine construction, and conclusion of agreements with foreign countries for the import of technology.

Fifth, special attention to backward regions of the country to raise their level to that of the others, and to take advantage of their untapped resources of materials and labor.

Hunedoara, Hungary's chief steel producing center, described in the first article of this series, is an outstanding example of success in this respect.

IN THE details of annual and long-term planning, Rumania used the so-called "balance method" developed in the Soviet Union. We cannot try to describe this fully here. It is enough to say that it is essentially an engineering-accounting system of scheduling production, employment, raw material flow, the erection of productive buildings and machines, and the circulation of money so that each of these areas harmonizes as closely as possible, without interruptions due to "unforeseen" bottlenecks.

The Rumanian "Gosplan" (the Russian shorthand for State Planning Commission, used here for convenience) is the center where all of this accounting is done, as well as a major part of the long-range planning, with all of its qualitative and imaginative aspects.

Annual plans for the particular industries are worked out by the Government departments in charge of these industries, but the Gosplan must coordinate their tentative plans, work out detailed balances among industries and then re-submit

the final product to the departments for execution.

The course of Rumania's future development, embodied in the 6-year plan for 1960-65, and the longer-range 15-20 year plan still being worked out, involves a major policy decision which has been made in agreement with the Soviet Union and the other members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, the coordinating agency of the European socialist countries.

While specialization and division of labor among the socialist countries will increase, each country will develop a powerful basic as well as light industry, each country will move along the lines of the Marxist theorem of a faster rate of development of means of production than consumer goods, as the central economic requirement for steadily raising labor productivity and living standards.

As a result of this decision, Rumania is developing its steel, chemical, electric power, and machinery industries with a boldness and speed that many people could not have envisaged five years ago, and some would have regarded as "adventurous."

The basis for this decision is the success of economic planning and execution to date in establishing the foundations of a mighty industry.

INDUSTRIAL production in 1960 is at 3.5 times the 1950 rate, and five times the 1938 rate. The machinery industry, which scarcely existed before the war, now accounts for 22 per cent of all industrial output—a respectable proportion.—(In the United States machinery ac-

counts for one-third of the total of industrial output.) A new modern chemical industry has been created.

And the planning seems to be getting more effective. During the five-year period just ending the average rate of increase in industrial production has been 10.4 per cent per year, and during the first part of 1960, the planned increase was exceeded by 3 per cent.

Rumania has not yet attempted the decentralization of planning which has worked so well in the Soviet Union, and in a different form, in Czechoslovakia. Its economy has not yet developed to the stage where this is possible or advantageous. I could see in my visits to factories, for example, that most of them do not have the trained staffs or experienced shop workers necessary for the level of independent economic planning I found operative in Soviet factories. The industrial areas, for the most part, are not sufficiently varied in their activities to provide the basis for special integrated regional plans, as those of the Sovnarkhozes in the USSR.

However, the local organs of government, the Popular Councils, are responsible for planning and managing the operation of certain local industries, including local transport, housing construction, schools, food processing, small-scale power output, most retail enterprises. This work is not only vital for the development of living conditions, but its quality actually has a tremendous impact on the success of the national plans that are rapidly changing Rumania into an industrialized country.

The Mexican Exhibit in Moscow

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

ON HIS return from Mexico to Moscow a few years before his death in 1930, Vladimir Mayakovsky declared in one of his most-quoted poems: "The centuries crumble in the teeth of Time, but still the ancient, rough-hewn stones of Mexico whisper their story."

Some of these ancient, rough-hewn stones have now been brought from Mexico to Moscow and are whispering to tens of thousands of Muscovites their story that goes back thirty centuries, to long before the founding of Rome and Carthage.

And it is a connected, cohesive story that this skillfully-arranged Exposition of Mexican Art tells. An expert might assure you that there is a thousand-year gap between one exhibit and its near neighbor, but the layman is content to marvel that in all the exhibits there is a unity and continuity that bridges all gaps, an abiding and unmistakable "Mexican-ness" that writes its signature as clearly on Olmec statues of 1,000 B.C. as it does on the works of the Big Three moderns, Rivera, Siqueiros and Orozco.

Those names, by the way, are widely known in the Soviet Union and the engravings of the famous

Mexican school are frequently reproduced in the magazines here; so this exposition of a national art famous for its ties with progressive thought and action is a big event in the life of Moscow. For me it is Old Home Week—and I hope you'll forgive a bit of reminiscence.

My home for several years was within sight of the ancient pyramid of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca) and I manhandled great chunks of that same warm-grey volcanic stone—dynamited from an outcrop in my little patch of ground—to make a rock-garden that was much more rock than garden. So I count myself as one of the lesser pyramid-builders of Mexico with a working knowledge of those "ancient rough-hewn stones."

I was also for a time—five minutes, to be exact—the proud possessor of one of Orozco's best still lifes. I won it in a raffle, and like several other winners, put it up to be raffled again. (That is a pure irrelevancy, of course—except that the raffled painting was one of the many valuable contributions from progressive artists to "Ayuda a Rusia," Mexico's magnificent wartime organization to provide medical and other supplies to the embattled Red Army.)

Before you enter the exhibition—even if you are in a bus passing along Volkhonka street—you get a glimpse of ancient Mexico in stone. Standing stiffly to attention in the forecourt of the Pushkin State Mu-

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seum is a 16-foot Toltec warrior who with his squad-mates supported the roof of the temple of Venus (the planet, not the goddess) at Tula, near Mexico City. Inevitably he has been dubbed "Tulak" (the man from Tula) for Moscow too has a neighbor-city named Tula. (Russia's Tula, by the way, is the place you don't carry a samovar to, just as you don't carry coals to Newcastle.)

In the forecourt, too, is the gigantic head—six feet from ear to ear and weighing six tons—of an agricultural deity found recently near Vera Cruz together with similar heads weighing 18 tons, and all belonging to the Olmec culture that flourished centuries before the Parthenon was built—which makes one wonder why we speak of "Old World" and "New World" when we are talking about early civilizations.

To call this a "primitive carving" is, I think, doubly wrong. It was fashioned long before any metal tool existed in Mexico, and quite possibly was "pounded" rather than carved into shape with the aid of smaller stones and water to help the pulverizing. And "primitive" is hardly the word for a work of art which for fidelity of detail and rich expressiveness—the somber benignity on the god's face is "divine"!—would do credit to any of the masters of sculpture today.

In the museum itself (the second largest, next to Leningrad's world-famous Hermitage, in the Soviet Union) four great halls are devoted to the 1500 exhibits, and two long corridors are hung with photographs of Mexican life. Most of the items are national treasures

but some are from private collections.

I heard spirited arguments going on in front of some of the contemporary paintings and sculptures—were they modernistic or just modern? impressionistic or simply symbolic? surrealist or idiomatically realistic? But there was no hesitation in applying the term *naturalistichesky* (which suggests an over-stressing of "doing what comes naturally") to a display of Toltec statuettes that must have been associated with a cult of fertility as fertile as Myrtle's turtle.

The spot-lighting and concealed-lighting of many groups and individual pieces—the work of a father and two sons from Mexico who were loud in their praise of the Soviet technicians helping them—is especially effective in the gallery of the goddesses of Laughter, Music and Dance from Totenaca. The simulated sunshine falling on those sweetly-smiling beauties in café-au-lait terra-cotta is a stroke of genius—and I noticed that there were answering smiles on all the Russian faces that gazed upon them.

Unfortunately, and, of course, unavoidably, there are only reproductions of the famous murals, a genre in which no other country in the world can hold a candle to Mexico. But there is a deeply impressive life-size representation of the three frescoed chambers of a Mayan temple discovered in the state of Chiapas only 15 years ago.

A massive baroque altar of carved and gilded wood which dominates the Spanish-colonial period of the exhibition, is admired for the delicacy of its work but many of the visitors (by this time under the spell

of essentially Mexican art) are inclined to treat it as an intrusion and pass on with a sigh of satisfaction to the post-Revolution section in which the national spirit asserts itself with renewed force. Especially praised are two statues by 44-year-old Francisco Suñiga each of which combines two concepts, in one case those of motherhood and a cradle (the cradle of the 1910 Revolution) and the other those of the Mexican eagle and humanity.

Not only art lovers but people whose interests are centered on anthropology, archeology and history are flocking to this exhibition. This is quite understandable, for, as Señor Fernando Gamboa, who has been in charge of the collection in its triumphal tour of European cities, told me:

"We Mexicans regard art as man's endeavor to give expression to the world around him, to represent the forces of nature—sun and rain, day and night, life and death, and so on, always in contrasting or complementing pairs—from which human life springs and against which at times man has to contend. So the study of art is the study of creative man.

"Several visitors have commented on resemblances between early Mexican types and those of the Soviet Far East. It's an old controversy but most Mexican scientists today accept the theory that somewhere around 25,000 years ago Asian people migrated across the Bering Strait or a now non-existent land-bridge to the 'New World.' So our ties with this country are of long standing—and may they long continue!

"What is still mysterious is this:

long before the voyage of Columbus—which, remember, had the advantages of an advanced civilization behind it—Negroes from Africa in some unexplained way reached and settled in Mexico. So, with the Spanish, we combine in our land people of Asia, Africa and Europe. But, as you have seen from the distinguishing streak that runs through all the exhibits here from the earliest to the latest, Mexico puts its own impress on everything and everyone. And so, *sobre todo somos Mexicanos*—above all, we are Mexicans!"

Señor Gamboa was delighted by the warm reception of the exhibit by the Soviet people. He said:

"The triumph of the exhibit here is really enormous. There have been 50,000 visitors in the first eleven days and the attendance is steadily increasing. This is a public which is enthusiastic, sensitive and profound. All acclaim Mexico and its art and appreciate the effort made by the Mexican Government and the others concerned."

An article by B. C. Johanson, President of the Academy of Fine Arts of the USSR says: "The Mexican exhibition is the most important event in the cultural life of the USSR in recent years."

There has previously not been a single item of pre-Hispanic American cultures in the Russian museums, which gives this first exhibition of Mexican art in the USSR a special importance. Russia sends its ballet, its artists, its music, its conductors to Mexico, and the latter is reciprocating with its art, ancient, colonial and current. This interchange is cementing and deepening USSR-Mexican relations.

USSR-Latin American Cultural Exchange

We think that our readers will be interested in these accounts of work with Latin-American countries carried on through the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

LYDIA D. KISLOVA

Member of the Presidium of the Friendship Societies

THE Association for Friendship and Cultural Cooperation with Latin-American Countries is part of the Union of Friendship Societies, and we hold many functions jointly.

The Association has existed for 18 months now, and I am pleased to say that our relations with Latin-American countries have grown considerably in scope during this period. Much credit for this goes to Latin-American organizations, primarily the Mexican-Russian Institute for Cultural Exchange, the Chilean-Soviet Institute of Culture, the Brazil-USSR Institute for Cultural Exchange, the Uruguayan-Soviet Institute for Culture and the Argentina-USSR Institute for Cultural Relations, which has unfortunately been closed down. By sending exhibitions, musical compositions, books, magazines and films to the Soviet Union they help us acquaint Soviet people, particularly the youth, with Latin-American life and culture.

A new organization, the Peruvian-Soviet Cultural Association, has been founded just lately, and we had the privilege of receiving here its President, Sr. Manuel Beltroy.

The Colombians, too, decided to establish contacts with Soviet cultural workers, and founded the Colombian-Soviet Institute for Cultural Exchange.

Of course, we do not restrict our links to the organizations I have listed; any Latin American is welcome to approach us.

We maintain a steady exchange with universities, such as the Central University of Venezuela, Chilean universities and the universities of Buenos Aires, the State of Ceará (Brazil) and Quito, the capital of Ecuador. Since the universities are centers of the cultural life of a country, we approach them on a vast variety of questions; on our part we gladly help them establish contacts with scientific organizations in the USSR, and answer many of their questions.

It goes without saying that personal contacts, talks and concerts form the liveliest part of our work.

The Soviet composer Aram Khachaturyan, who is President of the Association, gave recitals in Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Cuba. He was welcomed with great cordiality wherever he went. A delegation led by Professor A. L. Myasnikov, a noted Soviet physician, visited Chile, Uruguay and Argentina.

We played host to Juan Gómez Millas, Rector of the Chilean University; Francisco Walker Limares, Director of the Chilean Commission for Intellectual Cooperation; David Fairman, the Argentine new

ro-surgeon; Pedro Bloch, the Brazilian playwright, and numerous other prominent Latin Americans. We also receive tourists. Last spring 54 Brazilian tourists met with prominent members of the Association and visited the Mikoyan Meat-Packing Plant in Moscow, which is a collective member of the Association.

A few words in passing about this particular form of work. Many of the founders of the Association subsequently became its collective members. Among them are the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaidzhan Republic, the Riga Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Norilsk Ore Mining and Smelting Works, Budyonnovets Collective Farm in Vologda Region, institutes, museums and newspaper editorial boards.

Each of the collective members has its own special interests and forms of contact. Films are very popular with them. The several documentaries we received from Cuba as a gift have been making the round of educational institutions and clubs.

We get a great deal of help from the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries. This year, to mark the 150th anniversary of the struggle launched for independence by Latin-American countries, we have held several festive functions at Friendship House, and also arranged exhibitions of engravings sent us by Chilean, Argentine and Venezuelan artists. Concerts, recitals of poetry and film shows, too, are frequent events at Friendship House. They are usually arranged by one of the Association commissions.

I. I. MARTYNOV

Music Critic

THE melodious music of Latin America is applauded in all of our concert halls. Many Soviet musicians help us popularize it, including above all those who have been to Latin-American countries. They are the composer Aram Khachaturyan, the violinists Leonid Kogan and Igor Bezrodny, the pianists Tatyana Nikolayeva and Yevgeny Malinin, the singer Zara Dolukhanova, the conductors Nikolai Anosov and Konstantin Ivanov and many others. The commission is also assisted in its work by young Soviet musicians, Conservatory students, radio and TV performers and members of the philharmonic.

The range of our contacts with friends abroad has widened noticeably. We have exchanged letters and music with Colombia's National Radio and Television. Our Bogota friends have sent us interesting tape recordings of Colombian music. We were happy to contribute Russian folk and modern Soviet songs to the repertory of Margot Loyola, the Chilean singer. She sent us her records, which Soviet music lovers enjoyed immensely. Chileans also sent us recordings of several symphonic compositions; Soviet conductors find them very interesting and it may be that they will present them to Soviet audiences before long.

Every meeting with Latin-American musicians brings us new impressions and helps us make new friends.

In recent years we received Arnaldo Estrella, Maria Luisa Anido, the Los Mexicanos trio, Carlos

Guastavino and Camargo Guarneri and singers and dancers of Brazilian radio and television. Anna Stella Schic, the Brazilian pianist, has visited our country several times. During friendly get-togethers with prominent members of the Music Commission she performed pieces by Brazilian, Argentine and Uruguayan composers.

Soviet musicians returning from Latin-American tours tell us of their impressions and bring interesting photographs. The violinist Igor Bezrodny made a big film about his tour of Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, Peru, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Mexico. It was not only we, his fellow-musicians, who saw that film, but also a large audience of Soviet viewers.

Concerts of Argentine music and music by Eduardo Fabini (Uruguay) at Friendship House were a big success.

A symphony concert will be given at the Conservatory on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Latin America's struggle for independence.

N. S. GERASKIN

Moscow Institute of Architecture

DURING the International Congress of Architects in Moscow in the summer of 1958 we met some of the outstanding architects of Latin America. We were greatly impressed by the creations of the Brazilians Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer and Frederico Ferreira, the Mexicans Lorenzo Carrasco, Coman Marcos and Salvador Ortega. We decided to get to know Latin-American architecture better and so jointly with other organizations founded

our Association. The Institute of Architecture became the headquarters of the Association's Architectural Commission, with both students and teachers taking part in its work.

The building of the new capital of Brazil is a notable event in Latin America's architectural progress. A group of undergraduates made a thorough study of projects and presented an analysis of them at the latest conference of the students' scientific society. There were numerous stimulating comments on architectural design and composition and on the way in which the peculiarities of the site have been treated in the projects. The Brazilians' experience is particularly interesting to us because the building of entire towns has become an ordinary phenomenon in our country.

We do our best to keep the Soviet people informed of the achievements of our Latin-American colleagues. Young architects enjoyed the art critic V. M. Polevoi's talk on his visit to Mexico. He showed a color film he had made. It was a splendid illustration of his talk.

Sometimes talks like these are given by people who are not directly concerned with our field of work. Paul Keres, the well-known chess-player, spoke in very vivid terms of the architecture of Havana, which attracted him by its modern-styled buildings and lavish sports facilities.

We hope Latin-American youth will take some interest in the exhibition, now in preparation, of the best projects made by our students. In it we shall try to reveal the main creative trends in the designing of dwelling houses, industrial prem-

ises and public buildings. One section of the exhibition will be devoted to the life of Soviet students. We should like to establish contacts with the architecture departments of the universities of Chile and Uruguay, the Mexican National Autonomous University, the Engineering Club of Brazil and other organizations. We believe that exchanges of curricula, exhibitions and other items would be of mutual benefit.

O. G. SAVICH

Poet and Translator

WHENEVER there is talk of poetry nowadays, you hear the names of Pablo Neruda, Nicolás Guillén and Gabriela Mistral. And talk about modern prose is unthinkable without reference to Gallegos and Asturias. Evenings of Latin-American literature draw ever greater audiences, and the largest Soviet publishing house has recently set up a Latin-American section that will publish dozens of titles a year.

We find personal contacts with our far-away friends very useful. We want to know. And to argue, too. Yes, we think any argument is useful so long as it is aimed at bringing about mutual understanding and not a quarrel. In Spanish, *querer* means both to want and to love. And in literature to love means to know, as I see it.

It is this knowledge that the Literary Commission of the Association serves to promote. We sincerely rejoice in the fact that Russian translations of books by Latin-American authors already make up a sizable library. Our friends—poets, prose writers and members of various delegations—offer us ad-

vice, and in turn show an eager interest in Soviet literature. And however small our share in this big literary stream may be, we rejoice.

A. A. KOTOV

International Grand Master of Chess

SOVIET chess-players have visited Latin America more than once, and have also played host to their colleagues from those parts. Reciprocal visits have become particularly frequent in recent years.

Not so long ago David Bronstein and Boris Spassky came back from a tournament in Argentina and a guest tour of Uruguay. Then two Leningrad chess-players — Victor Korchnoi, Champion of the USSR, and Grand Master Mark Taimanov — went to Argentina, where they played in a tournament held in honor of the 150th anniversary of the war for Argentina's liberation.

We Soviet chess-players are bound by genuine friendship with such prominent Argentine masters as Najdord, Panno and Pilnik.

In Chile we met and made friends with Flores, Letelier, Gutiérrez and other chess players. We always enjoy our games with them at international competitions. The scope of our contacts has extended appreciably. We have met representatives of Venezuela, Cuba, Brazil, Colombia and Peru. The Sports Commission of the Association receives many letters from Latin America. At Friendship House we arrange chess contests very often, and now we plan to hold a tournament by correspondence between the Association and Latin-American institutes for cultural relations with the USSR.

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SOVIET AMATEUR SPORTS

THE steady rise of the USSR to the world's Olympic champion nation, coupled with the undoubted support that the State gives to such developments, has caused a continual flow of questions regarding Soviet amateur status. In the USSR since 1917 growing encouragement has been given to the development of mass sports. The aim has been to encourage the maximum number of young working people to participate, to provide them free or at very low charge with all necessary sports facilities, to hold yearly "spartakiades" by which the champions are singled out, first on a regional, then on a republican, and finally on an all-USSR basis.

Naturally, where factories and enterprises have had good sportsmen or women among their working people, with the chance of winning All-Union championships or Olympic medals, they have been allowed certain facilities such as special leave when away from work for a match or a competition, and adjustment of their work shifts to ensure adequate training. And since anyone earning a living in the USSR is entitled to take part in amateur sports, no ban has been put on physical training instructors who, in their own time, have chosen to take up a particular competitive sport.

In the USSR a sports instructor by profession may still be a competitor in his amateur capacity. But nobody in the USSR can perform for money and remain an amateur. In that case he would become an

employee of the entertainment industry, probably in the circus. There, as here, no circus acrobat can be an Olympic competitor, nor can any other circus artist compete as an amateur.

Fundamentally, then, the difference in the definition of amateur status really lies only in the fact that in the USSR a professional instructor may, and in Britain may not, compete as an amateur.

The Union of Sports Societies

Sport in the USSR is coordinated centrally by the All-Union Union of Sports Societies and Organizations, to which all sports clubs and organizations in the Soviet Union are now affiliated, directly or regionally. The Union is organized both by sport and by region, having separate sections for each separate sport, which go down to the appropriate section of the individual sports club, and having All-Union, Republican and regional councils elected by the members. The supreme authority is an All-Union Conference at which all sports organizations are represented.

For the USSR as a whole there are six major sports societies, Burevestnik, for students; Lokomotiv for railwaymen; Vidnik for sailors; Trudovy Reservy for pupils of vocational schools; Spartak for the producers' Cooperatives; and Dynamo for the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In addition, each Union Republic has at least two major sports societies, one for

the trade unions and one for the collective farmers. In the Russian Republics these are respectively called "Trud" (Labor) and "Urozhai" (Harvest).

It is the job of the Union of Sports Societies to organize the All-Union spartakiade or People's Games, at which the winners in Republican People's Games have their final contests. Out of the winners in the All-Union Games are chosen the competitors for the Olympic Games.

The Pyramid of Sport

Sport in the USSR, then, is organized in the shape of a pyramid, of which the base consists of the factory, trade union, collective farm, students', army and other sports societies. By periodical competitions, on a regional, republican and all-USSR basis, the best are selected and obtain the right to compete at a higher level. The cream of these competitors become the USSR's Olympic team.

The USSR has thus a very effective method of selection from the whole reserve of physical culturists in the country. In addition, adequate training facilities are accessible to the whole people. This applies especially to women, to whom real equality of opportunity in sport is one of the great gains of the Soviet system. It is by these facts that Soviet supremacy at the Olympics can be explained.

Until other countries learn seriously from this system they are bound to lag. It is noticeable that four of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, which have now a system of selection rather similar to that of the USSR, Hungary, Po-

land, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, all beat Britain in gold medals; and Hungary also in silver medals, with Poland tied with Britain. For the size of these countries this is a very striking performance. It seems therefore quite clear that future successes lie in the developing of amateur sport on a national scale, with a well-organized system of contests from the bottom to the top, and with adequate equipment and supply of coaches available in all parts of the country.

In the USSR today there are 24,000,000 people taking part in some form of sport or physical culture (as compared with 38,000 in 1918). They have at their disposal tens of thousands of skating rinks, skiing bases and similar sports installations; 11,000 gymnasiums; 200,000 sports grounds, 30,000 football fields, and more than 2,000 stadiums. There are some 190,000 different sport and physical culture groups, and about 180,000 elected representatives sit on the Councils and auditing committees of the Union of Sports Societies and its organizations throughout the country.

While the successes at the Olympic Games bear witness to the efficiency of this form of organization of amateur sport, it should not be imagined that there is not plenty of criticism inside the USSR. For example, in a report last December the Chairman of the Union of Sports Societies, N. N. Romanov, pointed out that while the Union has posed the aim of holding local games throughout the USSR each year in which the overwhelming majority of members take part, "this aim has not been everywhere achieved."

Another criticism, voiced in an

article in *Politicheskoe Samoobrazovanie* this August, by M. Isakova and A. Franklin, is that "star mania" still exists, expressed in the conceit of some young sportsmen; that some sports organizations lure members to join them by offering better housing or other such non-sporting incentives; and that some leading administrators are too patronizing towards sport, regarding it as "beneath their dignity" to take part in any sort of physical recreation.

7-Hour Day

With the reduction of the working day there is a greatly increased discussion in all the Soviet press on the development of leisure. Unlike the West, where discussions of increased leisure have always been conducted by intellectuals as if the masses would not know what to do with themselves, in the Soviet Union the discussions are all devoted to the improvement of leisure-time facilities and health resorts, amateur arts, or sport.

Among other things, a mass-recruiting movement has been started by the sports organizations of the USSR, which goes by the snappy title of "1 plus 2." This movement was started by members of the Kom-somol at the Irkutsk Aluminum Plant in Siberia, and took the form of a call to every participant in local sport activities to recruit two more active participants. At their own place of work this had its effect, and sports society membership was trebled. If this were effective throughout the USSR, the total number of participants in organized sport would rise to 75,000,000. This movement is at present spreading; Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, and

Kishinev being among the first to follow the lead of Irkutsk. In Lvov it is now reported that one person in four takes part in some form of physical culture or sport.

Taking a realistic view, the Union of Sports Organizations sets a target of 55,000,000 sportsmen and physical culturists by the end of 1965.

Qualifications of Instructors

As regards sport and physical training instructors in the Soviet schools, the article quoted points out two possibilities. One is that the work of coach can be a spare-time job of someone whose main occupation is elsewhere. The other, in schools, is that the work of the physical education instructor should be combined with teaching hygiene, and that the combination of physical education with the teaching of anatomy or biology can add much to instruction in both subjects. In some places it is now taken for granted that rural school teachers must also be sports organizers. This is not dissimilar from the practice in many schools in this country, the home of sport, but once it is taken seriously in the USSR it is likely to be more fully put into operation than is the case here.

Taking into account this year's Olympic results, one can only guess what Soviet achievements will be like when present intense criticisms have been met and suggestions for improvement carried out. It seems to be quite certain that countries that refuse to adopt a similar nationwide effort to assist the development of amateur sport from school to middle-age will find themselves more and more lagging behind.

From *British-Soviet Newsletter*, October 29

IN SOVIET SCHOOLS—

Some Questions of Differentiation and Equality

by DR. EDMUND KING

The author, who is lecturer in comparative education at King's College, London, led a London University comparative education tour to the USSR last spring. His article, he writes, surveys "only one small aspect of a totally impressive experience. Thoroughness, high standards, cheerfulness, and a deep dedication to education have been taken for granted."

THE writer's first-hand experience of Soviet schools is (so far) limited to two weeks in Moscow and Leningrad this year. On the other hand, as a teacher of comparative education and out of personal interest, he has read everything available about Soviet education in several languages during the past few years, and has had many discussions with Soviet, Chinese, Polish and Yugoslav educators about communist school systems. Also, a certain preparedness comes from extensive visits to educational institutions of many types in many parts of the world.

Still, any short article based on that kind of foundation must necessarily consist mainly of impressions, many of which will either reinforce or compensate impressions already formed at second hand. Yet the presence of senior specialists from a great variety of disciplines, and from most parts of the world, on the first Russian comparative education tour from the London University Institute of Education did make it a little easier to come into realistic contact with what administrators and teachers are actually doing in Soviet schools. In this article an attempt will be made to

indicate some Soviet solutions evolving in practice (though not always fully acknowledged in principle) to answer the big question being asked everywhere: How do we reconcile differentiation between children with fair and equal treatment?

"From everyone according to his abilities, to each according to his needs"—this central criterion is applied everywhere in sometimes unexpected ways. A sort of parable will illustrate the point. The dear old women sweeping with what look like ineffectual rush brooms go on doing what they can, while others work more efficiently with mechanical pavement sweepers, and still others operate huge road cleaners. They are all usefully employed; they have a status as they make their contribution; and no one can deny the remarkable cleanliness that they and the tidy citizens maintain. External criteria of man-hours and the like seem out of place. This somewhat fanciful reflection seemed to one observer to be obliquely though truly relevant to the whole business of securing specialization of endeavor in schools.

The exacting needs of state plans are minutely calculated in advance; the personnel are secured in the

various specializations, in different ranges of effectiveness or skill; yet the all-pervading insistence on *concerted* construction of a new world makes it impossible to think of "selection" as we generally understand that word, and necessary to think of "differentiation" instead. The emphasis is on complementary partnership, and not on exclusion.

For all that, the various complementary partners are effectively sorted out. Soviet dislike of "tests" and the social and emotional complex surrounding them makes many educators unwilling to diagnose what selective principles they employ, or indeed to acknowledge that a selective mechanism is at work. (They need have no such scruples. Harm comes not from selection as such, but rather from the social purposes to which it is sometimes put.) In practice, Soviet differentiation seems to be very thorough, and to be done in ways to which many other countries should give earnest thought. Apart from the egalitarian claims of liberal manifestos, the logic of industrialization itself demands a much wider scatter of specialization *on much the same level*, and with an all-pervading realization of everyone else's being integral to any job in hand. If the mechanics of Soviet differentiation (quite apart from heed paid to political manifestos) reinforce the sense of equality-with-differentiation, that surely merits admiration.

Informal conversations with Soviet educators at many levels confirmed a previous inference that the "strengthening of the ties of school with life" was not only an attempt at socialist realism but a vindica-

tion of these truths: (1) that academic specialization is not of itself more meritorious than other kinds of skill; (2) that the "middle" or ten-year school had been almost too successful in producing pre-university people, with an expectation of automatic prestige in consequence of their specialization; (3) that the expansion and technological thoroughness of Soviet enterprises demand not merely vastly more entrants at the technician and foreman level but a higher general education and prestige for those workers.

To secure both (1) and (3) would be fairly easy by means of wage differentials, in Soviet circumstances. It is all the more significant therefore that scholastic devices are used as well, or instead. These are presumably considered to be more effective in the long run.

How is it done? No final answer can be given to this question, because each school or other educational institution visited was clearly in full evolution or expecting it. Administrators and teachers were groping towards new expedients or awaiting results. But enough evidence was available to indicate trends reliably enough.

At the age of 15, usually following some pre-vocational insight into the character and conditions of various local enterprises, more than half of all the children will have their training continued either in a form of industrial apprenticeship of a markedly technical kind (but in school) or in direct employment supplemented with evening or late afternoon instruction of a "general education" type with a more "life-oriented" slant. Indeed, Deputy Minister Markushevich and others

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forecast that about half of all children might be in the latter category alone.

Moreover, the provision of at least three more years of general education by direct attendance or by correspondence will be not only a personal supplementation but in some cases an inducement to proceed to further qualifications. So, we were told, in all cases the result in general education would be similar.

Time off with pay could be had for special studies or examinations. The 15-18 changeover would be completed in 1964-5. Only a minority thereafter would be in the more academic type of 11-year school. Selection for the ninth year of all types would depend upon (a) manifested abilities and interests, (b) the needs and opportunities revealed in neighboring enterprises, and (c) personal choice.

Taking this period of decision as a suitable diagnostic point, we note that "on the job" differentiation and extra-curricular indications have already tended to sort out some children from others. There is not only the old-fashioned criterion that those with an average of three marks or less out of five* have had to repeat a class or two, and that those with straight "fives" throughout will probably in future belong to that 20 per cent of institute and university entrants who are admitted to higher education without having two-year periods of full-time work experience; there is also an important factor in the evidence available from youth organizations. Apart from the fact that office-holding and other responsibilities

in the Pioneers depend quite largely upon good scholastic attainment, the remarkable encouragement to enterprise offered in the various Pioneer centers is undoubtedly an inducement to experimentation in all the practical sciences and arts, and an incentive to further reading and study.

So much is obvious at a glance. When we consider in addition the provision of courses, of lecturers, and indeed of a sort of coaching for the various competitions and "Olympiads," observers feel even more strongly that a continuous endeavor is maintained to pick out and encourage talent of all kinds, no matter where it is found or how it manifests itself. Yet this self-differentiation is found in the very place where socialization and fellowship are most thoroughly attended to. Differences are stressed, but in no sense of creating an elite.

Thus the rather monotonous sameness of some school lessons, with everyone doing the same work in the same circumstances and at the same pace, receives its differentiating complement from outside. Within the classroom itself, however, Soviet teachers often differentiate between the various pupil abilities not just because they are like teachers everywhere else, but especially because of the so-called "concentric" method of teaching in vogue in the USSR.

According to this, the germ of an item of learning is presented first in simple form in the lowest classes, or at a first encounter, and is gradually surrounded with its more difficult corollaries at each of many subsequent repetitions. At various stages in the process, prog-

* The Soviet system of marking is based on numerals of one to five, with five as the top mark.

ress is made from simple repetition of the new datum to the use of it in kindred sentences or examples, then on to paraphrase or parallel, and finally on to a more explicit mastery of the principle involved and a fresh restatement. Teachers were observed following this plan from the first year of school to the last in an institute. This system (in Soviet circumstances of maintaining an even pace throughout instruction) encourages teachers to try the easy stages on the least advanced pupils in a class, and vice versa. So apart from the actual award of marks a teacher's daily routine displays clear differentiation.

After the 15-year-olds are sorted out into work, vocational training, or the "general and polytechnic" completion of the 11-year school, still further differentiation appears to be made. Both teachers and administrators, it seems, distinguish emphatically between the more narrowly vocational craft school (*remeslennoe uchilishche*) which hitherto has recruited its pupils from 14 upwards, and the more advanced technical school (*tekhnicheskoe uchilishche*) for which a ten-year school education has become a prerequisite. Both kinds of institution are closely "linked with life" through the bond with the patron enterprise, where up to 70 per cent of the trainees' time is spent; but it is clear that one is more technically advanced than the other. Therefore, if selection is made either at 15 or at 18 in future, the differentiation between the pupils in each place will probably carry much the same significance in practice as the present distinction between the various grades of instructor (i.e., *mater*, *uchitel*,

and *professor*) in everyday speech.

Similarly, the future provision of 12 hours a week of practical working experience even for those pupils in the "general education and polytechnic" upper school again broadens the front of evidence according to which youngsters can display their talents or shortcomings. It is thus a selective device, as well as a vestibule to careers.

If, as seems likely, the future 20 per cent of mathematicians, physicists and other "theoretical" scientists who will be exempted from the necessity of in-school and after-school working experience are to be picked out by evidences of attainment during the last three school years, some very marked selection must take place. However, there can be no doubt that, in the eyes of almost every Soviet educator encountered, differentiation is seen as a varied array of evocation in different patterns, rather than as a "sheep and goats" affair.

Space does not allow an elaboration of this theme with other evidence drawn from higher education, where it seems equally clear and indeed impressively successful. It seems marked, not only as between different kinds of institutions (with additional inquiries and interview judgments imposed by professors), but also as between different institutions of the same kind. This is human enough, and to be expected. In Soviet social and economic circumstances there seems no reason why differentiation should be regarded as reprehensible *per se*.

Britons who have seen the best side of American education often refer with admiration to the "open doors" feeling that exists in the USA

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by contrast with most of education in Britain. To the writer it seemed that the Soviet system embodied the same evocation and opportunity to an even greater degree, and that the principle was more effectively put into practice if only for the realism with which the actual program of training and instruction were graded according to their func-

tional importance to the community; yet this functional differentiation in the USSR did not mar the feeling of common heritage in a common birth (*narod*) or the real sense of personal significance in a whole social evolution.

*Reprinted through the courtesy of the
Anglo-Soviet Journal, Autumn, 1960.*

Soviet School Reform

by DEANA LEVIN

DURING the next few years the Soviet Union will complete the school and other educational reforms which were made law last year, after much widespread discussion. A recent declaration by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic makes it clear that seven-year schools are only to be reorganized into eight-year schools when the conditions are right and the pupils ensured of no interruption of the courses. There must be the right material conditions, enough classrooms, equipment, teachers, etc.

This year the new curriculum for the first five grades has been introduced (ages seven to twelve years). Geography as a separate subject will not be started until the fifth grade and a subject called "nature study" is introduced in the fourth grade. The syllabus of this new subject makes it clear that it comes nearest to what we would call "environmental studies" as it includes a study of the neighborhood, its geography, flora and fauna, industry and history.

From the third grade upwards, two periods a week are allocated to

socially useful work. This means taking an active part in the care of the school, dusting and sweeping the classrooms, corridors and halls, helping to prepare meals in the school kitchen, serving in the canteen, washing up, mending books and furniture. Children take it in turns to do the different jobs, and these jobs are considered important from an educational point of view. In fact, schools have noted a marked difference in the children's attitude to the building and equipment, which they now treat with far greater respect.

In the tables included in this article it is easy to see how the subjects are allocated in each grade. A period is forty-five minutes, and there is a six-day week. From the fifth grade upwards the two weeks work at the end of the school year is to round off the practical training done in the school workshops and in the garden plots. In rural schools the pupils cultivate a large plot of land of several acres all the year.

From these tables it is also possible to compare the curriculum of the higher secondary school (ages fifteen to seventeen) with the work-

ers' evening and shift schools, both of which entitle those finishing to sit for the entrance examinations to higher educational institutions. Mathematics, algebra and geometry are begun in the sixth form, trigonometry in the ninth and calculus in the eleventh grade.

Entrance regulations to higher educational institutions for 1960:

Anyone up to the age of thirty-five years with a complete secondary education and a good work record is eligible to take the entrance examinations. Provided that they pass the entrance examinations, applicants who are sponsored by industrial enterprises, construction sites, collective or state farms and who have a work record of no less than two years will have precedence over other applicants. Next in order will be workers with a good work record of not less than two years and people demobilized from the armed forces, if they pass the entrance examinations. Not less than twenty

per cent of all places will be kept for young people without the required two years of work.

In addition to the great extension of boarding schools, an "extended day" is being introduced in the ordinary schools. The children of parents who wish it may stay on at school after lessons, have two hot meals, do their homework under supervision, rest and play, and go home in the early evening. The parents will pay for the meals.

A change in pre-school provision is the combining of nursery and kindergarten into the institution which will be situated in the housing estates rather than near the place of work. Parents will not have to travel with their children and the child will get a continuous routine from the beginning right up to school age in the same place. By 1965 it is intended to double the number of places in Soviet kindergartens.

*From Education Today and Tomorrow,
a British publication.*

EVENING AND SHIFT SCHOOL

	Grades	9	10	11
		<i>Periods per week</i>		
Literature	2	2	2	2
Mathematics	3	3	3	3
History	1	2/1	2	1
Constitution of the U.S.S.R.				
Economic Geography		2/1	1 1/2	
Physics	3	3	2	
Astronomy		0/1		
Chemistry	1 1/2	2	2 1/2	
Biology	2/1			
Technical Drawing	1 1/2			
Foreign Language	2/1	1 1/2	2	
Total	15	15	15	
Optional studies for raising professional qualifications	2	2	2	
Tutorials	3	3	3	
Complete Totals	18+2	18+2	18+2	

SOVIET SCHOOLS

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EIGHT-YEAR SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Periods per week</i>								
Russian Language	12	12	12	10	6	5	3	2
Literature					2	3	2	3
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5
History, Constitution				2	2	2	2	3
Nature study				3				
Geography					2	2	2	2
Biology					2	2	2	2
Physics						2	2	2
Chemistry							2	2
Technical Drawing							1	1
Foreign Language					4	3	3	3
Total	18	18	18	21	24	25	25	26
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Music and Singing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Work Training	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Socially Useful Work			2	2	2	2	2	2
Practical work in production	5th to 8th grades 2 weeks at end of school year							
Complete Total	24	24	26	29	33	34	34	34

SECONDARY SCHOOL WITH INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

9 10 11

Periods per week

Literature	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	4
History	2	3	4
Constitution of the U.S.S.R.			2
Economic Geography		2	2
Physics	4	4	2
Astronomy		1	
Chemistry	2	3	2
Biology	3		
Technical Drawing	2		
Foreign Language	2	2	3
Physical Education	2	2	2
Total	24	24	24
General technical subjects, practical and theoretical training in production	12	12	12
Optional Studies	2	2	2
Complete Totals	36+2	36+2	36+2

43rd Anniversary Report

SOVIET ECONOMIC GROWTH

by FROL R. KOZLOV

The main report on the 43rd Anniversary of the Russian Revolution was made in Moscow on November 6 by Frol R. Kozlov, Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee. In the section of his speech devoted to world affairs, Kozlov declared that the struggle for peace is the major task of our time. Affirming the unchanging policy of the Soviet Union for peaceful coexistence, he called for continuing negotiations on international issues and especially disarmament.

As a service to our readers, we publish below sections of Mr. Kozlov's speech dealing with internal Soviet advances.

THE seven-year plan envisaged an annual average increase of 8.6 per cent in industrial output. Actually, it exceeded 11 per cent in 1959.

The targets for the second year of the seven-year plan were higher than those originally set. Though the current year is not yet out, there is every reason to believe that these increased targets will be overfulfilled. The plan for gross industrial output was fulfilled 103 per cent in the first nine months of the year. Under the seven-year plan industrial output in 1959-1960 was to increase by 17 per cent. Actually the increase has been about 23 per cent and in the two years we shall produce approximately 120 billion rubles worth of industrial goods over and above the plan. Over 1,000 new large industrial enterprises will be put in operation in 1960. Thus we approach the third year of the seven-year plan with big additional reserves in hand.

In the last six years our gross agricultural output has increased 50 per cent. The collective and state farms have expanded cultivated areas by seven million hectares* this year. It is a pleasure to note that the country now receives from the collective and state farms not only all its marketable grain and industrial crops but also the bulk of marketable animal products.

* 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

The collective farmers and state-farm workers have done a good job this year, too. It must be said that the weather was extremely unstable: in the south part of the country the winter crops perished because of frost and strong winds; in Kazakhstan and Siberia the handicap came from a long spring and cold summer. In spite of this, state purchases of grain will be not less than last year and those of sugar beet, sunflower and vegetables will be larger. We are now much less dependent on nature than we were several years ago.

The year 1960 has been marked by new achievements and discoveries in science and technology. The most outstanding of them was the flight into space and safe return to Earth of a heavy spaceship with animals on board.

THE achievements of Soviet science in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy are widely known. Big successes have also been achieved in the theory of super-conductivity, acoustics, solid-state physics and superhigh pressures. Highly effective has been the work of chemists in creating new substances and materials, especially plastics capable of replacing steel and other metals.

The achievements of science and technology make it possible for us to accomplish important economic tasks at an unprecedented pace. Large open-

hearth furnaces built in five or six months and blast furnaces constructed in eight or nine months have become standard practice. Builders of cement mills install manufacturing units with an integrated production cycle using large-capacity rotary kilns in six to eight months.

A higher pace is maintained in the building of hydroelectric power stations. On November 4, the country learned of an outstanding victory on the Dnieper river. The Kremenchug Hydroelectric Station has started operation at its full capacity of 625,000 kilowatts two years ahead of schedule.

How confident is the advance of the engineering industry! Let me cite only one example. Several years ago we took great pride in the 115,000-kw moving-blade turbines for hydroelectric power stations on the Volga. Now the engineers have designed a 225,000-kw radial-axial turbine, the world's largest, for the Bratsk Hydroelectric Station and are working on a 500,000-kw hydroturbine. Over 3,000 new types of machines, machine-tools, mechanisms and instruments have been designed and manufactured in the first eighteen months of the seven-year plan.

The Soviet people approach their work with a yard-stick which is greater than before. They refuse to tolerate the fact that some sections of production lag and work below their capacity. This is why many innovators and experienced organizers volunteer to work at backward sections so as to bring them up to the level of the best. The Communist Work Team movement is growing in depth and width. To sum up:

Firstly, we can now say with confidence that the Soviet people will fulfill the seven-year plan ahead of time.

Secondly, the Soviet Union each year wins more time in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, and we are fully confident that we shall catch up with and outstrip the most highly developed capitalist countries within an historically short time.

THE Soviet Union has long since emerged as the world's second biggest industrial producer, second only to the United States. In sixteen post-war years Soviet industrial production has been increasing at an average annual rate of 10.7 per cent, as compared with 1.8 per cent in the United States.

However, the percentage increase is not the whole point. We are steadily catching up with the United States both in annual absolute increase of industrial output and in gross output. Pre-revolutionary Russia's industrial output was one-eighth of the United States. Today Soviet industrial production is about 60 per cent of the United States', while in agriculture the figure is 75 to or 80 per cent. The Soviet Union is already ahead of the United States in the output of iron ore, coal, coke, trunk-line passenger coaches, harvester combines, sawed timber, woolen fabrics, butter and sugar. We realize, of course, that in a number of industries the United States is still ahead of us. But the range of products in the absolute output of which we shall be ahead of America will expand with every year.

The Americans are specially worried by the fact that the USSR is rapidly catching up with the United States in steel production. We must say that there are good grounds for such anxiety. For in 1945 steel production in the Soviet Union was only 17 per cent of the American figure; and in 1959 our steel output was 71 per cent of its production in the United States. It is universally known that the volume of steel production is one of the main indices of a country's might.

At the present time the Communist Party gives priority to raising quality in industry and construction, in collective farms and state farms, in transport services—in all sectors of the national economy. It is not only a question of the quality of production. Of course, the trade mark of a Soviet enterprise must be a reliable guarantee for any machine, for any article. I am speaking of qual-

ity in the widest meaning of this word. Now, when the plan targets for gross production, as a rule, are fulfilled and overfulfilled, all party, government, trade union and economic bodies must concentrate on the problems of raising labor productivity, cutting the costs of production and construction, increasing accumulations, on technical progress, automation and complete mechanization of means allocated for capital investment. In agriculture we shall continue to strive for raising the harvest yields of all crops and the productivity of animal husbandry, more effective utilization of machinery for the steady reduction of labor expenditure per unit in grain, cotton, vegetables, meat and milk. . . .

FOLLOWING the growth of the national income the real incomes of the population of the USSR increased more than 50 per cent in the period between 1953 and 1960. The transition of all factory and office workers to a seven- and six-hour working day is being completed. Starting with November 1 some 50 million people enjoy the blessings of the shorter working day. The production of consumer goods is steadily increasing. The gradual abolition of taxes on factory and office workers began on October 1. Our homeland is confidently advancing to the highest living standards in the world.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government pay special attention to social consumption funds. This is the most important, communist way of raising the well-being of the Soviet people.

By the end of the seven-year plan period state expenditures for public education, medical services, social security and other aspects of social consumption

will be about 3,800 rubles a year per worker or over 300 rubles a month. This is quite an important "addition" to the wages of factory and office workers, to the incomes of collective farmers. By the end of the seven-year plan period over 800 rubles per worker will be spent for building homes, schools, cultural and public service establishments and medical institutions.

The daily concern of the Party and Government for improving the living conditions of Soviet people is also attested by the fact that between 1957 and 1960 inclusive some 300 million square meters of housing has been built in cities and in workers' communities. For comparison's sake we shall mention that the total housing in all cities and workers' communities of pre-revolutionary Russia amounted only to 180 million square meters.

Comrades, we are justifiably proud of great achievements in economy, culture, science and technology. But even more we are proud of the creator of all that is beautiful and magnificent on our land—of the Soviet man.

As a result of a great cultural revolution which has developed in inseparable unity with gigantic economic transformations, generations of well-educated people have appeared in the Soviet Union. We have long since emerged to the first place in the world in the graduation of specialists in many fields, primarily, engineers. The Party's policy, which has the support of the entire people, of combining education with productive work, the mass influx of people with secondary and higher education into the field of material production is already producing tangible results in eliminating substantial differences between manual and mental work.

SABIN ANTI-POLIO VACCINE IN HUNGARY

DR. ALBERT B. SABIN, in Hungary this fall to check on the results of a mass vaccination using the oral method developed by him, reported that in the critical months of July, August and September not a single Hungarian child had contracted polio.

THE SOURCE OF MUSIC

A review by MURRAY YOUNG

Composer and Nation: The Folk Heritage in Music, by Sidney Finkelstein. International Publishers, New York. 1960. 322 pages. \$4.00.

THE *London Times Literary Supplement* in its review of the English edition of Mr. Finkelstein's book says that his "criticism is often penetrating and its chief aesthetic principle, that the worth of a composer's work depends to a great extent on the degree to which it is rooted in the society which produced it and on general human sympathy, is certainly defensible."

Not only is the principle "defensible," as the T.L.S. critic (who on the whole found the book of genuine interest) cautiously says, but using this principle as a guide through the four centuries of music he surveys, Mr. Finkelstein, deeply enriches the reader's understanding of music as a part of man's experience.

As the title indicates, the individual composers are seen in relation to the rise of nations and their struggle for independence as part of the whole broader struggle for man's freedom. The author says, "The composer's own psychology, as well as his understanding of others, is shaped by the role he plays in relation to the great social movements of his time, that effect him in company with all others."

A further point is made: "even the melodic material with which he (the composer) creates his images or portraits comes from a social and national heritage which he takes up and reworks." It is in relation to this that the author discusses folk and popular music (including jazz) and the contribution of such musical expression to the ultimate creation of masterpieces by individual composers.

Of special interest is the chapter de-

voted to music in the Soviet Union. Mr. Finkelstein approaches the subject in a critical spirit, reviewing carefully the whole complex history of the term "socialist realism" as applied to the writing of music. Frankly discussing the problems that arose from a too rigid application of the theory in the USSR, he redefines the term far more broadly than is ordinarily done, and concludes:

Socialist realism is not a special technique, a new invention, a narrow style or musical cult. The music produced under its name stands or falls in the same way that all music stands or falls, and has done so in history. That is by its ability to move people, to make them conscious of their kinship to others, to help them to understand the problems with which life confronts them as it confronts all others in the same world, and to give them the strength to overcome the obstacles in the path of their common progress and growth.

There is a useful chapter on the social origins of melody, chapters on baroque, classical and romantic music as well as a chapter entitled "The Humanist Crisis in the Twentieth Century," dealing with the whole problem of composers in the present period of capitalism. The chapter on "Jazz as Folk and Art Music" has much that is new and original.

NWR readers are familiar with Mr. Finkelstein's reviews of concerts and recordings which frequently appear in these pages (see his review of the Sviatoslav Richter concerts in this issue). It is therefore hardly necessary to remind them of the sensitivity and enhancing insight he always brings to his discussion of music. Apart from the development of the important main theme, the book is full of penetrating analyses of composers and of their creations that will henceforth make your listening to music far more rewarding.

SVIATOSLAV RICHTER

A review by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

FROM almost the opening bars of Sviatoslav Richter's first recital in New York on Wednesday, October 19th, before an audience that filled all the available space in Carnegie Hall, it was apparent that we were listening to something more than just another master pianist. Rather Richter is the kind of musical artist whom one is lucky to know once in a generation. With Richter's playing one heard a completely new and fresh kind of instrumental sound. It seemed to be passionately alive, with the utmost beauty of sound and clarity of texture, divided into choirs each of which seemed to sing independently and yet in perfect accord with one another, like the final achievement in bending wood, metal and strings to man's imperious demands so that they become an amplification and echo of not only his voice but his every nuance of thought.

As an interpreter Richter is a law to himself. There is of course the most scrupulous observance of the score, but the performance far transcends this, bringing spiritual or emotional resources to bear upon the music that one feels are a particular product of our own century. As against other kinds of performance which are not only admirable but emphasize what might be called lessons in "correct style," with Richter one feels that not only could no other pianist duplicate his reading, but that it would be unwise to try. Yet it offers a revelation of unsuspected qualities in the music which one would not want to do without.

Similarly unique to himself are Richter's programs. It is plain that he has no use for standardized procedures. Richter chooses the works that at the time move him most deeply, and about which he feels he has something he wants to say. The results are always memorable.

Richter is a brooding pianist. What he seizes on particularly are what might be called the "recitative," speech-inflected, or "inner monologue" aspects of a score, and nobody can play them with more poetic, deep-felt communicativeness, like a process of thinking in sound. His first program was all Beethoven, comprising five sonatas of which four were comparatively early and neglected works. Any fear however that the recital would lack variety was quickly banished. Each reading took us into a different realm of Beethoven's thought and personality, and each sonata was obviously one that Richter had studied with love and probed into deeply. Unforgettable were such revelations as the drama of the slow movement of Op. 2, No. 3, the pathos of Op. 14, the tender poetry of the first movement of Op. 54, and the fiery declamation that closed the *Appassionata Sonata*, Op. 57.

The only other recital I was able to attend started with Haydn's C major sonata, played with an unusual bigness and breadth of conception. Richter then projected all the inherent passion in three Schumann Novelettes, and afterwards devoted himself to about forty-five minutes of Debussy. There is something remarkable and unique about Richter's desire to present not so much a recital of various styles, as a full, broad and comprehensive picture of a single composer as a mind and personality. (For example, the second recital, which I missed, was all Prokofiev). The Debussy was such as had never been heard certainly within this writer's memory. Revealed was less the impressionist painter of "nature pictures" than the reflective mind exploring infinite subtleties of inner sensibility.

The audiences were ecstatic in their enthusiasm, and the critics gave the highest praise. Here are a few opinions:

I suggest—no, I insist—it (Richter's playing) has to be heard to be believed. And when you have heard it you will come to grips with a piano force whose power has the capacity to stun, dazzle, astound. Myself, I am blinded by its brilliance.—Jay S. Harrison, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Oct. 24.

At last night's performance every musician in town was present. Conductors, violinists and pianists filled the hall. . . . There may have been a show-me attitude at the beginning. Within fifteen minutes all was dissipated in enthusiasm. Mr. Richter proved to be a pianist with style, poetry, imagination: a complete artist.—Harold C. Schonberg, *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 20.

Sviatoslav Richter amply justified the high expectations and the wonder stories that preceded him. . . . For he is a genuine artist in the full and solemn meaning of the word.—Paul Henry Lang, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Oct. 20.

Here was playing ravishing in its wealth of color and nuance—playing that made music we had taken for granted yield unsuspected secrets of poetry and feeling and drama. There isn't a better technic in the world—nor a better pianist to put it to such good use. Precious hands like these are one more reason for preserving peace.—Louis Biancolli, *World-Telegram and Sun*, Oct. 24.

While Richter is presenting his best to our audiences, Byron Janis, the young American pianist, is being applauded in the Soviet Union and Metropolitan Opera audiences in New York are enjoying a finer performance of *Boris Godunov* in the re-scored version by Dmitri Shostakovich, because the baritone George London was able to perfect his mastery of the role as a guest artist at the Bolshoy.

This is a cultural exchange, for cultural exchange is not a form of propaganda or diplomatic maneuver, but two countries expressing their desire for friendship as equals, with each, in the interest of mutual understanding, letting the other share its best.

A number of Sviatoslav Richter recordings are available on the American market. The following are especially recommended as an introduction to his art: Schubert's *Sonata in D Major*, Op. 53 (Monitor MC 2403), Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* coupled with Prokofiev's *Sonata No. 7* (Artia ALP 154), and Rachmanioff's *Concerto No. 2 in C minor*, in which Richter is accompanied by the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra under Kurt Sanderling (Parliament PLP 134).

Since coming to this country Richter has made several recordings. One of these recordings is now available: Brahms' *Piano Concerto No. 2 in B Flat* with the Chicago Symphony under Eric Leinsdorf (RCA Victor LM 2466, LSC 2466).

DISARMAMENT

Disarmament and the American Economy, a symposium edited by Herbert Aptheker. New Century Publishers, New York. 64 pages. 75 cents.

"Every hour the world spends about \$8.5 million for armaments which could eventually be used to blow the world to bits. Of this amount the U.S. alone spends about \$4 million an hour every hour of the day and night."

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Victor Perlo discusses the "Economics of Disarmament." George Wheeler, writing from Czechoslovakia, considers "War Production and Employment," Jurgen Kuczynski, writing from Humboldt University in Berlin, discusses "Peace and the Economist."

The editor, Herbert Aptheker, discusses "The Ideology of Disarmament" and there are other articles dealing with this crucial subject by James S. Allen, John Eaton, and Hyman Lumer.

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

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