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ED SEARS

In Soviet Armenia

ROCKWELL KENT

The Questions They Ask!

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

A Young Soviet Poet

ROBERT DAGLISH

How Juvenile Delinquency

Is Handled in the USSR

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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Our Roaming Correspondent
Editorial Comments on Negro and Colonial Questions

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"Let Us Begin Anew The Quest for Peace"

by JESSICA SMITH

WRITING on the eve of the inauguration, it is futile to speculate what the Kennedy Administration's policies will be in the all-important field of world relations, disarmament and peace.

Reading proof on inauguration day, we must add that we can draw encouragement from President Kennedy's plea that East and West "Begin anew the quest for peace" and seek, in negotiations, "to explore what problems unite us, instead of those that divide." We fervently hope these words will be translated into action.

The main hope for a new turn for the better, it seems to us, lies in the fact that the mess around the world left by the outgoing Administration, the increasing dangers of war, have aroused such protests among peoples and governments everywhere, including U.S. allies, that only through response to these pressures can our country begin to regain its lost prestige.

Above all, it is necessary for the American people to make known their demands for new, peaceful policies. This calls for a double-edged effort. On the one hand, the peace forces must find new strength and unity to press unremittingly for their aims. On the other, every effort possible is required to change the thinking of that section of the American people whose minds have been poisoned by the constant stream of anti-Communist propaganda and

warnings of the alleged Soviet "threat" to the extent that they accept the cold war and the arms race as necessary for our security.

Let us begin by reviewing the opportunities opened for the new Administration to enter upon a new course, commencing with the congratulatory telegram sent by Premier Khrushchev to Mr. Kennedy, expressing the hope for a return to the friendly relations that existed in the time of FDR.

Soviet Overtures for Peace

Numerous reports in the U.S. press have told of efforts by the Soviet Union to pave the way for a new turn in American-Soviet relations under the new Administration.

James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* of December 28: "The Soviet Government seems extremely eager these days to establish lines of communication with President-elect Kennedy and his associates." He told of meetings arranged by the Soviet Ambassador with a number of people close to Kennedy, emphasizing the importance of re-opening talks between Kennedy and Khrushchev or their representatives.

Writing from London in the *New York Times*, December 29, Drew Middleton said the British Foreign Office reported that in a long and friendly conversation with the new British Ambassador to Moscow, Sir Frank Roberts, Khrushchev re-em-

phasized his desire to meet President-elect Kennedy and to discuss with U.S., British and French leaders problems arising from the division of Germany and the continued presence of Western forces in West Berlin. He also repeated his desire for a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament.

In a toast to friendship and peace among all nations at the Kremlin New Year's reception, Premier Khrushchev singled out the importance of improved relations with the United States and expressed the hope that "a fresh wind would begin to blow" with the coming to office of the new President. Referring to the U-2 and other spy flights as an especially aggravating factor in American-Soviet relations, he indicated that the complaint in the UN on these issues might be dropped:

We would like this unfortunate incident to become a thing of the past with the departure of the former president, and we think that one need not return to it.

Considering all this, we evidently need not insist on the discussion of this question by the UN General Assembly so that a bad past does not hamper the hopes for a good future. . . .

I will permit myself to express the hope that in the New Year the United States and the Soviet Union will turn a new page, as it were, in their relations, to help improve the international situation, improve the relations among all states and, consequently, achieve the great goal of all peoples—the strengthening of world peace.

In his report on the international situation made before the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on December 23 Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko declared:

I am authorized to state from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet that

so far as the Soviet Government is concerned, it is absolutely ready to assist in improving Soviet-American relations.

Mr. Gromyko stressed that conditions are developing where "war can be excluded forever from the life of human society" and that the whole policy of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people is directed to this end.

Describing the sessions of the Fifteenth UN General Assembly, he spoke of the importance of the admission of People's China, which cannot much longer be postponed, in normalizing international relations and consolidating world peace. What the socialist camp wanted, he said, was for the UN to inscribe on its banner the words:

Peace and total disarmament by all states instead of feverish military preparations, freedom instead of colonial fetters, schools and hospitals instead of atomic bombs.

Welcoming especially the emergence of the new African nations, he advocated competition in rendering them economic and cultural assistance rather than in attempting to draw them into militarist plans, and expressed the support of the Soviet Government for the proposal of President Nkrumah of Ghana to convert Africa into a zone free of nuclear rocket weapons and their testing as well as of foreign military bases.

The Soviet Foreign Minister called disarmament the most acute problem of the day. He emphasized that in the Soviet Government's proposals "it is written in black and white that every stage, every step in disarmament, from beginning to end, must be carried out under effective control." He recalled Premier

Khrushchev's statement that "the Soviet Union is prepared to accept any control provided the Western powers accept the proposal for general and complete disarmament."

In his conclusion, Mr. Gromyko declared:

It is no secret that definite hopes, particularly for the improvement of relations between the United States and the USSR, are pinned, in many countries, including the United States itself, on the coming to power of Mr. Kennedy.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that with the coming to office of the new United States President, the prevailing unfavorable atmosphere in relations between our two countries will be cleared. This would facilitate hundreds of times over the possibility of reaching agreement on the international problems which still remain unsolved.

It should be noted that the session of the Supreme Soviet addressed by Mr. Gromyko adopted a budget in which defense expenditures were decreased—amounting to 11.9 per cent of the total as against 13 per cent last year.

A further evidence of Soviet willingness to participate in solving disarmament questions was contained in correspondence held in December between Cleveland industrialist Cyrus S. Eaton and Premier Khrushchev. A letter from Mr. Eaton informed Premier Khrushchev that he had the agreement of a number of capitalists to meet with representatives of the socialist countries in the preparation of a disarmament proposal. Mr. Khrushchev replied that the Soviet Union would be glad to participate in discussions with business circles and hoped that they would prove fruitful in assisting the governments to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The Pugwash Conference

Participants in the Sixth Pugwash Conference, for which 76 leading scientists from 15 countries gathered in Moscow November 17-December 5, were deeply impressed by what they learned of the attitude of Soviet scientists and the Soviet Government on the absolute necessity of reaching international agreement on disarmament.

Appealing for the assistance of all scientists toward realizing the program for disarmament, the scientists said:

We have also been unanimous that if the disarmament plan is to be realized, the existing distrust and artificial barriers in the relations between states must gradually diminish and be replaced with the growing awareness of unity of interests, understanding and good faith. Progress in disarmament will in itself be a most important factor in this change of the atmosphere of public opinion.

Commenting on the conference in an article in *Pravda*, December 16, Academician A. Topchiev, who headed the Soviet delegation, declared:

We must wage an all-out offensive against the danger of a new world war without delay and not wait until the atomic and hydrogen bombs begin to fall. This drive must be conducted at once and intensified from day to day.

Academician Topchiev emphasized the lively exchange of diverse viewpoints at the conference, and said the Soviet scientists welcomed this "because the truth is born in dispute."

In a letter to the *New York Times* published December 18 and a report in the *Saturday Review* of January 7, Jay Orear, Associate Professor of Physics at Cornell University said

the conference discussions had convinced him that the USSR is willing to make a fresh start on disarmament and hopes that the Kennedy Administration "will show the imagination and boldness required to take the big step of ridding the world of war." He declared, "We American participants were led to believe that the Soviet Union would accept any disarmament treaty the West would draft provided the treaty went all the way to general and complete disarmament," and was ready to accept "any reasonable kind of inspection" and to put an inspection system into operation at the beginning of the first stage of disarmament.

The War Danger

While keeping always before us the idea that war can be prevented, we must be constantly aware of the increasing war danger as the days go by and recognize that only by increasing struggle can peace be won.

The heritage left us by the Eisenhower Administration is a frightening one indeed. The greatest peril lies in our vast military establishment concerned with destruction and death, with its ramifications all over the world and the pressures to increase it that will continue to be exerted on the Kennedy Administration.

This deadly military machine, far from aiding our economy as its advocates, including top labor leadership, have insisted it would, has led the country into a growing economic recession and mounting unemployment, as well as endangering peace. Will this lesson be taken to heart by the new administration? It is disquieting that Mr. Kennedy has given priority to the question of fur-

ther military build-up. In a pre-inauguration interview in *This Week* (Jan. 15) he sounded an old and harsh chord when he said "To win lasting peace we must negotiate from positions of strength."

Disquieting too are the reports that high Kennedy aides and "task forces," are recommending delays both on the question of nuclear tests, on which negotiations are scheduled to resume February 7, and disarmament negotiations. It is clear that a little time might be needed for the new Administration to plan and work out new policies. But there has been quite a lot of time since the elections which should have been used to this end, and the world cannot wait much longer, with the constant danger of accidental war hovering over us.

Surprisingly, Eisenhower in his farewell address, having just proposed a new record peacetime military spending budget, warned against the dangers to our nation of the "unwarranted influence" of the vast military establishment he himself had created, and declared America's prestige depends not only on material and military strength, "but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment." At the same time he continued to talk about the "Communist threat" as the justification for our military build-up.

Calling "disarmament a continuing imperative" he expressed hope for progress in this direction. Since the whole blame for lack of progress has been constantly laid on the Soviet Union, there was another surprise when U.S. delegate to the UN, James J. Wadsworth, in his farewell press conference expressed his belief

that we have to get moving on disarmament and that "the Russian Government has every intention of living up to any agreement they may make either on the question of nuclear tests or in the larger area of disarmament." He doubted that the Russians are carrying on secret underground tests, although government and AEC officials have given their suspicions that such tests are being carried on as a reason for the United States to resume tests.

New war dangers are constantly arising, with the proposal to arm NATO with nuclear weapons (meaning first of all Western Germany among the fifteen powers whose hands will be on the nuclear trigger). The danger of more nations becoming nuclear powers is exemplified by the second French nuclear explosion in the Sahara. The Polaris-armed U.S. nuclear submarine cruising near the Soviet coast, forerunner of a fleet of 28, raises new dangers of nuclear war being set off by accident beneath the seas.

U.S. policies leading to eruption of civil wars through its encouragement in the overthrow or attempts to overthrow the legitimate governments in the Congo, in Laos and in Cuba make all of those places possible starting points for new world war.

All this underlines how little time we have to save the world and the people in it from destruction.

How many Americans were aware on last October 5 how close the world came to a nuclear holocaust? Not until December 7 was there a brief and misleadingly reassuring report in the Washington *Evening Star*, repeated in the *Washington Post*

next morning, and in the *New York Times* on page 71, where few would notice it. The story was broken only because the British *Manchester Guardian* had published details on November 28.

On October 5 the Strategic Air Command's Early Warning System in Thule, Greenland, saw radar signals it took to be "apparently a mass attack by ballistic missiles coming from the East and aimed at the United States," reported immediately to the U.S. by submarine cable.

U.S. H-bombers around the world were alerted while Thule was signaled for confirmation. No answer. An iceberg had cut the cable. If someone had not had a clear head and awaited further confirmation, this could have been interpreted as a sign that the Thule station had been wiped out by an attack. Half an hour later the message came that it was a mistake. The moon had risen above mountains obscured by clouds; its twisted appearance on the screen looked like missiles.

Meanwhile, the U.S. retaliatory force stood ready for war. Each one of the pilots of some 1500 bombers could have also, in excitement or madness, misinterpreted a signal and taken off with bombs for Russia. On such mischances and hairbreadth escapes the lives of hundreds of millions of people and our future world depend.

Scientists and Disarmament

A large number of the 7,000 scientists who attended the meeting of the American Society for the Advancement of Science in New York, December 26-31, recognized the need for speed in disarmament and their own moral responsibility in seeking

alternatives to nuclear war. The symposium on disarmament was one of the liveliest and best attended of the panel sessions. Dr. Ralph Lapp, physicist, stressed that scientists had a large responsibility in the building up of our huge military machine and warned that we have only about a year to conclude a nuclear test ban agreement, after which pressures on the Administration from military, political and Atomic Energy Commission officials to resume testing would become irresistible.

Dr. Jerome Frank, acting chairman of the Department of Psychiatry of Johns Hopkins University, urged that our nation investigate new methods of dealing with the USSR rather than reacting only with a show of strength.

British novelist and scientist C. P. Snow (Sir Charles Percy Snow), teaching this year at the University of California, made one of the most important contributions in his paper "The Moral Un-Neutrality of Science." Deploring the extent to which scientists had become soldiers through working on weapons of maximum destruction, he warned against loyalty and obedience turning into conformity and urged that they be guided by that spring of moral activity which is knowledge, and the moral imperative of saying what they know.

He gave as an example the knowledge that for a dozen or more states it would take only perhaps six years to equip themselves with fission or fusion bombs:

This we know with the certainty of—what shall I call it?—engineering truth. We also most of us are familiar with statistics on the nature of odds. We know

with the certainty of statistical truth that if enough of these weapons are made—by enough different states—some of them are going to blow up. Through accident, or folly, or madness—but the motives don't matter. . . . Are we going to let it happen?

He declared that we are faced with only two alternatives—either a restriction of nuclear armaments beginning with an agreement on the stopping of nuclear tests, with the slight, finite risk this would entail, or the certainty of a nuclear war within six to ten years, when other nations would have the bomb. He urged that the United States agree to a formal suspension of nuclear tests—"Between a risk and a certainty, a sane man does not hesitate."

An idea similar to that of Snow's was contained in a paper by the Soviet chemist Semenov at the Pugwash Conference in Moscow, mathematically proving that the chance of an accidental H-bomb war would increase in direct proportion to the square of the number of nations possessing H-bombs.

The Military Ideologists

But against this realistic thinking we have the continuing power of the powerful monopolists who fatten on arms spending, and who have mobilized an array of "experts" to prove the utter necessity of ever-growing military might, and to show how a nuclear war can be made nice and safe if we only take the proper precautions, such as keeping it within limits and learning to live in the bowels of the earth.

In the vast establishment of the Pentagon in Washington, a computer machine is whirring out an-

(Continued on page 40)

Housing in the USSR

by ED SEARS

"**H**OUSING here is terrible," simply terrible," exclaimed our table companion, a rather well-to-do American lady whom my wife and I chanced to meet while we were in the Soviet Union last summer.

"I never dreamt people could live this way, just like animals. You just can't imagine how bad it is," she continued in her indignant manner.

This woman, who was so loudly bemoaning the fate of the Soviet people, turned out to be completely ignorant of the wretched slum conditions within a few short blocks of her Riverside Drive apartment in New York City. Her concern for the Soviet people, therefore, seemed to be more synthetic than real. She, nevertheless, raised a valid point. A great many Soviet citizens live in very bad housing.

I, for instance, visited relatives in several Soviet cities. In almost every instance, I found that a family of three or four people lived in a long narrow room, approximately 20' x 10'. They had to share a kitchen and a toilet with several other families. Life under these conditions is certainly far from ideal. But, strangely enough, these people, unlike our Riverside Drive acquaintance, were not bemoaning their fate. They have good reason not to.

ED SEARS is a professional economist. He spent a month last summer traveling over 5,000 miles in the USSR, from Leningrad to Tashkent and Samarkand.

Despite all the shortcomings in Soviet housing, two important facts stand out. One, is that housing conditions are today much better than they have ever been in that country's history. Two, is that in the next few years they will improve at a rate unprecedented in any country in the history of the world.

In Tsarist Russia an urban family which had a room to itself was fortunate. A 1908 government survey of conditions in St. Petersburg disclosed that nearly 70 per cent of the city's single workers rented half a cot. One worker slept in the cot while his "cot mate" was at the plant. 43 per cent of the workers with families lived in a single cot or, if they were lucky, had a corner of a room to themselves. At many factories and plants 100 people used to sleep in a room of double-decker plank beds. What was true of St. Petersburg, which had a well organized proletariat, was even more true of other cities and towns.

Housing conditions in old Russia were thus incomparably worse than they are today. This is a fact which people like our Riverside Drive lady should digest before launching into tirades against Soviet housing conditions.

"What's so marvelous about this?" she may well retort. "That survey was made 53 years ago. There certainly should have been some improvement since then."

This is not necessarily true. Hous-

ing conditions in many countries of the world, especially in the underdeveloped and colonial areas, have deteriorated since the turn of the century. The experience of these countries indicates that housing conditions would probably be much worse than they actually are if the Socialist Revolution had not taken place.

The country, in addition, was engaged in wars for 13 of those 43 years. In these wars a great many homes were destroyed. In the four years of World War II, for instance, the amount of housing space completely demolished was almost equal to all the urban housing space erected during the 10 years of the first two five-year plans. This, in turn, was almost equal to half of all the urban housing space existing in 1913, the most prosperous year in Tsarist Russia's history.

During World War II more than 1,700 towns and cities and over 70,000 villages were destroyed. And 25,000,000 people, as many as live in the 15 largest U.S. cities, were left completely homeless.

Despite this great destruction, every Soviet city dweller today has 34 per cent more living space than in 1913 and 25 per cent more than in 1940. This housing, furthermore, is in much better condition than in the past and than in most of Europe.

A 1956 report by the Housing Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe had this to say about Soviet housing:

The percentage of urban dwellings provided with modern sanitary equipment is high, probably higher than in most other European countries. In par-

ticular, the percentage of dwellings equipped with central heating is likely to be high compared with most other countries. (*The European Housing Situation*, Geneva, 1956).

This improvement in the quantity and quality of urban housing occurred, furthermore, in the face of a vast increase in the number of city dwellers. In 1913, for example, only 28 million people lived in cities. By 1940 this number more than doubled; 61 million people were living in cities in that year. Today, the cities contain more than 100 million inhabitants, or almost four times the urban population of 1913.

During the years of Soviet power, housing has grown at an unprecedented rate. In the 23 years between the October Revolution and the Nazi invasion almost as much urban dwelling space was built as was in existence in 1913. Since the end of World War II, more urban housing space has been built than was in existence in 1940. This is no mean accomplishment for any country and especially for one that suffered as much war destruction as the Soviet Union.

Along with this improvement in housing conditions came sharp reductions in rent, a rather important fact that people like our Riverside Drive lady choose to ignore. In Tsarist Russia, as in the United States today, people living in the worst slums and hovels generally paid the highest rents per square foot of living space. This is why workers' families were forced to live in one cot or in a corner of a room. Moscow textile workers, who were relatively well off, had to pay 5 to 6 rubles a month for their little cor-

ners out of a monthly wage of from 15 to 20 rubles, approximately one-third of their income.

Rents in the Soviet Union today are the lowest in the world, averaging around 6-8 per cent of income.

I discussed the questions of rents both with my relatives and with Nikolai Zhukov, Deputy Administrator of the Department of Real Estate of Moscow. Here is what I found.

THE average Soviet family pays about 12 kopeks (one hundred kopeks equal 1 ruble) per month for each square foot of living space. Living space includes only the bedrooms and the living room. Kitchens, bathrooms and corridors are not counted in the rent charges. Each member of a family, both children and adults, is allocated approximately 80 square feet of living space. A family of four, therefore, occupies about 320 square feet. (This is in the new apartments; in the old apartments a family of four may occupy only 200 or 250 square feet of living space.)

A family of four thus pays about 38 rubles per month in rent. The family, in addition, has to pay for electricity, gas, and heat. Electricity comes to about 6 rubles per month as does gas. Heating charges, which are levied only during the winter, are 4 rubles per person per month, or 16 rubles for a family of four. The entire shelter costs for an average Soviet family thus total 66 rubles a month in the winter and 50 rubles a month in summer.

Since the average Soviet worker earns about 800 rubles per month his total shelter costs range from

around 8 per cent of his income during the winter to 6 per cent during the summer. There is now talk that in the next few years rents will be abolished altogether.

While the housing conditions of the Soviet people have vastly improved over the years, the improvement still has not been fast enough. The people are tired of living in one room apartments, of sharing their kitchens and baths with other families. They all dream of the day when a family can have an entire apartment, with a private bath and a private kitchen, all to itself.

The Government is now embarked on a huge construction program in order to transform this dream into reality. The Government hopes to provide every family with an apartment of its own by 1970.

Every visitor to the Soviet Union, no matter how biased he may be, cannot help being impressed by the scope of construction activity. In every city a visitor will find himself literally lost in a forest of cranes. The drive to end the housing shortage is now going full blast.

In the present 7-year plan, which covers the years 1959-1965, 15 million dwelling units will be built in the cities and 7 million in the country.

By 1965, 60 million Soviet citizens will move into new quarters in the cities alone. This is more than half the people now living in cities and about equal to the entire population of France, Sweden, Switzerland and Finland combined.

In 1959, the first full year of the 7-year plan, over 3 million dwelling units were built both in the cities and in the countryside. This is almost twice as much as the 1.6 mil-

lion built in the U.S.A. during the same year.

The Soviet Union built 14.5 dwelling units for every 1,000 inhabitants in 1959. This is a far higher rate than in any of the countries of the "free world." West Germany, which is building at the fastest rate in the capitalist world, erected only 10.5 dwellings per 1,000 inhabitants. Sweden, which is famous for its advanced housing policies, built 9.4, while the U.S. erected 8.7 per 1,000.

In the next few years, the pace of Soviet construction will grow even faster. There can be little doubt that every Soviet family will have its own apartment within the next decade.

But this is not all. Soviet planners are now talking of reaching out for an even higher goal—the right of every member of the family to have a room of his own. At present the biggest apartments being built contain only four rooms (2 bedrooms, living room, kitchen and bath). Such an apartment will be given to a family of four or larger. Large families, thus, while having apartments of their own, will still live under crowded conditions.

Mr. Zhukov told me that the Soviet Government will concentrate on the task of building larger apartments for the larger families as soon as every family has an apartment of its own. This will be the next step in the plan to bring the world's highest living standards to the Soviet people.

THE rapid pace of construction, while promising to end the housing shortage in a relatively short period of time, is also creating prob-

lems. Among these are problems of design, quality, and planning.

The very success of the building program depends upon developing standard designs. Standard designs, by permitting the mass production of building materials, both speed up the rate of construction and lower costs considerably.

In developing these designs, Soviet engineers and architects have shown a great deal of ingenuity, initiative and resourcefulness. Some of their methods have won praise from engineers throughout the world. Just recently, Robert W. Dowling, president of the City Investing Company, a very large New York real estate firm, was so fascinated by what he had seen of Soviet techniques that he called upon the U.S. Government to finance research in housing so that the U.S. can keep abreast of the Soviets.

I, myself, was particularly impressed by the prefabricated apartment I saw on exhibit in Moscow. I talked to its inventor, Eugene Smirnov, who let me inspect its interior.

It is a small three-room apartment (kitchen, living room, bedroom and bath), which is completely assembled in the factory, painted, covered with wall-paper, then put on a trailer, which transports it to the assembly site, where it is lifted into place by huge cranes. Mr. Smirnov told me that one of these prefabricated apartments comes off the assembly line every 30 minutes and that it takes 35 hours to construct a house of 60 apartments from them. The apartment weighs only 14 tons, light enough to be lifted by a helicopter. A sanitarium in the Carpathian mountains was recently

constructed by having helicopters fly the apartment blocks to the building site.

These standard designs, while revolutionizing and greatly improving building techniques, have one serious drawback. A great deal of the new Soviet housing is monotonous and drab. I especially noticed this since I entered the Soviet Union from Sweden, where housing has a flavor and a charm absent in the USSR.

This drabness was discussed last June at the Town Development Conference in Moscow. Mr. V. A. Kucherenko, chairman of the State Building Committee, suggested that the large panels used for the fronts of buildings be "properly finished." He further proposed that these panels "should be of beautiful proportions and should vary in surface and color texture."

Another speaker at the conference, S. V. Gerasimov, First Secretary of the Board of the Soviet Artists' Union, after sharply criticizing "the standardized, stereotype, colorless appearance of some cities," called upon artists to participate in efforts to beautify the cities. The groundwork has thus been laid to tackle this particular problem.

Quality is another victim of this mass construction drive. A great deal of the new housing, though by no means all, is of poor quality. Many of the houses have leakages at the seams, practically no insulation against sound, and poor interior finish.

There are a number of reasons for this in addition to the obvious ones of inefficiency, bad organization and poor workmanship. One is the very magnitude of the pro-

gram. Five million people are now employed by the Soviet building trades. This compares to a little over two million in the United States.

Among such a large number there is bound to be a high percentage of inexperienced workers. As more people enter the building trades, the percentage of inexperienced workers always increases. This has the immediate effect of lowering the quality of work, though in the long run the quality should increase as more of the workers start mastering the techniques.

If the Soviet Union wanted to erect buildings only of the highest quality—and a great many of its buildings are of the highest quality—it would have to restrict the number of workers entering the building industry by permitting only the most highly skilled and experienced people to do the jobs. Such a policy, while insuring an immediate improvement in the overall quality of work, would also insure the eternal existence of the housing shortage.

Another reason for the poor quality lies in the constant experimentation with new techniques. Many of the new prefabricated materials are often not made properly. This causes difficult assemblage problems and lowers the quality of the buildings.

Despite all these difficulties, the quality of the work is improving. It will continue to improve as the work-force becomes more experienced and as the new techniques are mastered. Just as the Soviet nation was able to rise in a short space of time from a backward, illiterate country to the forefront in the world of science, so will the So-

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viet building industry be able to overcome its present quality problems.

Another problem raised by the vast housing program is that of planning or, to be more precise, proper planning.

While planning is supposed to be the basic element behind Soviet urban construction, it is in many cases conspicuous by its absence. Mr. Kucherenko, for instance, told the Town Development Conference: "We are still making inadequate use in our practical activity of the fundamental advantages of socialist society, of its basic principle of planning, and of the absence of all private ownership of the land and the means of production."

Planning must answer such important questions as how to allocate the land between industrial, commercial, residential and recreational uses; how many and what type of social services should be provided neighborhoods and communities; where to build roads, trolley lines and subway stations; should a city expand upward, i.e., through taller buildings, or outward, through taking in more land.

These and a host of related questions can be answered only through a master plan. A great many Soviet cities, however, have no master plan. Construction is often carried on in a helter-skelter manner. Many factories, for instance, build homes for their employees without consulting other municipal bodies as to whether these homes in these particular areas fit in with the general plans for the city.

In many cities most workers live in one- and two-story homes which they own. Each house has its own

plot of land. As a result, some of the cities with populations only one-tenth of Moscow's cover a greater land area than Moscow. This creates all kinds of transportation problems and greatly increases the cost of sewage and plumbing.

Up until now many cities were able to get by without worrying too much about these questions. The present scope of construction activity is forcing them to face up to these problems. Many cities are now beginning to plan on a grand scale.

In their planning, they are guided by the dictum: "The main thing is to satisfy the growing requirements of the people."

This means more than merely erecting apartments in the right number and of the right size. As Mr. Kucherenko put it:

The satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of man acquires to a greater extent a socialized nature. Under these conditions an apartment means much more than the term implies. This is not only an apartment in the proper sense of the word but also children's establishments, boarding schools, shops, canteens, clubs—all in sufficient number to satisfy practically all the requirements of the family and the collective.

In new areas, like the Southwest District of Moscow, these concepts are being applied. For every 1,000 inhabitants, the following accommodations are being built: kindergartens and nursery facilities for 70-90 children; secondary school facilities for 150-160 children; hospital beds for 11.2 patients; out-patient facilities for 20 patients per shift; club facilities for 35 people; and cinema seats for 40.

Since, in practice, it is unfeasible

to build a school with facilities for only 160 children or a cinema with only 40 seats or a hospital with 11.2 beds, buildings of this type are erected to serve a "microdistrict," which is composed of 18,000 people. About three "microdistricts" form a district, which serves as an administrative center for the area.

Another aspect of proper planning deals with such problems as protecting the health of the people. This includes not only building the right amount of clinics and hospitals but also insuring the cleanliness of the streets and the whole atmosphere of the city.

Soviet officials are now taking steps to prevent the air of the cities from being polluted by the exhausts from the growing number of automobiles. They are now proposing, for instance, that all vehicles be supplied only with high octane and sulphurless gasoline and that a new

type of automobile engine, guaranteeing full combustion, be designed.

With such an approach, the Soviet people are certain to solve the planning problems posed by the huge housing program, just as they are certain to solve the design and quality problems.

There is no doubt that within a relatively short period of time the Soviet people will overcome their housing shortage. The huge forests of cranes which one sees everywhere are proof of this.

These cranes also have a deeper significance. They are living symbols of the Soviet Union's desire for peace. No nation, not even our own United States, can both prepare for a war of aggression and build housing on the scale the Soviet Union is doing. Let us hope that our new President will also recognize their meaning.

GREAT MEN TO REMEMBER THIS YEAR

THE WORLD COUNCIL of Peace each year selects the anniversaries of outstanding cultural figures which it suggests be commemorated throughout the world to help further international understanding and with it peace. The following are the great names selected for 1961:

Francis Bacon—English philosopher and statesman, 400th anniversary of his birth (January 22, 1561).

Taras Shevchenko—Ukrainian national poet, 100th anniversary of his birth (March 10, 1861).

Heraclitus—Greek philosopher, 2,500th anniversary of his birth.

Heinrich von Kleist—German poet and playwright, 150th anniversary of his birth.

Franz Liszt—Hungarian composer, 150th anniversary of his birth (July 31, 1811).

M. V. Lomonosov—Russian scientist, 250th anniversary of his birth (November 20, 1711).

Fridtjof Nansen—Norwegian polar explorer, 100th anniversary of his birth (October 10, 1861).

Pak In-ro—Korean poet, 400th anniversary of his birth (August 11, 1561).

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento—Argentine writer, 150th anniversary of his birth (February 15, 1811).

Rabindranath Tagore—Indian poet and philosopher, 100th anniversary of his birth (February 5, 1861).

Abu Bakr Ibn Tofail—Arabian philosopher, physician, mathematician and writer, 900th anniversary of his birth.

In Soviet Armenia

by ROCKWELL KENT

WASTE NOT, want not" is a time-honored precept in America—and, for all I know, in all the world. And of the careful training in frugality which I received as a child I can recall my mother's admonition (lest we children took more food upon our plates than we could eat) to "remember the starving Armenians." Indeed, the Western world was well aware, in those remote days, of the tragic plight of the Armenian people, of their chronic hunger and of the ruthless persecution they endured. And, I must confess, it was with little knowledge of Armenian history — beyond those childhood memories—that one dark night not long ago my wife and I alighted at the Erevan airport and were driven to a great hotel on Lenin Square.

We ate; we went to bed. We slept the sleep of tired travelers. And we awoke to stand upon our balcony and look with wonder and delight upon what seemed in the bright sunlight of that early morning as fair a modern city as any we had ever come upon.

Here, we realized as our eyes swept over the great square to the buildings surrounding it, was *architecture*;

building that was true to the material of its construction, stone; respectful of the innate beauty of the stone itself—its varied terra-cotta tones; and above all honoring, by the tall arches that characterized it and the carving sparingly employed, the ancient culture of which it was the Twentieth Century's flowering. And as we later toured the city and were driven to see the great building projects under construction on the surrounding hills we marvelled both at the extent of the work in progress and the far-sighted concern with the well-being and happiness of the thousands who should come to live there.

It was the fall of the year: dried leaves were littering the ground, and the grape vines in the hillside vineyards were ready to be taken up and housed against the coming winter frosts. Yet it was in other ways as spring; spring in a land that had for centuries lain dormant; a people had awakened. Armenia is a happy land.

Armenians are a happy people; a care-free, friendly people as we met them on our Sunday in the countryside. A generous, warm-hearted people. And if their land does not yet flow with the proverbial milk and honey—though for all I know it may—it flows indeed with cognac and abounds, it would appear, with bread and fruit and sweets as these were urged upon us by convivial picnickers. What generous folk we met that day! And as they strolled along

ROCKWELL KENT, distinguished artist and writer, is Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He visited the USSR again this past fall in connection with the exhibition of his paintings which he had given to the Soviet people as a gift of international friendship and peace.

the highway or feasted at the roadside the good sun shone on them and us, flooding the valley with its warmth and light and illuminating the distant snow-clad summit of Mt. Ararat. How beautiful that land, Armenia!

And what an ancient land! Three thousand years ago and more that culture flourished, giving birth to palaces and temples, their ruins after centuries unearthed to move the traveler to sentimental thoughts about the varnished past. And yet the glory of that past lives on. It is to be read in the pride, the national

pride of the Armenian people; in the rebirth of their faith in life and what their new won freedom holds for them. It is this pride, this full awareness of Armenian dignity that impressed us travelers most—not only as an expression of innate human dignity but as evidence of the freedom of the peoples of each Soviet Republic to nourish proudly their own cultural integrity; *to be themselves.*

Clearly, the Soviet Union is no "melting pot." Well may the people of this little world of ours be glad. Long live free peoples everywhere!

REPORT ON CHINA'S PROGRESS

THE FOLLOWING is from a report by William Laurence, science editor of the *New York Times*, appearing in that paper on January 1:

"The American Association for the Advancement of Science, the world's largest federation of scientific societies, held its annual meeting in New York City last week. It dealt with a vast potpourri of subjects in both the physical and social sciences.

"One of the most important items on the program was a symposium designed to help fill the large gaps in American knowledge of scientific and industrial progress in Communist China.

"The scientists participating in the symposium reported 'amazing progress' in the ten years since the Communists took over.

"Dr. Kung-Ping Wang, Far East specialist of the United States Bureau of Mines, estimated that by 1970 China will increase her iron and steel production by six times to become the world's third largest producer. Dr. Edward C. T. Chao of the United States Geological Survey described reports from China of discoveries of large deposits of coal, iron and copper, while recent reports indicate that China has the largest deposits in the world of molybdenum, a metal used to harden steel. New nickel lodes, unknown before 1950, have also been discovered.

"Significant progress was also reported in chemistry and in physics, including nuclear physics. Dr. C. T. Tsao of Columbia University reported on the installation of four nuclear reactors. In view of China's rapid technological growth, he said, it would not be surprising if that country produced a nuclear explosion 'in the near future.'

"In contrast, Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson of the University of Toronto reported finding morale low among the scientists on Taiwan. They received little support from the Nationalist Government, he said, and were still using antiquated equipment."

The National Science Foundation, the scientific branch of the Federal Government, and ten of the nation's most important scientific societies were the organizers of the symposium, reflecting the growing concern about significant developments taking place in China without this country's being aware of them.

Report from Rumania

Mountains and Machines

by VICTOR PERLO

WE HAD fun in Rumania too. Especially the three days in the Bucegi massif of the Carpathians, about 100 miles northwest of Bucharest. We started on that trip inauspiciously enough, when the administrative official "hospitably" insisted on sending us to a "first-class" hotel in the city of Stalin, an hour and a half's drive past the mountains.

But the next morning our interpreter and my wife found a room in a "villa," or tourist house, in Busteni, a paper manufacturing town up in the mountains, and best situated for starting on climbs. It is a small, quiet town of quaintly attractive homes, and at all hours one sees many knapsacked-loaded hikers on the main street.

We had dug out of a Bucharest bookstore an excellent book of trail maps and hiker's guides. With its aid, the boys and I had two glorious days of climbing amidst breathtaking scenery, with a rainy day of rest in between. The mountain trails are well kept, and designed with ample cutbacks over the steep sections to ease the climber's way. In the high passes and on some peaks

are substantial "cabins" — really houses, where one can get tea, bread, and rum, cook one's own food, and also get a bed to sleep in for the night.

Some people may regard this as "sissy stuff." But I confess I liked it. It encourages mountain climbing as a mass participation sport, to a far greater extent than we have it at home. I saw family groups climbing much higher than they would dare without such facilities.

At the top of Omul, 8,238-foot peak and highest in this segment of the Carpathians, we got into a discussion with people eating lunch in the cabin. I told them that we were Americans, and after some questions about the presidential candidates, somebody asked me my name. When I told him, he announced that he had read my *Empire of High Finance*, translated into Rumanian. Somehow I got a special thrill out of finding a reader on top of a mountain!

After returning from this trip we had our most important factory visits. At the First of May factory in Ploesti we were received by director Nicolae Popa and engineer Petre Koopes. After nationalization in 1948, it shifted from repair work to the manufacture of new equipment. Repair work is now done in special plants.

The First of May factory makes turbo-drills, extracting pumps, rock bits, all kinds of refinery apparatus.

VICTOR PERLO is the author of *Empire of High Finance*, published by International Publishers. His most recent book, *USA and USSR: The Economic Race*, was also published by International. He and his family recently returned from several months in the USSR and in Eastern Europe. This is the fourth of a series of articles on Rumania.

They operate a foundry, forge, three electric furnaces, heat treatment facilities, two machine shop sections, and a section for the manufacture of roller and ball bearings.

This is the coordinating plant of the Rumanian oil equipment industry, leading the work of other plants, which specialize in particular types of petroleum equipment. Many of the 7,000 workers in this plant have decades of rich experience in repairing, using, and now manufacturing petroleum equipment. This accounts for its wide range of products and international reputation. In August it was completing a large refinery for India. About 55 per cent of its output is exported to the USSR, China, India, Argentina, Bulgaria, France, and many other countries. The First of May plant makes the new type of turbo-drill developed in the Soviet Union in 1954. Dresser Industries, a large American oil equipment firm, has purchased the rights to make it in the U.S., and the president of the company, John B. O'Connor, visited the First of May plant some years ago.

According to articles I had read in the American petroleum industry press, licensees of this drill from Dresser were dissatisfied with its results. Popa was aware of this reaction, and attributed it to insufficient use of the drills in America. He said that prolonged study has convinced Soviet and Rumanian oil men that this turbo drill is the best, and it will be used in 80 per cent of future drilling.

Production, we were told, normally increased at a furious 15-20 per cent per year, and would do so again in 1960. But in 1959 the in-

crease had been more than 40 per cent, owing to expansion, reorganization of work, and a shift to a more valuable product assortment. About 80 per cent of the gain was due to higher labor productivity.

The 7,000 workers receive an average wage of 1,000 lei per month, plus liberal bonuses for introducing economies or other improvements. About 4,500 of the workers are members of brigades for socialist competition.

After visiting the sections which make the various components for petroleum drilling, we examined and climbed over the assembled prototypes. We were indeed impressed with the 220-ton monster for heavy drilling to depths of 12,000 feet. It stands 45 meters high, is powered by four motors of 400-horsepower each, and has also a special motor to right itself when lying on its side.

To see the banks of modern machine tools, the self-confident workers, the extremely accurate and powerful products of this factory, is to realize finally that the image of Rumania as a "backward Balkan country," is hopelessly obsolete. It is already a modern industrial country, and it is but a matter of time before the scale of its operations establishes it as a major producer.

If exports are important for this factory's market, imports were vital to its development. The Rumanian machine tool industry is still young, and cannot provide the quantity and variety of equipment needed by its many expanding enterprises. The shops of the First of May factory are filled with modern imported machine tools from England, West Germany, Switzerland, and other

countries, principally in Western Europe. The first machine I saw in the gear-cutting department was one of the very latest types of automatic gear-cutters manufactured by W. E. Sykes, Ltd., of England. It had been installed only five months previously.

Evidently the British, West German and French businessmen crowding the hotels of the socialist lands are not wasting their time! The benefits to the Western countries are obvious from the booms they are currently enjoying, and the comparatively low level of unemployment in most Western European countries. The rising business of France with the Socialist countries is one of the factors contributing to the appearance of prosperity which I found conspicuous in Paris.

Obviously the Rumanians are not suffering very much from lack of the American machines they hoped to be able to buy. But the inability of American companies to sell to Rumania, owing to our government's hostile policy towards East-West trade, is contributing to the stagnation, mounting unemployment, and threatening depression in American industry.

Two days earlier we had driven 35 kilometers northeast of Bucharest to a place where American machines are installed. We recognized the Experimental Corn Institute at Fundulea as we approached the entrance from the stands of unusually tall corn along the road. Besides the 12,500 acres of experimental fields, there are a number of research buildings and processing installations, so the whole gives the appearance of a rural industrial enterprise rather than a traditional

farm. We were very well received by Nicolai Sarpe, scientific secretary of the institute.

This farm-research institute is supplemented by five others in different parts of the country, 21 special stations for hybrid corn experiments, and 15 state farms to raise and distribute selected seed to the country's farmers.

Already about half the plantings of corn are using selected seed, and by 1962, it is hoped, the proportion will reach 80 per cent. Corn plays an important part in the traditional Rumanian diet—well prepared *mamaliga* is a treat—and is becoming more and more vital as a feed for the growing herds of livestock.

The institute has a \$500,000 American-manufactured and engineered setup for shelling and drying corn and calibrating the seed. Here we saw John Chrystal in action. He is a young Iowa farmer, a nephew of the famous Roswell Garst, and happened to be visiting Fundulea the same day we did. The setup is similar to that on the Garst farm, and Chrystal was climbing all over it and noting every little feature.

He even thought he could identify the engineers who had designed its installation.

Later we went through some of the experimental fields with Sarpe and Chrystal. We saw the special glass-covered dugouts for studying root structure of corn, elaborately designed networks of plots to test 100 different varieties of Chinese soybeans under varying conditions of moisture, fertilizer, plowing depth, etc. Chrystal thought they had done miracles to catch up to most American experimental methods in 5-7 years. Everything there, he said,

was familiar to him from the techniques developed in our country over the past generation. However, he was disappointed that they had not yet gone *ahead* of the American techniques in any way.

In response to my question, Sarpe told me that the experiments were designed by the method of Latin Squares, and the results studied by the Analysis of Variance. I suggested they should hire a mathematician to work along with the researchers, and try to develop better, more economical designs and methods of analysis simply because the old methods were known in my school days, and that this also was another area of science in which progress must be possible. Sarpe could not comment, explaining that the statistical workers were off on vacation, and he didn't know enough about the field.

The work in the many experiment stations for corn and other farm products, the supply of 50,000 15-h.p. tractor units and a variety of other machinery, the assistance given the peasants by the armed forces in harvest time, the land reform and establishment of a favorable financial condition for the peasantry, are just beginning to pay in higher farm output. In 1959, for example, farm production was only 15 per cent more than in 1938.

Meanwhile, in the last few years, socialization of agriculture has pro-

ceeded by leaps and bounds, and by now over 75 per cent of all peasants are in cooperative farms. We talked with some we met by the roadside who were not. They were by no means hostile to the collectives. They were mountain people, whose small holdings were not suitable for merging into a large cooperative. In fact, their main occupation was as road workers, with agriculture as an auxiliary. They looked forward to the time when they could be in a cooperative.

Officials I talked with expressed confidence that once the organizing stage of the cooperatives was over, and they had settled down in the new methods of work, all of its advantages would bear fruit, and farm output would take a big leap forward.

The peasants we talked with were on a dirt road we used returning from Hunedoara via a secondary route the day before we left Rumania. Cerčel, our driver, stopped to water his motor from a hilltop well. There was a plum orchard next to the road, and the peasants insisted that we fill whatever containers we could muster with plums, as their gifts to the American guests. The boys were up the trees in a minute, and everybody, including the peasants, had a good time picking the plums and taking pictures.

It was a happy final meeting with the people of Rumania.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY CHORUS SINGS IN MOSCOW

EIGHTY MEMBERS of the Cornell University Chorus sang recently at Moscow University. The enthusiastic audience applauded a program composed of American folksongs and works by Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland and others. Shostakovich's *Song of Peace*, especially rehearsed by the chorus for its tour of the USSR, was also sung.

A Chinese Woman's Story

by BETTY CHANDLER CHANG

THREE years old and still without a name, she had been given away by her parents. Not that they did not love her—for what parents do not love their children—but because they could have kept neither the baby girl nor themselves alive through the current famine otherwise. Her parents were landless tillers of the soil; the time was the turn of the century; the locale was Kiukian county of Kiangsi province.

The next 49 years, while her native land was still enduring the shackles of foreign imperialist oppression and local big compradore and feudal landlord exploitation, were to deal harshly with this delicate Chinese girl. Liberation found her by no means ready to receive the blessings of freedom. She had been placed in the hands of an "auntie" in the employ of foreign missionaries who were quick to see how nimble the child's bony hands were becoming, how deftly and swiftly she turned out handwork. At ten she was put into a convent, where for the next several years her spindly hands were kept flying, making fine laces and embroidering satin slippers. "Adorable!" "Exquisite!" patrons would say of her work. But who knew or cared about the little bartered peasant daughter or the rows of other scrawny waifs like her who toiled their precious childhood

away turning out the fancy articles for the nuns to sell! As for the children, they were given only enough thin rice gruel to keep them at their work benches.

At 16, undernourished and small for her age, the girl was apprenticed to a sweatshop in Shanghai, making light bulbs. Three more years of body-wracking toil and frequent threatening and scolding followed, overshadowed always by fear of the boss, who had his own ideas of his rights over his factory hands. Fed up, the girl, now a young woman of 19, went against her "auntie's" wishes and left the slave-like life of the light-bulb factory. She had acquired a name, Hai-ying, meaning "sea of heroism," for her work-mates had noted her pluck. She had already been married and had had a child that died, however, soon after birth. Not long after that her young worker husband had died too, of tuberculosis, leaving her again alone in a cruel world.

But what next? She would have to go on living. She would have to find work. There seemed nothing for her but to become a household servant. She had been well trained in domestic work and serving foreigners; what else could she do? Her agile hands and industrious spirit pleased her employers and she was soon in foreign officials' and business tycoons' homes waiting on their ladies and minding their children. "Why, they even took me with them to New York," Hai-ying mentioned

BETTY CHANDLER CHANG is an American who lives in Tientsin with her husband, who is a doctor, and their five children.

once, "and there I found the people underneath, the 'nursies' and maids I met in the parks, just like me. I made some good friends among them and we felt sad to part. They gave me souvenirs when I left."

Liberation found Hai-ying back in Tientsin still hard at work serving foreign imperialists, who, however, soon saw things changing in ways not to their liking and got out. Hai-ying was 52, not old but neither exactly young. She was worn and tired, alone in the world, with not a soul she could call kin. Unable to read or write (though speaking a fluent English), she had used her savings to make a trip "home" in search of some of her family, but she found no one who even remembered that there had ever been such a person as herself—all were dead.

Disappointed, she decided to retire from life entirely and become a nun! She had the braids, which she wore so neatly coiled about her head, shorn, and went into seclusion. Well, not entirely; for Hai-ying was not one to take to isolation from the life that had begun to pulsate around her. She would cover her head with a cap and come out for the newly developing neighborhood jobs, and then a street leader had interested her in literacy class. "My feet were never bound," she said, "for the foreign missionaries were quick to see that my big feet got me about my work faster than small ones. But my mind was bound by illiteracy and, encouraged by the neighborhood organization, I was determined not to put up with it."

Studying together with other women like herself, Hai-ying discovered she wasn't so old after all. She still had a spring in her step and a

sparkle in her eye. She wanted to take a job. So, casting off her nun's garb and putting aside her beads, she donned coveralls. Her hair had already grown to a becoming short bob length. "We hadn't much of a factory to start with," she says, "just a handful of us women with chairs we brought from home began making padded shoes for children to wear in winter. But the Government was concerned for us and our production unit," she continued, "and soon we had grown to a factory of 500 workers with machines for 18 different operations, even for making our own eyelets."

Hai-ying's hands were loving as well as practiced hands. She was the first to arrive at the workshop in the morning and the last to leave it at night. Her work-mates noticed the careful and industrious work of the quiet little woman, over 60 now and greying at the temples, and when the time came for writing *tatsepaos*, many of these "big work posters" appeared on the shop walls commending Hai-ying as a model worker. These further encouraged her. "Why, I've worked hard all my life," she said, "but who ever noticed it before? Now my work is praised in public; and not only that, I've been promoted successively from third to first class worker with a pay raise each time and I've already received cash awards for good work four times! What did I get for my pains in the old society? Nothing but scoldings and insults. This scar on my head (her clipped hair-do had revealed a horrid scalp scar) the light bulb boss gave me that when he threw a bench at me. I had nodded over my work in the stuffy dim hole where he had us sealing light

bulbs 14, and sometimes 16, hours a day.

"But now," and the petite aging woman took a deep breath as though to exhale the last bitter memories of the past, "now when I'm sick or cough as old folks sometimes do, my work-comrades send me to our own factory clinic where a kind doctor looks me over carefully and prescribes what medicine and rest I should have—I needn't pay of course—that's taken care of by our union."

One day last March Hai-ying's face was especially radiant. "Our people's commune has been established," she announced proudly, "with all sorts of services. There's not only an excellent public dining hall which takes over the function of our factory canteen and is a boon to single folks like me, but there are laundry and shopping services, hair dressers, movies, and a club. We've

a library too—we must keep up with our study!"

Hai-ying is just one of China's many millions of liberated women. She is not extraordinary by any means, just a woman I happen to have known as friend over the past 20 years.

If you ask Hai-ying about the changes in her life since Liberation she will tell you that the sun never shone for her before, that it was Chairman Mao who gave her joy, dignity and security.

"I haven't so many years left," she says, "but I have no other wish for the rest of my life than to try my best to repay what Chairman Mao and the Communist Party have given me. Now my work-mates look to me as a model and I must not disappoint them. I shall strive to become a politically conscious worker through and through!"

U.S.-RUMANIAN CULTURAL EXCHANGE AGREEMENT

"The United States and Communist Rumania agreed today to set up exchange programs in the fields of graduate study, science and industry, theater and movies, sports and tourism.

"A State Department announcement said that the new agreement, the second of its kind with a Soviet-bloc country, also provided for cooperation and exchanging exhibits, books and radio or television programs.

"The agreement was made in notes exchanged by Roy D. Kohler, Assistant Secretary of State, and George Macovescu, Rumanian Minister here.

"State Department officials said that in anticipation of the agreement four Rumanian students had already come to the United States and were studying English at the American Language Institute in Washington. They plan to take up graduate studies early next year if their language skill develops sufficiently.

"Two American students are studying at the University of Bucharest. The State Department identified them as history students. . . .

"The exchanges in the case of Rumania will be 'modest' (in comparison with those currently in progress between the USA and the USSR) State Department officials said. They estimate that the student part of the program would be at a level of five students each way."

New York Times, December 10, 1960.

The Questions They Ask!

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

IN A turn-of-the-year resolve to clear my brimming IN-basket, I give below some answers—necessarily brief and incomplete and inevitably tinged with my own opinions and prejudices—to an accumulation of questions that have been put to me in letters or verbally.

You will notice that most of the questions are typically "journalistic" ones. That, too, is inevitable—and none the worse for it—because, apart from my editors, who naturally ask me to cover this or that aspect of Soviet life, many of my correspondents are old colleagues of mine and many of the verbal questions have been put to me by correspondents—in the other sense of the word—who are comparative newcomers to the "Moscow beat."

Some of the questions, especially from the last group, are obviously not inspired by any excessive love for the Soviet Union, but let's take the rough with the smooth:

Q: Aren't the Russians much less interested than we are in the human individual? Why so much stress on "the people," "the community," etc., and so little on persons? Why so few human-interest stories in the press? Wouldn't readers welcome more liveliness in the papers?

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE, former editor of the British Embassy newspaper in Moscow, has lived in the USSR since 1947, and now writes for a number of publications in Britain and the U.S. Author of "Ivan the Not-So-Terrible."

A: Readers have certainly welcomed the distinct trend towards greater liveliness in the press during the past three years, so it's a fair guess that they'd welcome even more of it. And I think they'll get it. But I don't think the basic attitude to newsworthiness here will be changed. Even now the escapades of a rogue or a fool, just as much as the achievements of a hero or a sage, are reported if that serves a social purpose. But stories of purely freakish, man-bites-dog behavior or of purely accidental good fortune or misfortune—and that just about covers the raw material of "human-interest" stories in our own big-circulation press—are considered here to have no more social purpose than the exhibiting of two-headed calves, bearded ladies and Siamese twins in a circus side-show. Much more often than is generally realized, our press gets its circulation building "human" stories at the cost of grave intrusion on the privacy of individuals, and I'm afraid my questioner makes the all-too-common mistake of confusing interest in the human individual with concern for the human individual.

Q: Why is this socialist country so much fonder than we are of long, sonorous titles and rhetorical phrases? Why not "Gorky Park" instead of the often-used "Park of Culture and Rest named after Maxim Gorky"? And why doesn't the train loud-speaker say, "We are now

approaching Moscow" instead of "Citizen-passengers, this Leningrad-Moscow train number two is now approaching the capital of our country, Moscow"?

A: If there is any social purpose in this, it eludes me. The questioner's examples are mild ones. It is not unusual for a radio announcer to introduce a three- or four-minute item in a request program in the following style (and to give a few similar examples from the press would eat up all my space):

"Lenin prize-winner, Honored Surgeon of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the Soviet Union, Director of the Department of Histology of the Ukrainian branch of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the Soviet Union, Deputy-Director and Dean of the Faculty of Surgery of the Labor-Red-Banner-awarded Kiev Medical Institute No. 2 named after Mechnikov, participant in the Great Patriotic War, Academician and Doctor of Medical Sciences Pavel Maximilianovich Smirnov asks me to include in our program Saint-Saens' 'Softly Awakes My Heart'."

(In Russian the "the's" are omitted, the "of's" are indicated by the noun-endings, and the titles flow more smoothly and sonorously than in translation, but even so I, for one, would gladly settle for less sonority and more Saint-Saens.)

Q: Titles apart, don't the Russians, in writing and speaking, use more space-filling phrases and platitudes than we do?

A: It sounds so, but that, I think, is because our ear is less jarred by the familiar platitudes of our own language than by unfamiliar ones.

But, rightly or wrongly, I expect a socialist society to be more disciplined in this respect than a capitalist one and the passing years bring me no greater toleration of phrases like these: "It is no coincidence (or not by accident, or not fortuitous) that . . .," "Life itself (or History itself) tells us that . . ." (followed by some self-evident truth), "As the whole world knows . . ." (even in reference to some issue that disunites the United Nations) and "He gives no answer, because he knows no answer exists." But in the West there is no concerted attack on abuses of this kind. Here there is. And I am delighted to notice that the Soviet writers I admire most are the most active in this campaign.

Q: How does humor in Russian today compare with humor in English?

A: In their every-day speech and in their split-second reaction to the quick-fire, unstressed wit of a comedian like Arkadi Raikin, Russians show a lively sense of humor. This should be a warning to Soviet humorists who work through the printed word or joke-cartoons not to underrate their audience's intelligence. It isn't. Cartoon-joke captions are more like explanatory footnotes. They often run to two or three lines of cross-talk, and when the illustration needs no caption, when, in fact, comment is needless, there is usually a line stating: "Comment is needless."

Q: Are the Russians more musical than we are?

A: As regards inborn national characteristics, I can't say. But as regards the execution, the "consumption" and, above all, the ap-

preciation of music they are miles ahead of us. And that, to borrow a platitude, is not fortuitous: it is a direct result of governmental influence on—call it “interference with” if you like—individual taste. Take my own case. In the dozen-odd years I have spent in this music-conscious country, my own ability to enjoy what I would have called “difficult” music, although it is still nothing to shout about, has increased tremendously.

Q: And what about pop tunes?

A: Maybe it's my hardened arteries that are speaking, but I think that many of the modern tunes that take up so much radio-time are trashy. However, every now and then along comes a popular song—Russian or from one of the republics—that tempts me to make the uncollectable bet that it will be just as popular in the year 2061.

Q: What about sex education? Is there any discussion of sex problems in the press? What degree of frankness about sex is there in current novels?

A: In the anatomy textbooks for 15-year-olds there is a full explanation, with colored diagrams of the “anatomical” aspects of gestation and so on, but psychological aspects, the “biological urge,” etc., are not dealt with. Advice on family limitation, when sought, is given at prenatal clinics, in maternity homes and by doctors attached to large factories (usually on the doctor's own initiative). So far as I know there are no birth control clinics as such or any officially organized instruction on the subject. The health magazine *Zdorovye* gives advice on sex hygiene, pre- and post-natal health rules and so on, but

there is nothing here to compare even remotely with the attention given to sex matters in the West.

In many recent novels there is at least one—often no more than one—extremely frank passage about physical love. Some of these passages clash with an unsuspected streak of puritanism in me, in a way that similar passages in modern English novels seldom do. I am left with a vague feeling that these passages just “don't belong.” Strangely enough, I don't have this feeling about scenes of passionate love-making in Soviet films which English and American film censors would probably have doubts about.

Q: What is being done in the popularizing of science?

A: The very young reader is—as usual!—well catered for; there is plenty of science-fiction; there are excellent magazines on popular mechanics, technical advances and so on. But, in a country where scientific education itself is so far above that of the West, there is a surprising dearth of popular scientific reading material for adults who are interested, non-professionally, in science. Public lectures, radio and TV, however, provide much scientific information.

Q: What trends are there in psychology, psychiatry, etc.?

A: Popular writings on these subjects are practically non-existent so I can give no detailed reply. But let me quote what a visiting psychologist told me: “Great things in our field are happening in the Soviet Union, and any Western psychologist who knows Russian and can read all the abundant literature is at a great advantage over his colleagues who depend on translations.

A Soviet experimental psychologist told me: "Nothing has happened in recent years to change our negative—but, please note, not final—attitude to the intelligence test so popular in the West. And most of us are skeptical of Western psychometrists' claims to have found means of measuring such things as 'intelligence' and 'character.' When we cannot as yet say what factors or ingredients these two terms include or exclude how can we measure them? And when human intelligence itself creeps into the discipline of measuring, isn't that a case of using one piece of string to measure another? This does not mean, as has been alleged, that we dismiss as worthless the work that is being done in this field. It obeys the behest: 'Man, know thyself!'"

I gather, too, that Soviet science does not dismiss E.S.P. (the investigation of extrasensory perception—telepathy, for example) as necessarily "other-worldly" and therefore unworthy of a materialist's attention. One Soviet researcher in bio-electricity has published an account of experiments which, he claims, indicate that telepathic "bio-currents" do exist. His claims, like those of the many American and British ESPists, are generally re-

garded here as being unsubstantiated.

Q: Have psychologists had any influence on Soviet writing compared with Freud's or Adler's influence in the West?

A: No. Neither in literature nor in journalism are technical terms of psychology used (or misused) as they are in the West. And novelists don't usually trace the origins of their characters' motivations, behavior, etc., back to events of early childhood of the something-nasty-in-the-woodshed type; traits are usually shown as being molded by contemporary events.

THE concept of "social purpose," mentioned in my first answer and implied in most of the others, has too many sides to it to be dealt with briefly. But this much I would like to say: One's acceptance of social purpose as something that should be *consciously* introduced into almost every phase of a country's life helps to explain many puzzling things about the Soviet Union. Without that acceptance—which is no easy thing for those who hate any restriction on rugged individualism and "free enterprise"—the Soviet Union will remain in many respects a mysterious world.

SVIATOSLAV RICHTER HONORED

SVIATOSLAV RICHTER was awarded the title of "People's Artist of the USSR" by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on his return from his tour of the United States and Canada. The title is the highest that can be conferred on an artist of the Soviet music, stage and cinema worlds. It was presented "for outstanding services rendered in Soviet art and for technical skill."

In an interview published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Richter said that he returned from his tour—his first visit to the West—with "very good impressions" on the whole. "Kind and exacting connoisseurs" was the way the 46-year-old virtuoso described his audiences in the United States and Canada, who had hailed him as one of the world's finest pianists.

Juvenile Delinquency

How It Is Handled in the USSR

by VRAMSHAPU TADEVOSYAN, LL.D.

THE continuing rise in juvenile delinquency has long been a matter of concern to the public in the Western countries.

In August, 1958 I was a member of a group of Soviet scientists who attended the Fifth International Social Protection Congress in Stockholm. We told the Congress that as a result of the Soviet Union's efforts in the struggle to eliminate juvenile delinquency, the number of crimes committed by minors had declined; they were several times less than in 1945. These facts evoked general interest, and among some delegates even a certain skepticism. How is it possible, they said, that crime keeps rising in the United States and Britain, and in your country it is going down?

At the congress held in London last August under UN auspices, devoted chiefly to the prevention of crime by young people, it was found that while the number of crimes committed by minors had in general continued to rise, in the USSR it had further sharply declined. By 1959 juvenile crime in the USSR was 3.3 per cent of the total.

In the Early Years

Elimination of child homelessness, neglect and crime began in

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the very first years of the Soviet Government. The First World War, the civil war and the military intervention of the Western powers cost millions of lives, causing the break-up of many families and leading to starvation and ruin. Roaming the country during those years were thousands of homeless children, many of whom became delinquents. But in spite of the acute shortage of food, fuel and clothing, the Soviet Government took prompt measures to improve the condition of children. Arrangements were made to provide free food for them, and to bring order into the functioning of regular and trade schools. Children's homes and labor colonies were opened for the homeless.

A highly important measure was the government decree of 1918 establishing commissions to handle the affairs of minors. Under this decree the courts and jails for minors which had existed in Russia before the October 1917 revolution were abolished; commissions on juvenile delinquency were set up. The activity of these commissions was chiefly of an educational character. The decree provided for the establishment of special educational institutions for children and juveniles. It laid down the Soviet legislative principles for combating child crime. It followed clearly from the decree that this struggle was to be waged not by judicial repression but

by social, economic and cultural measures.

In 1921 an all-Russian commission for improving the life of children was established, with Felix Dzerzhinsky, an outstanding government leader, at its head. The commission combined and coordinated the work of the different organizations occupying themselves with child care and with combating neglect of minors and juvenile delinquency. It functioned for several years with very good results.

In the course of the 40-odd years of Soviet Government the wars forced on our people and other calamities, such as the crop failure and the famine of 1920-1921, contributed to the rise in number of homeless or orphaned children. However, thanks to prompt government action, the children were always given help, with the result that the sharp rise in juvenile delinquency that is usual in such cases was prevented.

Today the Soviet people enjoy peace and prosperity, their living standard is rising constantly. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that the process of eliminating child crime should proceed even more rapidly. The Soviet public has helped with vigorous measures for the prevention and eradication of law-breaking by children and young people.

Concern for Education

The struggle for eradication of child crime in the USSR is conducted mainly by means of improving the material and cultural conditions of the people, and not by measures of compulsion.

The Soviet Union has instituted universal compulsory eight-year edu-

cation, and construction of schools is proceeding on a wide scale. In 1959 there were 199,300 high schools besides a large network of trade schools of different kinds, which turn out skilled young workers from among graduates of high schools; the instruction is free in all of them.

Children's institutions and public organizations also give a lot of attention to extra-curricular activities, and teachers and public organizations do much for the vocational, esthetic and physical education of the rising generation. An innovation known as the prolonged school-day groups has been introduced. These groups are made up of children whose parents both work. The children remain in school after classes, do their lessons, take walks, play games, and so on, all under the guidance of teachers.

An important role is played by many other children's institutions, such as Young Pioneers' Palaces and Houses, Young Technicians' Stations, Young Naturalists' Stations, children's stadiums, and music and art schools.

During the summer school vacations many children go to Pioneer camps or children's sanatoriums. Considerable funds are allotted for this purpose by the government and the trade unions, and children's vacations at such places cost their parents very little.

Something should be said also of the role played by Soviet literature, art, radio and TV in children's education. Each of them endeavors to instill in children high moral qualities—honesty and noble-mindedness, love of work and consideration for others. Books, musical works and motion pictures extol high moral

qualities; anti-social and immoral acts are severely censured. Neither on our screen nor in the pages of books are criminals glorified nor are brutality, immorality, depravity, violence or murder celebrated. Some films and books, of course, tell of lawbreaking and crime, but the authors always try to show up the criminals, to tear from them the halo of glamor and show how dangerous they are for society.

It is generally known that among young lawbreakers we most often find young people who have finished school but are not working. The Soviet Government concerns itself with giving young people jobs. Those 16 years and older who have finished school and are not going to college are afforded every opportunity of getting work. The Soviet public is intolerant of young people who, because they were badly brought up, try to live on their parents, neither studying nor working. The community and youth organizations work with them, explaining how bad their conduct is and the dangerous consequences of a parasitic life. In the great majority of cases these measures prove sufficient.

The Chief Thing Is Prevention

In the USSR the principal causes of delinquency are, of course, not hunger or want. In most cases, it is the result of neglect of a certain percentage of the children, their poor upbringing at home. In such homes children are left to themselves. Neither should it be forgotten that World War II left many widows in our country, and some of them are not always able to look after their children properly, de-

spite the assistance they get from the state. It is not surprising, therefore, that among juvenile delinquents we find, in particular, many whose fathers died in the war. Some children and juveniles commit offenses out of mischief, or out of a false notion of what is romantic or heroic. This, too, is due to insufficient attention to the child's psychology and behavior, and is the fault not alone of the home but also of the school and other children's institutions whose task it is to bring up the young generation.

It should be stated further that in the Soviet Union minors rarely commit grave crimes. A study of court records shows that the great bulk of offenses involve petty larceny and other kinds of misappropriations.

The efforts of Soviet Government agencies and public organizations are centered mainly on the prevention of crime. Considerable attention is given to preventing cases of neglect of juveniles and breaches of the peace. Militia precincts in towns have what are known as "children's rooms," and officers in charge, who are in the main women, handle disorderly conduct cases. The officers talk with the children and try to find out the cause of their behavior. They then report to the children's parents and their school, and the militia officers, parents and school all work together to try to help the boys and girls. Playing an important part in prevention of lawbreaking by children are the voluntary public order squads, which are now functioning in towns and villages all over the country. Besides combating hooliganism, they carry on educational work among

the population, trying to eradicate breaches of the peace, drunkenness and other anti-social phenomena.

The militia and public order squads give special attention to cases of child neglect. Neglected children are sent to special children's institutions, which are found in all of the bigger towns, where experienced educators try to understand the mental makeup of such children, the conditions under which they live and other facts that are important for determining how they should be guided and trained.

Sometimes among homeless children, most of whom are orphans, are found those who have parents but who have been left without supervision or have run away from home for various reasons. As a rule, such children are sent back to their parents, who, where necessary, are aided by educational agencies, school and youth organizations in looking after them at home. However, there may be cases of parents unable to bring up their children properly, or who treat them badly. In such cases the matter is brought to court and should the court find it advisable the children are sent to a children's home or other institution.

In this connection it should also be mentioned that Soviet legislation provides for certain penalties to be imposed on parents for unlawful acts by their children, and for parents to make good the damage caused by their children.

Thus, under the law of May 31, 1935 providing for the elimination of child homelessness and neglect, the militia has been given the right

to fine parents for trouble-making and rowdyism of their children. Next, the civil codes of the Union Republics have established that children under 14 are not liable for damage caused by them, but rather the person whose duty it is to look after the child; and for damage caused by persons between the ages of 14 and 18, both the minors and their parents or guardian are liable. It goes without saying that parents who have committed a penal offense with respect to their children (depravity, inveigling them into the commission of a crime, and so on) are answerable to the law.

For failure of parents to perform their parental duties, or for brutal treatment of their children the court may, as has already been mentioned, deprive them of their parental rights. However, they are not relieved of their duty to support their children. All these provisions of the law are undeviatingly observed. This helps enhance the responsibility of parents and the protection of the interests of the children.

I wish to add here that Soviet law (Act of April 7, 1935) has fixed severe penalties for adult criminals who organize or instigate minors to transgress the law. Incitement of minors by adults or their enlistment as accomplices in the commission of crimes, or forcing them to engage in profiteering or to commit other anti-social or improper acts, is punishable by imprisonment for not less than five years.

Criminal Liability of Minors

Punishment plays a secondary part in combating child delinquency. Until 1958, the criminal codes of the

Union Republics provided for penalties for minors between the ages of 12 to 14 covering a limited range of crimes, namely, larceny, violence, infliction of bodily harm, mayhem and murder. But minors between the ages of 14 and 18 were answerable to the law for all crimes committed by them (Act of May 31, 1941). However, since it was found that children between the ages of 12 to 14 rarely commit a crime, and court records show almost no such cases, many suggestions have been made to fix criminal liability of minors from the age of 14 instead of from 12.

On December 25, 1958, the Supreme Court of the USSR passed the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and of the Union Republics, on the basis of which the Union Republics are now enacting their new criminal codes. Article 10 of the new law provides that persons who have reached the age of 16 before they committed a crime are criminally liable; and persons between the ages of 14 and 16 are criminally liable only in cases of murder, willful infliction of bodily harm affecting the health of the victim, rape, assault and battery, larceny, rowdyism with evil intent, deliberate destruction of, or damage to, state or public property, or the personal property of private citizens having grave consequences, and also for the deliberate commission of acts liable to wreck a train.

Counting mainly on the prevention of crime by minors, the new law specifies further: if the court finds that a person under the age of 18 who has committed a crime which does not constitute a serious social danger can be reformed with-

out being punished as a criminal, it may apply, in the case of such a person, compulsory educational measures. Types of such measures and the manner of their application are established by the legislation of the Union Republics. Juvenile delinquents may be sent to children's educational colonies or other closed children's institutions, or turned over to the custody of their parents or guardian or for supervised upbringing.

Under discussion at this time is a bill providing for extensive participation by the public in the struggle against violation of the law, and simultaneously a draft of a model statute covering Commissions on the Affairs of Minors has been published. The drafts have found favor with the Soviet public, and will probably become law shortly. What they mean, in brief, is that broad sections of the people are to be drawn into the struggle to eliminate lawbreaking. In particular, Commissions for the Affairs of Minors will be established on a voluntary basis. Their task will be to check any cases of misconduct or hooliganism on the part of children and juveniles and to eliminate in good time the causes of such occurrences. Where necessary, these commissions will look into the facts of juvenile delinquency, help parents properly bring up their children, and take measures necessary for educating and re-educating delinquents if the conditions at home in certain cases prove unfavorable for it.

Hence, the work of government agencies in this sphere will be reduced, and many of the functions now performed by the courts, the

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procurator's office, and militia will gradually be shifted to public organizations.

Further, in the USSR juvenile delinquents do not serve their sentences in common jails or other places of confinement, but in special corrective labor colonies* for children. These colonies are simply closed children's institutions with their school and workshops, with the inmates receiving a general education and learning a trade. This makes it possible to give minors a

job on their release after they have served their full sentence or before their term is up. They may also continue their study in any educational establishment.

The vocational training given in the colonies by teachers and other experienced specialists as a rule yields good results. Proof of this is, among other things, the fact that recidivism of child crime, too, has sharply declined in the USSR.

It is through the means described that in the main the Soviet Union carries on the struggle for the complete elimination of juvenile delinquency.

* For a first-hand description of these colonies see article by Elizabeth Moos in *New World Review*, October, 1960.

PICASSO'S GUERNICA

*Like a vacant wanderer
Amid the ruins of any bombed out town,
He picked his way through Guernica,
Storing the scattered wreckage,
All ungathered, in his consciousness.
But in the end, it was no painting.
The symbols he had meant to use
Lay on the canvas like the
Broken things they were.
Before their irreparable fragments,
His shaping hands had failed.
He was hopeless to mold
These dismembered elements into wholes,
As are surgeons gaping at the edge of war,
Dangling sutures from their sterile gloves.
There is a kind of breaking,
No skill can mend.
There is a destruction
That no art can unify,
And before which we can only weep.*

FLORENCE JEANNE GOODMAN

A Young Soviet Poet

by ROBERT DAGLISH

THE difficulty of rendering Russian poetry into English cuts off a great many people who are interested in Soviet culture from one of its aspects that is as important to the whole as, say, religion in the West. Besides theater-going, the reading of poetry at home and in public is perhaps one of the commonest occupations of serious-minded people in the USSR. Not that the poetry is religious (the best has an earthy and satirical ring), but the role of the arts, and poetry in particular, in forming moral and ethical standards has been tremendously enhanced since the church ceased to have any appreciable influence in public life.

Anyone who has heard an actor like Aksyonov reciting his dramatized arrangement of *Peer Gynt* at the Conservatoire, or listened to the young poets reading to summer gatherings in the parks, or merely to a spontaneous piece of recitation at a party or wedding, cannot fail to be impressed by the way Russians have made poetry so much a part of their lives.

But what kind of poetry? It is a great pity that with the exception of Jack Lindsay's fine contribution, *Russian Poetry 1917-1955*, there is so little to go on. But perhaps a glimpse of one of the younger poets,

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the people he writes for and what he writes about will help to repair a gap in the general picture.

Though few of the critics, I imagine, would acknowledge Yevgeny Yevtushenko as representative of modern Soviet poets, he is certainly one of the liveliest and most popular. I first heard him reading his poems at the Potemkin Pedagogical Institute, at one of the weekly meetings of the Institute's poetry section. Most of the audience were obviously students, well under 25. But there was a sprinkling of older faces; the Institute's doors are open in the evenings to anyone who cares to join in such activities.

The plan of the evening was that those who had something to say about the poet should address the meeting, after which the poet should recite and also answer any questions that had been raised. It was only roughly kept to, however, owing to the general impatience to hear Yevtushenko that reigned from the moment he entered the room. It was a little disappointing, in fact, to see the only would-be critic (a dark, rather handsome young woman who seemed to have an almost motherly anxiety for the poet) so unceremoniously "clapped off" the stage. I soon succumbed to the general mood, however, when Yevtushenko started reading.

He is a tall, fair-haired young man. When I saw him again last summer he was dressed rather de-

liberately *a la mode* and his hair was just recovering from a Mayakovsky-like crop that had brought out the tapering Scythian lines in his face. He has long, capable-looking hands, and a manner and delivery ideally suited to the kind of poetry he writes, which is more often conversational than declamatory.

That evening at the Institute the audience listened breathlessly while he recited poems about his childhood in Siberia (*Boots, The Girl With Me, In the Rear*), student life (*Moscow Goods Station*), poems of angry and humorous protest (*And Others, Nihilist, To Cowards*), poems about women (*Tie Department Girl, Ira, Shoe Factory*) and poems about Yevtushenko himself.

It is, of course, impossible to describe a poem in prose, but I feel that, as yet, Yevtushenko's matter is more important than his manner, and one can at least be specific about his subjects. He was born in the Irkutsk Region in 1933 and spent most of his childhood and adolescence in Siberia, where he worked at collective farms and lumber camps and took part in geological expeditions. He came to Moscow in 1948 to study at the Gorky Institute of Literature and got into print in the following year.

His early poems are full of the sights and smells of the taiga, and they often recall the problems that war and evacuation brought to this remote region. Though undistinguished in form, these poems evoke scenes from childhood that are both honestly personal and have a wide general application. One feels that the incidents they describe could have happened to hundreds of other Soviet youngsters. Above all, they

are the work of an observant and questioning mind. Perhaps the best of them is *Boots*.

The boots of the poem are a magnificent pair of American boots which the poet wears on a wartime train journey and which are the envy of the whole carriage, particularly of a youngster his own age who had none. "I had boots. His feet were bare. What of it! But I tried to look the other way." In the bustle of an early-morning halt the other boy steals the boots and runs off with them. After a desperate chase the poet recovers his property, but is then overcome by remorse for the tears of the other boy.

Perhaps because he is more subjective than most Soviet poets Yevtushenko brings a fresh approach to themes such as May Day that in the course of 40 or more years of public celebrations have been worn almost threadbare by press and radio. In poems such as *Celebrate the First of May and Talking to the Revolution* his approach is that of the post-war generation that has missed the great victories of the Revolution, the Civil War and the Second World War, and at first he seemed a little overawed by this tremendous heritage of suffering and heroism.

In *Fighting for Soviet Power*, however, he avoided a sense of frustration—which it would be quite natural for many of his generation to feel—with two well-defined conclusions. One is a rejection of romantic nostalgia for past glories ("You're in a hurry to die for Grenada? Why not try living for it instead?"). The other proclaims that the new battlefield is to be found in fighting the small-scale injustices of everyday

life, in upholding personal integrity against any form of hypocrisy that may creep in under cover of revolutionary phrases.

This was a bold program for any poet to undertake in a country where criticism has to be serious and closely defined, but Yevtushenko has made a very honest attempt to carry it out. For the last five years he has poured out his sympathy for women who are lonely and overworked, women deceived, women with drunken husbands; he has used the biting edge of his sarcasm on those who lack the courage to speak up for a comrade or a colleague; he has inveighed against the young "survivals of the present" who loaf about the suburban dance floors, and with equal vigor defended the factory girls who want to make themselves smart and keep up with the fashions.

In the witty and touching *Nihilist* he has a line about the playwright Sofronov which never fails to raise a laugh against that pillar of conformity, and he also reminds us that there is many a young man with extraordinary "nihilistic" views ("He didn't like Gerasimov, he liked Picasso") who will give his life for a friend in a crisis.

In the interesting poem *Angries* he compares himself with the angry young men of the West and comes to the conclusion that his own anger is generated not by lack of faith but by a positive feeling for his own country. And along with all this he has adopted a jaunty "life-is-good-let's-enjoy-it" attitude that lays him wide open to accusations of self-admiration, egoism and philandering.

These criticisms are not without

foundation. Some of the poems he published last year in the magazine *Oktyabr* (*What Then?* and *Loneliness*) do suggest a growing taste for the bedroom and a sad lapse from his own sturdier creed of a few years before. The *Hymn to Mediocrity* can also be taken as a snappish attempt to counter any criticism on the grounds that it is motivated by envy of the poet's gifts. I find it harder to agree, however, with Zaslavsky's criticism of Yevtushenko's latest poem, *Count Me a Communist* (*Yunost*, No. 2, 1960). Dedicated to Mayakovsky, the poem is, in fact, a restatement of Yevtushenko's earlier resolve to fight for the Revolution in all the small ways that present-day Soviet life offers. Its angry lines against those who made trouble for Mayakovsky in his lifetime are based on fact, and it is hardly fair to fob off a poet who thinks the lesson of those days worth recalling with a sarcastic: "You're no Mayakovsky, you know!" which is what Zaslavsky's criticism amounts to.

At one of the Yevtushenko readings I attended it was interesting to hear the poet himself answering such questions as: "What do you think of Zaslavsky's criticism of you in *Pravda* last week?" or "Whose poetry do you respect besides your own?"

In his poem *Career* Yevtushenko says he wants to emulate the "careers" of such men as Galileo, Pasteur and Tolstoy, and the poem ends with a characteristic paradoxical flourish: "I want to make my career by not making it." Many critics have found these lines presumptuous.

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chariot of self-expression, as Whitman did, he will have to suffer a lot of mental anguish to reach the heights at which he aims, but I have heard him say that his first love in poetry is neither Mayakovsky nor Whitman but Pushkin. Pushkin is and probably always will be for Russians the most popular of all Russian poets.

But Yevtushenko has his own special reasons for liking him. He believes there is absolutely nothing in life that one cannot make a poem about, and that Pushkin did this better than anyone before or since. The other thing he admires about Pushkin is his ability to write a poem that reaches to the very depths of human understanding and the next moment dash off something entirely light and flippant.

In the press there has been much controversy about Yevtushenko's style. A. Urban in his article *Thoughts on Poetry for Zvezda* describes Yevtushenko as a "poet of external colors." "The gush and sentimentality that prevail in Yevtushenko's lyricism are embodied in a definite and original method of expression. . . . Instead of profound knowledge the poet prefers brilliance and external colors, undefined possibilities, a superficial dabbling in everything the world has to offer."

On the other hand, Vladimir Barlas, answering readers of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* who asked for a thorough analysis of Yevtushenko's work, writes of the poem *Bicycle*,

which he obviously admires very much: "The 'wet coins' the poet receives as change from the girl who sells him a glass of *kvass*, the poet himself lounging against the 'sun-warmed cistern,' the girl's refusal to tell him her first name, and her remark: 'What a sly fox you all are!'"—these are all trifles, details, of course. But they are deftly selected from hundreds of other apparently equally trivial details and skillfully fashioned to the regular pulsating rhythm."

Perhaps the best comment on Yevtushenko comes from another poet, who is about 15 years older. Less controversial than Yevtushenko, Boris Slutsky regards himself as one of the survivors of a whole generation of poets who were lost in the war. His best poems (*The Women Didn't Weaken*, *Horses in the Sea*, and *In the Bath-house*) have been carefully hewn out of a granite-like sincerity. At one of our gatherings he said of Yevtushenko: "I respect Yevtushenko's work because he writes of things that it is not always customary for us to speak about. But I want him to grow, I want him to think harder about the subjects he chooses."

If Yevtushenko succeeds in avoiding the dangers of hero worship and in subjecting his work to the kind of analysis Slutsky suggests, the Soviet Union will have gained a very considerable poet.

Reprinted through courtesy of Anglo-Soviet Journal.

MAYAKOVSKY PLAY IN MOSCOW

VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY'S play *The Bedbug*, first presented in 1928, has been running for several years with great success at the Theater of Satire in Moscow.

THE QUEST FOR PEACE

(Continued from page 9)

swers on how best to fight, not to stop, a nuclear war. This "thinking" machine has developed the theory that nuclear war would be "safer" and our victory surer if bombs should be dropped only on military targets by both sides rather than inviting retaliation by destroying cities—but fails to say just how such a limitation of the vast power of the H-bomb can be brought about.

Much of the brains behind the military thinking and planning that has guided our country are to be found in the Rand Corporation, a big research organization financed largely by the U.S. Air Force, as well as public funds. Two Rand economists, C. J. Hitch and R. W. McKeon, are the authors of "The Economics of the Nuclear Age," published by Harvard University Press. This large volume (see Labor Research Association, Economic Notes, Jan. 1961) seeks the further militarization of our society. While the Russians are referred to throughout as potential aggressors, the authors warn that *either side* may resort to a thermonuclear strike . . . "gambling upon the very great advantages accruing from a surprise first strike." According to the book, the bigger and faster the military build-up in every sphere, the better. They say a \$30 billion addition to our present military budget is feasible and indicate this would be useful to our economy.

Another Rand Corporation representative, physicist Herman Kahn, in his book *On Thermonuclear War*, adds to the chorus of those who are

trying to minimize the dangers of nuclear war. An effective shelter program, he contends, would mean that we could wake up the morning after a nuclear strike with a mere 40,000,000 to bury instead of 80,000,000 or so and that even if all 53 metropolitan areas were totally destroyed, almost half of our manufacturing capacity and two thirds of our people would survive. Further, even though the amount of tragedy in the postwar world would be increased this "would not preclude normal and happy lives for the majority of survivors and their descendants."

[Dispatch from Tokyo, *New York Times*, December 15—"Fifteen years after the end of World War II, more than a quarter of the population of Nagasaki is still suffering from the lingering effects of the atomic bombing. . . . The 1960 national census . . . findings show that there are still 87,866 people in the city suffering from the effects of the bombing. . . . Compared with an earlier survey made in 1950, the number of victims decreased by 8,713, mostly by death. . . ."]

[*New York Times*, Jan. 13: "Evidence that the Hiroshima atomic bomb blast caused a four-fold increase in cancer among survivors exposed to its radiation was reported today by two Japanese scientists...."]

[Answering an allegation by ex-President Harry Truman that he had advocated the use of atomic bombs in the Korean war, General Douglas MacArthur said recently "We did not need the atom bomb here any more than we did in the war against Japan."]

On January 8 a National Planning Association Committee on In-

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ternational Policy presented to Mr. Kennedy a study warning that America's peril in the face of the "Communist threat . . . should be far more widely understood than it is." Chairman of this Committee is Frank Altschul, board chairman of the American Investors Company, and a Rand Corporation representative is one of its members.

The report urged strengthening of America's "nuclear deterrent"; immediate hardening and dispersal of strategic bases; speeding up of missile and Polaris programs, and meanwhile placing of considerable part of the SAC on an airborne alert; increase in conventional forces and our airlift capacity.

The "limited war" advocates are also still having their say. But it should be noted that those advocating small wars instead of big, want a continued increase in our "nuclear deterrent," as well as a considerable increase in conventional forces. Henry Kissinger, former prime advocate of "small nuclear wars" admits in his new book *The Necessity of Choice* (reported among Kennedy's pre-inauguration reading material) that once nuclear weapons are used it will be difficult to limit conflict. He wants both a strong nuclear force and more conventionally armed foot soldiers for NATO.

Cuba, Congo, Laos

With disarmament and ending of nuclear tests as the first step and early resumption of talks with the Soviet Union on these and other problems, the main immediate question, space does not permit us at this time to review the situation in Cuba, the Congo and Laos, where U.S. intervention on behalf of reactionary

forces opposed by the people is endangering peace. To some extent the truth is breaking through in the U.S. press. The story of the U.S.-financed secret air base in Guatemala, where invasion forces for Cuba are being trained, has now appeared in the *New York Times* and other papers, following its first revelation by the *Nation*. The break in relations with Cuba was provocative and reckless.

It is now openly reported in the press that U.S.-backed Joseph Kasavubu and the Mobutu military dictatorship have failed to win support of the Congolese people, and that the forces supporting the legal government of Patrice Lumumba are gaining strength. Special mention should be made of the Casablanca declaration, by the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Guana, Guinea and Mali, demanding the disarming of Mobutu troops and the release of Lumumba. Some of these troops guarding Lumumba at Thysville recently mutinied. Senator Frank E. Moss, (D-Utah) when he returned the first of the year from the Congo, reported widespread support for Lumumba and opposition to Mobutu.

Numerous reports have appeared of how the United States while continually complaining of Soviet intervention, has flouted the Geneva agreement in Laos, most recently in the arms and aid given to General Phoumi Nosovan in overthrowing the neutralist government of Prince Souvanna Phouma, and installing Nosovan's puppet Prince Boun Oum, and the opposition to these policies expressed by U.S. allies. *Life* magazine has carried an article on the corruption in use of the \$300 million spent in Laos on military

and economic aid, and the foolhardiness of trying to make of Laos "a bulwark against Communism."

The U.S. in the UN

A word must be said about the sorry role the United States played in the United Nations General Assembly session, where the presence of Premier Khrushchev and other leaders offered an unprecedented opportunity for making a new start.

The entry of a large group of newly independent African nations created a new atmosphere. But in its treatment of them and in its votes on the side of colonialism, the United States only fell lower in its world prestige. In particular, it should be noted that the U.S. insistence on keeping Chiang Kai-shek in the UN instead of the real Chinese Government is alienating more and more nations and people and cannot much longer succeed.

While the Soviet proposal for a one year deadline for independence for all trust and non-selfgoverning territories was defeated, the USSR joined in approving a demand for "immediate steps" toward complete independence for all such nations, backed by 43 Asian and African countries. To our shame, the United States joined with the colonial powers among the nine who abstained. The counter charges of "Soviet colonialism" on the part of the U.S. and other Western powers carried no weight at all with the 89 who voted for the resolution.

In favoring dictatorial Portugal over Liberia for one of the six non-permanent seats on the Security Council, the United States fell still lower in the eyes of Africa.

U.S. prestige fell again through

its successful efforts to weaken a resolution on independence for Algeria, and its abstention in the final vote. An Algerian spokesman said that the U.S. stand "reflected the reality of participation by the U.S. in the war in Algeria on the side of French colonialism."

On the Congo, while the Afro-Asian and socialist countries were unable to carry a resolution to restore Premier Lumumba, the United States failed to mobilize the necessary two-thirds vote for a resolution to strengthen the Secretary General's hand and support Kasavubu.

In the last days of the session, the United States abstained from voting on a Political Committee resolution calling for general agreement to suspend tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs and to restrict the spread of all nuclear weapons, on the ground that there was no assurance of adequate control over these steps. U.S. efforts succeeded in getting all discussion of general disarmament postponed until the Assembly meets again March 7.

The United States had previously opposed all efforts by the Soviet Union for a strong resolution along the lines of the Khrushchev proposal for general and complete disarmament, for discussion of the question of disarmament by the full Assembly, and barring that, an early special session on the question.

A special meeting of the UN Security Council was called by Soviet representative Valerian Zorin after Belgium permitted passage of Col. Mobutu's Congolese troops through the neighboring Belgian trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi, to fight pro-Lumumba forces. He asked that Belgian aggression be condemned,

that Belgium be deprived of her administration of Ruanda-Urundi in view of this violation of UN trust, and that all Belgian military, paramilitary personnel be withdrawn from the Congo. When this failed of passage, a milder resolution was offered by Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab Republic, asking the General Assembly to consider whether Belgium had breached the agreement under which she administered the trust territory, which also lost.

Zorin's move, however, brought home the whole question of continuing Belgian control of the Congo, which the United States has supported.

100 Days for Peace

Facing realistically both the dangers before us and the opportunities open to the new Administration, the problem for each American to face is what we can do to determine a new course for peace.

Much is already being done by existing peace organizations—the Quakers, the Women's International League, the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, numerous pacifist organizations—but not yet nearly enough. There must be a mass outpouring of demands for a peaceful policy on the new Administration.

The SANE organization does valuable work in bringing pressure at top levels especially on the question of ending of nuclear tests. Unfortunately, red-baiting and an anti-Communist attitude within the organization, have prevented its developing into a wide popular movement. A number of groups are active in seeking to establish a more

widely based peace organization.

Already a campaign of 100 Days for Peace has been inaugurated by a Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups, the West Side Peace Committee, the Brooklyn Students Committee for Peace, and others.

The aim of this committee is to find ways and means to bring mass pressure on the Administration to stop the spread of nuclear arms, end all nuclear weapons testing, achieve controlled universal disarmament and encourage international cooperation.

To this end they have worked out a calendar of action from January 31 to April 30, which includes prayers for peace, giant post cards, leaflet tags, visits to congressmen, delegations to the White House, a film week, a library week, an Easter walk for peace, door to door canvassing, special work on the campuses, a radio panel, an opinion poll, home discussions, parties for peace, open air meetings, and a final wind-up rally.

Word of these activities is to be sent throughout the country. Millions should join. The address of the 100 Days for Peace Committee, for those desiring further details, is given in their announcement as 550 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y.

Joining in the work of this or any other existing peace organization is the best way for the American people to do their part in helping to set our country on the course toward normal international relations, disarmament and peace.

Taking note of Kennedy's words that the final success of the new course he promises rests with the people, let us insure that the quest for peace will win!

THE BALLAD OF A SOLDIER

Reviewed by MURRAY YOUNG

A screen play by Valentin Yoshov and Grigori Chukhrai, directed by Chukhrai, and produced by Mosfilm with the following cast:

Alyosha	Vladimir Ivashov
Shura	Shanna Prokhorenko
Alyosha's Mother	Antonina Maximova
General	Nikolai Kruchkov
Wounded Soldier	Evgeni Urbanski

THIS Soviet movie is as direct and simple as all great ballads that come from the heart of human experience.

A young soldier, to his own astonishment, displays high courage on the battlefield and chooses, instead of a medal, to go home and mend his mother's leaking roof. We follow him for four days across the war-torn country, riding jammed trains, stealing rides on freights, hitching lifts in army and civilian trucks, even floating down river on a haphazard raft in the last anxious hours of his journey. And we see his encounters along the way—with a depressed soldier discharged from the army because of injuries, with a slyly deceitful sentry, with a faithless wife to whom he brings a gift from her unsuspecting husband, with the brutal death of women and children from a Nazi air raid—but above all with a young girl who awakens in him the first consciousness of love. And we see him at last for a brief moment in the arms of his mother, their joyous greeting a heartrending farewell. That is all.

We know from the beginning that he returns to the battle area to meet his death—that these four days are all he will taste of life. Innocent, kind, brave, vigorously alive on the threshold of his manhood, the young soldier's death is the most tragic of wastes. Yet the movie in the end is not oppressively sad for it is both a celebration of life and a protest against the monstrous futility of war.

The camera under the direction of

Mr. Chukhrai is as sensitive as the eye of a poet seeing "a World in a Grain of Sand . . . And Eternity in an hour," transforming freight-cars and armored tanks, soap bubbles blown by an idle child, a tired and sleepy woman driving a truck, white birch trees through the moving window of a train, his mother running through the summer fields, into haunting images.

The performances of Vladimir Ivashov as the young soldier, Shanna Prokhorenko as the young girl, and Antonina Maximova as the mother, as well as a host of brief parts, are as natural and inevitable as the rhythms of traditional balladry.

Every moment of the picture is quickened by the poetic direction and the searching, revealing eye of the camera so that the simple story of a young soldier's four-day journey becomes a memorable statement about the nature of human existence. In other words it becomes art, giving us back our own experiences immensely enriched through being merged with the profound experiences of other men. The simple young peasant-soldier becomes not only a Russian soldier, but all soldiers meaninglessly cut down in the promise of their rewarding manhood.

Thus reaffirming the values of life and crying out against the senseless waste of war, *The Ballad of a Soldier* is of course propaganda — magnificent propaganda — as Mr. Chukhrai in his article in the *New York Times*, December 25, said it was meant to be:

We decided that we would not use gigantic battle scenes or the usual accessories of the war film. We looked for a way to condemn war that was simple and total.

It is clear why this film won the first prize at the recent San Francisco Film Festival.

THE MUSIC OF PROKOFIEV

A review by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

Prokofiev by Israel V. Nestyev. Translated from the Russian by Florence Jonas. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. 528 pages. \$8.75.

ISRAEL Nestyev's *Prokofiev* is both a completion and expansion to more than three times the original size, of the same author's study of the composer published here in 1946. It is also the most substantial work on music by a Soviet critic to have appeared in English, and, to this reviewer's knowledge, the most thorough and detailed study of a 20th century composer to have appeared in any language. As Nicolas Slonimsky says in a brief foreword, "such completeness of documentation and attention to detail are usually reserved for acknowledged masters of the classical past." The translation, by Florence Jonas, reads very well.

Nestyev's book is remarkable not only in its detail but in the boldness of the task he sets himself. Books on contemporary composers, for all their seriousness of musicianship, generally tend to have something of a publicity-man approach. They describe a composer's style in more or less technical terms, make a plea for his recognition as a great man, and tend to repeat the composer's own musical views and attitude towards his work. Nestyev, however, while he writes with great love for Prokofiev's music, and from a background of personal friendship, has higher critical aims. These are an appraisal of not only the virtues but also the limitations of Prokofiev's style, with an attempt to separate the more successful works from the comparative failures, and explain the conflicting trends in his works.

The task is difficult because Prokofiev, aside from being a highly prolific composer, was one of the most complex figures in the music of our times. His

career covered a period not only of social upheaval, but of a battle of conflicting styles, trends and esthetic theories without precedent in the previous history of music.

Prokofiev was born in Russia in 1891. By the time of the socialist revolution of 1917, he emerged as a brilliant, daring musician, with a rebellious and iconoclastic stand against the 19th century traditions of style, form and musical concept that made him an *enfant terrible*. Then, from 1918 to 1932 he lived and worked abroad, partly in the United States but largely in Paris, surrounded increasingly by a musical atmosphere in which the search for novelty and "shock" qualities was paramount. It seemed at first as if this trend were in line with his earlier musical "rebellion." But in the earlier years, the iconoclasm attacking the "bourgeois heritage" in music, had arisen as a logical way of disassociation from a bourgeois society that had itself become so hypocritical and oppressive. Now however this "rebellion" was moving further and further away from any social responsibility or union with the experiences and emotions of the great mass of people. This profoundly disturbed Prokofiev, who felt that his art was almost drying up.

In 1932 Prokofiev returned to the Soviet Union, working richly and productively until death took him in 1953. But here too there were problems. On the one hand, there was the most active musical life in the world, with a great audience seeking and welcoming contemporary works. On the other hand, there was the exacting task of reflecting and satisfying the cultural needs of a growing socialist society, on a level of the highest musical integrity. There were musical failures as well as triumphs, and controversial works which, received with doubts at first, later es-

tablished themselves as noteworthy and important.

In his analytic appraisal of the stream of Prokofiev's music, many of the works which Nestyev finds to be most successful are not very different from those which audiences here have most warmly embraced; the *Classical Symphony*, *Third Piano Concerto* and *First Violin Concerto*, for example from the earlier period, and *Peter and the Wolf*, the *Second Violin Concerto*, *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Fifth Symphony*, *Alexander Nevsky*, the *First Violin Sonata*, from the later period. If the American public does not see the latter works as "socialist realism," it nevertheless finds in them a richness of drama and breadth of human feeling not very common in contemporary music. This indicates that the use of terms like "realism" and "socialist realism" do not make Soviet musical life the "strange new world" about which Slonimsky warns readers in his foreword. They are only attempts to formulate more explicitly qualities of music to which people over the world can respond very deeply.

Notably Nestyev is aware that his conclusions, like those of other Soviet critics, are subject to change:

It is too early to speak of Prokofiev's works as classics; his music is too firmly rooted in the present. There are still many heated discussions about the composer in both professional and amateur circles. His compositions have not yet taken their place on the shelves among the collections of universally revered works. Many of them must be played again and again, heard and evaluated anew from the perspective of our day. Only then will it be possible to define more precisely which of the compositions born of passing fashion will be relegated to obscurity, and which will rightfully become part of Russia's immortal classical heritage. . . . Prokofiev's music belongs to our epoch and not only to posterity. Let us study it more carefully, play it more widely, and make it accessible to the millions of ordinary people for whom this great Russian musician worked so selflessly.

KHRUSHCHEV IN

NEW YORK

Khrushchev in New York. A documentary record of Nikita S. Khrushchev's trip to New York, September 19th to October 13th, 1960, including all his speeches and proposals to the UN and major addresses and news conferences. Crosscurrents Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 10, N. Y. 286 pages. \$1.50.

MANY of our readers who have asked about the text of Premier Khrushchev's speeches and proposals to the UN and the other important addresses and news interviews held in New York during his visit, will be happy to know that they are now available in this collection published by the Crosscurrents Press.

Here is the full text of Khrushchev's statement in the General Debate at the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly, September 23, on disarmament, colonialism and other problems, his speech on the representation of China in the UN, October 1, his reply on the Question of the Structure of UN Governing Bodies, October 3, his speech on the Question of Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, October 12, as well as other important speeches and replies made before the General Assembly.

Here also is the speech given at the Cyrus Eaton luncheon to leading businessmen, his meeting with members of the UN Journalists Association, his speech on the Threat to Universal Peace before the UN Assembly, October 13, and his famous interview on October 9th with David Susskind.

The book includes a number of other important speeches, statements and interviews, ending with his statement on departing from New York and his speech on his return to Moscow, October 20th.

Crosscurrents has also published as a separate pamphlet Khrushchev's speech before the UN Assembly and the proposals of the USSR—75 cents.

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FLORENCE JEANNE GOODMAN,
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