

SOCIAL SCIENCES

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY MAR 18 1961

MARCH, 1961

25¢

New World

REVIEW

THE CONGO CRISIS AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS

**Guarantees of the Right
to Work in the USSR**

People Come to Peking
ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Do Soviet Children Cry?
ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

Czechoslovak Court Reforms
ELEANOR WHEELER

SOVIET FARM PROBLEMS

NEW WORLD REVIEW

MARCH 1961

The Congo Crisis and East-West Relations <i>Jessica Smith</i>	5
The Prospects of Peace <i>Albert Rhys Williams</i>	12
The Right to Work—Legal Guarantees of Soviet Workers <i>Vassily Nikitinsky</i>	14
Do Soviet Children Cry? <i>Archie Johnstone</i>	21
People Come to Peking <i>Anna Louise Strong</i>	24
Court Reform in Czechoslovakia <i>Eleanor Wheeler</i>	29
Schools for Working Youth in the USSR <i>Deana Levin</i>	32
Data on Growth of Skilled Work and Education in the USSR	35
Soviet Farming Under Review	38
"You Can't Eat Statistics" <i>Khrushchev on farm problems</i>	42

REVIEWS

<i>Don Quixote</i> —a review of the Soviet film	45
<i>Listen, Yankee</i> —C. Wright Mills— <i>Murray Young</i>	46
Basic Facts on the Soviet Union— <i>Eve. M. Lyons</i>	47

JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*
MURRAY YOUNG, *Managing Editor*

ESLANDA ROBESON
Our Roving Correspondent
Editorial Consultants on Negro and Colonial Questions

Vol. 29, No. 3, March, 1961. Second Class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription \$2.50 per year. \$1.25 for 6 months (Canadian, \$3.00, foreign \$3.50 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York.) Published monthly by the N.W.R. Publications, Inc., 34 West 15th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: CHelsea 3-0666.
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

209

DEAR READER

You were generous in your response to our last appeal—but we are still far from the goal we must reach to meet our printing bills and other mounting costs. The immediate urgent need is for \$5,000 to catch up and keep going. We count on you to send whatever you can afford, in sums large or small.

The military planners continue to plot their inhuman curves on "retaliation," "deterrence," "vulnerability"—on how many million dead can be considered "acceptable damage." They call for more missiles, more armed men, new nuclear tests, the spread of nuclear weapons.

Each day that passes increases the danger of war, and makes more urgent all-out action to prevent it.

The whole American people must become a task force for peace, flooding the administration with our demands.

NEW WORLD REVIEW helps provide the facts you need to formulate these demands. We can do this only if you furnish us with the means to give you the facts.

Please help us continue our job of supplying you with the facts and analyses you need in these critical days by using the blank below and sending us whatever you can afford.

Please Fill Out and Mail Today

NEW WORLD REVIEW
7th Floor, 34 West 15th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

I enclose \$..... for your Sustaining Fund.

I pledge \$..... monthly for your continued publication.

Name

Street

City..... Zone..... State.....

NEW WORLD REVIEW

Announces its second Essay Contest:

"Youth's Stake in Peace"

Nuclear warfare threatens the future of all young people. What policies should the new Administration adopt on disarmament and relations with other countries to insure lasting world peace?

Open to all young people—Ages 18 through 25

\$500 IN PRIZES

(Donated through the generosity of a friend)

First Prize . . . \$200

Second Prize . . . \$100

Third Prize . . . \$50

TEN HONORABLE MENTION AWARDS OF \$15 EACH

J U D G E S

PROF. ROYAL W. FRANCE, *noted economist, civil rights lawyer, author of My Native Grounds.*

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, *Pastor, First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California*

GEN. HUGH B. HESTER, *Brigadier General, U.S. Army (retired)*

Rules for submitting essay on above subject

1. Length—absolute maximum, 1,000 words.
2. Deadline—postmarked not later than May 1, 1961.
3. Form—four typewritten, double-spaced copies.
4. Name and information asked for below to be typed on a separate sheet. (Judges will receive mss. without names.)
 - a. Address
 - b. Date of birth
 - c. Occupation

Write for further details to:

NEW WORLD REVIEW

Essay Contest Dept., 7th Floor

34 West 15th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

(SEE FOLLOWING PAGE)

NEW WORLD REVIEW is an American monthly devoted chiefly to questions of East-West understanding and peace. It is in many libraries throughout the country. We will send a sample copy on request.

Last year our first essay contest on the subject "A Peace Program for Our Country" aroused considerable interest among young people, particularly college students. This year's subject, "Youth's Stake in Peace," should stimulate an even wider response.

Writing an essay for the New World Review contest will give the participant an opportunity to think problems of peace and disarmament through, discuss them with friends, formulate proposals and make them known to others.

If you are interested, we suggest that you send in your name at once, so we may send you further announcements. Better still, why not send \$1.00 for a special 9-month essay contest subscription to New World Review so that you may follow all announcements and have the pleasure of seeing your essay—if it is a winner—published in the magazine?

We would very much appreciate names of individuals, groups, organizations, as well as teachers who would present this announcement to their classes or post it in an appropriate place, to whom we could send information about the contest. We will send any requested quantity of the announcement for further distribution.

NEW WORLD REVIEW

Essay Contest Dept., 7th Floor

34 West 15th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

I am interested in further information about the essay contest.....

I enclose \$1.00 for special 9-month subscription.....

I suggest you send the essay contest announcement to: (or list on separate sheet)

.....
.....
.....

YOUR NAME.....

ADDRESS.....
.....

The Congo Crisis and East-West Relations

by JESSICA SMITH

THE shocking murder of Patrice Lumumba, Premier of the legitimate government of the Congo, and at least nine of his close associates in government and leadership, was the direct result of Belgium's efforts to prevent real independence for the Congo and keep control of its riches.

Those who were responsible for the murders were Congolese politicians who were backed by Belgium and the Western powers. They did not represent the Congolese people. In the worldwide, outraged protests over these events, a large share of the blame was placed at the door of United Nations representatives for failing to support the authority of the Central Government.

Lumumba's passionate love for his people and their freedom and his gift for leadership made him the outstanding national leader able to weld together a unified country, had he been helped rather than hindered in these efforts. Even the *New York Times* reported (January 15) that foreign observers considered him "the only Congolese leader with a truly national following," and on February 14 called him "the most popular single Congolese politician and a more truly national figure than his rivals," and conceded that he had remained a pivotal figure even in jail. Many reports in the U.S. press told of the continuing and growing support for Lumumba after his illegal arrest and

jailing by Joseph Kasavubu and Colonel Mobutu. That was why he had to be got rid of.

When Kasavubu sent Lumumba to the hostile region of Katanga, controlled by the Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe, for "safe-keeping" the outcome was already determined. There he was murdered, along with Maurice Mpolo, Minister of Youth in the Lumumba Government, and Joseph Okito, President of the Congolese Senate, illegally suspended because of its support of Lumumba. These three were guarded by three men, headed by a Belgian captain who, it is reported, carried out the murder. No one believed the cynical story put out by Tshombe's Interior Minister, that they were shot by villagers while trying to escape, nor would it improve matters if this were true. The Katanga communique praised the villagers for ridding the Congo of "a problem which menaced the existence of humanity" and gave them a reward of \$8,000.

Subsequently the news came of the murder of seven Lumumba aides who had been deported to Kasai, another secessionist province, headed by Kalonji, an enemy of Lumumba.

Whatever one may think of the intentions of Secretary General Hammarskjöld, the fact that these tragic events took place under the UN flag certainly places a moral responsibility on him.

It was Premier Lumumba who

asked for UN aid. It was given under a Security Council resolution which provided for the expulsion of Belgian troops, and for aid to a *unified Congo*, to be given in consultation with the Central Government, and which did not recognize Katanga's separatist claims. When the UN troops first went in, Congolese and not Belgian troops were disarmed. Secretary Hammarskjold, contrary to the agreement to act only in consultation with the Central Government, negotiated separately with Tshombe when the latter defied UN instructions regarding the expulsion of Belgian troops. The UN authorities failed to uphold the authority of Lumumba, depriving him as well as his opponents of the use of his own radio and airport facilities. Exercising a "neutrality" which made no distinction between legal and illegal authorities, the UN was responsible for the situation that arose, with Kasavubu "dismissing" Lumumba, a military dictatorship set up, Lumumba illegally jailed, beaten and finally murdered.

The Belgians have retained control of Katanga, both political and military, and have come back in large numbers to Leopoldville as well. The Belgian Union Miniere du Haut Katanga has reported a record year in copper production, but none of the profits have gone to the Central Congolese Government to whom a share of them was due.

Whatever financial losses Belgium has sustained as a result of the Congo's independence, they sought to make good by an "austerity" program for the workers, which led to the protracted and widespread strikes earlier this year.

All this goes to show that what

has happened in the Congo is the result of a deliberate and long-time plot of the Belgians to foster the chaos they could use as a justification for staying in the Congo, and in any case keeping control of Katanga, its richest province.

The UN operation has, in fact, helped them to do this, and led to a constant aggravation of the situation.

Our country has supported Belgium as a NATO ally and has chosen this moment to cement its relations further by signing a new friendship pact.

When the murder of Lumumba became known, Soviet delegate Valerian Zorin offered a resolution in the Security Council calling for the punishment of those guilty, the dismissal of Secretary General Hammarskjold, and the withdrawal of all UN troops within thirty days. This was defeated 8 to 1, with Ceylon and the United Arab Republic abstaining.

The Soviet Union abstained, however, on the resolution offered by the UAR, Ceylon and Liberia, which was passed. This resolution strengthened the hand of the UN, calling for all measures to prevent civil war, with the use of force if necessary as a last resort; the immediate withdrawal from the Congo of all Belgian and other military and para-military personnel not under UN command; impartial investigation of the death of Lumumba and punishment of those guilty; the reorganization of Congolese armed units and personnel and the convening of Parliament.

On February 22, Premier Khrushchev sent a message to Premier Nehru of India and others, proposing

the fo
posed
were s
that
with
interf
fairs
condi
ernme
sultat
ment.

Pre
also s
the so
be pla

East-

The
have
and p
confro
the ne
to ma
our co
The
not w
strugg
whole
in Afr
basic
time.
beyon
involv
world
wiping
nialism
pende
ferenc
side h
to he
native
resour
On
Unit
are or
ficult
of the

the formation of a commission composed of African states whose troops were sent to the Congo. He proposed that this commission be entrusted with measures to terminate foreign interference in any form in the affairs of the Congo, to create normal conditions for the work of the government and Parliament, all in consultation with the Gizenga Government.

President Nkrumah of Ghana also sent a proposal to the UN that the solution of African affairs should be placed in the hands of Africans.

East-West Differences

The tragic events in the Congo have worsened the world situation and precipitated a sharp East-West confrontation at a moment when the new Administration was seeking to mark time pending a review of our country's worldwide position.

The situation in the Congo cannot wait for a task force report. The struggle around the Congo and the whole surging liberation movement in Africa is at the very heart of the basic East-West struggle of our time. It is a struggle that goes far beyond American-Soviet relations, involving the peoples of the whole world. It can only be solved by wiping out the last vestiges of colonialism, by real and complete independence free of all foreign interference and exploitation, with outside help only of a nature designed to help the Congolese and other native peoples develop their own resources for their own use.

On the issue of the Congo, the United States and the Soviet Union are on opposite sides, and it is difficult to conceive of a reconciliation of their viewpoints.

At the Fifteenth General Assembly, Premier Khrushchev offered a resolution for the full and immediate independence of all non-self-governing territories, and when that failed the Soviet Union joined with 88 other powers who voted unanimously for a milder resolution calling for *immediate steps* towards complete independence for all countries which had not yet attained it. The United States aligned itself with the colonial powers who are its allies in abstaining.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the UAR, and Cuba, have given their recognition to Antoine Gizenga, who was Vice Premier in the legally constituted government under Lumumba, and who now controls the capitals of three of the Congo's six provinces. The United States and the Western powers are supporting Kasavubu, who opposed Lumumba and turned him over to those who killed him.

The Soviet Union has withdrawn its support from Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, charging him, along with the Belgians, with responsibility for the murder of Lumumba.

The United States gives full support to Hammarskjöld, endorses his policies, and along with its Western allies, seeks to strengthen his hand and to continue a UN operation which thus far has been a dismal and terrible failure, which has in fact operated in support of colonialist aims and not on behalf of the interests of the Congolese people.

It should be noted that the Soviet Union has taken special pains not to exacerbate U.S.-USSR rela-

tions in the UN debates on the question.

Urgency of Disarmament

The struggle between these opposing viewpoints will inevitably be a long and bitter one. The main question, therefore, it seems to us, is the basis on which this struggle is waged. If it is carried on under conditions of a continuing arms race, the prospect increases for civil wars with the constant terrible danger that they will spread into a worldwide nuclear holocaust.

Instead of using the inevitable U.S.-USSR differences in this connection as an excuse for delaying action on disarmament, for raising the old cry that no agreement with the Russians is possible, it is now all the more urgent to take effective steps toward agreement on controlled disarmament, especially in the realm of nuclear weapons, but including conventional arms as well.

Instead of competition in the supply of arms, let there be competition in the supply of the technical and material aid the African nations need to stand on their own feet and work out their own destiny. Diversion of the vast sums going into armaments to this purpose, as well as for the increased well-being of the people at home will go far to solve the world's problems.

Facing realistically the fact that the situation in the Congo and in other newly liberated and soon to be liberated nations presents long-time issues which cannot now be resolved through American-Soviet agreement, let us turn to the possibilities of making a start on agreements in other fields, and especially on disarmament, which is the best way

of helping in the solution of all other problems, the *only* way of making the world secure.

As our last issue went to press, President Kennedy had just made his inauguration address, with its plea to "begin anew the quest for peace." The cable sent to Kennedy on that occasion by Premier Khrushchev and President Brezhnev expressed hope for a radical improvement in American-Soviet relations as essential to lasting world peace:

We are confident that it is possible, step by step, to eliminate the existing suspicion and distrust, and to grow the seeds of friendship and business-like cooperation between our countries.

President Kennedy cabled in reply:

I welcome your expression of hope for a fundamental improvement in relations between our two countries and in the world situation as a whole; it is a hope which we share. We are ready and anxious to cooperate with all who are prepared to join in genuine dedication to the assurance of a peaceful and more fruitful life for all mankind. . . . I can assure you that the efforts of the United States Government will be directed toward this imperative goal.

The Soviet Government took an immediate step toward the implementation of these words in the release of the two RB-47 flyers, Capt. Freeman B. Olmstead and John R. McKone. Premier Khrushchev, the press reported, took the initiative in making this arrangement, in which according to an official statement of the USSR Foreign Ministry, the Soviet Government was "guided by the sincere desire to initiate a new stage in the relations between the USSR and the USA."

By mutual agreement, President Kennedy was able to make the dra-

matio
of th
way
ence

T
grat
Uni
rem
men

Asi
sump
dent
these

U.S.
that
ritori

F
ing
hav
hav

Bo
were
State
gress

Hi
comp
worl
scien
mind
it w

coup
Com
versi
their
tion.

were
nate
anni
domi
all r

tion)
hemi
recog
tion

for a
do v
And

matic announcement of the release of the flyers, then already on their way home, at his first press conference on January 26. He declared:

The United States Government is gratified by this decision of the Soviet Union and considers that this action . . . removes a serious obstacle to improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Asked about the possibility of resumption of U-2 flights, the President made a distinction between these and the RB-47 incident (the U.S. has denied the Soviet charge that it was shot down over their territorial waters), and declared:

Flights of American aircraft penetrating the air space of the Soviet Union have been suspended since May, 1960. I have ordered that they not be resumed.

Both positive and negative things were to be found in the President's State of the Union message to Congress on January 30.

His call for open and peaceful competition with the Communist world "for prestige, for markets, for scientific achievement, even for men's minds" can only be welcomed. But it was unfortunate that he had to couple this with the charge that Communist nations are using subversion and aggression to attain their "ambitions for world domination." And especially disturbing were his remarks on Cuba as dominated by "foreign and domestic tyrannies," and that "Communist domination" (a phrase used to cover all movements of national liberation), will not be tolerated in this hemisphere. All honest people must recognize that the Cuban revolution grew out of the people's need for a better life and has nothing to do with "Communist domination." And at the same time, President

Kennedy echoed the old Dulles "liberation" policy in his remark that "we must never forget our hopes for the ultimate freedom and welfare of the East European people."

He spoke of the need to expand our disarmament efforts—although again with emphasis on arms control—while at the same time advocating the old negotiating from strength policy, a further build-up of our military airforce, expansion of the Polaris (nuclear-armed) submarine and missile programs.

Certainly we can only applaud the expressed intention to explore with the Soviet Union and all other powers areas of cooperation "to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors," and to join "in preparation for probing the distant planets of Mars and Venus," to unlock the deepest secrets of the universe.

On February 12, the USSR announced the orbiting of a heavy earth sputnik by an improved multi-stage rocket. The same day, a guided space rocket, launched from the sputnik, set an automatic interplanetary station on a flight toward Venus, where it is expected to arrive in May.

This feat, blazing the way to the planets of the solar system for the first time, was hailed by scientists around the world as the most important yet achieved in the exploration of outer space.

President Kennedy on February 14 sent a personal congratulatory message to Premier Khrushchev, on this "impressive scientific achievement."

In his telegram of reply the next day, Premier Khrushchev took occasion to bring up again the question of disarmament.

Recalling Mr. Kennedy's inaugural proposal for the pooling of efforts in the struggle against disease, the conquest of space and the development of culture and trade, the Soviet Premier said:

We consider that the solution of the disarmament problem would provide conditions favoring the earliest realization of these noble tasks before mankind. And we would like every country to exert every effort for the solution of this problem *with the establishment of such strict international controls that no one could arm in secret and commit aggression. . . .* (italics added).

All are in agreement that the solution of the disarmament problem depends to a great extent on the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. If we achieve such agreement, it would be a great joy for all people on earth, and a great boon for the whole of mankind.

The Soviet Union acceded to a request by the United States to postpone the nuclear tests conference in Geneva, which was to have convened March 7, until the end of the month, while the U.S. reviewed and formulated its policies. It is to be hoped that our country will come forward with a real program for disarmament when the question comes up in the reconvened General Assembly.

Pauling Petition Against Spread of Nuclear Weapons

THE most important immediate action for peace, in which all Americans can join, is the petition initiated by Professor and Mrs. Linus Pauling—An Appeal to Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons.

The appeal was turned over to Secretary General Hammarskjöld, as a petition to the United Nations and to all the nations of the world, on February 16.

The appeal was signed by 708 leading scientists and other public figures from 38 countries. Among the signers are 38 Nobel prize winners from 15 countries, 110 members and foreign associates of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, 102 fellows and foreign members of the Royal Society of London, and 21 members of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The text of the petition reads as follows:

We, the men and women whose names are signed below, believe that stockpiles of nuclear weapons should not be allowed to spread to any more nations or groups of nations.

The world is now in great danger. A cataclysmic nuclear war might break out as the result of some terrible accident or of an explosive deterioration in international relations such that even the wisest national leaders would be unable to avert the catastrophe. Universal disarmament has now become the essential basis for life and liberty for all people. The difficult problem of achieving universal disarmament would become far more difficult if more nations or groups of nations were to come into possession of nuclear weapons. We accordingly urge that the present nuclear powers not transfer nuclear weapons to other nations or groups of nations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the Warsaw Pact Group, that all nations not now possessing these weapons voluntarily refrain from obtaining or developing them, and that the United Nations and all nations increase their efforts to achieve total and universal disarmament with a system of international controls and inspection such as to insure to the greatest possible extent the safety of all nations and all people.

The press release on this action sent out by the Paulings recalls that in 1958 they presented a petition to the UN urging an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. A few months

later
clear
tions
brou
clear
Pr
of C
stitu
win
the
the
for
Helo
tion
en's
been
arma
T
the
pens
teers
the
that
in a
T
tion
othe
prog

later the Geneva conference of nuclear powers met to begin negotiations on this issue, and voluntarily brought to an end their tests of nuclear weapons.

Professor Linus Pauling, Professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, Nobel prize winner, has been an inspiration to the peace forces of this country and the world in his impassioned work for peace and disarmament. Ava Helen Pauling, his wife, who is National Vice-President of the Women's International League, has also been working for peace and disarmament for many years.

The Paulings themselves prepared the petition, and at their own expense and with the help of volunteers, sent out 2,000 letters around the world. Their press release states that no organization was involved in any way in the work.

They have asked peace organizations in the United States and in other countries to institute a great program of collection of signatures

to the petition on a public basis. Peace organizations in New York and elsewhere are already at work on this.

The *New York Times* saw fit to give this important action, which can have a decisive effect on the future of mankind, only about an inch of space. It is to be hoped that public-spirited citizens and peace organizations will find ways to make it widely known so that everyone concerned with peace can add his voice.

Cooperating in the circulation of this petition, joining with the signers, can play a great role in the mobilization of the American people for peace. This work must go along with pressure for steps toward disarmament and ending of nuclear tests. This petition is a vital part of the peace struggle, because, as some scientists warn, the spread of nuclear weapons to other powers, if no steps toward controlled disarmament are taken, could mean the certainty of atomic war.

To Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of JESSICA SMITH AS EDITOR

*The staff and associates of NEW WORLD REVIEW
announce a dinner to be given at*

THE BELMONT PLAZA HOTEL
Lexington Ave. at 49th Street, New York City

THURSDAY, APRIL 13 at 6:30 p.m.

CORLISS LAMONT, Chairman

Other speakers to be announced

\$7.00 per person

Write for reservations to:

DINNER COMMITTEE — NEW WORLD REVIEW
34 West 15th St., New York 11, N. Y. **CH 3-0666**

The Prospects of Peace

by ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

AT THE HISTORIC meeting in Smolny, on November 7, 1917, I heard the address of the newly formed Soviet Government to the warring nations of the world to cease fighting and lay down their arms. This inspiring appeal for peace was in keeping with socialism, and reflected the deepest yearnings and demands of the tormented, long-suffering, war-stricken Soviet peoples. That was 43 years ago.

Now again in a recent visit to Russia with my wife Lucita, we found an even stronger revulsion—if that were possible—against war, with all its horrors and insanities. Almost all travelers in Russia report meeting everywhere a concern for peace amounting almost to an obsession. This is reflected, as it was 43 years ago, in the tireless campaign of the Soviet Government for peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world.

Of course Americans, too, like Russians and all other peoples have a desire for peace. But it is not so intensive or so urgent as with the Soviet peoples who count their casual-

ties in the last war by the millions and the destruction of their homes in the tens of millions.

Nonetheless, facing up to the menace of the atomic age, the American public is increasingly alarmed at the terrifying power and range of these new instruments of death. In the words of John F. Kennedy: "A single nuclear weapon today can release more destructive energy than all the explosives used in all wars throughout history." And now, the British scientist C. P. Snow is telling us that more nations soon will be possessing bombs and that some of them inevitably—through accident, folly or madness—will be exploded. If there is some risk in making an agreement for curbing the bomb, on the other hand there is an absolutely certainty of destruction if we don't. Take the choice!

In protest and revolt against continually living under the threat of instantaneous death, there is a fast-growing demand to abolish the bomb before it abolishes us. Of course some elements don't want to abolish the bomb. They, too, say they do not want war. But they want the things that make for war. They want the huge profits from armaments to keep on flowing into their coffers. They want to go on indulging in their prejudices, slanders and hatred against the socialist nations. Cold and suspicious of all efforts at conciliation, they prefer to go on with the arms race.

But the people, by and large, are

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS was an eyewitness to the historic events of 1917 and to later phases of Soviet development. He has through the years made great contributions to Americans' understanding of the USSR. Among his many books are, *Lenin, the Man and His Work*, *Through the Russian Revolution* and *The Russian Land*. The present article was published in *Pravda*, at the beginning of the year.

now pretty well convinced that the only ones who could win that race are Death and the Devil. They reject the plans for the wholesale building of concrete shelters against the bombs—the turning of men into moles, digging ever deeper into the earth. More and more they are coming to understand that it is a straight choice between co-existence and co-destruction. "We must find a way of living together or we will all be dying together." . . .

One should note also increasing regard for the indefatigable efforts of Premier Khrushchev to keep the life-and-death issue of disarmament constantly before the eyes of the world. Likewise the enthusiastic welcome accorded to Soviet citizens coming to America to discuss the outstanding issues between our two countries. And while Soviet artists like Sviatoslav Richter richly deserve the tremendous ovations they receive, part of this is by way of tribute to the country from which they come.

These factors along with many others would seem to point to a definite improvement in American-

Soviet relations in the coming year. That does not mean at the outset a complete wholehearted rapprochement, eliminating at one stroke all the suspicions and recriminations of the cold war. Rather in its early stages it would probably be a state of affairs which might be termed a cold peace.

But any lessening of tension will make it more difficult to dismiss airily all overtures for peace as propaganda, and it will create a more congenial climate for negotiation, for a growing spirit of conciliation and compromise.

So, it seems, are the prospects from here. Of course one may mistake his own ideas and emotions for a public movement. Happily, looking out one finds reasons very real and tangible for one's hopes. As I write, suddenly close by appears a new sign on the highway along the Hudson River leading to New York. On it in letters even bigger than those on the Mir Miru signs in Moscow, it proclaims to the passing multitudes —PEACE—1961. This, I take as a happy augury and promise for the coming year.

INTERNATIONAL PIANO COMPETITION IN HUNGARY

HUNGARY is offering a prize of 30,000 forints—about \$2,500—to the winner of an international Liszt-Bartok piano competition to be held in Budapest from September 24 to October 9 this year. June 30 is the closing date for applications.

The contest is for young pianists of all nationalities, born between January 1, 1929 and January 1, 1961. As long as they are taking part in the competition all contestants' expenses in Hungary will be met by the organizing committee.

Obligatory work for the first audition will be Liszt's Consolation in D Flat Major No. 3, with a choice of several works by Liszt and Bartok.

Entrants reaching the final audition will be required to play the Liszt B Minor Sonata and one piano concerto, chosen from Liszt's Concerts in E Flat Major and A Minor, and Bartok's three piano concertos.

In addition to the first prize, there will be other substantial prizes, as well as medals, certificates and diplomas.

The address for those wishing to make application is: *International Liszt and Bartok Piano Competition, Budapest VI, Liszt Ferenc ter 8, Hungary.*

The Right to Work

Legal Guarantees of Soviet Workers

by VASSILI NIKITINSKY

The author of this article is a young Moscow lawyer, born in 1923. After serving with the Soviet Army (1942-45), he enrolled at the Moscow Institute of Law, from which he graduated in 1949. He has worked as a legal inspector for the Central Committee of the Building Materials Industry Workers' Trade Union and as assistant head of the legal aid office of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Since 1956 he has been working at the USSR Institute of Law on problems of Soviet labor legislation.

ALL CITIZENS of the USSR, irrespective of sex, race or nationality, have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

This right "is insured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment." (Article 118 of the USSR Constitution.)

The economic guarantees of the right to work are supplemented by legal guarantees which include:

Prohibition of unlawful refusal to employ a person;

The planned finding of jobs for secondary school leavers and juveniles;

The provision of jobs, in their own field, to young workers and specialists who have graduated from labor reserve schools* and from higher and specialized secondary schools;

Prohibition of the transfer of factory and office workers to other permanent work without their consent;

The right of the worker to change his job at any time;

Prohibition of dismissal of workers by

* See note at end of article.

the management except for reasons stipulated in law and without the consent of the factory, plant or local trade union committee.

The employment of a factory or office worker is, as a general rule, by direct agreement between the management of the factory or office and the citizen seeking employment.

The agreement between the employee and the factory or office, in which the employee undertakes to do work of a definite specialization, skill or responsibility, and in which the factory or office, for its part, undertakes to pay the employee wages and to insure working conditions in conformity with labor legislation, internal labor regulations and the collective and labor agreements, is called a labor contract.

The main terms in the labor contract, such as the length of the working day and of the annual paid holiday, and the rates of payment for work are determined by the laws and decisions of the government and by collective agreements.

These terms cannot be altered by agreement between worker and management. The Labor Codes of the Union Republics regard as invalid

the terms of a labor contract which worsen the position of the worker in comparison with the conditions established by labor legislation, collective agreements and internal labor regulations, and also clauses which tend to restrict the political and general civil rights of the working people.

Let us assume, for example, that a factory manager were to agree with a worker that the latter should work daily for extra pay one hour more than the normal working day established by law or that the management were to assume the right to dismiss a permanent worker at any time without giving any reason—such an agreement would have no legal force whatsoever.

At the same time in concluding a labor contract, either party can add provisions which do not violate the law (for example, that the worker should be given living quarters in a house belonging to the factory.)

Soviet legislation lays down a special procedure for employing persons under age and also young people who have finished secondary school.

The employment of persons under the age of 16 is forbidden.

As an exception juveniles between the ages of 15 and 16 may be employed but only after a medical examination and only with the consent of the factory, plant or local trade union committee, and on sole condition that they have already received production training or will receive it at the factory through individual or group apprenticeship.

All factories, construction sites and organizations are allotted a quota for the employment and production training of secondary school-

leavers and juveniles. The quotas are filled by young people who are sent by the Executive Committees of local Soviets.

The trade unions exercise control over the employment of young people and juveniles according to the established quotas, take part in the organization of their professional training and the provision of the necessary housing and living conditions; the trade unions also help the young people to continue their education in evening or correspondence schools.

Under a labor contract minors have the same rights as adults. At the same time a shorter working day, additional holidays, and a number of other privileges are accorded them.

Jobs are guaranteed to persons who have finished the labor reserve schools, according to a plan and in response to requests from factories and construction sites. The wishes of the workers themselves are taken into account and jobs are found as near as possible to their parents' place of residence. Managers of factories and organizations, to whom labor reserve school-leavers are sent, have no right to refuse to employ them and must employ them in jobs appropriate to the specialization or trade they have learned.

There is a similar procedure for the placing of young specialists who have finished higher and specialized secondary schools in which they studied with the help of a state grant. Upon the completion of their studies, the young specialists are sent straight to work in their own field on the factory floor, on state and collective farms, in transport, on construction sites, in schools, hospitals,

etc. The individual placing of young specialists takes into account the extent of their training and also of their family situation. For example, a husband and wife are given work in the same city; young specialists who have disabled parents are given work, if they wish, near their parents' place of residence, etc.

Thus the existing system of placing young workers and specialists guarantees them employment in their own field and at the same time succeeds in supplying factories and offices with the skilled personnel which they require.

Managements of factory offices cannot refuse to employ a factory or office worker without lawful grounds. Specifically, refusal to employ a person for such reasons as social origin, former court conviction, conviction of relatives, etc., is not allowed. Refusal to employ women on the ground that they are pregnant or are nursing mothers is prohibited on pain of prosecution for a criminal offense.

If a citizen considers that he has been refused employment without good reason, he can complain against the management's unlawful action to the Procurator's Office in the district where the factory or office is located.

Procurator's Offices are instructed: to lodge a protest with higher bodies against unlawful refusal to employ; in cases where the refusal to employ is connected with the sending of secret references (i.e., "blacklisting"—Ed.), to take measures to annul them; in cases where conditions have been laid down which make employment impossible, to bring the guilty parties to book.

The Labor Reserve Board issued

an Order forbidding the Sverdlovsk Region Labor Reserve Board to employ in Labor Reserve schools a certain Mr. B., who had been responsible for safety rules being ignored while teaching his pupils.

The USSR Procurator's Office protested against this Order on the grounds that existing legislation did not include disciplinary action such as dismissal and loss of the right to fill certain jobs in the profession and that a worker could only be deprived temporarily of the right to occupy a post by court sentence. The protest of the USSR Procurator's Office was accepted.

It is not only on the basis of individual complaints that Procurator's Offices handle infringements of the Soviet citizen's right to work.

In one instance an organization sent out an Order to its subordinate bodies to conclude labor contracts for a definite period of work in the Far North only with citizens who would in advance consent to continue working after the expiration of the term of the contract.

This Order was annulled on the protest of the USSR Procurator's Office, which pointed out that such a condition of employment illegally restricts a citizen's right freely to choose the place of his new job after he has fulfilled his obligations under a labor contract concluded for a definite period of time.

The Labor Codes of the Union Republics lay down that managements of factories or offices have no right to ask a factory or office worker to do work not stipulated in the labor contract or work obviously dangerous to life or which does not conform with labor legislation.

Transfer to other permanent work

in the same factory or office and also transfer to another factory or office, or to another locality (even together with the factory or office) is allowed only with the consent of the worker.

Temporary transfer to another job without the consent of the worker is allowed only in extreme cases directly envisaged by law. Thus, for example, in cases where it is essential for production the management has the right to transfer a worker to another job at the same or another factory in the same locality for a period of not more than one month, with payment during the entire period of the transfer at the level of his former average earnings (if the work to which the worker has been temporarily transferred is lower paid than his own job).

The management is also allowed to make a temporary transfer to another job should there be a break in production and also as a disciplinary penalty for violation of labor discipline. In the latter case the transfer may be made to a lower-paid job, but only within the worker's own specialization and for a period of not more than three months.

A worker who considers that he has been unfairly transferred to another job has the right to complain against his transfer according to established procedure.

If they find that a worker has been illegally transferred to another job, the bodies which examine labor disputes take the decision that the worker be reinstated in his old job. Simultaneously the factory or office is instructed, in conformity with existing legislation, to pay wages to a worker, who has not taken up the new job for the period of his enforced idleness, or to pay a worker,

who has been put on a lower-paid job, the difference in wages for the period of the transfer.

To insure each citizen a free choice of place and type of work presupposes the right of factory and office workers to take up another job without any hindrance. In conformity with the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 25, 1956, a factory or office worker has the right to leave a job of his own accord, provided he gives the management two weeks' notice. With the consent of the management a factory or office worker may leave his job of his own accord before the expiration of the two weeks' notice required by law.

Unwillingness by the management to release a factory or office worker before another person has been found to take his place and refusal, upon the expiration of the two weeks' notice, to issue an order (instruction) concerning his release has no legal significance.

Unless a factory or office worker who has handed in his notice changes his mind during the term of notice, the labor contract is regarded as null and void and when the two weeks are up the worker is considered released at his own request.

The right of factory and office workers, who have concluded labor contracts for an indefinite term, to leave their job at any time (after giving the amount of notice required by law), together with the absence of unemployment in the USSR, increases the responsibility of factory and office managers to insure the best possible working conditions and provide cultural and other services for their employees.

Otherwise factory and office work-

ers will prefer to work at other factories or offices where the management pays due attention to the working and living conditions of their staff.

Soviet laws carefully protect factory and office workers from unlawful dismissal. *Management has the right to dismiss a worker on its own initiative only for an extremely limited number of reasons, directly stipulated by law, and only with the consent of the factory, plant or local trade union committee.*

The Labor Codes of the Union Republics contain an exhaustive list of the reasons permitting the management of a factory or office to raise before a factory, plant or local trade union committee the question of dismissing a factory or office worker. Among them are: reduction of staff; suspension of work for more than one month for production reasons; unsuitability of the factory or office worker for his job; systematic failure to do his job satisfactorily without valid reason;* commission of a criminal offense directly connected with the job and established by a court verdict, or the detention of the worker for more than two months; absence from work without valid reason; prolonged absence from work (not less than two consecutive months) owing to temporary disability; reinstatement in a job, held by a worker, of a person who formerly had that job.

In all cases of dismissal on the initiative of the management, the latter presents in advance a state-

ment to the factory, plant or local trade union committee, outlining the circumstances which prompt it to raise the question of cancelling the labor contract with a particular factory or office worker and indicating the law which gives the right of dismissal provided the trade union committee consents.

The trade union committee summons to its meeting the worker concerned and, usually, the trade union group organizer or else a member of the trade union shop committee who, since he works in the same shop or department as the worker concerned, has a good idea of his abilities, his attitude to his work, his relations with the other workers and also is conversant with the working conditions.

If necessary, the trade union committee can ask the management for additional evidence of the man's work record (for example, information on fulfillment of production quotas, managerial orders imposing penalties on him or rewarding him for good work, etc.), and can summon witnesses to the meeting, etc.

Obviously factory and office managers only raise questions of dismissal before the trade union committee when they have serious cause for so doing. Nevertheless when at the meeting the trade union committee examines the statement made by the management and its members begin to probe in detail and to assess all the "pros" and "cons," the matter is often decided contrary to the expectation of the management.

Trade union committees which express and defend the worker's interests agree to a dismissal only if they are convinced that it is impossible to leave the worker on the job,

* Dismissal of a worker for systematic failure to do his work satisfactorily without valid reason is allowed only in cases when disciplinary measures (reproof, official reprimand, etc.) have not had the desired effect, whereupon the continuance of the worker in his job runs counter to the interests of production.

i.e.,
exam
at th
Fact
cern
agem
only
the
miss
At
ing
unio
miss
prop
agem
In
the
work
meet
justi
ampl
of th
Vege
want
of a
The
this
ing
drate
ing
gesti
work
In
sons
viola
trade
not
ing
dism
unio
Heav
amin
Anat
pack
who
three
was

i.e., in the most extreme cases. For example, the trade union committee at the Zhdanov Heavy Engineering Factory examined 50 statements concerning dismissal made by the management but agreed to dismissal in only 10 cases. Forty people, whom the management intended to dismiss, remained at work.

At the Ordzhonikidze Engineering Factory in Podolsk the trade union committee agreed to the dismissal of only one out of 20 workers proposed for dismissal by the management on various grounds.

In practice a lively discussion on the dismissal of a factory or office worker at trade union committee meetings often helps to avoid unjustified dismissal. The following example is typical. The management of the Milk Products and Dehydrated Vegetables Factory in Rudnyansk wanted to dismiss 85 workers in view of a cut in the volume of production. The factory committee examined this question at an extended meeting and suggested using the dehydrated vegetable shop for dehydrating meat. The adoption of this suggestion safeguarded these skilled workers' jobs.

In judging the management's reasons for dismissing a worker for violation of labor discipline, the trade union committee usually does not content itself with simply checking up on the formal reasons for dismissal. For example, the trade union committee at the Zhdanov Heavy Engineering Factory examined the case for the dismissal of Anatoly Kolupayev, a young sorter-packer in the structural steel shop, who had been absent from work three times without good reason. It was discovered that educational

work on the shop floor was insufficient, that Kolupayev was not even a member of the trade union, and that a certain Zaitsev was having a bad influence on the young man, encouraging him to drink. The factory committee refused to consent to Kolupayev's dismissal and at the same time suggested that the shop committee vastly improve its educational work. Kolupayev later became a good and disciplined worker.

The trade union committee often takes into account the offender's regret for what has happened and his promise to reform. Very often the trust shown by his fellow workers is the first incentive to him to reform. To give one of numerous examples, the management of the Kurgan Armature Works wanted to dismiss Serpov, a turner, and Yegorov, a fitter, for gross violation of labor discipline. These workers realized how they would end up if they continued as they were going, so they acknowledged their faults and promised the collective to work honestly in the future. The factory committee trusted the workers and refused to consent to their dismissal. Today Serpov and Yegorov are working well in their previous jobs.

If the trade union committee does not agree to the dismissal of a worker, then the management has no right whatsoever to dismiss him, since neither a higher trade union body nor a court has the right to settle such a matter in place of the trade union committee of the particular factory or office. The decision of the factory, plant or local trade union committee in these matters is final and there is no appeal.

Categorical prohibition to dismiss workers on the initiative of the man-

agement without obtaining in advance the consent of the factory, plant or local trade union committee, is a serious legal guarantee of a Soviet citizen's right to work. Nevertheless, if a worker, dismissed on the initiative of the management with the consent of the trade union committee, regards his dismissal as incorrect, he can appeal against it. He can apply to a People's Court for reinstatement on the job within a month after receiving his notice. If the People's Court finds that the dismissal is wrong, it decides to reinstate the worker in his old job, and to exact his wages for the period of his enforced idleness.

The Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court in a Decision of September 13, 1957, pointed out that where a court, during its examination of a case, establishes that officials acted wrongly in flagrant violation of the labor laws, and, specifically, that they illegally dismissed workers with the object of removing from the staff persons undesirable to the management, the court should pass a special decision on the imposition of disciplinary penalties on the guilty officials or on the institution of criminal proceedings against them. In practice such special decisions are taken, for example, in cases when managements dismiss a worker without the consent of the trade union committee.

The steady expansion of socialist industry makes it certain that the dismissed factory or office worker will quickly find another suitable job. Nevertheless, in cases stipulated by law, the management has to pay a worker who has been dismissed a *dismissal allowance*, equal to his average earnings for 12 working-

days, or else give him 12 working-days' notice.

The Labor Codes of the Union Republics contain different rules concerning payment of a dismissal allowance or length of notice, depending on the reasons for the dismissal.

Thus, factory or office workers who are dismissed because of reduction of staff, a break in production for more than a month, or unsuitability for the job they perform may be given 12 working-days' notice by the management. If a worker, however, has not been notified in time about his dismissal on these grounds, he is paid the dismissal allowance. Managements must pay the dismissal allowance (irrespective of whether notice of the dismissal has been given) to a worker who is dismissed owing to the reinstatement in his job of another worker, or owing to refusal to move to another place together with the factory or office.

Soviet labor legislation regulating the procedure of the employment, transfer and dismissal of factory and office workers, and also the procedure of examining labor disputes, guarantees to protect the rights of Soviet citizens to work and to re-establish these rights in all cases when they have been impaired.

In regard to the Labor Reserve Schools referred to in the article, the training of young skilled workers has in the past been entrusted in the main to the State Labor Reserve Board under the USSR Council of Ministers and its local bodies. The Labor Reserve system has various schools which train workers in different trades: 6-month industrial training schools, 2-year trade, railway, mining and agricultural schools, 10-month technical schools, etc. During their period of study at a Labor Reserve school, young people get not only production training but also a general education and are maintained by the state. [Under the New Education Law such schools are now being reorganized as rural and urban schools for working youth.—Ed.]

Reprinted through courtesy of the British Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR.

Do Soviet Children Cry?

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

I HAVE JUST finished reading voluminous reports, some of them book-length, by various American and English experts on child-upbringing who have been visiting the Soviet Union, and, greatly daring, I propose to dot their i's and cross their t's.

None of these experts could be labeled pro-Soviet, but they are all so enthusiastic about this particular phase of Soviet life that I doubt if any of the Americans among them would have dared in the McCarthy era to write as they do now. The only i-dotting and t-crossing they need, I think, is when they avoid relating the Soviet system of child-upbringing to the Soviet system as a whole.

Here, for instance, is what Dr. Milton Senn, professor of Child Psychiatry at Yale University, says of Russian children he has observed in creches, kindergartens, junior schools and in public places:

"They are good-humored, easy-going and friendly. Yet they are remarkably well behaved. They are not given to yelling, fighting or breaking things. They play together in notable harmony, even when there is a remarkable disparity in their ages. They never seem to whine; they cry only when they hurt themselves, and then only briefly.

They are warm, spontaneous, polite and generous."

It is a new experience for me—and a welcome sign of the times—to niggle at any praise of anything Soviet, but frankness compels me to insist (1) that Professor Senn slightly over-stresses the quietness of Russian youngsters and (2) that (although the little brat next door is by no means typical!) very young children in the care of their mothers have roughly the same whine-frequency as American and English children.

I was particularly interested—partly, I admit, in an I-told-you-so way—to see that every one of these experts had "discovered" for himself or herself something I have mentioned repeatedly in articles dating back a full decade: the extraordinary self-possession and natural good manners of Soviet children in the presence of adults, including strangers. Come to think of it. I have no right to feel superior about this, for I still feel this sense of "discovery" although I have visited scores of times more creches, kindergartens, children's camps, schools, Pioneers' palaces and similar institutions than any visitor could possibly see in a stay of a month or two.

"Good" behavior can, of course, come from excessive submissiveness and spiritless "conformity" or from the degree of discipline imposed. In dealing with this and similar thorny problems of child care, a layman—and a childless layman at that—has

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE'S articles on various aspects of Soviet life are a regular feature of NWR. Former editor of the British Embassy newspaper in Moscow, Johnstone has lived in the USSR since 1947.

to tread gingerly. Let me shelter behind quotation marks and refer, without naming, to an American woman friend of mine. What she says is a fair reflection of what has been said by literally scores of friends of mine—not only Russians but people in the foreign “colonies” of journalism and diplomacy—who have one or more children at creches, kindergartens and schools in Moscow:

“When I first went to visit Mary—who was then two and a half at the summer camp of her day nursery, I got a shock. My first glimpse was of about twenty little toddlers—all about the same height and chubbiness, all in the same stage of sunburn, all in the same little panties and sun-hats—walking two-by-two along a sandy path of the camp’s grounds. My Mary was just one of a crowd.

“They were in charge of a girl of eighteen. ‘In charge of’ is hardly right. They were prattling away to one another but the girl hardly opened her mouth. It seemed she ‘just happened’ to be there. If she had been playing casually on a shepherd’s pipes I wouldn’t have been surprised.

“Later, after giving a solemn promise to keep well out of sight, I watched these kids settling down and getting up from their afternoon nap. Again everything went like well-oiled clockwork without a squeak anywhere. It would have scared me if I hadn’t also seen these kids at times when they romped about, even wandered about within limits, and made as much noise as they pleased.

“Mary, as you know, used to be quite a handful at home, often cross

and disobedient, but in the nursery she’s always as good as gold, and happy too. And now you can see the difference when she’s at home too. I’m not a bit worried about the effects of nursery discipline on the growth of her personality. She gets much, much more discipline at home than ever she does at the nursery. So do all the children.

“But here is a nice little problem for a proud mother: How is it that this 18-year-old girl, however much she loves children, manages to keep *twenty* of them well-behaved and happy, while I, a devoted and, I hope, a quite intelligent mother, can’t manage nearly so well with only *one* to look after?”

Not being a proud mother I’ll retire again behind quotes for an answer to this and various other questions.

This time, however, it is for family reasons that the authority I cite shall be nameless. But, because a book is now being written about her and her work, I can say at least that she was, in 1918, the co-founder of one of the first Soviet kindergartens, that she remained its director until her semi-retirement about a year ago and that she is very well informed not only on Soviet but also on Western trends in the upbringing of children. Here, first of all, is what she says on the vexed question of “conformity” versus “individuality” among children:

“One of our first jobs is to help the child to understand ‘We are we’; he already knows ‘I am I’. He is an individualist long before he is a social being and his hardy individualism doesn’t need all the fostering it seems to get in the West. It is the newer, less hardy, social side that needs fostering—and not so much for

society's sake as for his own happiness.

"It is the sociable child rather than the persistent individualist who is more fully accepted by a group of children. And to be accepted means companionship, friendship and a feeling of security and harmony with reality; in fact, the things that insure a happy childhood and a well-adjusted future life.

"We don't ignore the individuality of children. The many means we employ for encouraging individual interests and talents and the special attention we give to socially backward children—without letting the other children be aware of this!—is a study in itself. But a child can't give full rein to his personal gifts, can't, in fact, be a real individual, until he learns certain rules and conforms to them, just as, say, a painter or a pianist has to do. If that is conformism, I'm a conformist."

But how can an 18-year-old girl control twenty children better than some very intelligent and devoted mother can control one?

"It is really the group of children that controls each member of the group and the main job of a kindergarten worker is to see that this almost automatic control works smoothly and in the right direction.

Children of roughly the same age feel themselves to be equal members of their own little society—equal because they each enforce the society's code of behavior as well as having it enforced on them.

"Adults are almost literally too 'big' to enter this society. They cannot even communicate with children as children do with one another.

"That a code of behavior exists in any group of children is, of course, well known in the West, but we here see it in rather a different light. The group is a miniature society. Its code is a social code. Although this code seems to be spontaneously reborn with each group of children it has, curiously enough, always the same form and the same foundation—an instinctive sense of equality and respect for the rights of others."

In other words—my own, for a change—it would seem that a group of children in a creche or kindergarten is a microcosm of a society in which there are no sharp differences of class, privilege or opportunity, and therefore a fine preparation for that kind of society. I would hesitate, however, to recommend it to parents who want their children to be trained from their tenderest years for the rat-race of rugged, unrestrained individualism.

CUBAN BALLET COMPANY IN CHINA

CUBA'S NATIONAL BALLET COMPANY under the direction of Fernando Alonso and starring his wife Alicia Alonso, began their tour of the People's Republic of China in Peking on January 28 by giving a performance of *Giselle*. The Cuban dancers were received by the audience with thunderous applause.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Oscar Pino Santos, Cuban Ambassador to China, were in the audience.

Fernando Alonso, in the ceremonies that preceded the ballet, said that January 28 was the birthday of the father of Cuban independence, Jose Marti, and that he and his company were happy to be celebrating the occasion among the friendly Chinese people.

People Come to Peking

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

FROM ALL OVER the world people come to Peking. Scientists, artists and peace promoters, heads of state and ballet dancers, delegations from trade unions, peace societies, women and youth. They come from socialist nations, capitalist nations and feudal monarchies; from Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America. They come from almost all our planet except the United States.

Fourteen hundred years ago in the great Tang Dynasty, China's capital was famed as a gathering place of tribes and nations; they came on foot and horse from North of Baikal, on camel over the western deserts from golden Samarkand, by sea from the South Pacific and far Arabia. Now again the tribes and nations come. They come especially on anniversaries like May First or October First, which is China's National Day. On October 1st, 1959, the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, visitors from 87 nations sat in the enlarged grandstand facing Tien An-men Square—which itself had been greatly enlarged and surrounded by fine new buildings like the Great Hall of the People where Congresses now meet. As we watched the colorful

ranks of Peking's marchers, the waving of paper flowers in great masses, the hundreds of thousands of colored balloons and the flight of thousands of "peace doves," it seemed like the onward march of mankind. China herself contains one fourth of mankind and already her influence touches and attracts the ends of the earth.

Any time one may drop into a hotel dining room as I did in Shanghai recently and meet a group of ten Negroes speaking English, and learn that they come from Zanzibar, a place which most of us look up on a map with difficulty and curiosity. Or any day you pick up the paper—let's take October 10, 1960 as sample—and find that a Japanese Drama Company is leaving, General Ne Win of Burma is arriving, the Military Mission of Iraq is getting a farewell banquet, and Mao Tse-tung is attending a performance by the Burmese Cultural Troupe. Minor news notes on the same day include a trade-union leader from Kenya, a lawyer from Tunis, a cultural delegation from Venezuela, an Indonesian peace-champion, German cyclists and a famous German dancer, a cabinet Minister from Iraq just leaving and a Burmese Boundary Commission arriving from Shanghai. This is a sample day; some days include more dancers, or scientists, or politicians.

Premiers and heads of State arrive more formally. They are met by hundreds of thousands of Peking citi-

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, world famous correspondent and author of many books on the USSR, China and our own country, has been visiting in China for over a year. Last summer she visited Tibet with a group of correspondents, among whom she was the only American—and the only woman.

zens stretched all the way from the airport on both sides of the wide new boulevards across the city to the sumptuous state guest house in the western suburb. This thirty-mile stretch is banked with waving flags of China and the guest nation, floral decorations, and bands. Thus came Sekou Touré of Guinea, Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Ferhat Abbas of the Algerian Provisional Government and many, many more.

Such arrivals call for banquets in the state banquet hall which is probably the world's largest and most magnificent, with 5,000 seated at round tables under a ceiling beautifully decorated with lights, and concealed floodlights for photography turned on by a switch in the main walls. From eight to twelve courses of delicious, sophisticated food, are followed by song and dance performances on a golden curtained stage. Such visits end with joint communique and farewell banquets and usually farewell gifts of some magnificence, ranging from works of art given to cultural delegations to the \$45,000,000 worth of new factories which Ché Guevara's Economic Mission from Cuba took home.

Why do they all come? Each visitor, each delegation has its special aim and curiosity, but basically they seem to want to learn:

How did one fourth of mankind in ten years conquer famine?

How did they abolish epidemics and drastically reduce disease?

How did they conquer illiteracy and achieve wide knowledge?

How did they build modern industry so fast against embargo by the USA, the world's greatest industrial power?

By what means, by what kind of people, can such things be done?

FOR A HUNDRED years China was known as a land of great famines, where peasants fled their homes and sold their children to buy food. Today all this is over. Over 60 per cent of the cultivated land is irrigated, against 16 per cent in 1949. China is still subject to natural calamities; a long drought and many typhoons cut the crops sharply in 1960. But now the people fight collectively through the communes. They spread the hardship, share the food and develop new food sources. No peasants are forced from their land, no families sell their children, no bodies are picked up every morning, dead of hunger on the streets of Peking and Shanghai, as not so long ago occurred.

For a hundred years China was known as one of the world's great hotbeds of cholera, small-pox, plague and many other diseases. Infantile tetanus, due to bad midwifery, killed off a large proportion of infants in the first ten days. These great killers were beaten by 1953, and since then the death rate has fallen again markedly. Now the second rank of diseases—malaria, syphilis, schistosomiasis, kalaazar, are coming under control.

For a hundred years China was known as illiterate. Eighty per cent of the city workers and a much bigger percent of peasants could not read or write. Today primary schools reach 87 per cent of the children, while hundreds of millions of adults have learned to read in spare-time courses, and are now advancing up the steps of primary school, middle school and technical school or col-

lege. Nowhere in China any longer does one feel oneself among a non-reading people. One finds a well-informed, creative population, producing paintings, poetry, and aware of the political currents of the world.

In some ways the most spectacular growth has been that of industrial production which has multiplied ten times in ten years, so that the total industrial output, valued in 1949 at 14 billion yuan, reached 147 billion yuan in 1959,—in yuan of the same kind. This is a miracle figure which no land in history has matched. The rise in agriculture is striking enough: from 1949 to 1959 it averaged an increase over 10 per cent per year; the grain crop of 1959 was more than two and a half times that of 1949. But industry grew so much faster, that its output, which in 1949 was valued at less than one third that of agriculture, passed the output of agriculture in 1954, making China a combined agricultural-industrial nation. In 1958 industrial output was twice that of agricultural so that China is now a country two-thirds industrial in output, though the great bulk of its population is still engaged on the farms. In the past three years industry itself has moved in part to the countryside, through the communes.

These are the things people come from all the world to see in China, each visitor for his own ends.

Recently, in 1959 and 1960, there has been a special influx of Africans, Japanese and Latin Americans. Africans have come from more than thirty nations, some only recently independent and others whose names one never heard before. They are especially interested—as are also the Asian visitors—in China's genius

for improving agriculture and starting small industries cheaply from scratch. They take home samples of the new rice transplanters and designs for small iron and steel works which can be quickly and locally built.

Visitors from Japan have averaged twenty to thirty delegations or important individuals monthly for more than a year. These include an ex-premier, several former cabinet ministers, a delegation of important lawyers, many scientists and artists and a famous troupe of Kabuki dancers who went on a China tour. The Japanese are very desirous of trade with China which Washington prevents.

From Latin America a rough count shows over 1,500 visitors on sundry missions in the past ten years, with well over 300 in 1960. Many "parliamentary delegations" came: the main ones in 1959 were from Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, and in 1960 from Brazil and Costa Rica. Senators and political figures from Latin America are too many to list. One must, however, note the visit two years ago of Lazaro Cardenas, who is still Mexico's most famous political figure though long out of office. Many Cuban delegations came in late 1960, of which the most important for history was the Government Economic Delegation under Major Ernesto Ché Guevara. It whizzed across half China in fifteen days, picking up \$45,000,000 worth of factories, a shopping tour of three million dollars a day and all on credit, since China gave Cuba a loan of \$60,000,000 for five years without interest, to buy industrial equipment and factories looking towards Cuba's economic self-support.

I asked a friend who handles delegations how many of the Latin American visitors were Communists. He laughed.

"Practically none," he replied. "Communists in Latin America haven't the money to travel so far. From most of Latin America we get businessmen, professional men and bourgeois politicians."

"Why do they come?" I asked.

"They want to know how China industrializes so fast against an embargo from the USA. They would like to do the same."

"Do you tell them how?" I asked.

"We tell them," he replied, "but that doesn't mean that they also can do it. To industrialize you have to get capital and this must come either by foreign loan or by accumulation from your peasants. Peasants in backward lands can't accumulate until they get control of land. Most of the bourgeois politicians who come don't want a peasant revolution; so they will have to keep on getting capital from the United States."

PEOPLE from one nation do not come to Peking. Citizens of the United States of America have to stay away; their passports do not permit China travel. If they change dollars in China, they may face jail for "trading with the enemy." The U.S. State Department has done its best for a decade to keep Americans from contact with China. Reasons for this are seldom discussed. But clearly the lack of contact permits the U.S. propaganda services, whether governmental or unofficial, to invent tall tales and spread slanders against China in a general atmosphere of ignorance. The USA is more misinformed on China than

is any other nation in the world.

The lack of information has begun to worry American officialdom. The Rockefeller Foundation published a program which held that "recognition of China" or a "seat in the United Nations" was not at all important, but the gathering of information was very much needed and twenty or more American reporters should be traveling all over China to that end. No claim was made that the "information" sought would be for friendly uses. Under such pressures, the U.S. State Department finally licensed some thirty-odd press agencies to send hand-picked reporters to China; in one case that I know, the State Department protested the type of correspondent an agency tried to pick. Since these reporters were clearly chosen for U.S. State Department purposes, China did not let them come.

Meantime Hong Kong has become a center where U.S. agents of every variety—from newspaper correspondents to official spies—collect information on China. Some of the collectors are reputable, able journalists; some are outright fabricators of tall tales. Slanders about China spread through the American press, sometimes from Hong Kong, sometime from Macao—a small Portuguese colony bordering China. Sometimes, apparently, they are invented in Washington or New York.

From scores of such slanders I mention three which have circulated widely. The tale of the alleged fifteen to twenty million people "executed" by the present Chinese Government in consolidating its power seems to have been started by *Time* magazine some years ago. When it first ap-

peared, Edgar Snow challenged Henry Luce about it, and was told by the *Time* editor that the figures came from a bureau of the United Nations. Snow persevered and learned from the UN bureau that they had made some estimates of the human costs of World War II, and had estimated for China figures of losses occurring from the war with Japan, the civil war and the various floods and famines of those years. These were the figures *Time* used as "executions by the Communists"!

The charge that China is exporting large amounts of opium is regularly made by officials of the U.S. Narcotic Department. It appears in various forms. One tale reported that China produced 2,500 tons of opium and turned it into heroin in fifty heroin factories, and exported it to the USA for the purpose of debauching American youth. This proved too hard to swallow, since no heroin factories exist in China, no opium exports are admitted by any Chinese Foreign Trade office, and the USA control of narcotics imports is also strict. The next tale therefore gave data much harder to check. It was alleged that China produces opium in the distant valleys of Yunnan province, and smuggles it out through Burma and Thailand to the world market.

Fortunately for my information I have Dr. George Hatem, a personal friend, an American physician who has been working for nearly thirty years in China. In recent years he has three times visited Yunnan, in public health teams which traveled to three parts of the distant Yunnan border with Burma and Thailand. He contacted health workers and administrative officials in all that area. Dr.

Hatem tells me that in the former days of Chiang Kai-shek, those valleys produced opium, but this has long since ceased. Opium plants have a distinctive appearance and odor; and no such plants are found anywhere in Yunnan now. To this one adds that it is well known that the troops of Chiang Kai-shek who fled from Yunnan in 1950 into Burma, and who still live there by loot and banditry, have been more than once cited by Premier U Nu of Burma as engaged in opium smuggling.

Whether the U.S. Narcotics Division makes the slanders against China out of whole cloth, or merely uses figures fifteen years old and the acts of Chiang's refugee soldiers as a basis, concerns their consciences alone. As far as China goes, the tales are lies.

One last slander has spread very widely: the tale that the people's communes in China are "slave labor camps" and specifically, that they separate men from their wives, and ration sex relations by the half hour under control. *Life* of December 1958, was one of the first promoters of this story; their article originated in Macao. It was full of grotesque inventions about the adjacent Chinese areas in Kwangtung province. When I visited that province I took some pains to check these tales with the help of thirty people over the period of a month. I proved them lies and sent the proof to *Life*. My letter was never acknowledged.

Families still live together in their former homes or in new ones and their sex life is far more normal than it used to be in China's "old society," when men often had to leave their wives for years either for army duty or for jobs.

Court Reform in Czechoslovakia

by ELEANOR WHEELER

AN EXAMPLE of the way in which certain governmental functions are gradually being taken over by laymen in socialist countries, is to be found in the new court reforms now under consideration in Czechoslovakia.

A draft of a law embodying such reforms was proposed at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on December 7-8, 1960. It is now being thoroughly discussed throughout the country, suggestions will be incorporated in the final draft presented for a vote in June, and the new system should be in operation—in part, at least—by the end of the summer.

Hitherto the courts have been on three levels—district, regional, and supreme—and the proposed law would add a lay court at the local level.

In addition to the introduction of the new local courts, with lay judges, it was proposed that all judges be elected, those in the Supreme Court by Parliament, and the rest by general elections. This, of course, means a decrease in central authority, and wider public participation in judicial affairs.

Recently I had an opportunity to discuss this elective feature of the judiciary with Vaclav Lacina, Czech

satirical writer who served as judge for sixteen years after graduating from law school. He claims that his robe was so short-sleeved as to seem frivolous after that many years of service, for the frayed edges had to be repeatedly turned under! Furthermore, his father was a judge before him, so he has a historical view of the judiciary of this country that goes back to when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire?

"In those days they never dreamed that *any* public employee could be elected. A department head had to have a law degree, and as for *judges* coming from the lay public, *well* . . .

"It is interesting to point out, by the way, that the stock exchange arbitrators could be laymen, although they decided questions of law. In other words, when they were operating among their own kind the bourgeoisie did not need to set up barriers of law degrees. But even in the first republic there were these hurdles to keep workers from participating too much in the administration, especially in the judiciary."

The election of judges began in 1952, when the district National Committees elected the district judges, and the regional National Committees the regional judges. The Supreme Court judges remained appointive up to the present proposed law. Even earlier, in 1948-49, the lay judges had been elected by the National Committees at each level.

In the district and regional courts

ELEANOR WHEELER, who has lived in Prague for over a decade with her husband and children, frequently writes articles for NWR about life in Czechoslovakia.

the lay judges participated in making the decision on an equal level with the professional judges. This experience with laymen in the judiciary now furnishes a basis for introducing the new lay courts at the local level.

When I talked with one of these lay judges, Mrs. Hasalova from a court in the center of Prague, I found that often their work coordinated with that of the social worker in the courts. A young man, who was brought up for pilfering or some other misdemeanor, might feel a resentment at being given lower grade work than his technical training entitled him to. Or another who habitually skipped shifts might have an ill mother in another town whom he visited on week ends. These were actual examples dealt with by Mrs. Hasalova, and she and the other judges were not content with rendering a decision, they would go to the factory concerned and try to remedy the situation that was partial cause of the misconduct.

Another forerunner of the new courts is the "court of comrades" in the factories, cooperative farms, and some other institutions. These were first introduced in the Ostrava region in 1954, to combat loafing, drinking, petty thievery, and other disciplinary matters. They started in an informal way to keep the wayward worker from going so far in his misconduct that he would land in the courts. Often the miscreant said it was more nerve-wracking to face his fellow workers than the courts, and of course they were harder to mislead as to the facts in the case. The success of these informal tribunals where they were first tried out meant that they spread to other

localities and other types of institutions.

It is this element of having to look your fellow workers in the eye when you have harmed them by your misbehavior that is to be emphasized in the new local courts. They are to be set up in towns of 3,000 or more, and in factories. Not all at once, but gradually, as conditions are ripe, and they will come later in the rural areas than in the towns. They will not follow formal legal procedure as in other courts, nor have a heavy administrative apparatus.

The main stress will be on how you live in your collective, or, as we say here, "Do you live in a socialist way?" That sounds like moralizing, and it inevitably is in some cases. The success of the whole thing depends on the good sense of those involved. And that is the essence of the idea behind putting judicial and administrative matters in the hands of the public—trust is laid in their good sense, and at the same time facilities for public education are multiplied. If good sense is to be a large factor in local administration, it must be an informed good sense.

The consensus of the collective in which the defendant has been living and working is also carried into the district and regional courts. There a new post, that of "representative of the public," is introduced. He is delegated by the co-op or factory or neighborhood, youth organization or trade union, where the defendant has been living or working, and he presents the collective's opinion on whether the defendant deserves severe treatment because he has been injuring others' lives, or whether mitigating circumstances should be

considered. These considerations are primarily quite informal, non-legal matters.

As a police official commented to me, this means more protection of personal property, rather than less. The emphasis on protection of socialist property actually means that the efforts of fellow workers are not squandered, and the cutting down on rowdiness means that personal property is better protected.

Although the new local courts will often rely on the advice of the former "courts of comrades," they will differ in being an integral part of the judiciary, even though their procedure will be more or less informal. Their decisions may be appealed up to the highest court.

Another interesting feature of the legal reform, one which could be expanded on in a whole article, is that it includes a revision of the labor code. And who is to do the revision of labor safety provisions, wage adjustments and so on? The trade unions, primarily.

The draft provisions also highlight a new element common to all socialist countries. This is the whole

new set of "misdemeanors." Under the old system if a worker loafed or had a good deal of absenteeism, the rest of the workers felt it was no skin off their noses, it was the boss's worry. Now in the "courts of comrades" they say to him, "Look here, if you don't do the work, that means we have to make up for your shortcomings. You'll have to buck up." The same goes for neglect of tools, even failure to improve skills and keep abreast of new techniques. Venturing further, these councils of co-workers are apt to lecture fellow workers who do not give their wives opportunity for a career, who drink too much, who don't join others in cultural expeditions. In other words, it verges on misdemeanor when they do not "live in a socialist way."

The new local courts will carry on this tradition, serving as a bridge between these informal sessions in the "courts of comrades" and the professional courts on a district or regional level. The idea behind such reforms is that as formal governmental functions decrease and laymen administer more themselves, the social system will be strengthened.

TELEVISION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK TELEVISION is moving ahead with great rapidity. In 1954, when television was just beginning in the country, there were 3,823 sets. At the end of 1960 there were 794,998 sets (of which 25,000 were sold in December alone.) It is estimated that by 1965 there will be 1,900,000 sets, and by 1970, 3,000,000. (The population of Czechoslovakia in 1959 was 13,518,021.)

The Third Five-Year Plan calls for new studios in Prague, Bratislava and Brno, the completion of a transmitter in the coal-and-steel center, Ostrava, and work will be begun on a studio in the country's easternmost city, Kosice. Each of the ten regions of the Republic will have a TV center equipped with truck-mounted transmitting and relay stations.

All this is intended to make possible 90 hours of telecasting weekly by 1965, and beginning in 1962 morning programs for the benefit of night workers.

By 1963 Prague is to have a new TV center with two studios and a special theater especially designed and equipped for TV transmission of performances of Czechoslovakia's various permanent theaters.

The Third Spartakiade in 1965 is expected to be shown in its full glory on color TV.

Schools for Working Youth in the USSR

by DEANA LEVIN

YOUNG PEOPLE who, after finishing the eighth class of the Soviet school, decide to go to work, pass through a period of apprenticeship which may last from six months to a year. During this time they go through a training which brings them up to a minimum standard of skill. They then take a test which qualifies them as workers in the lowest category. While they are apprentices they are paid at apprentice rates, and up to the age of eighteen their working day is two-thirds that of an adult.

There are two ways of training apprentices: either by attaching an individual to a skilled worker, or by including him or her in a brigade of learners.

In order to pass from one category to the next, which, of course, means higher pay, tests are taken. There are different kinds of courses available at work—special courses for raising qualifications, courses for raising productivity by mastering new methods of work, courses where experienced workers pass on their knowledge, and, finally, courses for acquiring a second specialty.

This last course is of great use in factories where workers can do repairs to their own machines, and so avoid holding up production, or in

the country, where there is a need for part-time hairdressers, librarians, cinema technicians, and, for farm work, a knowledge of the maintenance as well as the running of machinery.

In the new organization of the Soviet school system, schools for working youth, both in the towns and in the country, are an important and integral part of this system. They form one of the three types of school in which it is possible to complete a secondary education. The course covers the work of the ninth to eleventh classes in a shortened form, and at present about 40 per cent of all pupils completing their secondary education are in these schools.

As the first year at work is taken up in mastering the skills of the job, the young worker usually begins to study when he has already had some experience. Over half of the students in the schools for working youth are twenty years of age or over. Because of this, it is possible to shorten the syllabuses in many subjects. For example, the worker in many types of industry meets with phenomena covered by the physics or chemistry syllabus.

Often the teachers of these subjects find that their pupils have a better knowledge of the practical aspects of their subjects than they have themselves, and they then can use this knowledge in the lessons to good effect. Many of the students are voters, and therefore have a good

DEANA LEVIN is an English authority on education. She is at present in the USSR studying the Soviet educational system at first-hand.

practical knowledge of the Soviet Constitution. The study of geography is also simpler for maturer students.

Schools for working youth in the towns are either evening or shift schools, and are organized either in the factory or enterprise itself or on a district basis. In this way the students can study at their place of work before or after their shift, or near their homes. Classes take place three times a week, and there are five or six periods a session. In addition, on a fourth day, the student may attend voluntarily for consultation with the teachers and for a course for raising his professional qualifications. Each school year is thirty-six weeks.

Rural schools for working youth are arranged to fit in with the farm routine and are therefore seasonal. They follow the same curriculum as the town schools. The subjects studied include literature, mathematics, history, the Soviet Constitution, economics, geography, physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, technical drawing and a foreign language. Some of these schools include classes five to eight, as well as the top classes. These are provided for people who, for some reason or other, did not complete the seven-year school, and they are usually for older people and are becoming rarer as time goes on.

Every worker attending school is entitled to the equivalent of one day a week off, and for this day he receives half pay. This day off is usually taken a third at a time, on the days of school. In addition, he has fifteen days off with full pay during each of the first and second years, and twenty days during the third year for examinations. These are in addition to the usual holidays.

In 1958-59 there were 1,900,000 students and in 1959-60 there were 2,300,000 students in schools for working youth.

It is also possible to complete secondary education by private study or by correspondence courses. Students studying in this way may take the examination on leaving school in three parts instead of all at once.

Completion of the three-year course at a school for working youth entitles the student to the right to sit for an entrance examination to the university or any institute of higher education.

In Moscow there are about 200 schools for working youth, half of which are shift schools in their own buildings, while the other half are evening schools working in the buildings of ordinary schools.

I visited shift school No. 27, where there are 900 students, from the age of sixteen upwards. About 5 per cent are sixteen and left school only last year to go to work. Here there are two fifth classes and two sixth classes, in which the students are in the older age group. The rest are in the seventh to tenth classes. An eleventh class has not yet been opened.

The first shift works in the morning from 8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. and the evening shift from 6:10 p.m. to 11:10 p.m. The same lessons exactly are given in both shifts so that workers changing shifts can follow their studies consistently. The teachers work the double shifts three days a week, and are off the other days. Some classes work Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays and others Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

The students come from a textile mill, a stocking factory, a car garage and various offices. In the April of

each year the staff of this school begins to visit local factories to explain how to enroll in the school, to do propaganda to encourage people to enter the schools, and to interest as many as possible in the school. A number of factories whose workers study there have presented the school with a television set, with furniture and with equipment for the classrooms and laboratories. They also send representatives to the school functions and celebrations, and award premiums to those of their workers who graduate well.

Besides the usual classrooms and laboratories (there are three laboratories, by the way, for chemistry, physics and biology), there is a small hall for cinema lessons. Last year over 600 films were shown, the majority in connection with the curriculum. There is a library with a reading room attached where it is possible to do homework, and a buffet where a hot meal of three courses costs four rubles.

In addition to the thirty-two teachers, the staff of the school includes a secretary, a book-keeper, two laboratory assistants, a librarian, two cinema technicians, two cloak-room attendants, eight full-time cleaners, two caretakers, and a man clears the snow away from the front and from the yard in winter, and

keeps the outside clean in all seasons, three boilermen, an electrician, and two women to run the buffet.

All the young people I spoke to told me that nowadays in order to get on and to keep up with modern technique it is essential to go on studying. One woman of thirty-two has just entered the school in the seventh class. She works in a library, and has now decided to finish her secondary education and go to an institute. A man I talked with has decided to enter this same class. It is eleven years since he left school, and he works in a factory where, he says, he must have a better education.

I was very much impressed with the serious attitude of the students and with the facilities given them. For a number of them it is obviously hard to get back to studying after a number of years, but the classes are smaller than in day schools, they try to keep them to twenty, and the consultation times with the teachers help to overcome difficulties. It is a heartening thought that all these thousands of students in schools for working youth are not only widening their own horizons, but are raising the cultural level of the whole country.

*Reprinted through courtesy of
Education Today and Tomorrow*

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN BAND IN USSR

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN'S SYMPHONY BAND of twenty-seven girls and sixty-seven boys began an eight-week tour of the Soviet Union with a concert at the Sports Palace in Moscow on February 21. The program included selections from Rimsky-Korsakoff, Kabalevsky and "My Fair Lady."

According to the *N. Y. Times*, February 22, "Hundreds of young Russians surged to the edge of the stage of Moscow's Sports Palace as the concert ended to plead for encores and to communicate with the pretty girls and crew-cut members of the orchestra."

William D. Revelli, the conductor of the band, told the audience that, "Music is the greatest instrument of peace."

DATA ON GROWTH OF SKILLED WORK AND EDUCATION IN THE USSR

THE POPULATION of the USSR on January 15, 1959, according to the census taken on that day was: 208,826,000. (See N.W.R., December 1959.) The USSR Central Statistical Board has recently published further figures showing the distribution of the population by social groups, branches of the economy and occupations, and the educational standards of mental and manual workers. What follows are selected figures from the report of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR as published in *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, No. 1, 1961.

1. *The distribution of the population of the USSR by social groups in 1959:*

Entire population	208,826,000
Factory and office workers	142,700,000
Collective farmers	65,500,000
Individual farmers and handicraftsmen not members of co-operatives	600,000

(In classifying the population by social groups dependents are included with those groups to which their supports belong; pensioners and servicemen are included with those groups to which they belonged before becoming either pensioners or servicemen.)

2. *The distribution of the population of the USSR according to Manual or Mental work:*

Total gainfully employed	99,130,000
Persons doing mainly manual work	78,635,000
Persons doing mainly mental work	20,495,000
Men	54.8 per cent
Women	41.4 per cent

3. *Women in professional work:*

Doctors	287,000
Scientists	120,000 (Approx.)
Literary Workers	26,000
Engineers	268,000

73 per cent of elementary, junior high school and high school teachers
76 per cent of all doctors
32 per cent of all engineers

4. *Percentage of persons employed in industry, construction, transportation and communications:*

1939	1959
30.1 per cent	36.9 per cent

5. *Percentage of persons engaged in agriculture:*

1939	1959
50.1 per cent	38.8 per cent

6. *Growth of skilled workers in different trades:*

	1926	1959
Metal workers	993,000	9,304,000
Chemical workers	44,000	395,000
Machinists	121,000	1,781,000
Automobile, tractor, combine operators	22,000	5,684,000

7. *Growth of specialists:*

	1926	1959
Heads of establishments, building projects, state and collective farms, administrative institutions and their structural subdivisions	365,000	2,223,000
Engineers, technicians, agronomists	267,000	4,683,000
Teachers, educational workers	486,000	3,276,000
Doctors and assistants	199,000	1,702,000
Scientific workers	14,000	316,000

8. *Increase of workers in USSR as a whole compared with Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the period 1926 to 1959:*

	USSR	Central Asia and Kazakhstan
Factory and office workers	6 times	10 times
Metal workers	9 "	18 "
Chemical workers	9 "	72 "
Machine operators	15 "	39 "
Drivers (truck, etc.)	260 "	628 "
Engineers, technicians, agronomist	18 "	38 "
Teachers, other cultural workers	7 "	19 "
Medical personnel	8.5 "	21 "
Scientific workers	23 "	74 "

9. *Growth of educational level of the population:*

	College and high school per 1,000 persons	
	1939	1959
Entire population	83	281
Persons doing mainly manual work	43	316
Persons doing mental work	498	884

10. *Increase of students and mental workers:*

	1926	1959
College students	168,000	2,200,000

Technical high school students	181,000	1,868,000
Mental workers	2,500,000	20,000,000

Between 1926 and 1959 the population increased by 42 per cent; the number of college students increased 13 times, technical high school students more than 10 times, mental workers 8 times.

11. Before the Revolution there were no workers or peasants in Russia with a high school or college education; in 1926 less than one and one-half per cent of the manual workers had a high school education. By 1939 this percentage had risen to 4.3 per cent; in 1959 32 per cent of those engaged in manual work had a high school or even college education, among them 39 per cent of the industrial workers and 21 per cent of the collective farmers. This means that the educational standards of the collective farm machine operators and other skilled workers are practically as high as those of the industrial workers.

12. These figures show that apart from creating a 20-million strong group of people whose work is mainly mental, almost one-third of all those doing manual work, including two-fifths of the workers and more than one-fifth of the peasants, have a high school or college education. Thus the gradual abolition of the difference between manual and mental work can seem to be making marked progress in the Soviet Union.

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF SOVIET DOCTORS

"THE INCREASE in the size of the Soviet medical contingent has been nothing short of phenomenal. Concentrated as we have been on watching the growth curves of engineers and scientists, we did not look at the adjacent columns listing similar progressions in the number of physicians. A few figures will tell the story: at the time of the Revolution there were about 23,000 physicians on what is now Soviet territory (20,000 if the boundaries before September 1939 are considered.) The figure now exceeds 400,000. In these 43 years the medical contingent has thus increased 10- to 20-fold; and it is still increasing, as Soviet medical schools graduate about 17,000 students a year, compared to about 7,000 physicians in the United States.

"It should be noted that this figure does not include military physicians. The armed services depend for their medical personnel on their own schools; as far as we know there is no peacetime conscription of doctors.

"It is planned to increase the number of medical students still further, and to turn out 28,000 graduates annually over the next five years. This will give a medical contingent of about half a million doctors in 1965, the end of the current seven-year plan. At present the Soviets can boast of a ratio of 18 physicians per 10,000 of the population, the second highest in the world (after Israel). (The corresponding figure for the United States was 13.3 in 1955 and is going down as the population increases but the number of medical graduates remains stationary.) This gives the USSR more than one-fourth of all the world's physicians as against one-thirteenth of world population. They are therefore in an extremely favorable position to export physicians abroad (and have already done so on a modest scale), whereas the United States has to import a substantial number of foreign physicians to serve as house officers in American hospitals."

From an article in Soviet Survey, January-March 1961, by Mark G. Field

Soviet Farming Under Review

SOVIET AGRICULTURAL problems were given a complete airing and thoroughgoing discussion at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union January 10-18.

Reports in our press, always ready to pounce on difficulties the USSR is experiencing in any field, sought to give the impression of a "crisis" in Soviet agriculture, a "failure" in Premier Khrushchev's agricultural policies, especially his virgin lands program, an abandonment of seven-year plan aims to bring per capita output of meat and dairy products up to and beyond that of the United States. Some correspondents went so far as to say this goal was no longer being mentioned, that, in fact, Mr. Khrushchev was sorry he had ever even mentioned it.

Let us begin by setting matters straight on this score.

Mr. Khrushchev made personal visits to some of the main agricultural regions of the USSR following the Moscow meeting. On January 28, addressing the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, he declared:

Comrades, the Ukraine is capable not only of fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule in respect to milk and meat output, but also rapidly to accomplish the task of overtaking the United States in respect to the per capita output of livestock products.

Some of you might wonder why we are mentioning the possibility of overtaking the United States in respect to the per

capita output of meat, if we haven't yet fulfilled our Seven-Year-Plan. No, comrades, we must speak of this. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the whole of our people are confident that we will not only overtake the USA, but overstrip it.

The Soviet leaders are making no attempt to gloss over very real difficulties that have been experienced in all branches of agriculture, which the Plenum discussions, fully published in the press, exposed clearly before the whole people. This does not mean that there has been any deterioration in the nation's diet, that anyone is going hungry. It does mean, that as a result not only of bad climatic conditions in the past two years but of mismanagement in some spheres, the rate of growth of agriculture has lagged behind planned schedules and actual potentialities, whereas in industry the rate of growth has outstripped planned schedules. The rising standard of living of the Soviet people has created a demand greater than agriculture has been able to meet.

This problem has been the subject of frank speeches and articles for some months past. Reorganization of the agricultural system decided on at the Plenum was foreshadowed by the removal on December 29 of Vladimir Matskevich, as Minister of Agriculture. He was sharply criticized, and given a post as chairman of a newly formed district in the virgin lands area.

For the benefit of our readers, it might be well to define just what a

Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party is. The supreme organ of the Party is its Congress, at which delegates of the Party's more than 8,000,000 members meet every two or three years to determine policies for a prolonged period. The delegates elect a Central Committee which acts between Congresses, and meets regularly in Plenary session to discuss and act upon the most important current problems in line with over-all policies. Plenum decisions are binding upon Party membership, and a guide to Government bodies. The recent Plenum had a three-point agenda. One point had to do with the convening of the 22nd Congress of the Party next October; another was a report and discussion of the recent meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties. The main point, however, was "The fulfillment of the state plan and socialist obligations for the production and sales to the state of farm, field and animal husbandry products in 1960 and on measures for the further development of agriculture."

Prior to the Plenum, a number of documents were widely distributed and discussed, among them a letter from Premier Khrushchev to the Central Committee "On the Vital Questions of Agriculture," several speeches of Khrushchev's on the same subject, and the theses of the report the Premier presented to the meeting.

In addition to Khrushchev's report, main reports were given by the Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, D. S. Polyansky, and by the Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Soviet Republics and main agricultural regions.

The meeting was by no means confined to top Party and Government leaders. Everyone connected with agriculture down to the local districts was represented, as well as economic bodies connected with agriculture, agricultural machine building, agricultural scientists, heads of research institutes, directors of collective and state farms, editors of leading magazines and periodicals, individual agricultural workers who had shown by their example what could be accomplished by efficient work—tractor drivers, milkmaids, shepherds and so on. All had their say.

In the opening report by D. S. Polyansky, the documents before the Plenum were described as setting forth the successes in agricultural development, and at the same time bringing to the fore sharply and boldly

... the serious shortcomings in the leadership of agriculture, justly criticizing workers who are incapable of organizing matters, braggarts who shout about successes but make poor use of reserves for increasing production and do not bother about fulfilling obligations undertaken.

This, indeed, was the keynote of the discussion. There were, indeed, many over-all successes to be reported, But what came out was that the rate of growth was not what had been expected, potentialities had not been fully realized. Some of the reports made this clear at the outset, and were highly self-critical. But many tried to attribute the lag to weather conditions or to lay the blame on others. Khrushchev, showing a remarkable practical grasp of every branch of agriculture and specific conditions in every part of the country, had no mercy with

those who showed themselves either bureaucrats, poor organizers or shifters of blame. Through constant and often angry interruptions he insisted on bringing matters down to hard practical reality, compelling in every instance admissions of the actual state of affairs. For rank and file farm workers who had achieved successes in output he had the highest

praise, calling on the officials to pay heed to and learn from the people.

When Khrushchev made his own report, towards the end of the session, he gave the following figures from the Central Statistical Board to show the actual growth in production and purchases of agricultural produce by the state in the last seven years:

	1953	1960	1960 in% of 1953
PRODUCED:			
Grain (billion poods*)	5.0	8.1	161
Sugar beet (million tons)	23.2	56.9	246
Sugar (million tons)	3.4	6.4	185
Sunflower seeds (million tons)	2.6	3.8	146
Meat, slaughter weight (million tons)	5.8	8.8	152
Milk (million tons)	36.5	61.5	169
Butter (thousand tons)	497	848	171
PURCHASED:			
Grain (million poods)	1,899	2,852	150
Sugar beets (million tons)	22.9	48.4	211
Sunflower seeds (million tons)	1.8	2.3	126
Cotton (million tons)	3.9	4.4	113
Potatoes (million tons)	5.4	7.1	131
Vegetables (million tons)	2.5	5.1	206
Meat, live weight (million tons)	3.6	7.9	219
Milk and milk products in terms of milk (million tons)	10.6	23.3	246
Eggs (1000 million)	2.6	6.5	248
Wool (thousand tons)	197	357	182

Mr. Khrushchev also gave figures showing the growth of per capita consumption by the population. He said the present situation had nothing in common with earlier years when the people had to pull in their belts to strengthen the overall economy of the country. Now, he said, the very advance in the people's well-being meant increased demands, that it was necessary for the supplies to outstrip the demands, rather than the other way around. He proceeded

to make the sharpest possible attack on those Party leaders, especially in the important grain growing areas of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, who had failed to meet their obligations, and in some places were guilty of deceit and malpractice. He called for a thorough reorganization of agriculture, new efforts to reduce costs and raise productivity.

The resolution adopted at the end of the meeting endorsed Premier Khrushchev's criticism and proposals for a sweeping top to bottom reorganization of Soviet agriculture designed to increase farm yields and meet rising food demands.

* One pood equals 36,113 pounds. This year's harvest was just over 131,000,000 metric tons, instead of 150,000,000 tons called for in the plan. This is below the 1958 bumper crop of 141,000,000 tons but ahead of last year's harvest.

The resolution pointed out that seven-year plan goals had been exceeded in the development of industry, with a growth of industrial output amounting to 22.1 per cent in the first two years of the plan, as compared with the 17 per cent rise planned for. Along with this, the standard of living of the people had risen at a faster rate than contemplated, in respect to increases in wages, housing, consumers' goods. All factory and office workers in the country have now gone over to a seven and six hours working day. At the same time agriculture, despite unprecedented advances, has fallen behind its planned targets. The resolution continued:

The important changes which have taken place in our country in recent years must be taken into account when studying the question of meeting the nation's requirements for animal husbandry produce. The population is increasing rapidly and the earnings of the working people are rising from year to year. In the past five years (1956-60) the population of the Soviet Union has risen by more than 18 million people, the increase in the urban population accounting for more than 17 million. In the same period wages have gone up by 17.1 billion rubles and taxes have decreased by 870 million rubles. As a result of the discontinuation of subscriptions to loans, the working people retain 2.2 billion rubles each year. Payment of pensions has increased by 4 billion rubles. All in all, the yearly income of the population has risen by 24.2 billion rubles in the new currency. The income of the rural population has also gone up. All this led to a substantially higher demand for foodstuffs, primarily for meat, milk and butter.

The resolution detailed shortcomings and mistakes in organizational and educational work in many areas, which had led to a lag in farming development in the midst of a gen-

eral upsurge in the economy. It said that while continued emphasis on heavy industry is necessary, a well-developed agriculture is also essential in order to provide the people with an abundance of the products they require. The time has come when some of the gains from industry can be diverted to farming, and more means can be assigned to the development of the people's well-being without any detriment to the further strengthening of industry and defense needs.

The resolution's stated aim of the new task in agriculture is *to create conditions which will make agricultural production independent of nature—to guarantee the country all the products it needs to satisfy fully the people's requirements every year and under all climatic conditions*. To accomplish this, the following measures were proposed:

1. Greatly increased capital investments, above amounts previously envisaged in the Seven-Year-Plan, for agricultural development, for development of industries catering to agriculture, for manufacture of tractors and agricultural machinery, mineral fertilizer and building materials.
2. Further development of the extensive irrigation program already under way, of drainage and of other land reclamation and amelioration measures.
3. A considerable increase in the production of mineral fertilizers, herbicides, chemicals and further expansion of all types of agricultural machine building.
4. Utilization of the full potentialities at hand to sharply increase in the next few years production of grain, industrial crops, potatoes and vegetables, meat, milk and other products and improved organizational and educational work to this end.
5. Sweeping reorganization of the activities and structure of the Ministry of Agriculture and its local bodies, with concentration on scientific research and

experimental stations and wider introduction of scientific knowledge and advanced experience in state and collective farms.

6. Setting up an All-Union Agency, with local sub-agencies, to be an intermediary between industry and state and collective farms in supplying agriculture with machines, spare parts, mineral fertilizers and other material and technical means, organization of repairs and utilization of machines.

The resolution declared that "insuring a steady growth of agricultural production must be considered the most important task of the Party and the Government and all agricultural bodies and workers," bearing in mind that the growing requirements of the population in field and animal husbandry must be fully satisfied and that production must always exceed the requirements of the population.

Means of accomplishing all this are set forth in great detail. The proposed share of each republic in new enlarged quotas for grain and milk are given. It is proposed that

concrete new measures to carry out the plan be worked out beginning at the bottom, with the collective and state farms themselves.

Over-all annual production of grain is to be brought up to 4.2 trillion poods; meat to 13 million tons; milk up to 50 million tons.

All potentialities and reserves are to be tapped, modern scientific measures to be applied to the full. Detailed instructions are given for the boosting of corn growing, extending of virgin land reclamation and for increased production of every kind of grain, vegetables, livestock.

In conclusion, the Central Committee of the Party and the USSR Council of Ministers are instructed to work out and approve "a concrete program for the boosting of agricultural products in the country with a view to making up for lost time and insuring a much higher rate of agricultural production in the remaining years of the current seven-year plan period."

"You Can't Eat Statistics"

WE THINK our readers will be interested in some examples of Nikita Khrushchev's lively participation in the detailed discussion of farm problems at the Plenary session.

RSFSR Premier Polyansky reported on certain districts where the leaders had failed to fulfill their pledges to increase production of meat, milk and other products.

Khrushchev: I would say this: Some comrades still lack proper pride, inner dignity. A self-respecting leader should have resigned, in such a case he should have said: I am bankrupt, I cannot manage things, let me resign. But our people often do not do this. Such a leader will go here and there and try to prove that

there have been thunder storms, and hail, that the devil himself had interfered with him. And then and there he will ask to be appointed to a big post. Where is their self-respect, comrades?

And again, after Polyansky recounted instances of fictitious reports of fulfillment of pledges, based on buying up of products.

Khrushchev: It must be said, comrades, that it is absolutely inconceivable that butter should be bought in the shops and that the collective farms should then include this butter as part of the production plan, and deliver it to the state. Yet, such things are being done by Com-

munist
specula
crime.
lished,
task by
by the
to trial
gardles

N. V.
Comm
report
this p
storms

Khr
gorny,
now m
The o
stolen

Pod
gelyev

Khr
to do v

stolen,
vented

you re

Pod
quite

farms
and re

out go
trying

the U
big sh

fertiliz

Khr
the lo

I say
first p

second

in onl

think,
square

means
averag

per p
two c

centne
that t

the c
being
20 he

munists, comrades. That is a distortion, speculation, not even speculation but a crime. An appropriate law must be published, the swindlers must be brought to task by the Party, they must be excluded by the Party. Cheats must be brought to trial, without respect of persons, regardless of the position which they hold.

N. V. Podgorny, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, in his report attributed the low corn crop of this past year largely to drouth and storms.

Khrushchev: I feel sure, comrade Podgorny, that the corn crop data you are now mentioning are but half the harvest. The other half has been pilfered and stolen before it was cut.

Podgorny: Quite right, Nikita Sergeyevich.

Khrushchev: So what has the weather to do with this? The crops were pilfered, stolen, and yet you say the weather prevented growing a good crop. How can you reason thus?

Podgorny: Unfortunately, we still have quite a few managers on the collective farms and state farms, in the regional and republican organizations, who without going into the gist of the matter are trying to explain the low corn yields in the Ukraine last year as being due to a big shortage in machinery, seeds and fertilizers.

Khrushchev: Such an explanation for the low corn yields is wrong. Why do I say this with such certainty? In the first place I know the practice and in the second, corn in the Ukraine cannot bring in only 16-17 centners per hectare. Just think, if corn has been sown by the square-pocket method of 70 x 70 cm, it means 20,000 pockets a hectare. Count an average of one and a half or two stalks per pocket, and on each stalk one or two cobs, and you certainly get 35-40 centners of grain per hectare. If some say that the harvest was less, it means that the corn was either stolen or we are being deceived. Say, for example, that 20 hectares have been sown and they

write 25 hectares in the reports. All this eventually is reduced to an "average," some sort of statistical data are evolved and in this way we do not get the crop that has actually been grown. . . . You can't eat statistics!

And to another point made by Podgorny:

Khrushchev: You say, comrade Podgorny, that as a result of drouth no cobs were formed on corn plants and that since it would yield no grain it was decided to cut it for green fodder! But actually this never happens. Because, when one sees that there will be no cobs it is obvious that this corn is no good for green fodder, since it has already dried up.

Podgorny: Yes that evidently was an excuse, which was used to cut the corn.

Khrushchev: That's what you should have said.

I. G. Kebin of Estonia, while reporting on the growth of milk production, said that the lag in mechanization of dairy farming on state, and especially collective farms, put a tremendous strain on dairymaids who sometimes, due to manpower shortage as well as lack of milking machines, had to tend as many as 20 or even 25 cows:

Khrushchev: It seems, we ought to advise workers on the State Planning Committee to go to dairy farms and try what it is like to milk a few cows, then they will get to understand the work of a milkmaid.

G. I. Voronov, Party Secretary of the Orenburg Regional Committee, suggested setting up research institutes, closely linked with production, to improve methods.

Khrushchev: Comrade Voronov, I agree with you. Perhaps, we should call them not institutes, but experimental stations because they will be closer linked with production. The term institute sounds like a scientific establishment which would be closer to an academy,

rather than to production. . . . As you know we have many far-fetched things; take the names of various central offices, for instance. There is a central office, and on top of that there is a chief central office. What is the difference between them? Strictly speaking there is none, but the salaries in these central offices are different. As it is, this is not merely a central office, but a chief central office, and since it is a chief central office, it means that it is bigger than a plain central office and they demand a higher salary there.

Voronov: That is correct, Nikita Sergeyevich. The institutes we now have in the country are absolutely unnecessary, I mean the so-called zonal institutes. For instance, as far as sheep go we are catered to by the Stavropol Institute and as far as cattle breeding goes—by the Moscow Institute—We have a zonal institute of beef cattle husbandry which looks after all the farms from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea.

Khrushchev: We also had the Dalryba Far-Eastern Fishing office in Moscow before. The fish was caught in the Far East, but the office in charge was stationed in Moscow.

Voice in Presidium: It's in the Far East now.

Khrushchev: There, you hear them say, now it's in the Far East. But that happened only after we'd insistently advised them to quit Moscow and get a bit closer to the fish. . . . Or take the institutes dealing with bee-keeping and the growing of sugar beet. They also had their tents in Moscow. Sugar beet was grown in the Ukraine while the Institute was in Moscow. All these institutes wanted to pitch their tents around the Bolshoy Theater as if it were their home base.

Academician Trofim Lysenko stressed the importance of raising the fat content of milk. He told of his own success in raising a herd of cows giving milk with a high fat content at his experimental farm in Gorky Leninskie. He read ex-

cerpts from proposals he had sent to the Ministry of Agriculture, that off-spring of bulls from his Institute be distributed among state and collective farms in a planned manner, not to be slaughtered for meat, but to be used as sires in order to raise fat content of milk.

Khrushchev: What has the Ministry told you in reply?

Lysenko: Orders were issued a few days ago, in January.

Khrushchev: And when did you write?

Lysenko: A long time ago, July or August last year.

Khrushchev: How many pages did your notes contain?

Lysenko: Some twenty pages.

Khrushchev: It took them six months to read twenty pages! The Ministry of Agriculture reads very slowly.

L. N. Yefremov reported on the growth in output of meat, milk and other agricultural produce in the past year in the Gorky Region, where he is Party Secretary.

Khrushchev: And to what degree have the wages of factory and office workers in Gorky Region increased during the past years? Probably the incomes have grown to a greater degree than the output of foodstuffs.

Yefremov: This is true.

Khrushchev: This is the heart of the problem, as Kozma Prutkov said: get at the root of the matter!

Yefremov: In connection with your letter we analyzed the state of affairs concerning the increase in wages and other sources of income of the population. On the whole this amounts to approximately 3,000 million roubles.

Khrushchev: And how much agricultural produce did you produce. More or less than 3,000 million roubles worth?

Yefremov: Considerably less.

Khrushchev: Such a state of affairs should be attained so that the requirements of the population are satisfied. People have no intentions of salting away their wages.

Don Q
de
by
dio
cast

DON Q
SANCH
HOUSE
ALDON
ALTI
CARRA
THE D
A PE

CE
P
haunt
his tim
crusac
magic
to all
aspira
stance
The
now
of the
splen
and c
its pr
Nik
ander
beyon
culou
with
world
which
Rosin
again
in the
ing a
wind
is in
some
digni
comp
Yu
equal
in in
and
end
touch
absur

A SOVIET DON QUIXOTE

Don Quixote, from the novel by Miguel de Cervantes; directed and produced by Grigory Kozintsev; a Lenfilm Studio production, with the following cast:

DON QUIXOTE	Nikolai Cherkassov
SANCHO PANZA	Yuri Tolubeyev
HOUSEKEEPER	S. Birman
ALDONSA	L. Kasyanova
ALTISIDORA	T. Agamirova
CARRASCO	G. Vitsin
THE DUKE	V. Freindlich
THE DUCHESS	L. Vertinskaya
A PEASANT GIRL	O. Vikland

CERVANTES' exalted knight, the peerless Don Quixote, has long haunted men's imagination. Born out of his time, pure, fearless, Quixote's lonely crusade to rescue fair maidens, slay magical dragons, and to see justice done to all, has become a symbol of man's aspiration, dauntless against all circumstance.

The Soviet version of *Don Quixote*, now playing in this country as a part of the cultural exchange program, is a splendid realization of the novel, rich and complex in its visual details and in its projection of Cervantes' main idea.

Nikolai Cherkassov, who played Alexander Nevsky and Ivan the Terrible, is beyond criticism in the leading role. Ridiculous in his gaunt height, hung about with rusted armor, his eyes seeing a world utterly different from that in which, on his wretched white horse Rosinante, he rides forth to do battle against evil, he is always noble. Even in the most absurd of situations—revolving against the sky on the sails of a windmill, convinced in his mind that he is in the toils of a giant—Quixote is somehow reassuring of man's basic dignity. This quality Cherkassov has completely caught.

Yuri Tolubeyev as Sancho Panza is equally perfect. Gross in body, childish in imagination, but faithful to Quixote and his mad dreams, Tolubeyev in the end makes Sancho Panza a figure of touching humanity that transcends the absurd image he presents on his tiny

donkey riding hopefully beside his dream-wracked "liege lord."

All the other characters are presented with that marvelous attention to detail that characterizes the rich tradition of Russian theatrical art. From Quixote's bewildered family and the puzzled and cruel people he meets in his wanderings to the sinister and mocking courtiers, we are presented portraits of great individuality and brilliance.

The same care and attention is brought to the backgrounds. The arid, sun-soaked plains of Spain, the cluttered interiors of inns, the arrogant spaces of the court scenes and glittering costumes of the courtiers, all based upon contemporary Spanish painting—are superbly set before us.

A point of special interest in this film is the success with which the voices are dubbed in. A controversial method hitherto, the care with which the voices have been selected and the exceptional skill with which they have been synchronized with the facial expressions and gestures of the actors fully justify the method in this instance. The high-flown speeches, typical of the period in which the novel was written, so beautifully spoken in English, add a further luster.

A great masterpiece of world writing comes alive in this film, not only through its superb visual beauty, but more significantly through the profound realization of Cervantes' exaltation of man's spirit against odds that to the earthbound appear hopeless.

The Soviet films shown in this country under the terms of the cultural exchange program, which have included among others *Quiet Flows the Don*, *Swan Lake*, and *The Cranes Are Flying*, have made a real contribution to understanding. It is to be hoped that the exchange of films will be extended and that a larger group of films—both Soviet and U.S.—will be included in the agreement.

—M. Y.

LISTEN, YANKEE

Reviewed by MURRAY YOUNG

Listen, Yankee, by C. Wright Mills.

Ballantine Books. New York, 1960. 192 pages. 50 cents. (Also available in hard covers: McGraw-Hill, \$3.95).

We are sitting like people in a smart and cozy restaurant, and we are eating comfortably, looking out of the window into the streets. Down on the pavement are people who are looking up at us: people who by chance have different colored skins from ours, and are rather hungry. Do you wonder that they don't like us all that much? Do you wonder that we sometimes feel ashamed of ourselves, as we look through the plate glass?

C. P. Snow in a speech before the 127th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1960.

PROFESSOR Mills wrote this book after a visit to Cuba last summer. Cuba was a revelation to him. He felt that the American people should know the facts he had discovered. He felt further—and with a great sense of urgency—that the voice of Cuba was also the voice of countless millions in Latin-America, Africa, Asia, crying out against the misery and poverty of their lives in a world in which such misery and poverty are no longer necessary.

If the struggle of the Cuban people for a decent life is to be regarded by our government and our "free press" as merely Communist "trouble-making," the result of "Communist domination," as President Kennedy has suggested, Professor Mills feels we are doomed to go on playing a reactionary role throughout a world awakening like Cuba to claim for its people decency and justice.

The socialist countries—the USSR, China, Czechoslovakia and the others—understand the cry of the world's people for a share of those things that make life enduring. Not only do they under-

stand, but according to their socialist principles they act, sending aid, experts, arranging trade agreements, extending long-term loans, and speaking out in the debates in the UN for these awakening areas.

It is the purpose of this book, written in the form of a series of letters from a typical Cuban revolutionary, to let the people of our country come face to face with certain realities that are carefully shielded from us. So shielded in fact that demonstrations against Nixon in South America or Eisenhower in Japan strike us as "nightmares," and are dismissed by government spokesmen and leading newspapers as merely the results of Communist agitation—while the rest of the world looks on, appalled by our self-imposed blindness.

No American deeply concerned about the self-deluded role his country is playing in the world can fail to be heartened by *Listen, Yankee*. We have been so long accustomed during the cold war years to silence or shameless accommodation on the part of leading intellectuals that this report by a professor at Columbia University must strike us as the beginning of a change in the intellectual and moral climate of our country.

The facts of our relations with Cuba are presented without disguise. These facts are shocking, so shocking indeed that those who speak against Castro pass over them in silence and scream "communism!" But it is too late for this cry—our failures around the world are there for all to see.

Eleanor Roosevelt commenting on *Listen, Yankee* in the *New York Post* (Dec. 14, 1960) said that while she disagreed with certain of the things the Cuban people had told Mills as related in his book, "a preponderance of their complaints against us seem valid to me. And though we may not like these

expressions from the Cuban revolutionaries, I think we should read them with care, because they affect our whole Latin American policy."

It would appear that despite the generally unfriendly reviews the book received a great many Americans agree with Mrs. Roosevelt—a quarter of a million copies of *Listen, Yankee* have already been sold throughout the country.

Professor Mills by making himself a voice for the Cuban revolution—and thus a voice of revolution in the rest of Latin America, Africa, Asia—reminds us of the realities of the world in which we are living. He says, "We must address ourselves to the very real basis of Cuba's case; we must answer—with fact, with reason, with civilized policies—the argument of these revolutionaries of the hungry-nation bloc."

SOVIET FACTS

Basic Facts on the Soviet Union, by Eve M. Lyons. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. 114 East 32 St., New York 16, N. Y. 64 pages. 35 cents.

THIS pamphlet will be a most useful addition to your reference library. It would also make a most welcome gift for your friends.

Clearly and briefly, in admirably organized chapters, a wealth of information about the USSR is presented to the reader:

The geography and peoples of the Soviet Union; its socialist economy; the governmental structure; the provisions for social security and health; sports; the rich cultural and educational life available to all; the development of Soviet science and technology; the present Seven-Year Plan; and the relations of the USSR with the rest of the world.

The publication of this pamphlet by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is still another among the many splendid contributions to understanding between our two countries made by this organization.

A COMMUNICATION

To New World Review:

I read with great interest the article in your February issue on Juvenile Delinquency in the USSR. I was surprised and somewhat disturbed, however, by the author's omission of the contributions of Anton Semyon Makarenko in this field. He refers casually to "different organizations occupying themselves with child care" which were later organized into the Dzerzhinsky Colony in 1935. Makarenko's principles are still applied in Soviet institutions for delinquents and his accounts of his work quoted widely.

Since many people in the United States—and throughout the world—are familiar with Makarenko's The Road to Life, Learning to Live, and A Book for Parents, all available in English translation, it might be well to remind your readers of these books and Makarenko's great contributions in the field of juvenile delinquency.

It may be that Professor Vramshapu Tadevosyan did not wish to over-stress the importance of the early work with delinquent children under different conditions than those existing today. But I regret that he did not give a word of credit to this pioneer educator.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH MOOS

Our Visit to Soviet Trade Unions

by JACK SPIEGEL

Organizational Director, Chicago District, United Shoe Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

10c each; 6 for 50c; 12 for \$1

Order through

NEW WORLD REVIEW

INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL SEMINAR

52 days, June 14-Aug. 9, visiting Italy, East and West Germany, Poland, Russia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, England and France under the direction of Dr. Jerome Davis. Will see governmental, religious and peace leaders everywhere. Total cost \$1,595. Number strictly limited. Write Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Ave., West Haven, Conn.

A FREE SAMPLE FOR YOUR FRIENDS

Through the generosity of a reader you may now send a free copy of **NEW WORLD REVIEW** to your friends.

NEW WORLD REVIEW
34 West 15th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Please send a sample copy of **NEW WORLD REVIEW** to the persons below: (add other names on separate sheet if you wish.)

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Sender _____

Address _____

NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH

**PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY FOR
TEENAGERS, STUDENTS,
WORKING YOUTH**

*The following have welcomed
NHV without necessarily approving
all its views:*

Herbert Aptheker
Elmer Benson
W. E. B. Du Bois
Rev. S. H. Fritchman

Rockwell Kent
Rev. W. H. Melish
Capt. Hugh Mulzac
Scott Nearing
Dirk Struik

Year's Subscription - - - \$1.00

Order through
YOUTH PUBLICATION, INC.
799 Broadway, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

MEET THE RUSSIANS IN THE NEW CAVALCADE OF GREAT FILMS

Now in Release:

FATHERS AND SONS
A HOME FOR TANYA
THE DAY THE WAR ENDED
A DAY WITH THE RUSSIANS
THE AGE OF YOUTH

Coming:

LULLABY
THE SUN SHINES FOR EVERY-
BODY
THE QUEEN OF SPADES
MUMU and THE COLT

Artkino Pictures, Inc.

723 Seventh Ave., New York 19
Telephone: Circle 5-6570