

APRIL, 1961

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New World

REVIEW

A NEW LOOK AT CUBA

JESSE GORDON—GEN. HUGH HESTER

New Books on Africa

SHIRLEY GRAHAM

The USSR Fights Polio

HOLLAND ROBERTS

Trading With China

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Hurry the Quest for Peace!

JESSICA SMITH

A Letter from Sean O'Casey

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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

ESLANDA ROBESON
Our Rising Correspondent
*Editorial Consultants on Negro and
Colonial Questions:*

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

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in Celebration of her

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A LETTER FROM SEAN O'CASEY

"Leather Away With The Wattle O!"

St. Marychurch, Torquay, Devon.

Dear Jessica:

In an Irish poem, the poet sees a beautiful woman who turns out to be Ireland; she sees he is down-hearted and despairing, so she quotes great names of gone heroes to him, and calls upon him to do as they did—"Leather away with the Wattle O!" and, indeed, this song in Gaelic became one of our rallying songs in our work for a free and an Irish Ireland.

So, my dear Jessica, during your 25 years of editing New World Review, you, indeed, have been leathering away with the Wattle O! Down here in Devon, I can hear the rhythmic blows of the journal, leathering away with the Wattle O in the manner of Jefferson, Lincoln, Walt Whitman, and the great ones so near to you all there; so near to us all here; the late F. D. R. of glorious memory and glorious example.

Most of us are humble and ordinary souls, with none of the great gifts these leaders had; but—and it is a big but—we can all leather away with the Wattle O!

For me, I have just passed through a tunnel of illness; Mrs. O'C. went down with Asian flu; I attended to her as best I could (with the doctor of course), and when she was rising out of it, I was sinking down into it; and a stiff time I had of it. Its effects are on me still, but what I want to say is that I have the wattle in my fist again, and I'm leathering away with it!

May you, the New World Review, and all who give it a voice, go on for many years leathering away with the Wattle O! till hunger is gone, fear is gone, ignorance is gone, and friendship and peace are familiar friends of all peoples, the wide world over.

As ever, my dear
Jessica, Yours.
Sean

Hurry the Quest!

by JESSICA SMITH

HOW long must we wait for the Kennedy Administration to make good the promise "to begin anew the quest for peace" in the vital field of disarmament?

But mainly we must ask ourselves what *we* are doing. One thing everyone can do is to join the petition initiated by Professor and Mrs. Linus Pauling, "An Appeal to Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons." Signed by 708 scientists and public leaders from 38 countries, it is now being circulated throughout the United States.

The petition declares that universal disarmament has now become the essential basis for life and liberty for all people and that its achievement will become more difficult if more nations or groups of nations acquire nuclear weapons.

While the Paulings have acted individually, with no organization behind them, numerous groups and individuals have joined in circulating the appeal. The Paulings have suggested writing them directly for copies to 3500 Fairpoint Street, Pasadena, California.

Early in May there will be a meeting in Oslo, coincident with the meeting of the NATO Council, to voice the appeal to the world. Outstanding world peace leaders such as Albert Schweitzer and Bertrand Russell will attend. The Paulings will report back on this meeting at a rally in New York City May 12. Hopes have been expressed that out of this petition campaign there may develop a mass peace movement of

the American people, representative of all groups striving for peace.

Along with peace walks scheduled for Easter Week and continuing actions of existing peace organizations, joining in this petition campaign offers the most immediate opportunity for all concerned with peace to press their will on the Administration.

But continued and greater pressure must be brought to bear on the Kennedy Administration to implement the hopes it has expressed for improved American-Soviet relations, to respond to the repeated overtures in this direction by the Soviet Government, and to correct the dangerous legacies left by the Eisenhower Administration in the Congo, Cuba and Laos.

It is welcome news, of course, that the absurd policy of holding up by postal and customs authorities of many thousands of pieces of literature from the socialist countries addressed to organizations and individuals, has finally been abandoned by order of the President.

It is nice to know that we may now buy canned crab meat from the Soviet Union, formerly held up on the grounds that it was produced by "forced labor," of which it is now acknowledged there is no evidence.

But how stupid to cancel the export licenses on 45 pieces of ball bearing machinery scheduled to go to the Soviet Union on the ground that this might threaten our security! Clearly one of the best ways to increase our security would be to

abandon restrictions on trade and to open up the mutually beneficial economic relations which would be one of the most solid guarantees of peaceful relations and the well-being of our peoples.

Nuclear Tests and Disarmament

AN IMMEDIATE opportunity for concrete progress is opened up in the negotiations on the banning of nuclear tests, resuming as we go to press. While Administration officials have expressed themselves hopeful of agreement, the usual stories have already started to the effect that the Soviet Union really does not want to reach agreement. One knotty point has been the number of on-the-spot inspections of suspected nuclear weapons explosions, the Soviet Union offering three, the United States insisting on twenty-one a year. The announcement by Arthur H. Dean, new head of the U.S. delegation, that we are now willing to reduce the number to 19, with two others in neighboring states, would seem to be a rather minor concession as do the others listed. We can only hope for a flexible attitude on both sides as the negotiations continue.

We should like to call attention to a letter published in the *New York Times* on January 27, signed by Norman Thomas and Clarence Pickett, co-chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. This letter called attention to the "profound" concessions made by the Soviet Union in previous negotiations to the demands by the United States and Britain that any testing and disarmament agreements include adequate controls, and enumerated a whole series of such con-

cessions. The letter ends with the appeal:

Because of the unique importance of the test-ban negotiations on easing world tensions and providing a starting point for controlled disarmament measures, no possibility for bringing them to a successful conclusion should be overlooked.

Ever since the opening on March 7 of the second half of the Fifteenth UN Assembly sessions, U.S. delegate Adlai Stevenson has been meeting with Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and others of the Soviet delegation in an effort to wipe the agenda clean of all subjects that could heighten international tensions, and confine discussions to a few purely technical issues, postponing everything else until next fall; and especially to postpone all discussions of disarmament until the United States task force has completed its studies.

But what is the United Nations for, if not to discuss controversial matters? It would seem that a more sensible approach would be to try to find ways on which agreement on controversial matters might be reached, rather than eliminating discussion, since the problems remain and indeed intensify in gravity.

Latest reports have it that the United States has finally agreed that it may be ready to enter upon some form of discussions on disarmament in August, rather than delaying until September as it had originally desired. The Soviet Union holds that a discussion on disarmament is necessary during this UN session at least to reach agreement "on a concerted basis for negotiations to elaborate a treaty on general and complete disarmament and on the composi-

tion of a working body for such negotiations."

While delaying disarmament discussions, the Administration continues to add to the arms race by ever bigger military expenditures, which, of course, mean further obstacles to agreement, increasing the vested interests of those who profit through the arms and nuclear weapons build-up. Already the revised budget of the Kennedy Administration envisages an added \$2.5 billion to the Eisenhower budget of \$41.5 billion for this year and \$43 billion for next, plus another \$4.4 billion for military aid abroad and atomic programs. Labor Research Association's *Economic Notes* tells us that this year's military contracting is already scheduled at a higher level than any year since Korea, even without taking into account the decisions to step up the Polaris missile and airlift programs.

Cuba—and the Double Standard

It is a privilege to publish this month the important article on Cuba by two recent American visitors there—publicist Jesse Gordon and General Hugh B. Hester, retired General of the U.S. Army who has become one of our country's strongest advocates of peace.

This article, we believe, is a most effective answer to the new Administration's charges of penetration into this hemisphere of "foreign ideology" and "outside control." It shows the Castro regime and its reforms as growing directly out of the needs of the people and overwhelmingly supported by them, as they are indeed by numerous people in Latin America. This has been shown by the support for Castro voiced in

many Latin American countries and vigorously expressed in the recent Latin American Conference for National Independence, Economic Freedom and Peace held in Mexico City under the leadership of General Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico. General Cardenas has called on President Kennedy to listen more closely to the Latin American people "before speaking in the name of the Western hemisphere."

Here we have the old cold war double standard policy still in action. The President asserts our right to determine the way of life of all the people of this hemisphere. The U.S. Government refuses the right of the people themselves to determine their own destinies if their plans include any elements of socialization, and friendly relations with the socialist world.

At the same time, we would deny to the Soviet Union and China the right of any influence on the nations directly bordering on them which either share their ideology and form of government, or wish to maintain close and friendly ties with them, or even to be neutral.

President Kennedy continues to express hope for "liberation" of Eastern Europe, meaning, of course, the overthrow of the socialist regimes and their replacement by capitalist ones. He hopes to woo some of these countries away from socialism through loans and economic aid.

The President even went so far in his March 8 press conference as to make a special plug for Radio Free Europe which constantly carries on the most violent hate propaganda against the socialist countries. He asked Americans to contribute

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to this enterprise to bring "a beacon of light into countries . . . whose hope for freedom all of us must share."

While the earlier censoring of certain offensive anti-Soviet statements on a projected speech by Admiral Burke, director of U.S. Naval Operations, and general instructions to the Pentagon hotheads to conform to Presidential policies in their public utterances can only be welcomed, endorsement of this virulent anti-Soviet propaganda medium is a pretty poor example for the President to set.

President Kennedy, at the same press conference, insisted he wants a "lessening of tension" with regard to China, "But we're not prepared to surrender" in order to get it. What we "will not surrender" is China's own territory of Taiwan, where U.S. military might alone keeps Chiang Kai-shek in possession and keeps his representative in the United Nations instead of the real China with its 650,000,000 people, although this tragic farce cannot long continue and China's patience will not last forever.

Secretary of State Rusk declared in his March 9 press conference, that we are not bound by any actions of the previous Administration in relation to Berlin but "The key core of our attitude on the Berlin problem of course has not changed at all. . . . We are strongly committed to the freedom of that city, and we expect to sustain our own position in that city." "Our own position" means the continued presence of U.S. and other foreign occupation troops within Berlin, creating a spearhead of a rearmed Western Germany 110 miles within the German Democrat-

ic Republic, on the basis of Allied agreements on postwar Germany that ceased to exist when two separate Germanys were set up. The Soviet Union, we believe, has exerted great patience in permitting continued postponement of the question, and of discussions of its proposals for a long-overdue peace treaty with the two Germanys pending possibilities for its eventual unification, and of the question of making West Berlin a free and neutralized city.

The Situation in Laos

As we go to press, prospects seem to be rising of a settlement in Laos. All the talk about creating a "neutral" Laos sounds very fine. But Laos had a neutral government which has twice been overthrown through U.S. efforts.

The United States Government bears the responsibility for ousting the previous governments of Prince Souvanna Phouma and installing pro-Western governments which it has supplied with military and economic aid, administered so corruptly that it has been an international scandal. The U.S. also brought Laos under the military umbrella of SEATO. All this was in direct contravention of the Geneva agreements of 1954 which settled the Indochina war and called for neutrality of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, its component parts. While the U.S. did not sign the agreements, it made a unilateral declaration that it would uphold them.

The entire United States position is based on reported Soviet military aid to the "rebels"—that is, the forces supporting the legitimate government of Prince Phouma—which was

an answer to U.S.-supported military actions. The *New Republic* said in an editorial March 20:

The one non-Communist personality of any standing—Souvanna Phouma—had been unseated as Prime Minister in a coup personally engineered by Parsons [J. Graham Parsons, outgoing Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, a former Ambassador to Vientiane] during a Vientiane visit last August, when the Prince had insisted on a neutralized foreign policy.

The coup was carried out by the U.S.-supplied forces of General Phoumi Nosovan, Defense Minister of Boun Oum (playboy leader who had formerly ruled Laos from the Riviera) whom he set up as the new Premier, getting his recognition by King Vathana, with U.S. help. Neither General Nosovan or Boun Oum, according to the *New Republic*, commands any power or respect among the Laotian people. The reliability of their U.S.-supported Government may be gauged by the reports issued earlier this year of direct intervention by China and North Vietnam, denied in the press and later by the government itself.

Prince Souvanna Phouma took refuge in Cambodia after the coup. From there he has advocated the proposals of Cambodian Head of State, Prince Narodom Sihanouk, for a 14-nation conference of the countries involved in the 1954 Geneva conference and the former three-nation Supervisory and Control Commission (India, Poland, Canada), with the idea of reaching agreement on forming a neutral zone in both Cambodia and Laos.

Further details of the Laos story appeared in an interview with Prince Souvanna Phouma in Cambodia published in the *New York Times*

January 20, in which he bitterly blamed the United States and particularly Parsons for the present warfare in Laos. He declared that from the start the United States had opposed the only real solution possible, namely the formation of a government of national unity, including the Pathet Lao movement, which had been agreed in the Geneva decisions. He said that when he had succeeded in integrating the Pathet Lao into the Government in 1957, the United States had sabotaged him, forced his resignation as Premier, and compelled the Government of Phoui Sananikone who succeeded him, to be pro-Western and strongly anti-Communist. He declared that previous to 1958 he had sought to maintain neutrality between East and West, and had assured North Vietnam and Communist China that he would not permit Laos to become a U.S. base or allow U.S. soldiers on its soil. When, later, the U.S. sent 100 military men to train the Laos army "the present crisis was born."

The *New York Times* story continued:

Many Western diplomats in Vientiane agree with Prince Souvanna Phouma on these points. They feel the Communists would have been content to leave Laos alone provided she remained neutral and outside the United States sphere of influence.

It is reported that the situation in Laos was a main subject in the discussions held by Ambassador Thompson with Khrushchev in Siberia, at the direct request of President Kennedy, and in the conversations between Secretary of State Rusk, Foreign Minister Gromyko and others in Washington.

The situation looked very dangerous indeed for some weeks, with the U.S. military group in Laos increased from 100 to 250, the U.S. press daily reporting plans for increased military aid from Washington, U.S. warships steaming into the area, and talk of military intervention if the forces loyal to Prince Phouma continued their successful advance against little resistance.

On a stop press basis, we can only report hopefully that it now looks as though some sort of peaceful solution may be achieved. The British have made a proposal to the USSR, supported by Washington, for a settlement in Laos based on a ceasefire to be overseen by a revived three-power International Control Commission, to be followed by an international conference to establish a neutral, unified country. This approaches the position that the USSR has held of settling the crisis through a 14-nation conference. Following the Kennedy-Gromyko talks, both expressed hope that a peaceful solution could be found.

The United Nations and the Congo

Without any authority from the Congolese people or Parliament, the fourteen Congolese leaders who met in Malagasy, decided on a course of scrapping the Central Government and dividing it up into component states. This move was made under the leadership of the Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe, and with the participation of U.S.-supported Joseph Kasavubu. If this fragmentation is permitted to go through the Belgian colonialists will have won their aim of maintaining control of the Congo's richest provinces, which they have only been able to do with the

support of U.S. interests which are gleaning huge profits from them. Antoine Gizenga, deputy Premier of the Lumumba Government, and in control of half the Congo, refused to attend the meeting at Tananarive.

In the opening debate on the Congo in the resumed General Assembly session, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko renewed the Soviet attack on Secretary Hammarskjöld for actions favoring the colonialists and responsibility for the events which resulted in Lumumba's murder, and proposed again a new Secretariat which would represent not only the Western powers, but the socialist and neutralist states. He called for immediate withdrawal of all Belgian troops and personnel, the arrest and trial of Tshombe and Mobutu, termination of the UN operation in the Congo within a month, assistance to the Gizenga regime, reconvening of the Congo Parliament, and a commission of African states to supervise these measures.

We would like to note here that the African expert Basil Davidson, writing in the British *New Statesman* of March 10, called the UN operation in the Congo a drastic failure and said there had never been any great international operation "so muddled, misconceived and mis-conducted." He declared that the influence of the Gizenga government and the Lumumbists supporting it grows and spreads, since they are the only group which stands for the genuine political independence towards which Lumumba "never ceased to struggle while he lived."

We would also like to call our readers' attention to the summary of the speech by President Nkru-

mah of Ghana to the UN General Assembly on March 7, carried in *I. F. Stone's Weekly* for March 20. This speech was all but blacked out by the U.S. press.

Mr. Nkrumah sharply criticized UN actions in the Congo. He exposed the Belgian connivance in withholding funds due from Katanga to the Central Government, leaving Lumumba with no funds to pay his soldiers. He warned against the dismemberment of the Congo into small states "the clients of one or the other of the great powers," which was exactly what the Tananarive conference tried to do. He called for a solution by Africans themselves.

On the murder of Lumumba, he said:

History recalls many occasions when the rulers of states have been done to death. The assassination of Patrice Lumumba, however, is unique in that this is the first time in history that the ruler of a country has been killed in the very presence of the United Nations forces which he himself had invited to his country to restore law and order. . . . The United Nations cannot restore law and order in the Congo if it takes a

neutral position between law and disorder. . . .

He said that the action of the United Nations in using Ghanaian troops to prevent Lumumba from broadcasting from the Leopoldville radio station had been a most improper interference in the affairs of the Congo and an abuse of their powers, and asked:

If it was proper for Ghanaian troops to stop Lumumba from broadcasting at Leopoldville, why was it not equally proper for Swedish troops at Elizabethville airport to intervene to save Lumumba's life? . . . How was it possible to argue that the UN had authority to prevent Lumumba from broadcasting, yet lacked authority to prevent him from being murdered?

A GAIN we ask—in the face of all these burning problems that threaten the peace of the world—what are *we* doing to help solve them?

Let us heed the wonderful words of Sean O'Casey with which we are so proud to begin this issue. Let us leather away with the Wattle O to bring peace and friendship to this whole wide world!

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A New Look at Cuba-

The Challenge to Kennedy

by JESSE GORDON and GEN. HUGH B. HESTER, U.S.A. (ret.)

THE State Department has prohibited travel to Cuba "until further notice." For a while, anyway, you will no longer be able to read the impressions left by that controversial country on American visitors with no ax to grind, no editor to please, no special political ideology to sell. That is why we, the authors, think the following study, written by two Americans recently returned from a visit to Cuba, has some special significance.

In Part I we give our impressions of the people and of their revolutionary regime. In Part II, we attempt to analyze the treatment given Cuba by the American press, comparing what we had read of that country to what we actually found. And in the final section we present our analysis of American policy toward the Castro regime and our conclusions as to what steps are necessary to normalize relations between the two traditionally friendly countries.

JESSE GORDON, writer and publicist, one of America's leading public relations authorities, is Public Relations and Editorial Consultant to *The Nation*.

GENERAL HESTER was Food Administrator in the American Zone of Berlin, 1945-47. He received the Distinguished Service Medal for his services in the Southwest Pacific area, 1942-45. He has written numerous articles on foreign affairs and is co-author of the recent book *On the Brink*.

I
WE WERE free to travel everywhere in Cuba and to talk to people in all walks of life without challenge from the police or militia. From Premier Fidel Castro down to the bus conductor we received nothing but courteous treatment. Obviously, the chant *Cuba, Si! Yanqui, No!* doesn't extend to individual American citizens. The Cubans will tell you it means: "No Yankee imperialism."

What did we see?

Everywhere in rural Cuba we saw thousands of new homes being built to replace the *bohios*, or shanties—those indescribably filthy hovels without water, light or sanitation that for decades dotted the Cuban landscape. The Castro Government is gradually moving the poor people into the new, modern, housing projects. We inspected the new homes; the people in them are now living like civilized people for the first time. They pay between \$10 and \$30 a month rentals; after 20 years they become full owners of the property.

We saw new schools under construction. Since the Castro Government has been in power, there are 20,000 more public school teachers and 85 per cent more students attending school. And, in fact, more schools have been built in the two years of Castro's regime than in the entire preceding 50 years.

Premier Castro has estimated that at least 45 per cent of the island's 6,500,000 are illiterate. A major campaign is on to eradicate illiteracy completely. The Government has decreed 1961 as the Year of Education. Dr. Armando Hart, the Minister of Education, has purged the department personnel of political misfits and eliminated waste and graft. The education budget has increased by 10 per cent.

At the University of Havana we talked with the dean, the professors and students. We were impressed by the attractive campus, the library, the big increase in enrollments, the plans for evening courses, and the increase in scholarships. Soon any boy or girl who can pass the entrance examinations and intelligence tests may attend the university—no matter how little money they have. The faculty is enthusiastic about plans to construct professional schools for engineers, doctors, teachers and lawyers.

We noted that the new schools, hospitals, parks and playgrounds are named after revolutionary heroes. Such projects, they told us, exemplify the achievements of the revolution. No marble monuments in parks for Cuba's modern heroes!

Camilo Cienfuegos School City is named after a deceased hero, one of Castro's leaders in the Sierra Maestra; it is an experimental educational project located in the foothills of these mountains. Twenty thousand children between the ages of 6 and 18, who live in the outlying region (roadless and heretofore school-less) will soon study and work here, receiving a complete education from first grade through high school. The army, which built

School City, is constructing similar projects throughout the island.

We talked with the teachers being trained for School City projects, and their obvious enthusiasm is remarkable.

A newly created department, the Ministry of Social Welfare, concerns itself with the poor and destitute. It is headed by a young lawyer, Raquel Perez de Miret, only woman member of the Council of Ministers, who deserves a large measure of credit for the amazing changes in social conditions. Formerly visitors to Cuba were shocked by the horde of beggars and prostitutes thronging the thoroughfares. During all our walks, we were not once accosted by any derelicts of society. Nor did we witness any drunks or brawls.

Widespread gambling is gradually being wiped out. The national lottery, now tied in with housing construction projects, gives the purchaser of a lottery ticket a share of an interest-bearing bond, thereby turning his gambling instinct into thrift. The American gangsters who formerly operated the casinos have disappeared.

Castro's most important single reform—the Agrarian Reform Law—was passed on May 17, 1959. Castro once said: "The Agrarian Law will not injure many interests, but it will injure powerful interests." The American Sugar Company alone owned more than 500,000 acres of sugar cane when Castro came to power.

As everyone knows, Cuba had long suffered from a one-crop sugar economy. The country was without any industry to speak of, or agricultural diversification. Agrarian reform was long overdue. It succeeded in

breaking up the big land holdings, held mostly by foreign interests and their political cohorts.

Today, holdings of 990 acres or less (in sugar, rice and cattle-raising, the limit is 3,300) are left intact by the Government if they are owner-operated. Larger holdings are divided among the tenant farmers. INRA, as the land-reform organization is called, promotes agrarian co-operatives wherever possible. Compensation for expropriated lands is made with 20-year bonds bearing 4½ per cent interest (the bonds haven't been distributed yet). The number of owners whose land has been taken by INRA comes to fewer than 3,000.

Of course, the *campesinos*, or small farmers, are extremely happy with the new law. It seems most unlikely, even if Castro were overthrown, that these peasants would yield their newly-won property. The necessity for land reform has been recognized by the Catholic Church; Monsignor Evilio Diaz, Bishop of Havana, has referred to the law as "just and wise."

In our talk with Dr. Luis F. Llopis of the Ministry of Public Health, we noted increased activity in the field of health and sanitation. In the region around Cuba Libre, a co-operative near Matanzas, nearly everyone had been suffering from hookworm or a dietary deficiency. A medical clinic is now there. And milk, formerly 20 cents a liter, is now available at 8 cents at the cooperative.

Dr. Llopis told us Cuba was now 11th in the world in proportion of doctors to population. In the last two years, he said, 2,000 doctors have been graduated with special attention to training in the field of public

health. The Health Ministry's budget was \$23 million in 1959, \$50 million in 1960.

This year, Dr. Llopis said, attention would be given to enlarging medical services in the rural communities, where many persons living today have never even seen a doctor. Today, every child's health is checked at birth, and, in rural areas, every three months from the age of 1 to 5. In the cities, examinations occur twice a year.

Hospital facilities are being expanded. On December 31, 1959, there were 11,759 beds, and as of June 30, 1960 there were 17,529.

We discovered that small and medium-sized businesses have not been nationalized. However, more than 400 large Cuban-owned companies have been taken over by the Government in accordance with its program to promote industrialization through a planned economy.

Labor leaders are an outspoken lot, just as they are in the United States. If anyone has any doubts about this, they need only attend a meeting. The delegates are chosen freely by the workers, and the officials are elected from among them. Anyone can—and almost everyone does—take the floor and speak his mind. It is obvious, however, that they are solidly behind Castro.

The Catholic Church, like all other churches in Cuba, is free to conduct services. One gets the impression, reading the American press, that not a single Cuban priest supports Castro. This is not true. Father Lence, a Roman Catholic priest, is a strong supporter (it has gotten him into difficulties with the hierarchy). Bishop Diaz of Havana, previously quoted, has spoken of "the irresist-

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ible drive toward moral and social reform." Others have spoken for the revolution, too. But it is a fact that most of the Roman Catholic priests in Cuba are from Franco's Spain and, like the hierarchy, unsympathetic to the Castro regime.

Nevertheless, the people attend church regularly. If a Roman Catholic priest reads a pastoral letter condemning the Government, they sing the national anthem or walk out.

We inquired of various Catholics if they would give up the revolution if the Church asked it. Invariably they replied: "We would sooner give up the Church." When asked if they equated *Fidelismo* with Communism, they would reply: "We don't think it is the same as Communism, but if you wish to call it that, we don't care." (Castro himself, by the way, describes his ideological movement as "Humanist.")

We told Cubans that according to our newspapers Castro had said, "anti-Communism is counter-revolutionary." Did they go along with this? A student replied: "What Castro really said was: 'anti-Communism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism are all counter-revolutionary.'" The student asked: "Did you see the full statement in your American press, or just a part of it?" We had to confess that we had seen it only quoted out of context.

Is there freedom of the press, radio and television in Cuba?

All news media, so far as we could determine, are either government owned or operated, or run by committees of newspapermen on a profit-sharing basis. We talked with Juan Arcocha, one of the editors of the semi-official newspaper, *Revolu-*

cion, who insisted that anyone was free to publish an opposition newspaper. We inquired why no one did, since obviously there was some opposition to Castro. Mr. Arcocha replied that an opposition journal would soon go out of business because of a lack of sales. The answer struck us as somewhat naive, of course. But it must be pointed out that a Princeton poll, taken last year, revealed 86 per cent of the people in support of Castro.

There were 17 newspapers in Havana during the Batista regime; all but two received regular government subsidies. Today, only six papers exist.

One of the newspapers which didn't receive a subsidy from Batista, Mr. Arcocha said, was *Prensa Libre*. But the owner's son, he told us, had received the Government's road-building contracts—an "indirect subsidy." Also, Mr. Arcocha said, the newspaper had conducted the national lottery. When Castro took power he ended this monopoly, and the loss of income caused *Prensa Libre* to go out of business. *Revolucion* is now being published in the plant. In the lobby stands a bust of the Cuban poet-patriot, Jose Marti, with the proud words: "An honest journalist is higher than a king."

The leading liberal popular magazine in the pre-Castro days was *Bohemia*, whose owner, Miguel Angel Quevedo, later became disenchanted with Castro and departed. It alone had had the courage to attack the Batista regime, except during periods of censorship.

A newspaper closed down by Castro was *Avance*. Its publisher, Alfredo Zayas, now an exile in the

United States, and recently elected as regional vice president of the Inter-American Press Association's Freedom of the Press Committee, talks publicly—and loquaciously—about the need for a free press in Cuba. What hypocrisy! The editor of *Avance*, Jorge Zayas, had received regular payments (photostatic copies of the checks are available) from the Batista regime.

How many Americans who today shout for a free press in Cuba made their voices heard during the Batista regime?

Closely linked with the free press, naturally, are free elections. But the Cuban people have little faith in elections; the memory of corruption and sell-outs is still with them. Most observers would agree that if elections were held tomorrow, Castro would be overwhelmingly returned to power. Why then, doesn't Castro hold elections? We were told it would be hypocritical to do so; everyone knows the people support Castro—and, besides, the diversion would give counter-revolutionaries a chance to confuse the people. When the threat by the U.S. is ended, they told us, there would be free elections. But the longer the U.S. applied pressure, the longer would elections have to be postponed.

What about consumer goods and prices?

We can report the supply of food is ample. For the first time, Cubans tasted turkey last Christmas, when 42,000 were delivered for the retail market. A large turkey farm in Pinar del Rio Province, called the El Modelo State Farm, is operating under the supervision of Capt. John Michael, a former American who fought under Castro.

Shiploads of food and other goods from the USSR, Poland, China, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Japan, and Latin American countries, arrive regularly. Japan especially is making headway in the Cuban market.

There exists the possibility that Japan may soon exchange consumer goods, on a large scale, for raw materials. Until now Japan bought its sugar from the Philippines, but this sugar is expected to be diverted to the U.S. because of the embargo on Cuban sugar. This will create a sugar shortage for the Japanese. Japan, in growing need of outlets for its consumer products, seems to be finding a ready market in Cuba. The Japanese products we saw displayed were of high quality and reasonably priced. A Japan-Cuba Trade Promotion Association was recently formed in Tokyo.

We talked with one of the officials of the Bank of Foreign Trade, Mr. Jacinto Torras, who explained how the Government is holding the price line. It appears the Government would rather take a loss on any imported item than permit it to be sold at a higher price. And inflationary trends haven't developed, except in a few luxury items.

Cubans today are buying many things for less money than when they bought them from the U.S. We saw, for example, a telephone instrument made in Czechoslovakia, costing \$15, which formerly was purchased in the U.S. for \$32. Electricity, telephone rates and rent are all much lower today.

Cuba, we believe, can survive the economic war, despite the sugar embargo and other trade restrictions imposed by the United States.

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the Cuban market entirely, it must move quickly or it will be too late. Castro, it must be remembered, first turned to the U.S. and not the Red bloc nations. In February 1959, one month after the new revolutionary government came to power, Castro sent a three-man mission to Washington under Dr. Justo Carrillo, the head of the Cuban Development Bank, to explore the possibilities of financial aid to bolster Cuba's depleted exchange reserves and to make possible an industrialization program. The mission was turned away empty-handed.

In mid-1959, when Castro visited the U.S., President Eisenhower refused to receive him because of "protocol." The insult was the first of a long series of missteps taken by the United States.

It is no wonder that Castro has turned closer to the Socialist bloc. He had no alternative. The sugar embargo was the final straw. While the American press headlines that Castro is selling sugar to the Soviets, it forgets to remind its readers that, in 1954, Batista sold 500,000 tons to Russia, with additional later sales. Besides, the Eisenhower Administration gave economic and military aid to the dictator Batista almost up to the day he was overthrown. Are Cubans supposed to be grateful for all this?

Because of its trade agreements with Socialist countries, Cuba will undoubtedly win in this economic struggle. New raw materials have been discovered in the country, too, and new industries are going up; sixty factories are nearing completion. Material for the factories was brought from the USSR, China, and other Communist countries. The fac-

tories include one for making pencils, two for conservation of food, five cotton gins, three cattle-feeding plants, a salt refinery, iron foundries and a plant to make screws and bolts. Also, new power plants are under construction.

Gasoline has remained stable at 33 cents a gallon. We were informed that Cuba has sufficient petroleum on hand, and has even offered to export some.

Machine parts and tools are still scarce, but this lag is beginning to be overcome, in part, by the new factories as well as by imports from Canada and Czechoslovakia. New imported trucks and autos are starting to arrive.

All the while exchange rationing and import licensing is enforced to conserve foreign exchange.

One should remember that prophecies of economic doom were once pronounced against the USSR, China and other countries. The economies of these countries have outlived the prophets.

The morale of Cuban workers and the militia is high. It is an impressive sight to watch the workers, giving up their one free day to drill with the militia. We witnessed the military parade on January 2, 1961—more than 200,000 men and women marched steadily under a hot sun for seven hours. There is no doubt about the people's spirit or their courage, tenacity and determination to hold onto the gains under the revolution. They take pride in the honesty of the Castro Government. All the officials, from Fidel Castro down, live modestly, compared to the shocking extravagances of past regimes.

Castro must feel he has the alle-

giance of the masses, otherwise he wouldn't arm every sixth person.

These impressions add up to a totally different picture than we got from reading the newspapers at home.

II

IS IT possible that the American press is biased, or distorted, or has perhaps become an apologist for the U.S. Government's policy?

Let us look at a dispatch by R. Hart Phillips in *The New York Times* of December 24, 1960, which read in part: "This year, 'having defeated Yankee imperialism which was attempting to destroy the Castro revolution,' the Government has decided that the people are to celebrate a 'free Christmas' . . . there is a lack of real enthusiasm for the celebration. . . . One Cuban said today, 'Who can celebrate Christmas in the present atmosphere of hate that fills the island?'"

Well, Mrs. Phillips, we were there during the Christmas celebration and we found enthusiasm. We didn't find the "hate" you saw.

Then again, Robert G. Whalen in "The Year in Review" in the *Sunday Times* of January 1, 1961, wrote: "The free press (in Cuba) and other organs of opposition are crushed."

What free press has been crushed, Mr. Whalen? Do you wish to imply that a free press existed under Batista?

"The News of the World" in the *Sunday Times* of January 8, 1961, said Castro provoked the break in U.S.-Cuban diplomatic relations in order to "stop the flood" of refugees. But in the same newspaper—on the same date—Max Frankel reports from Cuba: "The Cuban Government had

not been unhappy about the flight of so many rebels." (The Cuban Government's refusal to renew Mr. Frankel's visa, in our opinion, was a mistake.)

Other distortions could be cited from the wire services and leading newspapers. However, the *New York Daily News* tops the list with its recent series entitled "Countdown for Castro," wherein it describes Castro's ministers and aides as 1) a dope pusher; 2) a pickpocket; 3) a grafter; 4) an informer and 5) a stool pigeon. The *Daily News'* authority for these descriptions is the former head of Batista's secret police, Col. Esteban Ventura, who is charged with the death and torture of many innocent people. (He was known as the "Himmler of Havana.")

Colonel Ventura is now residing in Florida, thanks to the hospitality of the American authorities. Why, one wonders, don't these exiles flee to Mexico—a country where the language and culture are familiar—instead of to the United States? Some believe the answer is that they feel freer to plot against Castro here.

Of course, many Cubans became disillusioned with Castro's reforms. Some resented the loss of privileges they had enjoyed under Batista; others had to flee because of criminal charges against them. But the U.S. press insists that they are fleeing Castro's "tyranny."

In early 1960, Herbert L. Matthews, a member of the editorial board of *The New York Times*, said: "In my thirty years on *The New York Times* I have never seen a big story so misunderstood, so badly handled, and so misrepresented as the Cuban revolution." Mr. Matthews' words are even more true today!

A good example of press mishandling of stories concerning Cuba is the one about the secret air base in Guatemala, a story which *The Nation* broke on November 19, 1960, but which no newspaper or wire service at the time would touch except the York, Pa. *Gazette & Daily*, although the story was supported from the beginning by the highly respected Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University.

Truth will out. *The New York Times* on January 10, 1961, finally ran the story on page one under the headline: "U.S. Helps Train an Anti-Castro Force at Secret Guatemalan Air-Ground Base."

Had the press run the story when it was first broken by *The Nation*, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa's statement before the United Nations would have received confirmation, and Ambassador Wadsworth's protestations of innocence, on behalf of the U.S., would not have sounded so convincing.

Now *Time* and the New York *Daily News* openly admit that the Central Intelligence Agency is financing the secret air-ground base in Guatemala and training Cuban guerrilla forces in Florida. *Time* (Jan. 27) mentions that U.S. corporate or "big business" financial aid to Cuba's underground ranges between \$135,000 monthly to as high as \$500,000, and that the C.I.A. is directing it. Many Latin Americans know the story of U.S. intervention in Guatemala in 1954.

III

APPARENTLY, Castro had solid moral and legal grounds for

reducing the personnel at the U.S. Embassy in Havana, where, he charged, many were working as spies. It is an elementary principle of international law that a government has the right to break off relations with a government which is subsidizing its overthrow. However, it was the U.S. Government, not the Cuban Government, which severed diplomatic relations.

The break in relations decreed by President Eisenhower paves the way for the U.S. and other countries to recognize a government-in-exile. This would not have been possible as long as Washington recognized the Castro regime.

At the present time, U.S. policy is to try to line up Latin American countries against Cuba, and to induce as many as possible to sever diplomatic relations.

The justification for lining up the Latin American countries against Castro is that he is trying to "export" his revolution. This is a falsehood. The poverty-stricken masses of the region look to Castro as a sort of modern Marti or Bolivar. He doesn't have to "export" revolution; the example he sets is enough.

The U.S. military high command reportedly has plans ready for an invasion of Cuba. Should the Kennedy Administration decide to continue along the reckless path of the previous Administration, we fear a disaster will result.

Whether the rumored Pentagon plan will be put into operation we obviously cannot foretell. But if the U.S. Government invades Cuba, or supports a combination of Latin American countries in such a venture, we are certain the prestige of the U.S. would be dealt a heavy blow.

President Eisenhower in his Farewell Address, warned of the dangers of militarism in the context of what he termed our new "military-industrial complex." American democracy today is in grave danger because of the Pentagon-C.I.A.-Big Business effort to dictate foreign policy. Mr. Eisenhower didn't underestimate the threat to our liberties; unless the inroads by the "power elite" are halted, we are on the way to a Garrison State.

During the past year, the Soviet Union has charged that U.S. planes were "buzzing" Soviet ships, that at least 200 vessels at sea have been halted or intercepted by American warships or planes. If this report is true, it would constitute a "feeling out" preliminary to the establishment of a naval blockade, possibly with Cuba in mind.

The \$64 billion question is: Would the USSR accept a blockade of her ships in the Caribbean? We doubt it. President Kennedy, therefore, would be unwise to practice the "brinkmanship" of his predecessor. It didn't help Mr. Kennedy a bit when he picked an advocate of "gunboat" diplomacy, the bumptious Adolf A. Berle Jr., to coordinate United States policies toward Latin America. Mr. Berle's "diplomacy" can only exacerbate the situation, as the President will soon realize.

What then are some alternatives to this frightening picture of U.S.-Cuban relations which, if not fundamentally altered, we believe could lead us eventually into a military dictatorship and world war?

We think a *detente* would be in the best interests of both countries. President Kennedy and Premier Castro have both declared publicly that

they are ready to "begin anew" to seek a solution. The memorable words in Mr. Kennedy's Inaugural Address were: "Let us never fear to negotiate."

There should be *immediate* negotiation.

We therefore suggest that President Kennedy and Premier Castro meet personally on neutral territory, possibly somewhere in Mexico, to discuss:

- Restoration of normal diplomatic relations
- The appointment of a joint commission to study reparations for American businesses nationalized by Cuba
- Repeal of the sugar embargo
- Banning of the Swan Island radio broadcasts and all other propaganda on both sides
- The drawing up of new trade agreements
- Stimulation of tourist exchanges
- The vacating of the Guantanamo naval base
- Aid to Cuba with financing or loans
- Repatriation wherever possible of Cuban refugees now residing in the U.S. under treaty guarantees for their safety against political reprisal.

As a preliminary to the conference, President Kennedy might well announce that he is meeting the Cuban leader on a basis of equality, that he recognizes that the Government of Cuba must be free to resolve its own problems without any outside interference.

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Poetry Day-Moscow

by YAROSLAV SMELYAKOV

WHEN Poetry Day was first held five years ago, it was envisaged by its sponsors—a group of Moscow poets—as an occasion for authors and readers to get together and air their respective views. The idea was a success, and since then Poetry Day is observed every year. It is not a fixed date and is usually timed to the publication of an anthology bearing the same title, *Poetry Day*, and including the best poetry written over the year.

Originally our holiday was intended to last as long as its name implied, one day, and each year, usually on a Sunday, poets would go to bookshops where they met and talked with their readers, recited their poems and handed out autographs. The holiday rapidly became popular, and in 1960 its program was barely crowded into a fortnight, from September 28 to October 12.

In Moscow, poets attended readers' conferences, poetry evenings and meetings with readers at factories; they addressed throngs of poetry lovers in squares and in bookshops, and spoke over the radio and television.

More than a hundred poets addressed meetings held in the factory clubs where they read poetry and discussed their plans with their

listeners. The workers' appreciation of such meetings was put into verse by a machine operator of the Moscow Tool Plant:

*Poets have come to our mill today
Our judgment of them and their work
to seek.*

*What better occasion for us to display
That we and they in unison speak.*

*Come more often and be our guests,
We hope to greet you again and again.
And here is one of our greatest requests—
That you write of the life of working men.*

Participating together with Moscow poets in the events of Poetry Day were poets from all over the country: Nikolai Braun, Boris Kezhun, Boris Likharev, Mikhail Dudin and Sergei Orlov from Leningrad; Petrus Brovka and Arkadi Kuleshov from Byelorussia; Nikolai Ushakov from the Ukraine; Boris Ruchyov and Lyudmila Tatyanchikova from the Urals; Nikolai Rylenkov from Smolensk; Kazimierz Lisovsky from Novosibirsk, and many others.

Several big poetry evenings were held in the halls of the Polytechnical Museum, where Mayakovsky once spoke, at the club of Moscow University and at the Central Literary Club. They drew large audiences, and ticket hunters blocked the entrances much as on a theater's first night. The speakers included poets of national renown, such as Pavel Antokolsky, Vera Inber and Stepan Shchipachov, and novices like Alexander Romanov and Nikolai Antsyferov.

YAROSLAV SMELYAKOV is a well-known Soviet poet. He is chairman of the Moscow Poets' Section of the Writers' Union and editor of *Poetry Day*, 1960.

Artists recited the works of Nicolas Guillen, Pablo Neruda, Langston Hughes and other foreign poets. A holiday conceived five years ago as a purely Moscow affair rapidly spread beyond the capital to become a country-wide festival of poetry.

A motley public, ranging from graybeards to teen-agers, attended the poetry evenings. The audiences reacted eagerly to the speakers, showing them with questions and requests for more poems, and if a poet hesitated in selecting one for reading, suggestions would immediately be heard in the hall. It was apparent that the public was well acquainted with the works of celebrated masters and such young poets as, for example, Novella Matveyeva. The evenings often lasted for three or four hours on end, only to continue spontaneously in the streets, where young people surrounded poets, clamoring for more and more poems, requesting autographs or seeking advice.

The culminating point of the event was October 9, when 27 Moscow bookshops were made into improvised auditoriums with counters for rostrums, and poetry lovers flocked to them to meet their favorite authors.

And then unusual salesmen—Moscow poets and their guests from other cities—took their places behind the counters.

The gathering I attended was at No. 100 Bookshop, in Gorky Street. The place was packed long before the beginning, and by two in the afternoon more than a thousand persons had assembled. Many had with them *Poetry Day* anthologies, with bright yellow covers striking the eye. With us at the shop was a guest of the Soviet Writers Union, the Ru-

manian poet Demonstene Botez, who addressed the meeting.

One after another, Irina Snegova, Alexander Yashin, Valentin Berestov, Eduard Asadov, Alexander Romanov and Spartak Kulikov took the floor to recite their verses and autograph their books. Very many people asked for autographs. Among those who approached me were two girls from the watchmaking factory, a woman worker from the Trekhgornaya Textile Mills, servicemen, engineers and students, as well as people from Kamchatka, the Caucasus, Leningrad and other parts of the country who happened to be in Moscow that day. Non-Muscovites often asked for several autographed books, for their friends and relatives.

In a corner of the shop a group of schoolchildren with a tape recorder made recordings of the poets' recitation of their own verses.

Moscow's biggest halls were unable to accommodate all those eager to attend in that festival of poetry. So a stand was erected in Mayakovsky Square at the foot of the statue to the great poet. In the afternoon poetry lovers began to gather in the square.

Here and there young people recited poetry, and heated arguments and discussions flared up. By seven o'clock, several thousand Muscovites had assembled. Many poems were recited in that unusual auditorium under the open sky. When the evening ended many people stayed on. The debate between the poets and their readers continued far into the night.

In Moscow, Poetry Day ended with a meeting in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Trade Unions.

Poetry vs. Physics

The debate on poetry's place, if any, in the age of sputniks and nuclear techniques, was sparked by engineer Poletayev in a letter published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, in which he claimed that poetry fell behind the progress of technology and was out of place, the 20th century being the age of "physicists," not "lyricists." Some people agreed with Poletayev, but more opposed his views, and the discussion that followed came to be known as the controversy between the "physicists" and the "lyricists." But soon it spent itself, when many physicists by profession sided with the lyricists. Prominent scientists agree with Academician Landau and Professor Markov, for example, that no such dilemma exists.

Every third person among those who attended the events of Poetry Day was a representative of the exact sciences, an engineer or technician.

The popularity of Poetry Day this year has demonstrated that it is a holiday for the poet and the layman alike and, in effect, it served as an answer to the "physicist-versus-lyricists" controversy.

The Poetry Day, 1960 anthology is fuller and more varied than earlier collections. Besides the "Poems of the Year" section it has several others. In one of them Marshal Yeryomenko, Academician Landau, the sculptor Kibalnikov (creator of the Mayakovsky statue), former captain of the Spartak football team Starostin and others answer the question, "What are your views on poetry?"

Another section, called "Roll of Honor," contains poems by and letters from young poets killed in action

in the last war. The works of each author are foreworded by lyrical reminiscences of colleagues instead of critiques or commentaries that might be expected.

The section, "Moscow Guests," includes contributions from poets in other regions and republics of the USSR, as well as from the German poets Kuba and Hermlin, the Italian Salvatore Quasimodo, the Chilean Pablo Neruda, the English poet and critic Jack Lindsay, who wrote an article on English translations of Russian poetry especially for the publication, and others.

The volume also carried articles on theory, commentaries, letters and reminiscences by Nikolai Gribachov, Mikhail Lukonin, Ilya Selvinsky, Nikolai Aseyev, and the late Yuri Olesha. The book is illustrated with engravings, drawings and cartoons by Vereisky, Kanevsky, Ighin and Vasilyev, as well as drawings by the poets Pavel Radimov and Victor Goncharov.

WHAT is the purpose of poetry? One might as well ask: what is the purpose of love?

"Poetry, for those who love it, adds color and beauty to life. For myself I can say that I would feel lost without the verse of my favorite poet, Lermontov, to recite to myself whenever the spirit moved me.

"Of course, there is no theoretical formula for good poetry; if there were, anyone could sit down and dash off a first-rate poem.

"Only the true poet can move us."

Lev LANDAU, Member
USSR Academy of Sciences, Nobel
Prize-winner in physics.

Reprinted from *Soviet Literature*

'Take Heart, My Brother!'

An article-review based on three recent books on Africa.

by SHIRLEY GRAHAM

BOOKS about Africa are now coming off presses by the dozens. It would seem that anybody (who can type) has excellent chances of getting published if he or she writes about Africa. Always on my return from that news-making continent, I am asked, "Which is the best book on Ghana—Guinea—Nigeria—Algeria?" "What books do you recommend?" And frequently, "When is *your* book on Africa coming out?" I have been forced to confess (a) that I had read none of the books on Africa recently put out by American publishers and (b) that I have no plans for writing a book on Africa.

During the past two years I have made four trips to Africa. When not listening to people in different countries there I have been reading voluminous reports, documents and pamphlets prepared by African nationalists in every part of that continent. In the numerous bookshops of Accra, Lagos, Emugu, Khartoum and Cairo I have found books written by the indigenous peoples of these countries: historical, political books, novels, short stories. These, I know, are the most reliable sources on Africa. And they cannot be bought in our bookstores, though many are available in London and Paris. So, recently, I reversed myself and began reading books on Africa produced here.

The survey has been far more rewarding than I had expected. A

goodly number of these books make fascinating psychological studies. Fear, guilt complexes, emotional explanations and wishful escape mechanisms employed are marvelously revealing. On the whole the books are more argumentative than they are informative. From the pile I have chosen three for review.* Taken together they furnish a body of widely diversified information and much insight as to why emerging Africa is upsetting the balances of world power. They are short books and the reader is warned that they furnish only that "little knowledge" which must be handled cautiously.

Nigeria: Newest Nation is written by an English journalist who, we are told on the cover "had her first taste of travel and her first post-university job teaching in a purdah woman's college in Pakistan." After working as a reporter in Manchester and London, she was sent to cover the end of the war in Indochina. During 1958, she visited Nigeria. In her Introduction, she explains:

I wanted then to write about the country, not only because it is now an important country and likely to become

**Nigeria: Newest Nation*, by Lois Mitchison. 118 pages. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. \$3.00

Ghana: A Historical Interpretation, by J. D. Fage, 122 pages. University of Wisconsin Press, \$3.00

The Reluctant African, by Louis E. Lomax, 117 pages. Harper & Brothers, \$2.95

more important, but also because I enjoyed the people I met there. They were kind and cheerful: an easy people, it seemed, to make friends with and talk to. Perhaps I should be ashamed that I was so often irritated by technical inefficiency and the conditions people lived under; but since this irritation, along with the smiling people and the earnest young men, is part of my picture of Nigeria, I have let it stand in my personal description of the country.

Miss Mitchison traveled into East Nigeria by car from the Cameroons, "mostly we travelled on the worst road I had ever seen." Yet, the next paragraph begins:

It was a good way of coming into Nigeria. For most of the journey the road was a narrow track through very dark, very dense forest with tall straight trees, almost branchless, but with festoons of creepers hanging from them. Everything was trying to push its way up into the sun above tree level, and after a time I wanted to see the sun too . . . anything except the shade of the road and the trees going on and on.

About the same time I flew into Nigeria from the Sudan, landing at a ramshackle but bustling airport where precise, business-like officials stamped passports, checked baggage and routed travelers. Miss Mitchison's entrance by way of Nigeria's back door, over roads not made for automobiles, romantically plunged her into the fearsome African jungle—the jungle, which shuts out the sun and progress, light of civilization! She was not likely to encounter anybody in the clustered villages through which she passed who spoke English. She says, "I was mostly trying to photograph dancing and local musical instruments." Obviously, the folklore of the region with which she enlivens her description were drawn from other sources. Not until the journalist reaches Lagos and the

English community is her account firsthand:

What I found particularly sad was that the people I met, who were most disillusioned with Nigeria and Nigerians, were those who had started with the highest ideals of sympathy for "down-trodden peoples." . . . The English people who seemed to get on best with the Nigerians were the more successful younger businessmen. This seemed to be partly because they did not expect so much from their Nigerian friends. They did not want to probe into village customs and initiation ceremonies which most town Nigerians find embarrassing to talk about—even if they know about them. Nor do they want intellectual discussions on abstract subjects.

Naïveté reflected in the chapter on "Politics and Politicians" is highlighted by this comment:

To an English visitor one of the startling things about Nigeria is the different order of importance given to news stories in his breakfast paper. What takes up space is *first of all Nigerian topics* [italics mine], then news from *Nigeria's neighbors* and the rest of Africa, and then, a long way back in the paper, *Asia, Britain, America and Europe*.

Why, one might ask should this order be "startling?" I am reminded of a friend's surprise that I had missed some choice detail of our recent Presidential Inauguration. "I was in Cairo at the time," I explained. "But," came her indignant rejoinder, "it was in all the papers." "*Not in Cairo,*" I had to tell her. What was filling the newspapers, air

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, author of many books, including biographies of Frederick Douglass, Phyllis Wheatley and Booker T. Washington, has traveled widely in Europe, Asia and Africa in the past two years with her husband Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. She is editor of *Freedomways*, new quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement.

waves and television screens of Cairo that week was Patrice Lumumba's being handed over to the Katanga bands and Mrs. Lumumba's appeal to the United Nations to save her husband! Strange, perhaps, but true.

Nevertheless, *Nigeria: Newest Nation* gives an interesting visitor's view of one of the largest countries in Africa—as it appeared in 1958. I was back in 1960 and can report that much has happened there in this two years time. I found the roads vastly improved, the city of Lagos far more attractive and the first Nigerian Head of the University College at Ibadan, the scholarly Dr. Kenneth Dike, quite in command of what admittedly is a challenging situation. Miss Mitchison's excellent bibliography at the end greatly enhances the value of the little book.

Nostalgia for the past, the long and arduous efforts made by whites to establish Christian civilization in Africa and a decided reluctance to lay down "the white man's burden" are characteristics of the European's writings on African history. Basil Davidson's books on Africa offer the exception which proves the rule.

Ghana: A Historical Interpretation is by J. D. Fage, an English scholar who, in 1955, was appointed Head of the Department of History at the newly built University College of the Gold Coast, since 1957 the University of Ghana. This college was built before Ghana's independence, as a branch of the University of London. Faculty and curriculum were set up and supervised by the University of London. Examinations were sent out from there. I was told in Accra that when the college opened it had a faculty of ninety teachers (all white) and nine stu-

dents (all black). Allowing for some exaggeration, it is nevertheless quite likely that any faculty member who so desired could find time for research. In 1956 Professor Fage was invited to be Visiting Commonwealth Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, where he delivered the lectures which form the basis of this book. The three chapters are well written. There are maps and copious notes.

Though Basil Davidson, W. E. B. Du Bois and Prof. Leo Hansberry give different interpretations along several lines followed by the author, I consider the book worth reading and stimulating for those who consider themselves beginners (as are most of us) in the study of African history. I was particularly interested in following the spread of Islam. Recently, in the United Arab Republic, a black Mohammedan told me that today Mohammedanism is gaining converts by the thousands while Christianity was rapidly being "extinguished" throughout Africa. I asked him why. His answer was a question to me.

"No Mohammedan in the world turns his face from me because I am black; all Mohammedans are brothers. Were I a Christian, where are my brothers—in Christian America—in Christian South Africa—where?"

The reader will find Fage's chapter on "The Emergence of Modern Ghana" confusing. The attempt to give credit for an independent Ghana to a group of British merchants, who from 1830 to 1844 commandeered the entire Gold Coast for their own interests, is obviously absurd. From the chapter, however, one may glean some idea of the struggle between Danish, Dutch, Portuguese and

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British speculators for control of this rich land. Following a full-scale military invasion of the Ashanti peoples in the interior, their slaughter and destruction of all villages, by the fall of 1874, the British won out. Nothing could have been further from English minds at this time than the independence of this region. Fortunately, Kwame Nkrumah's *Ghana: An Autobiography* is easily available. Read Nkrumah's account of "the emergence of modern Ghana."

The Reluctant African is something quite different. It is a disturbing book, because in spite of himself, the author is deeply involved. Here is a thirty-six year old American Negro, a successful journalist, who designates himself a "reluctant African." Page by page, and with painful intensity, the writer reveals, rather than states why he does so. Louis Lomax was born in the rural area of Georgia. His mother died shortly after his birth and he was raised by a deeply religious grandmother. He attended a church college in Augusta, Georgia and later taught at Georgia State College for Negroes in Savannah. After studying journalism at Yale University he became a writer for the *Chicago American*. In 1959 Lomax joined Mike Wallace's news staff in New York. In May, 1960, he went to Africa:

It was my job to examine the matrix of these elementary facts of African life; to live with the Africans, find out how they think and why; to suffer their pains and walk with them in search of relief. It was a story, I regret to say, no white reporter could get in today's Africa. The Africans suspected me, too, for a while. ("You bear the credentials of the white press," one of them told me. "Even if you wrote the truth they would not

print it.") But, in time a mystical thing called the black brotherhood—understood, I am certain, only by the Africans—engulfed them and me, I was allowed to be one with them, to see practically all there was to be seen. I was told more than it is comfortable for me to know.

I felt, as far as my heart would let me, as they felt.

The crux of Lomax's dilemma sounds in this last sentence. There was no question in the mind of this young American Negro as to whose interests he was serving when he went to Africa. Quite frankly he tells how he was "briefed" for his job and to whom he made reports.

Lomax's first stop in Africa was Cairo—and I can understand his dismay!

After one day of meeting U.A.R. government officials I realized two things: Nasser has brought on both the Egyptianization and Africanization of Egypt! A stranger can hardly make his way about in Cairo; the English language street signs have all come down. Here and there an obscure English road sign can be found, but one dares not depend upon them. Taxi drivers, with rare exceptions, speak no English. Businessmen haggle in halting English, even then in terms of Egyptian pounds. In my hotel, in the gift shop, the post office, the open markets, civil servants drew me aside to talk about our common enemy, the white man. "What are you going to do about Little Rock? Mississippi? When are you American black men going to come and help us run the white man out of Africa?" These were things they asked me. They had heard nothing good about America, or about any "white" country, for that matter.

In despair, Mr. Lomax fled to the American Embassy. There he was consoled. He writes:

Listening to this argument and realizing that it came from white American State Department people, I felt the depth of their personal dedication and involvement. They sit laced to their swivel

chairs watching the greatest freedom explosion in human history occur in an anti-American, anti-white, anti-capitalist, anti-Western context. They think they know what to do about it, but they cannot act. And this is the vast gulf between American pronouncements and African aspirations; the Africans know that once they cross into freedom and independence we will stand with them. But we cannot help them in the critical hour of the great crossing. Rather it is Nasser, Sékou Touré, Kwame Nkrumah, battle-scarred veterans of change, who openly and boldly lead the way.

It would seem that Mr. Lomax's happiest evening in Cairo was at the graduation exercises of the American College, "long Cairo's most elite school for girls and the American missionaries' best stand in Egypt." And even this evening had certain drawbacks.

Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia was the next stop. Here, he found himself so beleaguered that, in his own words, "I began to fight back. And this was a mistake." He predicts, almost to the week, the revolt which less than a year later was so ruthlessly put down.

In Nairobi, Kenya, something significant takes place. In his hotel room, he hears a gentle, but firm knock on his door. Opening it, he is handed a note which begins:

"Dear brother Lomax, I am sorry I cannot be here to show you about on your first night in Kenya. I must go and stand trial tomorrow in Mombasa. . . . I have asked brother Ocheche, the bearer of this note, and his wife to take you to their home for a real African dinner. . . ." The note was signed by one of Tom Mboya's aides.

I bowed to Mr. Ocheche. He bowed back. Then we shook hands.

"I have called you a taxi," Mr. Ocheche said, "and told him how to get to our home." It turned out that Mr. Ocheche was traveling on a motor scooter and he wanted his guest to ride in luxury. The

taxi twisted and turned and finally made its way into the maze of an African location. We were lost for several minutes, then the driver isolated the Ocheche home. The African location reminded me of a housing project at dusk. In a sense that is precisely what it was. The Ocheches lived in this monotonous brick barracks because there was nowhere else for them to live.

"You the American!" Mrs. Ocheche cried out, as I made my way around to the back of the project, the only entrance to their home.

"Yes, I'm Lomax."

"Welcome," she said, walking out into the semi-night to shake my hand. "Do not be ashamed to look at our home," Grace Ocheche said. "We want you to see. You are our lost brother, one who was stolen from us many years ago. We want you to see how we live, to go back and tell the world why we are ready to die."

From this point on in the book, it is as if the writer has "gone over to the other side." Heretofore, he had been a kind of argumentative peeping-Tom, only partially, painfully grasping what he saw and unable to hear anything that was being said. Now he has come close enough to hear. (I do not count the last three or four pages of the book. To anyone experienced in editorial directives, collaborated rewrites, etc., etc., the last part of the book is strictly for the birds.)

Mr. Lomax did not get to West Africa. This is unfortunate because he would have been less apprehensive, less reluctant, less pained had he visited Ghana and Nigeria and Guinea and Mali. Take heart, my brother! Africa and Africans will emerge as foremost champions of Peace and Freedom for all peoples—including the Whites—when the intruders learn that Africans also must have Peace and Freedom for their children.

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"A Dream Is Haunting Europe"

by CARL MARZANI

A DREAM is haunting Europe, the dream of peace. It is still a dream, but a dream that is beginning to assume substance, that is beginning to shape a coming reality. Notwithstanding the schemings and maneuverings of the resurgent Nazi generals and politicians in West Germany, the forces for peace are everywhere on the upgrade. This was the most significant impression made on me by a recent two months tour of Europe, East and West.

American foreign policy in the next period has to operate within a context wherein its closest ally, England, is tacitly making common cause on peace with its strongest antagonist, the USSR. These two countries have two powerful bonds; a concern that other powers should get atomic weapons, particularly China and West Germany, and an exasperation with the Pentagon-controlled foreign policy which is the main roadblock in stopping the atomic arms race.

The concern with Chinese policy is very deep in the socialist countries; in England and France it amounts to fear. This distinction is due to the differing premises of East and West. England and France look at China

through completely nationalistic concepts, a nation well on the way to becoming a major industrial power, with practically unlimited manpower which is increasing at a tremendous rate and will begin pressing on its national boundaries. There is a certain amount of chauvinism involved too and one hears echoes of the Kaiser's "Yellow Peril" propaganda which was also Hearst's stock-in-trade in our country.

There is none of this in the socialist states. They see China as a comrade-in-arms, a socialist country which they are helping to industrialize, and one which is an integral part of the socialist bloc. It is unthinkable that there should be a serious armed conflict over any question, and the over-population theory is completely discredited in the socialist countries. The concern therefore is not a fear; it stems rather from a different evaluation of the international situation. In a nutshell it comes down to this: the Chinese do not believe American foreign policy can be made to change, the Soviet Union does. The Soviets do because they are very conscious of socialist strength and, I think, are better informed on U.S. affairs than the Chinese.

The most important factor making for peace is the degree of socialist strength, economic, social and political. The Acheson-Dulles foreign policy was predicated in part on socialist weakness and the man who

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gave that policy its formulation is very explicit about it. George Frost Kennan, then chief of the Planning Staff on the Department of State, wrote in 1947 an article in *Foreign Affairs* signed Mr. X, of which he has since said:

Ten years ago, in writing the X-article, I was obliged to draw attention to the handicaps that rested at that time on Soviet economic development, the enormity of the destruction suffered during the war; the physical and spiritual exhaustion of the Soviet people; the uneven development of the Soviet economy to date, and the sad state of Soviet agriculture.

Today I am free to confess that Soviet economic progress in these intervening years, in the face of all these handicaps, has surpassed anything I then thought possible. In the brief space of twelve years the Soviet people have succeeded not only in recovering from the devastations of war, but in carrying forward a program of industrialization which has made Russia second only to the United States in industrial output generally, and about equal to her, we are told, in the production of military goods.

These are two fascinating paragraphs and they go far to explain both Mr. Kennan's containment policy of 1947 and his recent position in favor of co-existence, of disengagement and of relaxing the Cold War.

This is a complete flip-flop, which like all big political flip-flops, has its roots in the development of objective conditions. Mr. Kennan wrote the above paragraphs in 1957. In the last three years the tempo of economic development of the USSR has not only been maintained but particular emphasis has been given to housing and consumer goods generally so that Moscow is quite surprising in these respects. This eco-

nomic strength has become apparent even to the most inveterate anti-Sovieteers and I shall give only one example, the Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Mr. Schlesinger has been in the past a blind and bitter enemy of Communism and of the USSR. He made a trip there however and in 1960 he wrote as follows: "Khrushchev in the last two years has been making a prodigious effort to raise standards of life and comfort. The traveler cannot help being impressed by the variety and abundance (if not necessarily by the quality) of consumer goods in the department stores of the big cities."

To this I can only say amen. People in Moscow eat well, dress decently and the housing, which is still tight, is getting steadily better. People are patient since they know that in six months, a year, a year and a half, it will be their turn to move into a new apartment. Rent is nominal, from five to ten per cent of monthly income, compared to 25 to 40 per cent in our country, and economists tell me that it doesn't even pay for repairs. There is talk of eliminating rent completely, just as income taxes are already being eliminated completely.

People ask me how the Government gets its money and the answer is mainly through revenue from the socialist economy. Of this almost half is the "turnover tax" which Harry Schwartz of the *New York Times* keeps on calling the "sales tax" in order to discredit it. It is, of course, no such thing as we have in America, where the sales tax is directly a consumer tax (companies which buy for resale pay no tax). The turnover tax in Socialist econ-

omy is a tax which is paid every time an item moves from one manufacturing process to the next. Steel is made and sent as sheet steel to a pipe factory. There is a tax. The pipe is sent to a pipe-laying agency, there is a tax, or to an auto factory and there is a tax. The auto is made and sent to a distribution agency. There is a tax. The distribution agency sells it to a consumer, there is a tax.

There is, of course, one category under capitalism which similarly follows every turnover, every transaction. It is the category of profit. The steel sheets are made, there is a profit. The auto is made, there is a profit. And so on.

While the capitalist profit and the socialist turnover tax are not the same categories it is, I think, illuminating to think of them together when thinking of investment. In capitalist countries profits are the main source of investments and the investments are in private hands made for individual reasons. In socialist countries the turnover tax is the major source of investments, which are in public hands made for planned reasons.

The self-confidence of the USSR in its economic development is enormous and seems well justified. This is something that is self-evident as you see the people going about, spending money freely in the stores and in the attitude of everyone you talk to, from government officials to ordinary citizens.

Unfortunately I did not myself spend any time visiting Soviet factories, mines, collective farms, etc., but I spent an evening in Prague with George Wheeler who is a first-rate American economist and an old

friend from wartime Washington days. George and his wife Eleanor had just returned from a two-months tour of the USSR and George told me he had been astounded at the activity he had seen. Going down the Volga, for example, they would suddenly come upon a town which had hardly existed ten years ago. Now it is a bustling river port with the most modern loading machinery pouring wheat into steel barges berthed three deep. Huge barges, George said, "bigger than anything I'd ever heard of."

George went on to make another important point, and that is the untapped reserves. Again and again going down the Volga he would see a tiny landing which hadn't been disturbed in fifty years, a landing which you could see was the only outlet for large interior agricultural areas. In the near future these landings would blossom into bustling river towns releasing the vast economic potential of the interior.

The Soviet economy is now so large that one per cent increase in productivity means billions of extra rubles available to the society. The Soviet Union is getting closer and closer to American production particularly because of our stagnation. For example, American production of steel is about 140 million tons a year, but in 1960 we only actually produced at 50 to 55 per cent of capacity or around 70 million tons, whereas the Soviets produced around 60 million tons. There were months when American and Soviet production were the same. There is little question that in most major items the Soviet Union will be abreast of American production by 1970 if our stagnation continues.

Furthermore everything in the Soviet Union is geared to the best social use. For example, there isn't the enormous waste of steel on automobiles, and Soviet cities will never suffer the arterial choking of traffic of our urban centers. When one considers that a subway carries as many passengers as a five-lane highway of busses and a twenty-lane highway of cars, one can see the advantages of the USSR in a planned approach to city traffic.

The clearest measure of Soviet strength has been the recent increase in the gold content of the ruble. While I was there, this change was being discussed and everyone saw it as a symptom of strength, which in fact it is. It has been amusing to read the American and British press which has tried to dismiss the move as propaganda while at the same time admitting that it paves the way for convertibility of the ruble. In Moscow I was urged to take my ruble royalties and spend them, but I insisted on leaving them in the bank there as I am quite sure that in the next few years the ruble will achieve at the least a limited convertibility, just as sterling has today.

To me the most impressive thing about the Soviet Union, however, was not its economic progress, which is today widely accepted, but the degree of freedom of thought and speech which I found and the great curiosity about the United States. This is a big subject and I don't want to exaggerate.

For example, it is quite true as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has pointed out, that it is impossible to buy foreign *bourgeois* newspapers, such as the *New York Times*. Nor would it be possible to print and publish

a magazine which attacked the Government's foreign policy.

On the other hand, the capitalist point of view is made public, in the capitalist's own words. There is a new magazine in Moscow called *Abroad* which publishes verbatim the most important articles of men like Lippmann, Alsop, Kissinger, Kennan, and their equivalents in other capitalist countries. These articles are followed by critiques by Soviet experts, but they are published in *toto*. The editors of this magazine are young, aggressive, and very well informed.

In general, nearly every one I met in the socialist countries seemed comparatively non-dogmatic. I was fortunate enough to spend a little time with Professor Oskar Lange in Warsaw. Professor Lange, as is well known, is an economist of international repute, at one time Professor at the University of Chicago and anything but a dogmatic Marxist. He gave me a book he has recently written on econometrics, a branch of economics developed in the capitalist world and until recently considered relevant only to capitalist economics. Lange's book shows its value for the socialist world and socialist problems.

Of course this was Poland and Professor Lange is an exceptionally open-minded Marxist, but the point of this story is that he is in high favor in the USSR. His book has been translated and the day I saw him he was about to leave for a lengthy series of academic lectures in the USSR.

But even when dogmatic, people were remarkably well-informed in their field. Schlesinger says this was not his experience in their knowledge

of contemporary U.S. historians. I was surprised to read this since in the field I was covering, literature, I found the Soviet specialists on the United States much better informed than I was about American novelists, past and present. Nor am I speaking of Mark Twain (one of their favorite American authors by the way), or Sinclair Lewis, or Faulkner or Hemingway, but of such lesser lights as Herman Wouk, Norman Mailer, Jack Kerouac and so on.

To me the sense of freedom I found was heartening, and I close this brief glimpse by saying that Soviet civilization may not be the whole future of the world, but it will surely be a big component of it and there is no question that it works.

The major importance for Americans at this moment of history, however, is that the socialist world is deeply serious about peace and is doing its utmost to achieve it.

BERTRAND RUSSELL ON WORLD DISARMAMENT

BERTRAND RUSSELL, distinguished mathematician and philosopher, is one of the leaders of the struggle for disarmament in Great Britain. Most recently Lord Russell led a sit-down strike of 2,000 people before the Ministry of Defense in Whitehall, London, against the establishment of a Polaris submarine base at Holy Loch, Scotland. We print below excerpts from an article he wrote for the Soviet journal, *International Affairs*, January, 1961.

"There are a variety of reasons which make disarmament at the present time the most urgent matter for negotiations between East and West . . .

"What should be the minimum that a disarmament treaty should contain? All friends of peace were electrified when the Soviet Government made proposals advocating general and complete disarmament, except for such police forces as were required for purposes of internal civic security. I do not, myself, think that any of the objections urged by the West against this proposal had any validity, and I think that, if it had been joyfully accepted by the West, a new and happier era might have been inaugurated. But in the unhappy bickering of the last fifteen years, it has become an accepted principle that whatever is proposed by one side must be rejected by the other. There was one noteworthy exception: in 1955, certain Western proposals were accepted by the Soviet Government with the result that the West immediately withdrew them. It is this sort of thing which has made disarmament seem remote and impractical. If the deadlock is to be broken, a new method will have to be devised . . .

"A drastic measure of agreed disarmament would be an immeasurable boon to the world. It would remove the constant terror under which the populations of East and West now live. It would make possible a new level of economic prosperity. And it would make science appear once more as a help towards human well-being and not as a means of destruction. But it must not be supposed that disarmament alone could cure all our ills. The knowledge that has made the construction of nuclear weapons possible would remain . . .

"If, after disarmament, the world is to feel secure, disarmament must be supplemented by machinery for avoiding wars. It may be hoped that in an atmosphere in which drastic disarmament has been found possible there may be such general good will and such general realization of the blessings of peace as will make it possible to create the institutions required for the prevention of future wars.

"The removal of the dark cloud which now hangs over the world would lift men's thoughts and hopes to a degree which our troubled generation can scarcely imagine. The underdeveloped nations could be raised within a generation to equality with those who now enjoy prosperity. In the general atmosphere of hope and happiness, a new age would dawn, better than any that the world has yet known. All this is possible if populations will demand it and statesmen will permit it."

FOREIGNERS DO BUSINESS WITH COMMUNIST CANTON

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

WHEN THEY suggested in Canton that I spend the afternoon seeing their Trade Exposition Building, I remarked that I had seen it two years ago and would rather see something new. They replied that the building hadn't existed two years back.

"O, yes, it did," said I airily. "You mean that tall five-story place with goods for export on all floors."

"We've moved a couple of times since then," they answered. "We mean the ten-story building we built in a little more than four months in 1959 for the October Tenth Anniversary of the People's Republic. We don't quite claim to rival the Great Hall of the People in Peking, that was built by the whole nation. But for just Canton we think it pretty good. We hold our Trade Fair twice a year there with over 3,000 merchants from 36 nations. Between Fairs we have a permanent exhibition of over 20,000 commodities that are offered for export."

So I spent the afternoon on a single building. It was quite a place. It mightn't rank large in New York, though even there it would be a creditable structure, with its hundred and fifty foot facade, ten-stories high, facing a neat green square of

circling driveways, and its two eight-story wings running back two hundred feet diagonally on diverging streets, built of pale grey stone with a bit of marble trim. It was built, rather faster than they build them in New York, doubtless because the entire city was set on building it and there were no conflicting interests.

They began the plans in March, 1959, while they arranged for evacuating and clearing away a lot of ancient buildings that clogged the area from the time when downtown Canton was pretty much of a slum. By May Day they had the ground vacant and they drove their first foundation pillars in the first week of May. They don't make excavations in Canton. They drive a hollow steel pillar deep into the earth with compressed air till it hits bedrock, then they fill it with cement and then take out the steel tube. Don't ask me how that's done. They said they drove in some tens of thousands of these cement pillars and then laid the ground floor. There was no general framework. They finished each floor and then built another on top of it, connecting the pillars. Again I couldn't tell you how.

What they said was that each floor was finished, they decorated it while they built the floor above it, and as soon as the artificial marble set on the floors and the paint dried on the walls, they began moving in the installations.

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.

"We had a pretty fine division of labor," they said, "and the rough work was all done some time in September, and on October 1, National Day, we were ready to open up the exposition to nearly three thousand foreign guests, with nearly 20,000 sample commodities all in place." I think that would make a news story even in New York. A building of ten stories, with 374,000 square feet of floor space, all finished, decorated and furnished with its installations in a few days less than five months.

I spent the afternoon seeing two or three floors of that building superficially, with its Manager, whose name is Liu. Nobody, I suppose, ever sees the entire place thoroughly: nobody has time. Foreign merchants come for a week to a month and visit the sections that interest them. The goods for export are classified on the six lower floors. The seventh floor is the Negotiating Hall. During the Fairs it is equipped with banking, postal, cable and shipping facilities, customs offices, and a dozen soundproof phone rooms, each with an electric fan for air and also electric light, where a merchant may phone to Calcutta or Colombo to his banker or to Djakarta to his partner with no competitors listening in. One wing of this floor is for banquets and private dining-rooms. As elsewhere, business is also done over lunch. The 8th, 9th and 10th floors are devoted to offices and private reception rooms for business discussions. There are 120 of these private negotiating rooms, each about sixteen by twenty feet in size, equipped with divans and overstuffed chairs and coffee table for tea.

This is where foreign capitalists

come to do business with Communist China, to buy and to sell goods. Canton is the natural place. It was to Canton more than a hundred years ago that the Ching Dynasty first admitted foreign traders. Many American fortunes were made on that China Clipper trade. The present Chinese Government is shrewder, as well as much more honest, and knows the value of its wares. I doubt whether the private merchants are piling up vast fortunes. However, the merchants keep coming, more to every Trade Fair. They come for profit, so I imagine they are making it.

"We opened the Trade Fair in 1957," said Manager Liu, as we sat down for tea and talk on the tenth floor with a fine view of Canton and the Pearl River. "We hold a Trade Fair twice each year, in spring and fall. We have thus held eight Fairs, each one bigger than the one before. In 1957 about a thousand foreign merchants came from twenty countries: we offered ten thousand commodities and did a hundred million yuan worth of business at each Fair. This past year we had over 3,000 visiting merchants from 36 foreign countries: we offered 20,000 different commodities and did a turnover of 250,000,000 yuan at each fair. That's a hundred million U.S. dollars a fair, two hundred million for the year. We have moved our headquarters several times in these four years, to keep up with the growing business."

"What proportion of China's foreign trade is done here?" I asked.

"Only a very small fraction," replied Manager Liu. "You can get the figures for Foreign Trade in the Central Exhibit on the ground floor.

In 1959 it was nearly fifteen billion yuan turnover, which is thirty times what we did here. By far the greater part of China's Foreign Trade is done with governments on trade agreements and especially with the socialist nations. None of that comes through our Fair. But practically all the trade with private foreign capitalists comes here. This has an importance of its own. Here we build friendly relations of mutual benefit with small businessmen of many nations, and especially with the Overseas Chinese of the South Seas. Here also we accumulate considerable foreign currency. Most of our trade here brings us British pounds."

Of the 3,000-odd merchants who came to the autumn Fair in 1960, two-thirds were Overseas Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao, and two or three hundred more were Overseas Chinese from other parts of South Asia. A few more than five hundred were of full foreign nationality. They came from India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Cambodia, Burma, Japan, Ceylon in Asia, from West Germany, Britain, France, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark in Europe. Some came from Arab lands of the Middle East. A few came from Australia.

"Europe wants canned food products and handicraft," said Manager Liu. "Asia wants also our machines."

"How many of the items that America put on her embargo list, forbidding their sale to China, is China now making and exporting herself?" I asked. This is a favorite question for the U.S. embargo list has become a joke.

Liu replied that he couldn't list them, because the embargo list itself was indefinite, and covered general

types of commodities. "I suppose all our electronics and all our precision instruments, and electric measuring instruments and probably most of our machines are on the embargo list." He promised to point out some as we went through the halls.

I took a last view of Canton and the river from the tenth floor and we dropped by elevator to the seventh. "The 8th and 9th are offices and small reception rooms," said Liu. "Many are closed now: we open them for the Fair. We have offices here not only for our own local staff but for the fourteen general Trading Corporations of the Central Government, each handling different commodities. They send in about 500 extra people at that time to handle the trading."

"It must crowd the Canton hotels," I remarked, "with the 3,000 foreign merchants too."

Liu remarked that it would overcrowd the hotels if all the foreign merchants came at once. Most of them come for a week or two, and not for the entire month. The Canton hotels handle them, but now Canton has built a new and very fine and large hotel.

We delayed only a few moments in the large, vacant seventh floor Negotiation Hall, while Liu showed me the sound-proof phone rooms, and indicated how the banks, cable companies, shipping companies and customs facilities were arranged during the Fair. Then we walked down to the sixth floor to see the handicraft.

Handicraft is a very ancient export of China, going back 2,000 years to the days when Chinese goods reached ancient Rome. Here were the famous carved ivories by Canton

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craftsmen, a single elephant tusk carved into a 30-inch long ship, with much detail of decks, masts and windows, and another tusk which had become an ornate pedestal bearing a six-inch ball, with thirty movable balls concentric inside it, all carved from outside in. Beyond came carved jades, lacquers, bamboo work, cloisonne from Peking, porcelains and potteries from many parts of China. I was charmed by a pair of lacquer vases, thirty inches high, in Chinese red with a delicate vine design, and another pair of dark red, with sharp red lights gleaming beneath the surface.

"They are far too big for a private house of modern days," I sighed. Manager Liu agreed. "Think of them as decorating the ends of a stage at a great conference or a public banquet," he said.

The most expensive item in handicraft was an ancient-style incense-burner, carved thirty inches high from a single piece of black-green jade, in the form of an intricate pagoda. It was priced at \$4,000, and may some day find an appropriate home in a royal Buddhist temple of South Asia. Personally I did not much admire it: it seemed a waste of too much intricate work.

More attractive to me were the far, far less costly colored clay figures by Chang Ming, the Tientsin folk artist, who has achieved fame in modern China after more than a century's neglect of four generation's work. Over 120 years ago his great grandfather, craftsman of Tientsin, began to use the ancient Chinese art of making Buddhist sculpture to make clay figures of laboring people and also to portray heroes of China's folk-lore. This work made the man

an outlaw in the Ching Dynasty. But the craft survived: it passed from father to son. Four generations of Changs lived in dire poverty but stuck to their art, selling the clay figures in the streets.

Chang Ming, fourth of the line, was discovered by the present government of China. They made him head of a studio, to teach many students of a new generation. They collected all available past works of his family for an art exhibit and for studio models. They gave his grandfather, aged ninety, a job with the Institute of Culture and History: they also gave work in art to his uncles and cousins. There were two large cases of the Chang Ming figures in the exposition, charming clay forms in soft colors, most of them from twelve to twenty inches high, village maidens with village lovers, blacksmiths, peasants, fairies, goddesses, heroes of old sagas, done with a sure, sound craft. They have become an export item, to gain foreign currency for China, and to decorate shops of China's handicrafts around the world.

We dropped by elevator past the fifth, fourth and third floor, omitting the bicycles and pianos, the beautiful silk brocades and perfumed cottons and thousands of other items in this super-department store, and stopped on the second floor to glance at precision instruments, "Most of these would probably be on that American embargo list," said Liu. There were microscopes of many kinds, barometers and meteorological instruments, followed by sundry electronic instruments with names that only the specialist understands, like "cathode-ray oscillographs," "high-frequency signal generators," "vacuum-tube

circuit testers," "vacuum-tube millimeters." "They are used in electronic industries," said Liu. Beyond them were many kinds of electric meters, circuit testers, watt-hour meters, clip-on ammeters, interesting because they were so new for China and were made with such a shining finish.

In this section came a telephone exchange for two hundred phones, housed behind glass and operating for the uses of the exposition building.

"We use it ourselves," said Liu, "and it is also for sale."

So we came down to the ground floor and found the heaviest exhibits in the exposition, two massive machine-tools produced by the Wuhan Machine Tool Industry. One was a "double-housing planer," a giant tool over twenty-five feet long, weighing 37.3 metric tons, which can plane a piece of metal twenty feet in length. The massive affair some twenty feet long, weighing 23.5 metric tons, was labeled a "universal horizontal boring machine" and announced as "suitable for oval and taper boring, for drilling, reaming, turning and milling with high precision requirements on all kinds of reduction gears."

"On the American embargo list?" I asked.

"Undoubtedly," smiled Manager Liu.

"Sell many of them?" I persisted. He shook his head.

"I understand some of them have been sold to foreign governments by our Machine Building Ministry in Peking," he smiled. "We haven't sold any here. Our private capitalist customers buy smaller machines. They just look at them and feel

impressed." I understood for I felt that way too! They were good advertising of what China could make.

We came out into the central lobby of the ground floor, where we normally should have entered the great building. It was decorated by four large pictures showing scenes of foreign intercourse: Chou En-lai and Nikita Khrushchev signing the Sino-Soviet Economic Treaty in 1959; The Signing of the Trade Treaty with Ché Guevara of Cuba in 1960; Mao Tse-tung receiving delegates from twelve Latin American countries in 1960, and Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi receiving Sékou Touré of Guinea.

Near by a statistical table showed the growth of China's foreign trade as a whole. China, we learned, has trade relations today with ninety countries and state agreements for trade at government level with thirty-two countries. The trade turnover has grown from 4.15 billion yuan in 1950 to 14.9 billion in 1959 (six billion U.S. dollars), a growth of 359 per cent. Figures for 1960 will increase this, but they are not yet in.

Another table showed that even as early as 1950 China imported almost entirely the means of production, to the extent of 87.2 per cent of her imports. By 1959, 95.9 per cent of imports were tools or materials for production. Only 4.1 per cent were consumer goods, for China produces her own. Meantime her exports, which in 1950 consisted 57.5 per cent of agricultural by-products and only 9.3 per cent of industrial goods, are today 23.8 per cent industrial and only 37.6 per cent agricultural. (I omit the item of processed agricultural products which showed little change.)

I asked Liu about an article in the *New York Times* which had claimed that Canton's Trade Fair in late 1960 showed China's great shortage in farm products, and gave the impression that the entire Fair had fallen off, indicating a general decline in China's economy. Liu smiled.

"That is the way those newspapers put it," he said. "It is quite true that in 1960 we did not offer farm products for sale, because we had a bad crop that year and we offer for sale only what we want to export. Our list of commodities varies from year to year. But our industrial exports grow and our total business increases. We did more total business

in 1960 than in any previous year, and we did more business in the autumn fair of 1960 than in the spring fair."

"Yet China exported rice to Cuba in 1960," I persisted. "It was announced that 100,000 tons of rice was exchanged for Cuban sugar."

"That was not a matter of trade but a matter of friendship," smiled Liu.

"It was done at high government levels and not in our Trade Fair. We are short of grain ourselves and have none to export in ordinary trade. But we will always have enough to share with small friendly countries like Albania, Guinea and Cuba . . ."

CYRUS S. EATON ON DISARMAMENT AND AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

CYRUS S. EATON, leading industrialist of Cleveland, Ohio, wrote an article on disarmament and American-Soviet relations for the Soviet journal, *International Affairs*, February, 1961. We present excerpts from the article below:

"The most urgent and necessary task that confronts mankind today is general and complete disarmament . . .

"For American industrialists, as for all American citizens, I can categorically state that munition orders bring more burdens by the way of taxation than benefits by the way of profits. The existence of an economic recession in the United States today, at a time when defense spending by the Government has reached an all-time peak, makes this abundantly clear . . .

"Both the United States and the Soviet Union need to make it plain to each other that neither aims to change existing political borders or economic and political systems of the other smaller countries . . .

"On the positive side, Soviet Premier Khrushchev has come forward with constructive and concrete proposals for complete and general disarmament several times, most recently at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. While the United States has not yet countered with sweeping peace proposals of its own, the new Democratic Administration that took office in January has given indications of addressing itself seriously to this all-important task. A hopeful note can be found in the imminent retirement of some of the old guard at the Atomic Energy Commission, the Pentagon, and the State Department, who have teamed with a few highly vocal American scientists to urge increased armaments at every turn during the eight years of the Republican Government.

"As a first step, the United States ought to come quickly back to the Geneva Conference with a workable and acceptable plan for discontinuing nuclear weapons tests. In the U.S.-U.S.S.R.-U.K. talks that have been dragging on in Geneva for more than two years, the United States has been insisting on onerous conditions that even her most friendly Western allies regard as impossible. If the United States will abandon the illusory notion of 100 per cent foolproof detection, while the Soviet Union yields on inspection, the resultant agreement can provide the threshold for the needed negotiations on general and complete disarmament."

The USSR Fights Polio

American-Soviet Medical Exchange in Action

by **HOLLAND ROBERTS**

Based on October, 1960 interviews with the directing staff of the Leningrad Pediatrics Institute and the Director of the Moscow Institute of Poliomyelitis, Professor M. P. Chumakov.

THE GREAT Soviet victory over polio is a dramatic example of how cooperation between our two leading countries can conquer disease and insure life and health to millions of children and adults throughout the world. It is a symbol of what American-Soviet cooperation, coexistence, peace and friendship could do in leading the world to other major new victories over disease, poverty, ignorance and crime. What the Soviet Union has done in the past three years with notable American assistance is the proof.

The director of the Leningrad Research Pediatrics Institute told me: "There is no more polio in the Leningrad area of a paralytic type."

Soviet physicians used the well known Salk vaccine developed in the United States for two years, 1957-59. As a result the cases of polio were reduced two to three times and most of those that did occur were milder and not so typical. Now since late 1959 they have been giving the new live vaccine originated in the United States by

Dr. Albert B. Sabin of Cincinnati, Ohio and have inoculated all of the population from two months up to twenty years. Polio in the USSR has been much reduced and is no longer a serious national problem. Almost all the cases that occur now are very light with no high temperature, the spinal fluid is normal, and there is little paralysis of the nerves of the face, hands and legs.

Only a few years ago there were widespread epidemics of polio in the Soviet Union. In 1955 special polio committees were created by the Ministry of Health to combat the plague. They included chemists, virologists and directors of health service as well as polio and other specialists. The large cities were made centers of districts in charge of inoculations, and hospitalization and treatment was made compulsory. Special brigades were developed, equipped with new Soviet type respirators for lung paralysis and plane service with flying ambulances for reaching stricken people in the shortest possible time.

The medical committees in charge placed major emphasis on prevention and their work has now become so effective that the Leningrad Polio Clinic for curing and treating the ravages of the disease is being closed, and the staff and equipment are now

DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS, director of the American Russian Institute in San Francisco, formerly taught at Stanford, Columbia and New York University. In the past two years he has traveled widely in Europe and Asia.

giving their major attention to other nerve diseases. Cases beyond the age of twenty have become extremely rare.

The Pasteur Institute in Leningrad has carefully examined many healthy as well as affected children in their search for the source of the infection. In 1957 and '58 they found the polio virus in the faeces of healthy children who had been given the Salk vaccine.

Then came a marked change. In 1959 the examination of the faeces of healthy children given the Sabin vaccine disclosed no polio virus. The director told me, "We consider that the innocations have destroyed the source of the virus." The Soviet polio prevention program included giving vaccine during epidemics with very good effect.

For the few current victims of polio the Soviet specialists have a clear-cut program of action which includes immediate treatment with drugs in a special clinic followed by transfer to polio sanitariums for those who do not recover in six months. Small children who need treatment for polio over a long period of time live in special nurseries or kindergartens where they are given thorough treatment for six days each week and then go home Saturday night and Sunday. There are also special boarding schools for children over seven.

The drug galantamin (which is also prepared in Bulgaria by Dr. Dmitri S. Paskov and produced under the name of nivoline) has been found helpful in re-establishing injured nerve centers in the spinal cord. It is made from the common European plant, snowdrop, and is administered as soon as diagnosis is

made and continued for fifteen or twenty injections, sometimes even more. It is most effective during the acute stage of the disease. Other drugs given in the USSR to prevent atrophy of the muscles are dibasoli and securini. The glutamin acids, vitamin B-1 and B-12 are also used to stimulate the nerve centers.

Major reliance in the treatment in the USSR is placed on physiotherapy, gymnastics, and hydrotherapy with massage two or three times a day. They approve the Kenny method. Some experimentation is being carried on with acupuncture (the system of needling nerve centers which has come down with traditional Chinese medicine) which is widely and successfully used in China. Soviet physicians continue medication with drugs and find them useful even after as long a period as ten years, although the longer the time after the attack, the less the results. They told me, "The drugs are harmless and should be tried."

They operate on children crippled by polio only after all other methods have been used. In general the operations are done from the ages of five to eighteen, but preferably at about eight years of age. In cases where an affected leg is four centimeters ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) short, they operate. Special shoes are recommended for stunting of less than four centimeters.

Professor Abbott's method, originated in 1924 in Chicago, is used in the Turner Institute; it has been developed by Soviet surgeons and found to be very successful. With it and a special apparatus invented by Dr. Gudarhauri, leg bones have been extended as much as two millimeters ($\frac{1}{12}$ inch) a day to a total of four to seven centimeters.

Polio specialists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the socialist countries all had great respect for the famous children's hot springs polio sanitarium which I visited for a day in Czechoslovakia. Through visits, medical meetings and the exchange of professional literature, they followed the thoughtful scientific rehabilitation program which is carried on in this mountain village health resort about a hundred miles from Prague. Of course all treatment, however long and difficult, is free everywhere in the socialist world, including the work of top specialists and expensive drugs.

Later in Rumania at the Health Department in Bucharest I found keen awareness of the advances made in other socialist lands. They were using the Bulgarian drug, nivaline, and planned to complete the protection of the whole population between 2 months and 30 years old by February 15, 1961 with the Sabin vaccine. They expect to eliminate polio in 1961 for all major purposes, drawing upon the wide experiences of the Soviet Union. Very soon, they said, polio should vanish as smallpox has, and except for the rehabilitation of the injured, speedily become only bitter memory and a chapter in the history of medical advance.

When I returned to Moscow from Leningrad, I talked with Professor M. P. Chumakov, the leading scientist who directs the Polio Institute there and is responsible for the manufacture of vaccines for the Soviet Union and the extensive preventive work that has been done throughout the socialist world. A man of remarkable scientific devotion, he is partially physically incapacitated as a result of experiments

carried out on his own body in his efforts to push back the frontiers of disease. He emphasized that the co-operation between American and Soviet science is most advantageous to the people of both our countries and gives as an illustration that as a result of the extensive testing of the Sabin vaccine in the Soviet Union, it has now been decided to use it widely in the United States.

At the time of our conference, he told me that 41 million children and adults out of the 118 million people in the RSFSR had been protected with the attenuated, live Sabin vaccine with remarkable results. "It is a great victory over polio," he said, and emphasized that there is no danger in vaccination with the weakened live virus. Soviet scientists found a way of giving the vaccine in candy and of course children enjoyed it. One eager boy ate a hundred doses! Four unobserved little girls ate a kilogram (1.2 lb.) with no ill effects.

In Esthonia 694,000 out of the population of 1.2 millions were given protection with Sabin vaccine. Afterwards only five cases were found for the first nine months of 1960 in contrast with 988 cases in 1959 and 1,000 cases a year commonly in the past. Lithuania, he said, presented the same picture—an equally great victory.

Soviet specialists have taught the medical leaders in many other countries how to make and use the live Sabin vaccine and have exported a quantity made at the Marat factory in Moscow. In all, 86 million people have been vaccinated in the first nine months of 1960, 70 million in the Soviet Union, 16 million abroad. Among the countries were the Ger-

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man Democratic Republic with 5 million, Bulgaria 2 million, Hungary 2½ million, Czechoslovakia 2 million, Viet Nam one million, and China 5 million. Rumanian scientists came to Moscow to study how to produce the vaccine themselves. Professor Chumakov told me that the Sabin vaccine should be administered regularly three times at monthly intervals, and then three times once again after a year. Babies received one dose at two months, one at 3 months, one at 4 months, then again at one year, at two years and at three years. Six such doses could provide life-time immunization.

He expressed great satisfaction with the May 1960 Moscow conference of the specialists of our two countries on the use of live vaccine which was held in accordance with the U.S.-Soviet medical agreement and he emphasized the importance of the coming American-Soviet conference to be held in America in October, 1961 where all details in the making and use of live vaccine will be discussed.

At the conclusion of our interview, Professor Chumakov held out the hope that the major contribution to science and the health of the people of the world made by Dr. Salk and Dr. Sabin and developed by Soviet scientists, would serve as the basis for other important developments in ending the scourge of such killing and crippling diseases as cancer and heart failure. In saying goodbye, he asked me to give his cordial best wishes to American medical leaders with whom he had worked—Dr. Carl Meyer and Dr. William Stanley, Nobel prize winner and Director of the Department of Biochemistry, both of the University

of California, and Drs. Salk and Sabin.

Based on the success of Soviet experience, at least two American cities have already made wide-scale use of the Sabin vaccine in protecting children and adults. It is reported that plans are now in progress for early nationwide use of the Sabin vaccine in the United States. The contribution of American pioneering and Soviet practice has shown the way to protect our whole population against polio safely, painlessly and inexpensively. With this historic act, American and Soviet cooperation have demonstrated how to banish polio from the earth. This notable achievement marks a great beginning. Out of it could grow a sweeping peoples' movement to join the powerful forces of science in our two great countries in a war of extermination against disease and the ravages of old age and the opening up of a boundless rich creative life for all the peoples of every land and nation.

The Poliomyelitis Institute of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and the Research Foundation of the Cincinnati Children's Hospital have agreed to do joint work on more potent anti-polio vaccines. Concrete forms of cooperation in research (concerned with tumors) have been worked out between Sloan-Kettering Institute and the National Cancer Institute (U.S.A.) and the Institute of Experimental and Clinical Oncology of the USSR Academy of Medical Science.

The recent agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Sciences of the USA made it possible to exchange fifty scientists and scientific workers

this past year. The program familiarized the scientists with research projects in a variety of fields being carried on by the academies of both countries.

All that is needed now to begin a sweeping, world-wide advance to health and long life is the urgent and tireless demand of the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union expressing itself through all organizations and insisting that our governments meet and agree to turn the billions now being spent for international murder and suicide to saving life and making it rich, beautiful and noble. Science has shown us how this can be done.

All the world is moving swiftly toward a planned scientific economy and the rational use of our human and natural resources. The first year of the 1960-61 American-Soviet agreement on cultural exchange signed in Moscow on November 21, 1959, has achieved a number of notable successes. One part called for cooperative work in public health, particularly to fight cancer, heart disease and polio.

Now that a splendid victory has been won over polio, is it not time to shift a major part of the \$100 billion now spent in preparing for an insane atomic war to strengthen the hearts of the world's peoples and wipe out cancer? We must do it. The people of the United States have the power to decide and the good will toward all humanity to save the millions of lives now needlessly and criminally cut short. But how soon? All history has prepared the stage for our dramatic act. The questioning, accusing eyes of the world are on us.

The Soviet people are ready to grasp our outstretched hands, to forgive the invasions of their territory by our soldiers in the counter-revolution following the 1917 Revolution, and the decades of bitter enmity directed against them. Since 1934 I have met and talked with many, many thousands of Soviet people and felt the warmth of their friendship and the happiness with which they welcome all Americans of all political and religious views and different outlooks and persuasions who speak out honestly and openly for peace and life. No one—no one—in the Soviet Union ever urges war against us. When we in America can say as much, when we demand it of our government, we will win it. But we must act now—each one every day.

The American and Soviet people now have the power to exterminate each other and all the peoples of the earth. Through our joint efforts we have proved we can stamp out the terrible scourge of polio. The road we take is up to us. Reason calls us to take the path of health and long life. Coexistence exists now in American-Soviet cooperation for health. We can broaden and deepen its current.

Let us work with all our will and with every resource to develop the mutual trust that can only come with an end to atomic tests and total disarmament.

Our responsibility, of course, to do this is not only collective but individual and personal. If we act for health and peace each day we can save the lives of those we love, and of people everywhere, now and in the future.

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The Jerome Davis Tours

by ALEX and MARION MUNSELL

WE FEEL readers of *New World Review* will be interested to know that there will be another of the International Goodwill Tours to countries of Europe and the USSR this coming summer. These tours, which are in fact educational seminars, have been conducted for several years under the outstanding leadership of Dr. Jerome Davis, internationally known educator, author, lecturer and world traveler. The writers were fortunate in participating in the tour of 1959.

That year, Dr. Davis' group included 10 educators, 4 students, 6 religious leaders, 1 industrial worker, 2 artists, 2 businessmen, 5 housewives, and representatives of 6 other assorted professions. There was a scientist, a construction engineer, a psychiatrist, an inventor. The oldest member was 80, the youngest 14. Eight were born in the Soviet Union, and fourteen spoke Russian. It was a lively, interesting group. Here are some extracts from our report of the trip:

"Everywhere we were met with great friendliness. There were group interviews of all kinds: in factory, farm, hospital, university, etc. Doors were opened to private homes as well; and wherever we went as individuals, we found the Soviet citizens eager to be hospitable.

"On July 4, as we entered the Soviet Union through Brest, we talked with a Soviet soldier who was finishing leave and returning to garrison duty in East Germany. His wife and two children had come thus far to see him off. He told us he had finished the ten-year school; and when we parted he said, 'When Khrushchev and Eisenhower sit down together and each signs on the dotted line to end the Cold War, then I can return home to Moscow and enter the Engineering Academy!' He assumed that good will must come sooner or later, and then he could complete his prepara-

tion for a useful life of socialist construction.

"Our 'third class' schedule called for an over-night train from Leningrad to Moscow, but we were given, gratis, a ride on a large jet plane because our hosts *wanted* us to have this experience.

"On July 16 we witnessed the court trial of a young man who had stolen and wrecked a car after having freely imbibed vodka. He had previously served three years of an eight-year prison sentence for a similar offense. (Car thefts are rare in the Soviet Union, so we listened to an unusual case.) It was brought out that he had lied to the militia man and to the three judges. He was reproved, and yet treated with full respect, because it was felt by the judges that this was a carry-over from Tsarism for which all concerned (judges, witnesses and prisoner) were partly responsible. Both witnesses and prisoner were encouraged to discuss the problem freely; at the end, a 3-year prison sentence was given (to be cut in half if he showed 'creative growth') and a fine of 1,000 rubles. There was severity in the atmosphere of this court, but no ill will; rather the earnest hope that the person on trial would mend his ways and become a creatively functioning Soviet citizen.

"All citizens, everywhere, were concerned about peace. They said, 'We *must* have peace between our two countries.' Often the women would weep as they spoke. Many times 50 to 100 people crowded around our bus to say to us, 'Please tell the people in America that we want peace.' We promised them, many times over, that we would."

This year's tour will take place June 14-August 9. The number that can be accommodated is limited. Those interested should write direct to Dr. Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn.

Report on Soviet Education

A review by ELIZABETH MOOS

Soviet Education Programs. Bulletin No. 17, Office of Education, U.S.A. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 1960, 275 pp. \$1.25.

A SCHOLARLY, well-documented account of the Soviet General Schools and the new work-experience program has been published by the Office of Education. The booklet is the report of an extended visit by three well qualified American educators; William K. Medlin, specialist in Comparative education for Eastern Europe, division of International Education; Clarence B. Lindquist, Chief for Natural Sciences and Mathematics, Division of Higher Education and Marshall L. Schmitt, specialist for Industrial Arts, Division of State and Local School Systems. These educators have prepared a booklet which provides an enormous amount of information and source material not heretofore available in English. The Appendices supplement the material in the text with many study outlines, programs, work-shop equipment lists, etc., used in the General Schools and the Pedagogic Institutes. The Bibliography which lists first and second-hand sources separately, is invaluable for students of Soviet education.

A concise account of the background and philosophy of Soviet education is given in the first section: "Foundations." The material is presented with an objectivity and lack of tendentious comment that is rarely found in writers on Soviet subjects.

Three sections follow: "Mathematics and Science," "Polytechnical Education" and "Teacher Training." In each, details of classroom procedures as observed, reports of talks with educators, are enriched with sample programs, outlines and pictures.

The section on Polytechnical Educa-

tion is the best description of its purposes, philosophy and practical procedures that has yet appeared. It is understandable to American readers and its relation to our "work-experience" programs noted. The continuing research for better ways is described. "The curriculum reforms are in a state of broad experimentation, and each year, no doubt, the curriculums will be revised in the light of the experience gained."

"The overall aim of polytechnical education," we read, "is to give an all-around general education, while production training is a supplementary aim. The students who graduate in the new program are qualified *workers* not technicians or specialists, they say. The Americans were impressed by "the magnitude, scope and energies characterizing Soviet research programs in education." They remark that "the new polytechnical curriculum, if fully implemented, will give the Soviet general school a technical work experience program not before attempted by schools of a modern industrial nation on such a vast scale."

The writers approached Soviet education as dispassionately and with the same respect that they would use for any foreign system. They had some criticisms: "Buildings and equipment that we observed seemed inferior in design and construction to standards in U.S. education." "In our view, there is no adequate testing system used in Soviet schools to ascertain the real level of achievement reached by the students." "In classes of polytechnical education we found the work done in workshop was not as high in quality as that done in American work-shops . . ."

The observers do not, however, make final judgments. They mostly write that although they "spent two or three days in some institutions . . . visited various cultural areas . . . accomplished a con-

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siderable amount . . . our visits cannot be judged as fully representative or complete for the educational sectors we ought to study. Schools vary significantly in composition and quality in most countries and the USSR is no exception."

Differences between our schools and those in the Soviet Union are objectively stated; often interpreted as differences in emphasis. There is clearly an effort to understand the Soviet point of view. "Each school system has curriculums designed to prepare youth for living in the conditions of their own countries. Likewise, each has identifiable strengths and weaknesses within those contexts."

Summing up their impressions the educators write that: "Building on modest but strong foundations, educators in the Soviet Union have erected, in a little more than one generation, a system of mass education. Soviet general education is a vigorous, dynamic institution . . . the outstanding feature is its trend in recent years toward offering complete secondary education on a mass basis and with a dual purpose—academic and polytechnic."

The visit, they write, "confirmed our dedication to developing American institutions along the lines that they have historically taken and to stimulating that development still more through experiences such as this one."

The authors express the hope that their efforts to describe the prominent aspects of Soviet schools will be of service to American educators, students of education and the lay reader, too.

That Errant Comma! A Correction

Because a comma slipped in instead of a period, a footnote in our last issue, page 40, read "One pood equals 36.113 pounds." Some of our readers must have been astonished at the astronomical figures reached by Soviet harvests under this reckoning. The figure, of course, should read 36.113 pounds.

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New Pamphlets 1961

BASIC FACTS
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by Eve M. Lyons
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well classified and indexed

SOVIET SCHOOLS REVISITED

Report of Observations in May 1960
by Elizabeth Moos

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