

MAY, 1961

25¢

New World

REVIEW

LEAVE CUBA IN PEACE!**JESSICA SMITH****"The Earth Is Beautiful"****YURI GAGARIN****My Pupil—Sviatoslav Richter****PROF. HEINRICH NEUHAUS****China's Horny-Handed Emperor****HELEN TRAVIS****New Soviet Criminal Law****PROF. BORIS NIKIFOROV****HUNGARIAN TRADE UNIONS**

NEW WORLD REVIEW

MAY 1961

Leave Cuba in Peace!	Jessica Smith	3
Prometheus Is Free!	Rockwell Kent	9
The Flowers of Spring	Murray Young	10
My Pupil—Sviatoslav Richter	Prof. Heinrich Neuhaus	13
Soviet Criminal Law	Prof. Boris S. Nikiforov	16
Antidote to War Madness	Gen. Hugh B. Hester	22
China's Horny-Handed Emperor	Helen Travis	24
Bed-Time Story	Archie Johnstone	29
The Leipzig Fair: Two Views	Lord Robert Boothby and Allan Mann	32
"The Earth Is Beautiful"	Major Yuri A. Gagarin	36
Letter to Yuri Gagarin	Paul Robeson	38
Hungarian Trade Unions	ILWU Delegation	39

COMMUNICATIONS

Cultural "Shortages"	Dr. Jacob Levenson	46
Esperanto Publications in the Socialist Countries	Conrad Fisher	47

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

ESLANDA ROBESON
Our Roaming Correspondent
Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions

Vol. 29, No. 5, May, 1961. Second Class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription \$2.50 per year. \$1.25 for 6 months (Canadian, \$3.00, foreign \$3.50 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York.) Published monthly by the N.W.R. Publications, Inc., 34 West 15th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: CHelsea 3-0666.
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

May 1 was the deadline on our second peace essay contest. The response this year has been most heartening. Entries have come in from campuses all over the country.

Now the essays have been sent to the three judges—Prof. Royal W. France, noted economist, civil rights lawyer, author of *My Native Grounds*, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Pastor, First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California, and Gen. Hugh B. Hester, Brigadier General, U.S. Army (retired) to determine the First Prize (\$200), the Second Prize (\$100), the Third Prize (\$50) and the ten Honorable Mention Awards (\$15 each).

The prize-winning essay will be announced in an early issue. Also certain of the essays will be published in the course of the next few months.

Therefore we are extending our special subscription offer of nine months for \$1.00 for those contestants who so far have not subscribed and for other young people who may be interested in reading the selected essays.

For those of our readers who are themselves too old to have participated in the contest, might we suggest that some young friends would appreciate receiving as a gift either the nine-month special offer, or the regular one-year sub at \$2.50.

Please Fill Out and Mail Today

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

I enclose () \$1.00 for special 9-month essay contest sub, or () \$2.50 for a year's subscription to be sent to:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Name and Address of Donor

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

LEAVE CUBA IN PEACE!

by JESSICA SMITH

IN a monthly magazine with events developing swiftly even as we write, it is not possible to cover all the ramifications of the attack on Cuba and its results. All decent people must rejoice that the invasion was repulsed. If the rebels had succeeded in their aims, the Cuban people would have lost all their gains since their overthrow of the Batista tyranny. New miseries would have been visited on them, for in all the rebel groups, including many followers of Batista, there were none that could have brought any sort of stable government operating in the interests of the people. Torn by dissensions among themselves, these rebel groups could only have brought continuing civil war, endless bloodshed, the ever present possibility that this small war would develop into a worldwide conflagration. The important thing now is to insure that there be no further intervention endangering the peace of this hemisphere and the world.

The shameful role of our government in the invasion is now exposed before all mankind. Every TV, radio, newspaper report, here and abroad, now openly recognizes what James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* April 24:

The Central Intelligence Agency, a division of the Government operating under the President and the National Security Council, helped organize, train, finance and arm the recent unsuccessful efforts of the Cuban refugees to overthrow the Castro Government.

England's *New Statesman*, reflecting not only British but world opinion, wrote:

There is no doubt that international opinion holds the Kennedy Administration to be morally and legally guilty of a bare-faced attempt to overthrow a neighboring Government by force.

This whole terrible fiasco is not only one of the greatest blows to U.S. prestige that has ever been delivered, but especially to that of President Kennedy who came into office with the promise of restoring that prestige already fallen so low under the Eisenhower Administration, and on whom so many placed their hopes of a new course in foreign policy. This loss of U.S. prestige is reflected in all media of information. Those who are on the side of the angels are outraged that the United States should have had any part in the invasion of Cuba, while world reaction is outraged that, having started it, the Administration did not go in for all-out armed intervention with its own forces.

The Administration no longer attempts to deny its role although denying it constituted actual intervention. President Kennedy has, perforce, taken the full responsibility on himself. To quote James Reston again:

For the first time in his life, John F. Kennedy has taken a public licking . . . defeat is something new to him, and Cuba was a clumsy and humiliating one, which makes it worse.

Mr. Reston goes on to say that how he reacts to this will be "a critical test of the character and perspective of the new President." He points out that Cuba is no present danger to the United States, and urges careful reflection, intimating that further intervention will "risk the whole Inter-American and United Nations system." So far, Mr. Kennedy has given no evidence of considering a reversal of his disastrous Cuban policy.

Before and after election, President Kennedy himself virtually called for the overthrow of Premier Castro. He has repeatedly charged that the Castro Government was dominated by a "foreign ideology," and declared that our country will never tolerate a "foreign ideology" in this hemisphere.

For proof that from its beginnings in overthrowing Batista's tyranny, so long supported by the United States, the Castro movement has been an indigenous one, of, by, and for the Cuban people, and overwhelmingly supported by them, I would like to refer our readers back to the eyewitness article (April NWR) by Gen. Hugh B. Hester, (U.S. Army, retired) and Jesse Gordon. They report that the Castro Government has brought the people a new life, in housing, education, jobs, land reform, social welfare, health. These are the things the anti-Castro forces would take away, returning the country to the control of those who exploited its riches for their own benefit alone, at the cost of the blood and toil of the workers and farmers.

The overwhelming support of the masses of the Cuban people for the Castro regime was demonstrated anew by the fact that there was no popular uprising whatever to sup-

port the invaders when they landed.

Premier Castro turned for economic aid to the socialist states only when it was denied him by our own government, which sought the economic strangulation of Cuba, and broke diplomatic relations. When the United States started arming Castro's enemies, it was not surprising that he himself should have turned for arms wherever he could get them.

While the invasion preparations were going on, the State Department issued a White Paper charging Castro with "betrayal" of the revolution, and warning that his regime was a "clear and present danger" to the Americas.

Jose Miro Cardona, head of the so-called Revolutionary Council set up on our soil, which expected to follow the invaders to Cuba and set up a Provisional Government to be recognized by the United States, was received by Secretary of State Rusk in Washington just before Cardona issued his call to arms against Castro, which was widely published in the U.S. press. After the invasion failed, he and his associates were received by President Kennedy and *encouraged to continue their efforts.*

All of the activities in support of the rebels are in direct violation of our international obligations to any country with which we are not at war, of the Neutrality Act, of the commitments under the Organization of American States, and of the Charter of the United Nations. While Rolando Masferrer, the Batista henchman, was arrested for violation of our neutrality laws in an attempt to keep our skirts clean, the same laws applied to all those who were aided and encouraged to overthrow the Castro Government.

After American-made B-26's bombed three areas of Cuba on April 15, and the counter-revolutionary forces invaded Cuban territory in the early hours of April 17, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa officially informed the UN that the Republic of Cuba had been invaded "by a mercenary force organized, financed and armed by the Government of the U.S.," and coming from Florida, Guatemala and Nicaragua. (The Nicaraguan islands used are leased by the United States.)

President Kennedy had announced that there would be no participation by U.S. armed forces or by Americans.

The Cuban Government announced during the fighting that a U.S. plane piloted by a U.S. citizen from Boston, so identified by his papers which they quoted, had been shot down.

And yet all charges of intervention were persistently denied by President Kennedy, Secretary of State Rusk, and Adlai Stevenson, the man on whom so many Americans have placed their hopes for peace, who plays such a pitiable and menial role in the United Nations today.

On April 18, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev addressed an urgent personal appeal to President Kennedy. He reminded him of the exchange of views between the representatives of our two countries, expressing a common desire to improve relations between them. He urged Mr. Kennedy to call a halt to the aggression against Cuba, to prevent "the flames of war kindled by the interventionists in Cuba from spreading into conflagration which it will be impossible to cope with." He declared:

As to the Soviet Union, there should be no misunderstanding of our position; we shall render the Cuban people and their Government all necessary assistance in beating back the armed attack on Cuba. We are sincerely interested in a relaxation of international tension, but if others aggravate it, we shall reply in full measure.

In his reply, President Kennedy talked about the growing resistance within Cuba "to the Castro dictatorship," and made clear his sympathy for those he termed "the Cuban patriots." He declared that while the United States "intends no intervention" in Cuba—

In the event of any military intervention by outside force we will immediately honor our obligations under the Inter-American system to protect this hemisphere against external aggression.

In his speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 20 after the revolt was crushed, President Kennedy went further, not only stating that the U.S. would continue to back the anti-Castro guerrilla fighters and the so-called "Revolutionary Council," but that direct armed intervention might take place in the future. "Our restraint is not inexhaustible," he declared, indicating that if the nations of this hemisphere "should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration," the U.S. itself will act unilaterally.

The President spoke in belligerent tones and phrases that had no echo of his inaugural promise to "renew the quest for peace." The dangers to world peace of the Administration's threat of continued and intensified intervention are very grave. The big question is how far it will or can be implemented, in view of the strong anti-American demonstra-

tions that have broken out everywhere, and world-wide charges of U.S. imperialism.

Prime Minister Nehru of India, who previously had only praise for the Kennedy Administration, addressing the Indian Parliament on April 20, referred to Kennedy's statement that he would not permit U.S. armed forces to intervene in Cuba, and said: "I do not see any difference between this kind of intervention and the kind of intervention taking place now."

Throughout Latin America, pro-Castro and anti-American sentiment has mounted. President Janio Quadros of Brazil, just before the invasion began, used his first news conference to make a special point that he "supports and defends the right of self-determination of Cuba." The Brazilian press declares the Cuban invasion has destroyed Latin American confidence in the Kennedy Administration. Big demonstrations against U.S. intervention have been held in Mexico City, Uruguay, the Argentine and elsewhere.

The "damaging blow" of the defeat of its Cuban policies to the Administration was set forth by Wallace Carroll from Washington (*N. Y. Times*, April 21). While trying to minimize the extent of the defeat by saying the landing parties amounted to only 200 or 300 (Cuban sources have estimated over 2,000) he listed the damaging setback to the United States as including: the strengthening of the Castro regime; "propaganda" value to Premier Khrushchev as the protector of small nations; the shaken confidence of U.S. Allies, the check to President Kennedy's momentum in foreign policy.

Mr. Carroll repeated the story that has appeared in various places that the Eisenhower plan had called for American air cover and logistic and heavy arms support for the invasion. This plan was said to have been vetoed by the President following divided counsel within the Administration, but he agreed to continued support for the invading forces, and to let the rebels have ships and other support for their landings, which the CIA had led him to believe would be followed by an internal uprising.

Further damage to U.S. prestige was apparent in the United Nations, especially in the divisions among the Latin American nations and strong neutralist attacks. The U.S. could still command enough, though weakening, support from its allies and client nations to defeat both the Rumanian resolution demanding immediate cessation of military operations against Cuba and the stronger Soviet resolution to condemn aggression by the United States, disarm all counter-revolutionary bands in the U.S. and elsewhere, cessation of all aid to the rebels and help to the Republic of Cuba.

But there was strong support for a Mexican resolution emphasizing the obligation of all members "to refrain from encouraging or promoting civil strife in other states," obviously referring to the United States. Before adjournment, the U.S. met a new defeat when the UN Assembly over-ruled the Political Committee by eliminating from the resolution on Cuba a paragraph backed by the United States to turn over the Cuban-U.S. dispute to the Organization of American States. Instead a call was approved for "all

men
acti
the
and

O
not
ing
why
Mr.
the
rang
He
state
Uni
and
base
of
USS
its
rela

Un
the
as
wo
or
eri
wo
int

ag
co
of
the
pe
rig
an
lis
int

T
to
solu
T
istra
pres
whe
rilla

member states to take such peaceful action as is open to them to remove the existing tensions between Cuba and the United States."

ON APRIL 22, Soviet Premier Khrushchev again addressed a note to President Kennedy, reviewing U.S. actions in Cuba, and asking why, in his concern for "freedom" Mr. Kennedy ignored the right of the 6,000,000 Cuban people to arrange their own affairs as they wish. He made no threats of any kind, and stated emphatically that the Soviet Union seeks no advantages in Cuba, and does not intend to establish any bases there. He made a special point of the unchanged position of the USSR in international affairs and its continuing desire for improved relations with the U.S.:

We want to build our relations with the United States in such a way that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States, as the two most powerful states in the world, would engage in saber rattling or push their military or economic superiority to the forefront, because this would lead to an aggravation of the international situation.

We are sincerely desirous of reaching agreement both with you and with other countries of the world on the question of disarmament and all other questions the solution of which would promote peaceful coexistence, recognition of the right of all peoples to have the social and political systems they have established and noninterference in their internal affairs.

Thus the Soviet Union continues to hold open the door to peaceful solutions.

The dilemma before the Administration is clear. Further loss of prestige—and worse—is inevitable whether it continues to support guerrilla warfare which cannot win and

which leaves Castro in power, or decides on a full scale intervention which could plunge the world into war.

The one course it does not seem to contemplate, the only course that could raise our prestige and insure world peace, is to leave the Cuban people alone to work out their own destiny in their own way, and to establish peaceful, decent and friendly relations with the Cuban Government.

Only such a course could regain for the President the confidence so many placed in him for a new turn in foreign policy, for the capacity of response to the great yearning for peace of the American people, and the people of the world.

There were big demonstrations in New York and other cities against U.S. intervention in Cuba. But there needs to be a much more united and vigorous expression of opposition among the people of this country. Let us take heart from the fact that world pressure stopped the intervention from being greater and more bloody than it was and increase that pressure in our own country to make sure that Cuba is left in peace.

Let us ponder well the meaning of this defeat of U.S. imperialist policies. The defeat was due to the strength of Castro, the weakness of his enemies, the overwhelming support given him by his own peoples, and by progressive forces throughout the world. *It was also due to the pressure of world public opinion which prevented the all-out use of U.S. armed force which could have meant victory for the counter-revolution.*

These same forces can operate to stop further intervention, and in this

still greater peace activity is needed on the part of the American people.

We must be alert to all the international issues that are pending. We must make sure our government pursues a policy of real neutrality in the Laos situation, where the USSR has accepted the British proposals for a cease-fire and an international conference. It is an ominous portent that just at this point members of our "Programs Evaluation Office," the guise under which our military aid was carried on in Laos, are now coming out in uniforms, in their true colors as military advisers. We must press for a new attitude toward the Congo, where we have supported the divisive, colonialist elements, and demand a solution by the Africans themselves.

Further, we must insist on a new attitude toward the solution of the German problem, and a peace treaty with the two existing Germanys

before West Germany acquires nuclear arms, with all the intensified dangers to world peace that implies and there must be a new course in relations with People's China.

Above all, we must demand real efforts for agreement at the nuclear test ban conference and real progress toward disarmament when the new conference, by U.S.-USSR agreement, convenes next August.

With new flames of war rising in Algeria as a result of the militarists' uprising, getting rid of the weapons of war and above all nuclear weapons, remains mankind's sole guarantee of establishing enduring peace.

Vigorous actions by the American people, to match the peace actions all over the world, can still turn our country from the disastrous course on which it has embarked in Cuba. Let us get to work—and roll back the war clouds that are menacing our world!

And a Love Letter -

THIS is a brief love letter and a temporary farewell.

The love letter is to all our readers and friends who both at our dinner here in New York and in messages from around the country and from other lands, made the celebration of twenty-five years as editor such a heartwarming occasion for me and all of us on NWR. And to my beloved staff who arranged the dinner, and the wonderful people who spoke, and sent messages.

And to Yuri Gagarin, whose flight toward the stars the day before our dinner added a high note of celebration for this new and glorious ex-

plot of the Soviet people—new proof of the endless creative potentialities of all human beings everywhere on this earth. And I must add a word to his wife and family. How beautiful and moving was the photograph of the young wife as she sat glued to the radio, her face expressing all the love and anxiety a wife could not help feeling, as she waited for word of her pioneer of the cosmos. Her heroism was equal to his, and she must share our acclaim.

The farewell is because I am leaving you for a while to fly off for a visit to the Soviet Union—my first trip in fifteen years—and as many

of t
as ti
I
edit
ces a
have
imm
the
—an
of C
for
So
how
priv
over
asso
all t
In
ilege
social
cont
we c
worl
the
toda
can
Asia
O
tions
new
unde
warn
tion
carr
the
cour
T
assa
Wor
thre
B
satis
us in
est a
poet
thin
ordi

of the countries of Eastern Europe as time permits.

I was going to devote this whole editorial section to some reminiscences about what these twenty-five years have meant. But there are too many immediate burning issues affecting the lives of all of us on this planet—and especially the immediate issue of Cuba—to allow time and space for that right now.

So I simply want to tell you how deeply grateful I am for the privilege that has been given me over these twenty five years to be associated with this magazine, and all the people around it.

In earlier years, we had the privilege of reporting on the world's first socialist state, its achievements, its continuous struggle for peace. Later, we covered the whole third of the world that became socialist—China, the new People's Democracies—and today we bring as much news as we can of the rising new world in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and everywhere.

Our deepest concern is the relations of the United States with this new world. For only through better understanding between the nations, warm and friendly East-West relations and enduring peace can we carry on the best traditions and serve the highest interests of our own country.

There have been dark days of assault on the Socialist world, of World War and cold war and the threat of nuclear war.

But through all this it is deeply satisfying to note that associated with us in our pages have been the brightest and best of the world's people—poets, artists, scientists, political thinkers, trade unionists and simple, ordinary people who have important

things to say. What a joy it has been to spread the words of such people, great and creative people, people who care about human progress, human dignity, and peace. Many who have written for us have died, many have dropped by the way—but many great Americans continue to write in our pages today, as well as great people from other lands.

What greater happiness could there be than to receive in our office as we did last month the glowing words of Sean O'Casey, whose radiant love of life shines over all the world!

We have great friends because we have a great subject—the greatest in the world—the search for the happiness of mankind, the goal of the socialist countries and of the forces of progress in every land on earth. If our audience is not as great as it should be—well some day it will be!

We are grateful to all of you who write for us, to our correspondents in many countries, to the experts in many fields who share their knowledge with us, to those who bring news of the life of the people in different parts of the earth.

And it is above all to you, our readers, that we owe our gratitude for your constant support, for the warm letters you send us, for the dollars that come out of meager social security funds to keep us going. We could not exist without you!

Stay with us, dear friends, help us grow, help us spread the message of understanding and peace and friendship.

So I leave you for a while, in the good strong hands of Murray Young and our competent staff. *Do Svidanya*—till we meet again—love to you all!

Prometheus Is Free!

by ROCKWELL KENT

TO A people conditioned to a life of fear: to fear of war, to fear of preparations' consequences—nuclear fall-out; to fear of the growing oppression of war's cost in taxes; to fear of mounting unemployment and of impending economic disaster; to fear of whom to know or what to dare to speak; to fear not just of death but of disasters life itself may bring them to; to the American people—in every factory and place of work, in every home—has flashed the news of Man's transcendent victory, of Yuri's flight into the realms of space. A far off nation of people working peacefully as one, armed, one may say, with but the symbols of their faith—the hammer and the sickle—have cut the age-old chains that bound Man to the earth: Prometheus at last is free!

What countless ages have passed since with the emergence of the protozoa from the tepid slime, there began that evolutionary climb from which emerged the early primates and, finally, Mankind! Yet in the establishment of Man's supremacy, internecine conflict—as Peter Kropotkin pointed out—played perhaps a smaller part than mutual aid. Man showed himself to be a *social* being; it is upon that virtue that his supremacy on earth was built. And in the crisis that now confronts him it is upon his recognition of the world-wide sociability, the brotherhood of man that his survival rests. And Yuri's flight? What courage and what faith! Faith in the men and women who through science had devised the means. Faith in the

millions of his countrymen who by their faith had underwritten them. Faith shared by all in what through mutual aid Man could accomplish.

Yet, as we know and as the Soviet scientists would promptly tell us, it is the world of science working through the ages that has made this space flight possible; a world from which Soviet science is in thought no more to be detached than Soviet man be disconnected from his forebears. Or we Americans from Mankind everywhere. No, Soviet friends, your Yuri is not yours alone: he is Mankind's. And the portal into space that he has opened—or, for those who fancy the idea, the Gate of Heaven—is for all of us, perhaps—just give us time!—to enter. Just time? No, time with *Peace*. Peace to explore the universe our Soviet brothers have spread out to us; peace to bring home its riches and distribute them to all. Peace among nations, peace at home. Peace, and—God knows we need it!—an end to poverty and fear. Peace—and the Brotherhood of Man.

Let the day of Yuri's flight be honored as Peace Day by mankind throughout all coming time: a day for world-wide celebration by music and dancing, by laughter and song. A world-wide Holiday of Happiness; a day on which in every square and market-place of the world and wherever people can gather together the countenances of old and young shall be alight with just such joy as, by the pictures now before me, shone on Yuri Day in Moscow.

Yuri—you stand to us as the sym-

bol of the fulfillment of a prophecy made many years ago by Victor Hugo:

"In the twentieth century war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontier boundaries will be dead, dogmas

will be dead; man will live. He will possess something higher than all these—a great country, the whole earth, and a great hope, the whole heaven."

Yuri—It is the whole heaven that you have brought to us!

The Flowers of Spring

by MURRAY YOUNG

ON the rain-drenched evening of April 18, tense with black headlines in the papers and ominous announcements on radio and TV, the Moiseyev dancers returned after three years to the Metropolitan Opera House in New York—as welcome and reassuring as the early flowers just showing in the city's parks and gardens this delayed and difficult spring.

Have there ever been any such dancers before? Has the tradition-rich old Opera House ever known such applause, such shared delight between performers and audience as witnessed at the opening performance?

What was the source of this delight?

Was it because "space is as little a problem to the Soviet dancers as it is to its astronauts," as Louis Biancolli declared in the *World Telegram*? Or was it, as John Martin wrote in the *New York Times*, because "all of the numbers are performed with openness, vitality, heartiness, sweetness and supreme honesty. There is not a meretricious moment from curtain to curtain?"

From these reasons, of course, but there were other reasons why "more than three thousands Americans and

more than one hundred Soviet citizens were busy making ecstatic love to each other," as Walter Terry in the *Herald Tribune* described the evening.

Both the dancers and the audience knew that the eyes of the world were on their two countries at this high moment of the attempted Cuban invasion: official communiqués, newflashes, threatening statements filled the air; before American embassies in Europe, Asia, South America angry demonstrators were crying out against our participation in the aggression against the Cuban people—Cuba, Yes!, Yankee, No! sounded through the streets of many capitals and in many languages.

Last May in Moscow, after the outrageous U-2 incident had struck fear into the hearts of people everywhere, audiences at performances of "My Fair Lady" applauded more warmly than ever to reassure the American actors on the stage—and the world at large—that their first and last concern was for understanding and friendship between people. So on this ominous April evening, the American audience gathered the willing Soviet dancers to their hearts in love and admiration; could not applaud enough the superb dances

drawn from the widely-flung national groups of the USSR; roared with appreciation of the delicious satire of of the "rock n' roll" number; and clapped out the rhythms of the Virginia reel, danced to "Turkey in the Straw" with which the performance came to its tumultuous conclusion.

Understanding, friendship and peace—it was for these great ends, at this moment in history, that the Soviet dancers leaped and whirled and defied, like Yuri Gagarin, space; and it was, after all, for the same ends that the audience, of Americans and representatives of the diplomatic corps, applauded again and again the wonderful young people on the stage who, in the Russian style, applauded rapturously in return their delighted admirers.

After three weeks in New York the company goes to Boston, Philadelphia and Washington, returning for six performances in Madison Square Garden before they start their swing across country to the West Coast.

IN September the Leningrad Ballet Company will be coming to this country for the first time. The Kirov Theater, known as the Maryinsky before the Revolution, which houses the company, has a proud ballet tradition that goes back to the 18th century. On its stage many of the greatest Russian and Soviet dancers have won their first acclaim. American audiences will thus be able to compare the Kirov Company's versions of the great classical ballets with the versions performed here by the Bolshoy Company in its memorable visit in 1959.

Also next season Galina Vishnevskaya, who appeared here as solo-

ist with the Moscow State Symphony in 1960, will sing *Aida* at the Metropolitan Opera House, and the famous Armenian composer Aram Khachaturyan will come here to conduct several important U.S. symphony orchestras in performances of his own compositions.

Emil Gilels, the violinist Daniel Shafran, and the son of David Oistrakh, Igor, a young violinist of growing repute, will give concerts here during the 1961-62 season.

Roberta Peters, coloratura soprano, and Jerome Hines, basso, both of the Metropolitan Opera House, will sing in the Soviet Union next season. The young pianist Byron Janis, who scored a great triumph in the Soviet Union this past winter, will be returning next season for another series of concerts. Also a not yet determined leading U.S. symphony will tour the major Soviet cities.

In May the U.S. Ice Capades, so successful in the USSR in 1959, begins another long engagement in Moscow. It is later to go to other Soviet cities.

MOSCOW, April 23 (AP) —

Two United States basketball teams opened their tour of the Soviet Union today with a victory and a defeat. The American men's team won, 78-68, and the women lost, 65-48.

The games were witnessed by a crowd of 15,000, including Major Yuri Gagarin, the world's first spaceman. He sat in the box reserved for distinguished visitors. He chatted with the United States players and wished them luck before the start of the contests.

The New York Times, April 24

My Pupil - Sviatoslav Richter

by PROF. HEINRICH NEUHAUS

I ALWAYS feel at a loss whenever I have to speak about Richter. Still, I shall try to convey my impressions and observations to readers. I will begin with our first meeting. It happened 23 years ago. Students asked me to give an audition to a young man from Odessa who wanted to enter my class at the Conservatoire.

"Has he finished music school yet?" I asked.

"No. He hasn't studied anywhere!"

I admit that this reply rather puzzled me. Someone who had no musical training sought to enter the Conservatoire. It would be interesting to have a look at the bold fellow.

So he came—a tall, lean youth, fair-haired, blue-eyed, with a lively and surprisingly attractive face. He sat down at the piano, put his big, supple, nervous hands on the keys, and began to play.

He played in a very restrained manner, even I would say, rather exaggeratedly simple and severe. I whispered to my pupil: "In my opinion he's a musician of genius."

After Beethoven's *Twenty-eighth*

PROFESSOR HEINRICH NEUHAUS is one of the most famous teachers of piano in the Soviet Union. Most of the internationally known Soviet pianists have studied with him at the Moscow Conservatory. Prof. Neuhaus is renowned for his interpretations of Chopin, Schumann, Scriabin and contemporary Soviet composers.

Sonata the youth played some of his own compositions and sight-read. Everyone present wanted him to play on and on.

From that day Sviatoslav Richter became my pupil.

I must say frankly that there was nothing I could teach Richter in the generally accepted meaning of teaching. I have always held merely a position of counselor—a policy of "friendly neutrality." Once I asked him to prepare a Liszt sonata for a lesson—a work of exceptional difficulty. A short time later he played it, and played it magnificently. It only remained to give him a little advice and to discuss the treatment of one passage that did not seem quite dramatic enough to me. All this took about 30 to 40 minutes. I usually put in three to four hours and several lessons with my pupils on this sonata.

I like to think that my assignments have helped Richter; but most of all he has helped himself, and what has helped him has been his passionate love for music. I never tire of repeating that talent is passion: Sviatoslav Richter is the brilliant confirmation of this idea.

In working on a piece Richter follows the method I call "clearing the decks." He does not put the difficult bits off, but plays them over and over again until he masters them completely, and for the time being does not tackle the work in full. I remember when he first played Pro-

kofiev's *Ninth Sonata* for me, which the composer had dedicated to him. There was one place that seemed very complicated to me.

"How magnificently it has come out with you!" I observed to him.

"But you know," he said happily, "I spent several hours on it."

I CAME to know Richter when he was 23 years old. He did not like to talk about himself, and I knew nothing about his childhood. But one day I received a letter from his mother. She told me in detail about her son, how when he was still very young he had shown an outstanding capacity for creative work. His favorite occupation had been to play "theater." He used to organize whole productions in the courtyard with his playmates, with music and dances. He himself was author, composer, producer and actor.

His parents sent the gifted child to a children's music school, but things there were evidently not to his liking, and after a few lessons he stopped attending. But he did not give up music. All his free time he would spend at the piano. His father—a remarkable, sensitive musician—supervised his musical studies. Richter early learned to sight-read, and played endlessly a multitude of things, beginning with piano pieces and ending with operas and symphonies.

His mother used to beg him to rest. "Even in the theater there are intervals," she would say to him. Little Slava would give in to her and agree to breaks in his practice, but not for more than 10 minutes.

When he was roughly 18 or 19 Sviatoslav began to work at the Odessa Opera House as first accom-

panist. In 1945 he won the first prize in the All-Union Concourse for young musicians. That began his tempestuous concert career.

"How did you manage to master such heights of piano technique?" Richter is often asked. (His technique is really fantastic—an American wrote that he had "ten hands.")

"I simply played a great deal, that is all," the pianist usually answers. And so it is.

But one cannot forget Richter's exceptional natural gifts, his stupendous virtuoso talent, and, above all, his unique capacity to penetrate the deepest mysteries of music. Richter is a man of unusual artistic gifts. I hope that some day my dream will come true, and that I will see him at the conductor's desk at the opera.

AT HOME when he has guests, Richter often arranges an evening of theatricals to a previously prepared script, and gets carried away while doing it. Richter is also an interesting composer. True, he does not write music now, as he used to do earlier; but sometimes he sits down at the piano and begins to improvise, and more often than not he composes for imaginary ballets invented by himself. These are extraordinary evenings!

Sviatoslav has yet another passion—painting. More than once I have heard well-known artists say that if he took up painting professionally he would reach the same heights he has on the piano. He paints a great deal now, and dreams of devoting himself to painting in the future.

It is difficult to speak about Richter, because the customary concepts and words we use to describe our

acquaintances are both true and untrue in our relation to him. Undoubtedly he is a very interesting man, but not in the sense we usually use the word. Sometimes, when you spend a whole evening with him, it may be that he says nothing in particular, and yet you go away with the impression that you have had a wonderful time, and have found out something important and interesting.

To some people it seems that Richter is permanently wrapped up in himself and notices nothing around him. But when he got back to Moscow from Czechoslovakia, for example, he drew everything he saw there from memory, and the great keenness of observation of the artist was obvious in his drawing.

I cannot say what I value most in Richter the pianist. One music critic has written that a new epoch in piano-playing is beginning with Richter. I think he is right. Here is how I understand this idea: in world piano-playing there has been an epoch of virtuoso piano technique. The world has had a whole constellation of virtuosos. Richter also possesses this virtuoso technique, but he does not emphasize it, does not display it—it bears, as it were, a subsidiary function. The most important thing in music for him is to reveal its philosophical, poetic essence, to disclose his own thoughts and experience. Hence the severe, simple style of his performance.

When I listen to Sviatoslav my hand very often begins involuntarily to conduct. The rhythmic poetry of his playing is so strong, the rhythm so organic, strict and free, that it is impossible to resist the temptation

to take part in the performance. Any work, be it even a symphony, lies before him like a landscape, seen unbelievably clearly from an eagle's flight of unusual height, whole and in all its details.

I consider that a pianist in our times must be a propagandist, like every other artist. We too are engineers of the soul, are we not? It is particularly dear to me in Richter that he not only gives the public pleasure, but opens new horizons before them both in well-known works and in new ones. He accomplishes heroic deeds of a kind, having played all 48 preludes and fugues of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavichord* at concerts. He is a great propagandist of works that are seldom played with us—the works of Schubert, Weber, Liszt and Schumann, for example. For every concert—and he gives very many—he prepares something new.

I have known Sviatoslav Richter closely for more than 20 years. He has been transformed before my very eyes from an unknown student into a pianist of world fame. But in private life he has remained the same as we have all known him. His unassuming nature and modesty are astonishing. He talks of his successes to no one; he does not boast of the reviews. Even his habits have remained the same as in his student days. As of old he likes long walks and ski-runs, sometimes going for dozens of miles in the country round Moscow.

He is a man of honor and principle in relation to people, true in friendship, and deeply and undividedly devoted to his art.

From the Soviet magazine *Ogonyok*, No. 48, 1960, through the courtesy of the *Anglo-Soviet Journal*, Spring, 1961.

Soviet Criminal Law

*First of a series on new developments in
Soviet Legislation*

by **PROF. BORIS NIKIFOROV**

THE character of a society is determined at each stage of its development by a series of indexes: the distribution of the national income, the nature of domestic relations, the level of education, the state of crime, etc. These indexes form a single whole in the general sociological picture, one depending on the other.

One of the indexes is the state of crime, and, if we speak of the development of society of a particular social and economic type, the evolution of its criminal law. What are the grounds for applying penal restraint—the severest form of legal coercion by the state? What is the range of questions and persons in connection with which and relation to whom a criminal penalty may be applied? What bodies are competent to impose penalties on private citizens? What is the nature of penal restraint—the types of penalties, and the purpose and manner of their application? The answers to these questions are of interest not merely to jurists.

PROFESSOR BORIS NIKIFOROV, D.J.S., is head of the criminal law department of the All-Union Research Institute of Jurisprudence in Moscow. He has written a number of scholarly works on Anglo-American criminal law, published in the Soviet Union. Professor Nikiforov took an active part in preparing the new All-Union Criminal Law and the new Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

Highly significant and interesting events have taken place for a number of years in the realm of criminal legislation in the USSR; they are clearly expressed in the new Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation for the USSR and the Union Republics, enacted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 25, 1958, and in the new codes of criminal law of the Union Republics, and, in particular, the Code of Criminal Law of the RSFSR passed October 27, 1960. To characterize these events in a general way we can say that they express the process of the ever greater strengthening of socialist law, the process of further reinforcing the protection of the rights and liberties of individuals.

The foreign press often suggests that this process began only a few years ago, and I grant that some people honestly think this is the case. They contrast the present state of affairs with the period when there were serious violations of socialist legality. However, if any conclusion may be drawn from this comparison, it is only in the sense that the law of development of socialist society is the ever greater strengthening of legality. Violations of legality represent a deviation from that law of development, which in the final analysis must triumph, must break its way through. In this is the main guarantee that

these violations will never be repeated. To think otherwise is to underestimate the motive forces of socialist society. Observing and appraising the developments now taking place in Soviet legislation, every sober-minded sociologist will understand that they have been objectively prepared for by the whole previous course of development of socialist society.

The Question of Penal Restraint

Let us first see how such an extraordinarily important question as the application of penal restraint is formulated in the new criminal law. In dealing with this question I shall have to use terms the meaning of which it will be more convenient to explain in advance. I shall deal with punishment as a measure of legal coercion by the state. A penalty consists of depriving the offender of certain rights in accordance with the gravity of the *offense* committed by him and the degree of his guilt. The purpose of the punishment is to re-educate and reform the offender. I shall also deal with *measures of social defense* provided for under earlier legislation, the sense of which was the isolation from society of a *person held to be socially dangerous*, regardless of whether or not he committed a crime, and if he did commit a crime, regardless of its gravity and the degree of his guilt.

Measures of social defense were not mentioned in the first Soviet criminal law legislation of a general nature, namely, the Guiding Principles of Criminal Law of the RSFSR, passed December 12, 1919. While that document dealt with penalties, it stated that the punish-

ment was not a retribution for the guilt (this word was put in quotation marks) and that its purpose was to protect public order against criminals and crime. The Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1922 did mention measures of social defense. It says that the code "has for its purpose the legal protection of the working people's state from crimes and socially dangerous elements and implements this protection by applying to violators of revolutionary law and order penalties or other measures of social defense" (Article 5).

In the first All-Union criminal law legislation—the Basic Principles of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics of 1924—no mention is made of punishments at all; that enactment states that Soviet criminal law carries out its purpose of protecting the working people's state against socially dangerous acts "by applying to transgressors against the law measures of social defense." Article 22 of that law established that courts may sentence to transportation or exile persons who because of their criminal acts or of their connections with criminal circles are held to be socially dangerous "both whether or not they are made answerable to the law for the commission of a particular crime and where they have been charged with the commission of a particular crime and acquitted by the court but held to be socially dangerous."

Naturally, the codes of the Union Republics also mentioned only measures of social defense. Article 7 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1926 gave as grounds for applying these measures in particular the danger of a person created by his

ties with criminal circles or his past activity.

What has been said above may give rise to a number of questions in the mind of the reader: how did measures of social defense appear in Soviet criminal law, and why, and were they a natural development in the evolution of Soviet criminal law?

The term "measures of social defense" was the result of an uncritical borrowing from the phraseology of the sociological school. Under the conditions existing in the early days of the socialist state, when Soviet legislation suffered from incompleteness, the very measures could serve as a means of safeguarding public order against criminal and other socially dangerous elements. It should be stated, however, that the introduction of these measures in Soviet criminal law did not reflect the laws of development of the new society. As subsequent events have shown, the logical development was the complete abandonment of the measures. Later, Soviet law unreservedly confirmed the principle of liability for crime in accordance with the degree of guilt.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the All-Union Judiciary Act of 1938 omitted mention of measures of social defense. On the contrary, it established that penal restraint may be applied by the courts only in connection with the commission of a specific crime and that the only action permitted the court is to impose a penalty and although this law, of course, did not repeal the Basic Principles of 1924, the provisions it contained gave occasion to the Supreme Court of the USSR to indicate to the courts in 1946

that from the sense of Soviet legislation there followed the principle that criminal proceedings may be instituted, and punishment inflicted, only where a specific crime had been committed. Thus, neither legislation nor judicial practice thereafter followed the path of applying measures of social defense.

This, however, in no way diminishes the significance of the fact that the principle that there can be no criminal liability and punishment unless a specific, concrete crime has been committed was incorporated in one of the major legislative acts on criminal law—the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics—enacted December 25, 1958. I have reference to Article 3 of this document: The Basis for Criminal Liability, according to which "only a person guilty of the commission of a crime, that is, who has, either deliberately or by negligence, committed an act defined by the criminal law to be socially dangerous, is deemed criminally liable and subject to punishment." This principle is incorporated in the criminal codes of all Union Republics.

On Criminal Liability by "Analogy"

As can be seen from the wording of Article 3 it also embodies another principle, the importance of which it would be hard to overestimate; namely, the principle of criminal liability attaching only as a result of an act provided for by the criminal law. This principle, which has long been applied in practice, also quite definitely rejects the application of the criminal law by analogy, earlier found in Soviet

criminal legislation. What did Article 10 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1922 and Article 3 of the Basic Principles of 1924 mean by "analogy"? They meant the right of the court to apply against a person who has committed a socially dangerous act, not expressly provided for by the criminal law, a penalty or a "measure of social defense" under the articles of the criminal law providing for crimes that come closest to it by its nature and significance.

It should be underscored that the principle of "analogy" in Soviet criminal law never meant that the court could impose punishment every time it had come to the conclusion that there had been committed a socially dangerous act not provided for by the law. For the court to apply the criminal law by analogy the act committed had to be provided for by the law, at least in general, related outline. This established definite and sufficiently narrow limits beyond which the court could not go under any circumstances, bringing the "analogy" within a broad construction of the law.

An illustration in point is the prosecution of an automobile driver responsible for a serious accident under the article defining the liability of railroad and water transportation workers (in other words, of trains or ships) for gross infraction of traffic and operation rules which caused serious consequences.*

In the early years of Soviet Government the "analogy" was, within the limits fixed by the law itself,

a means of protecting the new social relations that were then taking shape and consolidating. In view of the nature of the limitations stated above we can say that they were a means not only of safeguarding the new relations but also of a new *law and order*. It should not be forgotten that the rapid changes taking place at the time proceeded against a background of imperfect and incompleted legislation, and that the legislation not infrequently failed to keep up with the changes and the new ways of encroachment on the social relations. The application of the criminal law by analogy furnished material for issuing a new criminal code.

Later, however, the situation gradually changed. The new social relations based on the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production were becoming stabilized and that made it possible more fully to regulate the life of society by legislation. For this reason there was less and less room for "analogy" in practice and it was applied in ever narrower limits. Long before the war it had become a settled principle that the criminal law could be applied by analogy only where there had been special instructions on that score by the Supreme Court of the USSR. That was exactly the case with respect to the automobile accidents mentioned earlier. Not only was there no need of keeping the "analogy" in the new conditions, but in some cases it could even lead to an infringement of the law, and in drafting the new Fundamentals the lawmakers drew the needed conclusions from this principle. Not alone Article 3 of the document cited above,

* When this Article was put into effect in 1931 motor traffic had not been much developed, and legislators therefore saw no need of providing for the social responsibility of automobile drivers.

but also Article 7—The Concept of Crime—understand a crime to mean a socially dangerous act expressly provided for by the criminal law.

Thus, the new criminal legislation, reflecting and securing as it does the situation which developed in practice, has made more definitive the concept and definition of the grounds for criminal liability. The great importance of this for the further strengthening of Soviet criminal law is quite indisputable. And it becomes increasingly more obvious if from the general provisions of the Fundamentals we turn to the concrete articles of the new criminal codes of the Union Republics.

Rejection of the "analogy" is not merely a declaration; it is at the same time in its way a program for the criminal codes of the republics. Rejection of the "analogy" makes it incumbent on the republics to build their definitions of crimes in their legislation on the principle of "precise definition of crime." Every definition must outline as clearly as possible the range of punishable acts. Hence, the broad concept of misappropriation of state and public property found in the earlier legislation has been abolished and in its place the new criminal codes provide for the several forms of this crime—larceny, robbery, fraud and embezzlement.

Range of Punishable Actions

Related to a certain extent to the rejection of "analogy" is another question, namely, the range of punishable actions under the new legislation. Rejection of "analogy" entailed the extension of the range in

certain respects. This arose as a result of the inclusion in the criminal codes of certain acts which earlier were punished "by analogy." The previously mentioned cases of violation of traffic regulations and technical operation rules by automobile drivers causing accidents or other grave consequences are examples.

However, if we compare the range of crimes defined in the former legislation as a whole with that in the new codes we find that the range has been sharply reduced. To illustrate, from the Criminal Code of the RSFSR have been eliminated concealment of articles subject to taxation, concealment of inherited property, misappropriation of personal property, usury, concealment of collections and monuments of antiquity, exposing to the danger of infection with venereal disease, and a number of others. This is due to the fact that such acts have completely disappeared or that their social danger has diminished.

Moreover, we should bear in mind the fact, hardly perceptible at first glance but very important practically, that while the definitions of many crimes are retained in the new codes, they are formulated in considerably narrower limits than before. This applies, in particular, to certain relatively widespread cases of misconduct in office. Abuse of official position, exceeding the powers of office, or neglect of official duties will make a person criminally liable only where the act has caused substantial damage.

Lastly, it should be stated that some acts have been incorporated in the new criminal code not because they are met with in practice

but because the particular acts are of great political importance. Actually no war propaganda is carried on in the Soviet Union, but the law covering criminal liability for crimes committed against the state passed December 25, 1958, provides a severe penalty for this crime. It was a similar consideration that made the legislators of the Union Republics keep in their new criminal codes the articles fixing penalties

for infringement of equal rights of women, hindering the lawful activity of trade unions, preventing citizens from exercising their electoral rights, violating the provision for the secret ballot at elections, forging election documents, hindering the lawful performance of religious rites, and a number of others.

A continuation of this article will appear in the next issue.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG SPEAKS FROM PEKING

THIS IS ANNA LOUISE STRONG, speaking to you from Peking, in the People's Republic of China.

When the letter came yesterday, asking for a greeting at your anniversary dinner, my thoughts flashed to a dozen people now in China who've had some contact with your magazine in these twenty-five years. They are scattered widely, so I send a greeting for them all.

From this wide scattering it appears that our world is one, and yet in another sense, our world is two. There is what the Chinese call the old society; there is also the new world—a world which began to grow from Leningrad in 1917, and which now embraces more than a third of mankind. This world is called in the Western headlines the Communist world. But of course we know that none of it is really communist yet, in the sense of any communism attained. The name, however, is not a misfit. For it is a world in which people consciously work toward a new society which Marx called Communism, a word that since his time has been grossly misused by the West. The Chinese often speak of this new society as the great harmony. The world-harmony which they seek is that which will come when class wars and national wars are over, and men and women are everywhere conscious members of the human race, and planning a good life for our planet.

Now I must remind you that while *New World Review* is a small magazine, with not a very wide circulation, the new world it reports is big. All of you know this, but living in New York, you do not easily picture it. For each of us places the life and work which we have as a center. And to you, New York seems the world center, as in one sense it is. It is the financial, economic, military center for the capitalist societies of the world. It also houses the United Nations, in which nations of different kinds are unequally mixed. So to you in New York, Peking may seem isolated, behind a bamboo curtain, and you discuss with greater or less kindness and intelligence, how to get Peking recognized, or into the United Nations.

Don't worry, please. From Peking, it seems that New York is isolated, and the United Nations crippled by the absence of one-fourth of mankind.

In Peking one meets people from 70 to 80 different countries. And most of these people have the optimistic belief that it is going to be possible for mankind by careful thought and struggle to win past this present period without a thermonuclear war and so eventually come to the period of the great harmony. This is a more optimistic way of thinking than one usually finds in New York.

From a taped speech sent to the anniversary dinner for Jessica Smith.

Antidote to War Madness

by GEN. HUGH B. HESTER

THIS is an extraordinary book* written by an exceptional man, and for both reasons the publisher should be congratulated for having made this case against war available to the American public.

Many will be surprised that anyone with Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's background could have written such a book as *Defense in the Nuclear Age*. Not only was he a naval officer himself in World War I and II but members of his family for generations have distinguished themselves in the service of the Royal Navy.

How then could this military man have finally reached the conclusion that war in the classical sense is no longer rational? That military defense against thermonuclear weapons is no longer possible, not only for a small, highly industrialized and thickly populated island such as the United Kingdom, but for any nation at all? And that unilateral disarmament for his country offers the best means of survival? The truth is that the first reaction to the nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the most perceptive military experts was essentially the same.

I was in Manila when these two bombs were exploded, and the immediate reaction among the informed from General MacArthur down, almost without exception, was that the violent characteristics of warfare among the great powers

were no longer feasible; that the old concepts of war were forever outmoded. The conclusions were perhaps best expressed by America's three most distinguished soldiers: Eisenhower, "There is no alternative to peace"; MacArthur, "War has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides"; Bradley, "The central problem of our time . . . is how to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind."

It has required thousands of publicists, hundreds of millions of propaganda dollars and more than fourteen years of rumors, half-truths and falsehoods to sell the so-called free world (and the sale, fortunately, has not yet been finalized) that incineration of the human race is rational policy, even preferable, under certain conditions. *Defense in the Nuclear Age* is a most welcome antidote to this war madness.

From a military point of view this is a tightly written book and thoroughly sound. There simply is no military defense in the thermonuclear age. Individual safety and national security both can only be achieved through non-violent methods and negotiations at all levels,

HUGH B. HESTER, Brigadier General of the United States Army (retired), received the Distinguished Service Medal for his work in the Southwest Pacific Area, 1942 to 1945. He was Food Administrator in the American Zone of Berlin, 1945 to 1947. Co-author of the book, *On the Brink*, Gen. Hester is one of the judges for the NWR peace essay contest.

* *Defense in the Nuclear Age*, by Stephen King-Hall. Fellowship, 1959, 234 pp. \$2.75.

especially at the Summit. Limited warfare, as the author points out, is impossible once the propaganda dogs of war are unleashed. A hundred years of total war for unlimited objectives should be adequate proof of this.

The necessity for unilateral disarmament as proposed by the author is, however, less convincing. He obviously has not yet broken through the "thought barriers" of the "cold war" nearly so effectively as he has in the case of the "hot" one. His world psychologically is still divided into the good and bad, the true and false, the free and slave. And he apparently would rather win a cold war, even including having his country occupied, than to establish a cooperative world which he considers impossible. He not only accepts the old cliché that so-called Communism is totally evil, but is also incapable of reform, and therefore must be destroyed root, branch and tree.

This two-dimensional mental attitude is most unfortunate for a number of reasons. First, it is not a correct evaluation; second, there is only the rarest possibility that the so-called free world will ever accept

unilateral disarmament; and third, unilateral disarmament is not necessary in order to avoid a "hot" war.

For general and complete disarmament through international negotiations is entirely feasible and even probable as the leaders become increasingly aware that "there is no alternative to peace." Given a period of patience, augmented by a real effort of international understanding, genuine peace is possible.

Despite these deficiencies this book deserves to be read widely, and I hope, will receive the closest possible study, especially by the "power elite." It is vitally important that this be done because the "power elite" here and similar groups in all nations determine the policies and make the decisions for peace or war, life or death, for all of us everywhere.

Granted a protracted period of international non-violence such as the author advocates, international fear and hate may be expected to be replaced by international cooperation through the United Nations in spite of the continued efforts of the warmongers and vested interests to prevent it.

GEN. HESTER'S MESSAGE TO ANNIVERSARY DINNER FOR JESSICA SMITH

PEACE, OUR CHIEF concern, can only be achieved through better understanding among peoples of different economic, political and social systems. Better understanding makes clear that the similarities among people are far greater than their differences.

But improved understanding requires better communications, and better communications includes trade, travel and exchange of information without discriminating restrictions. These things the *New World Review* has effectively worked for, regardless of the temperature of the cold war.

One thing above all is certain: there will be no future for man unless the peoples of the world, whatever their race, color or creed, learn to live together in common brotherhood.

China's Horny-Handed Emperor

by HELEN TRAVIS

PU YI's welcoming handshake was firm. We noticed that the hand which gripped ours was calloused. The fingernails bore evidence that he had already been at work before our early morning arrival at the Botanical Gardens in Peking's western outskirts.

Thick-lensed glasses and two fountain pens protruding from a pocket marked Pu Yi as an intellectual. Otherwise, wearing the popular blue cap and cotton jacket, he looked like any ordinary middle-aged worker of the new China.

It seemed unbelievable that he was the last emperor of the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty which had dominated China for over 200 years, that he had served the Japanese as "ruler" of their puppet state, "Manchukuo," that he had been worshipped and flattered and pampered.

As we settled down at a conference table in the sunny reception room, Pu Yi chatted easily about the research for the Chinese Academy of Science in which he is now absorbed—experiments on the possibility of growing various tropical plants in a northern climate. When all cups were filled with steaming, fragrant tea and cigarettes had been accepted and lighted, he began, at our request, to relate his life story.

HELEN TRAVIS, pamphleteer, translator and correspondent, has recently returned from a six-month tour of the Far East.

Boy Emperor

Born into a princely family in 1906, when Pu Yi was only three, the Empress Dowager ordained that he be made emperor.

"As if a three-year-old could rule," our host commented caustically.

Pu Yi's father, himself not much over 20 years old, administered state affairs for the little emperor, and all important posts, including those of military command, were occupied by youthful and incapable relatives.

"Everybody flattered me," Pu Yi recalled. "Nobody was permitted to stand erect when addressing the emperor. Even my uncles had to kneel in my presence. They couldn't speak of themselves as 'I'—only as 'your humble servant.'"

Continuing in a professorial tone, Pu Yi told how his tutors introduced him to Confucianism "which served feudalism and especially the imperial family"; and how he was taught that the emperor was the "son of heaven" to whom all China and its people rightfully belonged. He was indoctrinated in the so-called "history" of his Dynasty—and Pu Yi smiled as he related the myth in which he had once believed implicitly: Once upon a time a fairy, bathing in the "Heavenly Pool" in what is now China's northeastern Kirin Province, had to remain on earth because a passing bird had dropped red fruit into her mouth,

thereby causing her pregnancy. The child thus conceived, it was said, became a chieftain from whom the Ching emperors ultimately descended.

Although the Republican upsurge in China forced the boy emperor's abdication in 1912, he retained his title, his palace abode and his enormous retinue which included almost one thousand eunuchs. He was even accorded a "salary" of four million ounces of silver a year (about two million dollars). He was treated like a foreign head of state.

Until he was 19 Pu Yi continued to live in Peking's fabled Forbidden City. He was not allowed to leave the palace grounds. He did not know the streets of the capital.

When the imperial-privilege agreement was abrogated in the 1924 reform, Pu Yi noted regretfully, he missed his chance to throw off the past and become an ordinary citizen. Instead he headed the "old men" of his retinue who warned him that throughout Chinese history deposed emperor's had been murdered. They persuaded him to seek refuge in a foreign legation.

Japan's Puppet

Japanese diplomats afforded Pu Yi asylum, first in Peking, later in Tientsin. They gave him the pomp and adulation he still thought to be his due. They provided an armed guard which accompanied him everywhere, apparently to protect him, but even more—as he realized much later—to watch his every move.

The youthful ex-sovereign felt that the Japanese understood him. He came to rely on them to fulfill his dreams of restoration.

Pu Yi thought then that he was

using the Japanese for his own purposes. He now knows that they were grooming him to play a part in their long-planned conquest of China which was to be the first stage of world conquest. Because "around me there was still a clique of feudalist elements who would listen to me," Pu Yi explained, the Japanese thought that occupation of Manchuria might be facilitated by "using me as a puppet."

Soon after Japan's military invasion of China's Northeast on September 18, 1931, Pu Yi accepted the proffered crown, believing assurances that his new kingdom would be sovereign. Upon his arrival in the Northeast, however, Japanese officials made it clear that he was to rule in name only. He was forced to sign what he now considers a "treasonous" secret treaty whereby Japan was entrusted to administer "Manchukuo" in all fields, political, economic and cultural and a follow-up memorandum legalizing the presence of Japan's troops.

"Everything was in the hands of the Japanese," Pu Yi told us. "I only learned the full story afterwards of how they plundered the land, suppressed and massacred patriots, sold opium to make profit and weaken Chinese resistance, seized workers to man the industries, murdering those they had used to build secret fortifications. They forbade the people to eat rice and wheat, which was permitted only to the Japanese and the traitors. There was indescribable suffering. Over ten million Chinese people died because of the vicious policy of killing, burning, robbing."

"What did you think of all this?" we asked.

"My main concern was to keep my

post," he admitted. "I sought to flatter the Japanese so that they would like me and keep me. I felt some dissatisfaction, but only on my own behalf, not on that of the Chinese people. I wanted to rule without interference."

Pu Yi described the restrictions which irked him. He was watched constantly by a Japanese general who ran both his official and his private life. He was allowed to see, but not to talk with, his closest relatives. He was forbidden even to see more distant relatives. He was permitted no informal conversations, even with cabinet ministers.

Nevertheless, Pu Yi continued to cooperate, and even made suggestions to strengthen Japanese aggression—advising good relations with the Soviet Union in order to protect their rear, and proposing a larger air force.

"At that time," he commented, "I was really not Chinese. I was just a running dog of the Japanese imperialists. I committed very serious crimes against the Chinese people."

The Bubble Bursts

In 1945, when the Soviet Army helped to free the Northeast from Japan, Pu Yi was arrested and sent to the Soviet Union where he was held under detention for five years.

"Although I had to give up my dreams of empire," he recalled, "I still considered myself an emperor. My nephew and others of my retinue remained with me and continued to wait upon me as 'humble servants.'"

During this period Pu Yi petitioned the Soviet Government to allow him to remain. He was frightened at the prospect of being returned to China where, he believed,

the people couldn't possibly forgive his crimes. In 1950, however, the Soviet Government sent an assorted trainload of war criminals back to China, and Pu Yi found himself among them.

When the train drew to a stop at the Shenyang (Mukden) station, members of the group expected imminent execution. An official of the People's Government met them, escorted them to a big building and ushered them into a room where a long table was laden with tea, cake, fruit and cigarettes.

"None of us had any appetite," Pu Yi remembered. "We thought this must be the traditional last feast."

The frightened group was addressed by the Government representative. He inquired about their past living conditions and their present needs. He told them they could communicate with their families. He urged them to study, to work, to be honest and law abiding. And he assured them that the Communists' policy was to wipe out crime but not to exact vengeance against those who had committed crimes.

"This was sudden and unexpected," Pu Yi declared. "It was my first experience with the Communist Party, and the Party spared my life. I was moved."

In nearby Fushan, at the Administrative House for War Criminals to which they were sent, the prisoners discovered that all their needs were attended to, including health inspection and medical care. They were amazed at the kindness they were shown, by the absence even of "rough words." They were particularly astounded because they knew how cruelly the Japanese and the

Man
with

Re-

Pu
stud
imp
the
free
ship
inte
reco
"

tud
mer
righ
A

req
own
sur
to
nep
clo
"

ma
hol
ope
saie
and
am

V
fro
tol
Yi
the
vic

he
da
ni
re
fo

ta
th
th
bo

Manchu people had dealt in the past with Communist captives.

Re-education Begins

Pu Yi told us that the prisoners studied China's past of feudal and imperialist oppression, learned of the people's long uphill struggle for freedom, and of Communist leadership and self-sacrifice. They became intellectually convinced that China's reconstruction was in good hands.

"But still I had no correct attitude toward physical labor," the former emperor told us in his forthright way.

At that time, the prisoners were required merely to attend to their own personal needs, but Pu Yi, still surrounded by his retinue, continued to expect and to receive service. His nephew and others would mend his clothes, make his bed, serve his food.

"I was like the proverbial rich man who knows enough only to hold out his arms to be dressed and open his mouth to be fed," Pu Yi said, demonstrating this behavior, and he appeared to relish our amusement.

When later Pu Yi was separated from his retinue, a prison official told his new roommates that "Pu Yi is not in good health," and asked them to help him with personal services to which he was unaccustomed.

Pu Yi was surprised to learn that he was unwell, but gradually it dawned on him that the Communists use no compulsory method to remold a man; they wait patiently for him to remold himself.

How earnestly they try to facilitate this process he discovered when they sought to persuade his wife—the child bride with whom he had been provided during the puppet

Manchu period—not to press for divorce, lest she disturb his re-education. (She remained adamant, however, and an amicable divorce was granted in 1956.)

"Step by step," he said, "I came to realize what crimes I had committed. I came to see the truth from study, and also from facts, for the state spent large sums to take us on visits to all parts of the country where we saw rural people's communes, factories, water conservancy projects, exhibitions. We met ordinary people and saw how they lived. We could see that there was no longer special privilege for a few while the many lived poorly; now the living standards of all are being raised gradually. We were impressed by the many things, formerly imported, which China can now produce. We could see that through labor China is bound to emerge from its age-old poverty and to become a prosperous nation."

Meanwhile the prisoners were able to correspond with and see family members, and Pu Yi felt freer than when he "ruled" under Japanese restraint.

"Gradually I started to love labor," he said, and we could tell by the pride in his voice and demeanor that he was not simply mouthing an empty phrase. "We were moved by the example set by the employees at the Administrative House. The director even went into the kitchen to prepare food for us, for the war criminals. We began to realize that labor was a privilege, that it was an honor to take part in socialist construction."

Pu Yi started by cleaning his own room. Later he began to grow hot-house vegetables. He, who in

the past had had no scientific knowledge whatsoever, even undertook to learn and practice some elements of Chinese traditional medicine. His appetite increased. His health improved.

"The Communist Party has helped me to become healthy in body and mind," he asserted earnestly. "While once I had criminal ideas against my people and my motherland, now I love them. The Party and Chairman Mao have granted me a new life. This I'll never forget."

A Working Man

Recently there was a general amnesty, and Pu Yi became "an ordinary citizen along with 650 million other Chinese."

We had heard from others what a stir was created by this particular citizen when he first arrived in Peking. He had gone "sight-seeing" in the Forbidden City, now a museum, and an old retainer, recognizing the former emperor, had prostrated himself from long-ingrained habit. Onlookers could see that Pu Yi was upset and embarrassed as he drew the old man upright and demonstrated that he was not an emperor, but a comrade.

Then Pu Yi had reported for duty at his local street committee. Upon learning that the current campaign involved street-sweeping, he obtained a broom and set to work. Finally the street committee had to advise him to desist: too many people were dropping everything to come and watch the former emperor perform so humble a task. A traffic problem had been created!

Gradually his fellow citizens have grown accustomed to having the former emperor in their midst, and nowadays he travels unobtrusively by bus several times a month to visit his six younger sisters, all of whom, he said, work happily in Peking. Last October, during the municipal elections, he cast his first vote.

"This is the most glorious time of my life," he said seriously. "The first half of my life is dead. I'm very proud to be a voting citizen of the new China."

So this was the one-time emperor, now a botanist, a useful worker. He lives just four miles from the Summer Palace where his predecessors once dwelt in silken luxury, but it is obvious that he would not trade his hard work for their pompous idleness.

SECOND MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

THE SECOND MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL is to be held in Moscow July 9-23. Organized by the Ministry of Culture of the USSR together with the Union of the Cinematographers of the USSR under the motto "For Humanism in Cinema Art, for Peace and Friendship Among Nations," the festival is open to all countries.

There will be a Grand Prize for the best full-length feature film; three Gold Prizes for full-length feature films of outstanding artistic distinction; and Silver Prizes for the best: documentary short subject, popular science, cartoon, puppet film, children's film, screenplay, direction, photography, best actress, best actor, art director, music.

Information about the festival may be obtained by writing to the following address: Organization Committee of the International Film Festival, 13 Vassilievskaya Street, Moscow, USSR. The cable address is: Kinofestival, Moscow.

Bed-Time Story

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

ANY philologist or linguist who plans to visit Moscow in pursuance of his studies would be well advised to bring with him a tape-recorder and to arrange for a session with a friend of mine, Mary M. (full name and address on request).

Mary M. has an intimate knowledge of certain ramifications of the Russian language which are not, I think, properly explored even in post-graduate studies. Her special field is onomatopoeia (or echoics or sound-imitating words, whichever you prefer) but it would be unwise to involve her in any argument about the alleged echoic origin of human speech, whether it be from natural sounds (as in the Bow-wow Theory), or from primitive ejaculations (as in the Pooh-pooh Theory), or from the phonetic expression of mental impressions (as in the Ding-dong Theory).

As you will see later, Mary M. would reject the very names of these theories, but she would reject them as distortions of reality and not as pure inventions of mine. (You are, of course, entitled to treat them as inventions, but please consult Webster or any good dictionary before you make any bets about it.) In any case, Mary M. is a linguist more than a linguisticist and, what with one thing and another, there isn't

much time for philosophical controversy in the busy, bi-lingual life of a girl who, at the moment of writing, gives her age as six—next-birthday.

When she is at home with her parents, Mary (like all the hundreds of children in Moscow's foreign colony of diplomats and correspondents) uses her mother tongue, English, except when she has to act as interpreter for her less-gifted parents. But she is much more at home in the language of her nanny, her kindergarten and her playmates in the Russian-style garden-courtyard that her house overlooks. When any visitor comments on her fluency in both languages her parents shake their heads in sad bewilderment.

When I stated in a recent article, "The Russians refuse to call a spade a spade; for some reasons of their own they call it a *zastup*," I thought no more need be said to show how utterly un-English the Russians can be when they really try; but the other evening when I was trying to tell Mary a bedtime story she made it clear that I had fallen far short of the whole truth. Perhaps it was my own fault for peppering the story with words in the bowwow-pooh-pooh-dingdong range (in which her Russian bias is especially strong) but she forced me to a conclusion which may have enough philological significance to deserve a paragraph to itself.

In Russia even the animals and inanimate objects are not allowed to make the kind of noises we Anglo-Saxons *hear* them make.

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

At any command performance—and this was one—you don't expect to be sniped at from the royal box or howdah unless you are, say, a mother-rhinoceros taking baby for a walk, but in this bedtime story (casting director, Mary M.) the Little Princess and her Nice Uncle had gone only half a verst along the well-trodden Path Through the Forest when the first interruption came, as if to prove to the unversed that the first verst is the worst. Doubling the parts of Nice Uncle and narrator, I heard, or thought I heard, a woodpecker tap-tap-tapping on a tree-trunk and—

"But, Uncle, *everybody* knows that a woodpecker goes stook-stook—just like the post-girl at the door when she can't make our bell go dzing-dzing-dzing. *Nothing* goes tap-tap-tap but you say 'Top-top-top!' when you're telling a baby how to walk but bird-babies don't walk, they fly and it wasn't wood-cutters we saw but charcoal-burners and when do we get to the Enchanted Pond?"

I pointed out that our voices, or one of them, had disturbed the stook-stooker and now he was flying over our heads, his wings going flap-flap—sorry! going khlop-khlop-khlop, the "kh" (written "x" in Russian, just to be different) having the exact phonetic value of the "ch" one can hear in Auchtermuchty but not in Chichester.

The Enchanted Pond has, of course, to be approached on tiptoe, but what did silly Nice Uncle go and do but step on some dried twigs that went crack-crack under his clumsy feet.

"Oh, Uncle" (The parentheses are getting out of hand but it would

be remiss of me not to explain here that Mary's "Uncle" is the normal Russian form of address by a child to an adult.) "Oh, Uncle! You've gone and scared all the frogs and one of them is an Enchanted Prince and now they're all going shlop-shlop-shlop into the water and anyhow the twigs went shchol'k-shchol'k not crack-crack for that's more like the noise a duck makes," (the Russian language does not allow man or beast to make our simple "qu" sound) "and *everybody* knows there's only swans on the Enchanted Pond and when do we get to the Charcoal-Burners Hut and *anyhow* why do they burn charcoal—to make a nice bonfire or to keep themselves warm? I think it's silly."

We agreed on that point at least but the trigger-finger in the howdah became happy again when the charcoal-burner's dog (he wasn't the target) came running out to greet us, wagging his tail and, as I in my innocence expressed it, bow-wow-ing merrily. The Bow-wow Theory was brought down in flames. . . .

"Uncle! Why don't you *listen* to a dog when he speaks? Who ever heard a dog say 'Bow-wow'? He says 'Guff-guff!' or 'Tyuff-tyuff!'. And, of course 'Um-um!'. *Every* dog says 'Um-um!' They" (she meant the children, not the dogs) "learn that in the first year of our kindergarten."

(I must, regretfully, insert a couple of phonetic notes here. (1) The vowel-sound I have written as "u" is in each case written as "a" in Russian, the u-lessness of which does not, to my mind, excuse the Russians' deliberate refusal to distinguish either in speech or in writing between, say, a charcoal-burner's hut and his hat. (2) Where I

have
write
lish-s
"vee,
third
W
Ono
when
very
burn
to m
talk
was
rath
tion
ferre
brok
brea
ture
laps
N
way
and
com
wer
("T
The
tha
wer
chi
kar
the
pee
pin
bo
ing
bu
pel
abl
lap
ly-
mo
ko
mu
by
wa

have written "ff" a Russian would write "b" which, to confuse English-speakers, is usually pronounced "vee," and to crown it all, is given third place in the Russian ABC.)

When we reached the hut itself Onomatopoeia raised her ugly head wherever we turned. True, Mary very graciously allowed the charcoal-burners' cow to moo and their cat to miaow; there was also some table-talk about nyum-nyum although it was a maternal invitation to eat rather than an infantile appreciation of a delicacy, and "khrust" referred not to the crust one of us broke but to the noise it made when breaking. But there the whole structure of rational nomenclature collapsed with a crash, or trakh.

Night was drawing in (as it always should in a bedtime story) and the quails, with their incredible command of Standard Russian, were calling "Spat-pora! Spat-pora!" ("Time to sleep! Time to sleep!!"). The owls, more gutturally articulate than any English bird, beast or man, were ookh-ookhing, the sparrows chirrik-chirriking, the crows karrarring, the black sheep beh-behing, the geese ga-gaing, the mice peeskeesking, the raindrops kap-kapping, the babbling brook boolk-boolking, the charcoal-burner sneezing "Apchkhee! Apchkhee! drowsily but with perfect control of his pchkh's, and the cat, now comfortably settled on the Little Princess's lap, was purring itself to sleep, *koorly-moorly*, *koorly-moorly*, *koorly-moorly*!

I found that this *koorly-moorly*, *koorly-moorly*, repeated slowly, is much more effective than any lullaby (or by-you-by) but it works both ways.

"Wake up, Uncle! Tell me just a choot-choot" (a teeny-weeny bit) "about the Horse and I'll go to sleep."

To cut a long story short, we heard in the distance the horse neighing, "Ee-go-go!", then his hooves clip-clipping (or tsok-tsok-ing) on the bridge over the bookling brook, and then the driver's "Whoa!" (revised by Mary to "Tprool", not to be confused with "Tprooah!", a child's demand to be taken for a walk). The cart was unloaded, the horse munched or khroop-khrooped at some hay and then, off again into the well-known gathering darkness—"Gee—" (or, if you like, "Giddy—") "up!"

"No!"

"But, Mary, have a heart! *Spat-pora*! Time to sleep! If 'Gee-up' or 'Giddy-up' is wrong, tell me what I should say."

"No!"

I pleaded, I argued, I humbly admitted that gee-up or giddy-up was silly (Mary's all-purpose word of condemnation) but the response was always the same except that, to the alarm of her parents, its decibels kept increasing. Finally I beseeched:

"Please, Mary darling, tell me calmly and quietly what you say to a horse to make him go."

"But, Uncle, I keep telling you. It's 'No.'"

ALTHOUGH the last of them nearly broke the camel's back I feel that these philological straws in the wind shed a light (or blaze a trail or point a finger or ring a bell) to help one understand how incurably Russian are the Russians. Home, Ivan, and—No! No!—don't spare the horses.

The Leipzig Fair

*Two articles on the fair this Spring
in the German Democratic Republic*

I

The following excerpts are from an article that appeared in the London Sunday Dispatch, March 12, by Lord Robert Boothby, Conservative member of the House of Lords.

I HAVE just been to the Leipzig spring fair, and I have come back in a rage. I had been told that it was the greatest exhibition of its kind in the world, a shop-window for the whole of the Orient and Africa.

And I did not believe it. Now I know that this is true. We have had an unparalleled opportunity of displaying our goods and expanding our trade, which our industrialists have mercifully seized with both hands.

But the Government have had nothing to do with it. Why? Because they will not face the facts of life and the realities of the German situation.

It's the old, old story.

Imagine my surprise when I discovered that there were no direct British European Airways flights to Leipzig. Sabena, yes. KLM, yes. But no BEA.

In voluble indignation, I asked why transport facilities were being denied to British industrialists for an export drive the value of which could hardly be disputed.

The answer was simple. BEA had wanted to put on a daily service

to Leipzig during the fair and had been told by the Government to "lay off" for fear of offending the West Germans.

Fortunately our industrialists were not so chicken-livered.

In face of all the obstacles the Board of Trade could devise, and bucketsful of bureaucratic cold water, they put up a magnificent show.

That steel hall made one feel proud to be British.

Then came the moaning and groaning. Not from the politicians, but from those who are alleged to be taking big money in commissions, from such trade as we can manage to do with East Germany, and through Leipzig—with the "uncommitted" world.

From the representatives of every single British firm I spoke to, without exception.

By and large the Government have been refusing visas to the East Germans who wished to come to this country to see what we could do and to place orders.

And, in the comparatively rare cases when visas have been granted, they have been prefixed with the insulting stamp "presumed to be German."

As a result, our own industrialists have been obliged to fight their way into East Germany as best they could, and negotiate on the spot.

"How come?" I asked. The answer was unequivocal. Pressure from the

West German Government, in Bonn, was the unanimous reply.

When they had their trade dispute with the East Germans last year, they ordered us to put an equivalent clamp on our own trade with East Germany. And the Board of Trade meekly complied.

This is not the end of the story. As soon as the Bonn Government thought they had got us out of the light, they started up again.

The activities of Herr Beitz, the brilliant manager of Krupp's, have been incessant in Eastern Europe.

At moments when it is thought politic to do so, they have been disowned by the Federal German Government. But he soon pops up again.

And there were no fewer than 1,217 exhibitors from West Germany at the Leipzig Fair.

The object of this exercise is clear enough. The West German Government are determined, if they can, to maintain economic control over East Germany.

Their representatives meet those of the East German Government in Berlin every week.

At the same time Dr. von Brentano, the Foreign Minister of the Federal West German Republic, insists that East Germany doesn't exist and the British Foreign Office agrees.

It is high time this nonsense was ended.

I think the time has come to face the fact that there are two Germanys.

And when I think of what a united Germany has done to this country, and to European civilization, in this 20th century, I cannot cry myself to sleep over it.

Hitler did not start in Leipzig or in Dresden. He started in Munich and moved North to Berlin.

I saw no sign of abject poverty [in East Germany]. On the contrary, the children—always the acid test—were obviously well fed, well shod and happy.

Moreover, the East German Government has accepted the Oder-Neisse Frontier with Poland and the West German Government has not.

It is my firm conviction that, in present circumstances, a reunited Germany would be the gravest of all menaces to world peace.

To pretend, as we do, that East Germany does not exist, is almost as idiotic as to pretend that the Government of China is in Formosa.

II

The following article, reprinted through the courtesy of the German Democratic Report, is by Allan Mann.

TWICE a year the city of Leipzig, otherwise a hard-working, rather pleasant but not very exciting place, becomes a beehive of intense activity; its streets are choked with cars and its pavements, restaurants and sparse nightclubs are over-filled with visitors in all costumes and speaking all languages.

Every March and September the Leipzig Fair makes the city a center of world trade interest. In the autumn attention is on consumer goods, in the spring both consumer goods and heavy industry are represented.

The people of Leipzig love their fairs, even though trams, and just

about everything else are jammed. One main reason is that there is an interesting global atmosphere during the seven to ten days when the fair halls are opened; but there are other more material reasons as well.

Even under socialism, no one is averse to earning some extra money, and thousands of Leipzigers do just that. They rent out their extra rooms, they use their old jalopy as an "auxiliary taxi," or they work in a wide variety of jobs ranging from night watchman and cleaning woman to interpreter.

Geographically, the fair is in two parts. In the center of the city are the consumer goods exhibits, housed in buildings with many arcades, galleries and traditions reaching back to the medieval fairs here in Leipzig at the crossroads of the main east-west and north-south trade routes. There are the special buildings for furniture, sports articles, shoes, musical instruments, sewing machines, foods, porcelain and glassware and many other articles. The two main centers of interest here are the big building featuring clothing of all kinds and the book exhibits, which now fill one major building and two annexes and are still growing.

About two-thirds of the exhibits in these buildings are filled by the firms of the GDR (most of them publicly-owned, of course). But scattered between them are a wide assortment of stands with products from West Germany, West Berlin and almost all countries of the world.

The fair grounds, where the other part of the exhibits are located, is more on the outskirts of this city of 600,000. Here is where the locomo-

tives, the huge cranes, the cars, harvesters and the heavy machinery are located.

And this is also where the different national exhibits are located. Some, like the Soviet Union, Britain, India, and Czechoslovakia have big buildings of their own; others have one section, or in the case of a few newcomers from non-industrial countries, only a little niche, where they show some of the fruits, handicrafts or other products of their country.

Beside the national exhibits there are also buildings reserved for different heavy industries — mining, chemicals, electricity, aircraft and so forth. And between and in the buildings are the milling throngs of people, walking, waiting in short queues for sausage, ice cream or a seat in a restaurant, watching demonstrations of a crane, a potato harvester, a model whaleboat or some other equipment, and collecting the thousands of brochures, leaflets, booklets and prospectives handed out by the different firms from near and far.

Although there is an age minimum of fourteen years for entrance to the fair, a swarm of suspiciously younger-looking boys always seem to find their way in somehow, and they are naturally experts in collecting the free material. I saw some triumphant boys with piles of literature they could hardly lift up into the tram.

The main business of the fair naturally takes places behind closed doors, or in the little cabins belonging to each stand, where the firm representative talks to his prospective trade partner over a cup of coffee or a glass of cognac. A small

deal between two firms may be at stake, or it may be a million dollar contract for a new factory or a year's supply of oranges. A great deal of the trade done during the fair is with the German Democratic Republic, which uses the opportunity to sell its commodities abroad, but there are all sorts of business negotiations between other countries which do not involve the GDR.

The main reason for the importance of the Leipzig Fairs is that they are the best chance for trade and business people from East and West to meet, see each other's wares and make or prepare trade deals.

At the fair this year there were over 9,000 exhibitors from 51 countries, plus about 50,000 visitors from 90 foreign countries, West Germany and West Berlin. But as ever, the bulk of the crowds who filled the fair buildings came from all parts of the GDR—580,000 of them within ten days; they included cooperative

farmers, students, old-age pensioners, professors and huge numbers of workers, sent with expenses paid by their factories.

The idea is to encourage the achievement of world-wide quality and technology standards for GDR products, and the fair is just the place for this if you are expert enough to know the difference between one type of motor or machine and the other.

So everybody benefits. Leipzig gets an international atmosphere for ten days, its citizens also make a little extra money, the visitors from all over the country get a chance to compare their work with products made in all other countries, and most important of all, peaceful trade relations between eastern and western countries are increased and strengthened. For all these reasons, the Leipzig Fairs are getting bigger and more successful every year.

ISRAEL EPSTEIN SPEAKS FROM PEKING

THIS IS ISRAEL EPSTEIN speaking from Peking—not Peiping, by the way—in China; the only China there is. It's a good many years since I last had the pleasure of directly addressing an audience in the United States, and it's doubly pleasant to do so on this occasion—the 25th anniversary of Jessica Smith's editorship of *New World Review*.

The survival of the magazine itself is quite an achievement. It survived because the *New World Review* believes in the new world, and what is new doesn't die. What dies is the old. Remember Collier's magazine? Ten years ago it predicted atomic death for the entire new world, but what died was Collier's, not with a bang, but just like that—pouff!

As they say in China, Collier's looked tough, but it was a paper tiger, and all the organs of misinformation and all the old, selfish, decaying interests they serve, great though the noise they make, are paper tigers too.

But the *New World Review* is a flesh and blood tiger, with a fighting heart. It will live and grow because the new world will live and grow, and the people's desire to know the truth will live and grow—not very soon perhaps, but in not too long a time certainly. It will grow big as a tiger must. It will grow from a little magazine into a large one, and as a tiger is apt to, it's bound to acquire stripes and marking, pictures, and colors, because they too are needed to tell the people the facts.

From a taped speech sent to the anniversary dinner for Jessica Smith.

"The Earth is Beautiful"

Yuri Gagarin's speech at Press Conference,

Moscow, April 16

MANY people are interested in my biography. I have read in the papers that some idle persons in the United States, distant relatives of the Princes Gagarin, claim that I am some descendant of theirs. I must disappoint them. I think it was very foolish of them. I am an ordinary Soviet person.

I was born on March 9, 1934, into the family of a collective farmer. My birthplace is Smolensk Region. I have no princes in my genealogy. My parents were poor peasants before the Revolution. The elder generation of my family, my grandfather and grandmother, were also poor peasants and there were never any princes in our family. So I must disappoint my self-styled relatives in America.

I studied at school, then at a trade school in Lyubertsy, Moscow Region. Then I entered a foundry technical school in Saratov. But my old dream was to become a flier. When I finished the technicum in 1955 I simultaneously finished the Saratov aviation club. After that I was accepted in the Orenburg Air Force School, which I finished in 1957 with the qualification of fighter pilot. I served in a unit of the Soviet Armed Forces.

At my urgent request I was accepted as one of the candidates for the Soviet space program. I passed the tests and, as you see, have become a space pilot. I went through the training program drawn up by our sci-

entists. The President of the Academy of Sciences has described it in detail. The training was successful, I studied the machines and equipment carefully, and was ready for space flight.

I am very happy and boundlessly grateful to our Party and our government for entrusting this flight to me. I carried it out in the name of our country, in the name of the heroic Soviet people, in the name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee.

I felt very well before the flight, I was fully confident of its successful outcome. Our machines and equipment are very reliable and I and all my comrades, the scientists, engineers and technicians, never doubted the success of the undertaking.

During the flight I also felt fine.

In the boost stage for orbiting the excess loads, vibration, noise and other factors of space flight did not act on me oppressively. I was able to work fruitfully according to the program of the flight.

After orbiting, when the carrier rocket was separated, weightlessness appeared. At first the sensation was rather unusual, even though before I had been subjected to brief spells of zero-gravity. But I soon grew accustomed to the strange state, adjusted myself to it and continued to carry out the program. In my own subjective opinion, weightlessness does not affect the working ability

of the body or its physiological processes.

Through the whole period of the flight I conducted fruitful work according to the set program. In flight I ate and drank, I maintained constant radio communication with the earth through several channels, both by radio-telephone and telegraph, observed the environment, looked after the work of space ship's equipment, reported to the earth and recorded my observations and other information in the log journal and on magnetic tape. I felt well and worked normally during the whole period of weightlessness.

Then the command for descent was given according to the flight program. The vehicle was properly oriented in space, the braking system was switched on and the speed dropped. I returned to earth and was happy to meet our Soviet people. The landing took place in the designated area.

The earth can be seen very well from the height of 175-300 kilometers. It is very beautiful.

The earth's surface looks much like we see it when flying jet planes at high altitudes. Big mountain ranges, big rivers, big forests, shorelines and islands can be seen clearly. Clouds covering the earth and their shadows can be observed very well. The sky is pitch-black. The stars look brighter and clearer against the background. The earth is surrounded by a blue halo. It can be observed very well in the direction of the horizon. The color of the sky merges very gradually and beautifully from a delicate light-blue, through ultramarine, dark-blue, and violet, and finally into inky-black.

On emerging from the shadow,

the sun shone through the earth's atmosphere and the halo was of a somewhat different color. At the very horizon, close to the surface, it was of a bright-orange which then passed through all the colors of the rainbow to ultramarine, blue, violet and black.

The entrance into the earth's shadow is very rapid. It grows dark at once and nothing can be seen. Probably the vehicle was passing over the ocean at that moment. If it was passing over big cities I would probably have seen their lights. The stars shine very brightly.

The emergence from the earth's shadow was also very rapid and sudden.

As I was specially trained, I endured the effects of space flight very well. At present I feel fine.

I am very grateful to our Soviet designers, engineers and technicians, to the whole Soviet working people, who created that wonderful ship *Vostok*, its wonderful equipment, the powerful carrier rocket which orbited such an enormous ship.

I am boundlessly happy that my beloved Motherland is the first in the history of mankind to penetrate into outer space. The first airplane, the first sputnik, the first space ship and the first manned flight in space are all milestones of my country's great road towards mastery over the mysteries of nature. Our people are being guided confidently towards this goal by the Leninist Communist Party.

At every step of my life and work, at the trade school, the industrial technicum, the aviation club and the Air Force school, I constantly felt the solicitude and care of the Party whose member I am.

I should like to note especially the loving, human concern displayed in the Soviet Union towards ordinary people on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of the Soviet Government, and our beloved Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. Only a few minutes after landing on our Soviet soil I received a heartfelt telegram of congratulations from Nikita Sergeyevich, his congratulations on the successful completion of the space flight. We have dedicated our flight to the heroic Soviet people, our Government, our own Communist Party and its 22nd Congress.

We think of flying often and look forward confidently to the real conquest of outer space. We always rejoice at the achievements scored by other countries in the development of science and we shall be happy to welcome the cosmonauts of other nations in outer space and wish them success in the peaceful exploration of space.

Our desire is to cooperate with them in the peaceful use of outer space.

Personally I want to fly a lot in outer space. I liked it. I want to fly to Venus, to Mars, to do some real flying.

PAUL ROBESON WRITES TO YURI GAGARIN

I AM OVER 60, but I have grown younger, Yuri Gagarin, after hearing of your unparalleled exploit! Allow me to embrace you, to press you to my heart and congratulate you on behalf of the whole of progressive America on the first successful trip into space. I am sure that you will do much more, my young friend and glorious son of your socialist fatherland.

Yuri Gagarin has become a hero not only of the Soviet land but a hero of the whole of humanity as well.

What stupendous achievements must have been scored by Soviet science and the whole Soviet people if one fine spring day a mighty vehicle could soar into the cosmic ocean and land exactly in a designated area! I listened tensely to the broadcasts of Radio Moscow and felt that my health, which has been worrying me, was improving every minute.

The space vehicle of Soviet progress has been called "Vostok" (East). This is truly symbolic! It indicates the colossal achievements of that part of the globe which has been called the East, in the first place, the heart of that East, the Soviet Union. The West has received one more confirmation of the strength and might of the Soviet state. But this has been done solely for peaceful purposes, for the development of science and knowledge, this has been done at a time when the Soviet Union again and again calls for complete disarmament. The West must finally heed this voice!

Today as never before East and West should sit down at a round table and come to terms on everything. We know that there are no such things, no such scientific discoveries of which the Soviet people would not be capable. This is shown convincingly by the exploit of the Soviet people and its glorious son, Yuri Gagarin, performed on April 12, 1961.

Dear hero, allow our whole family, now in Moscow, to embrace you once again.

From Pravda's special edition, April 12

Hungarian Trade Unions

A report by the ILWU DELEGATION

We are indebted to The Dispatcher, the official newspaper of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, for permission to publish this slightly abridged report on Hungary by three ILWU delegates who also visited Israel, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The delegates were Sidney London of Local 26, Los Angeles, chairman; James Forkan of Local 40, Portland; and Joseph Kawamura of Local 142, Honolulu..

WE ARRIVED in Budapest on August 6, 1960, and were met at the airport by representatives of the Hungarian Transport Workers Union. After depositing our luggage in our hotel, we were driven to the headquarters of the union and welcomed by the president and general secretary as well as several local leaders of the union.

Sitting around a table decked with fresh fruit, cookies and wine, we exchanged greetings and discussed the purpose of our visit. Alodor Foldvari, secretary general of the union told us that we were the first trade union delegation from the U.S. in many years, and the membership as well as the leadership were very pleased that American unionists were visiting their country. They hoped that this would be the beginning of many such exchanges.

In order to provide some background for our questions about life in Hungary, Brother Foldvari gave us a brief history of modern Hun-

gary. He pointed out that until 1945, Hungary was a semi-feudal, under-developed nation. This was the result of conquest by the Turks and the Hapsburgs, and the devastation of two World Wars. Hungary had the dubious distinction of being the first nation to embark on the path of fascism under the dictatorship of Admiral Horthy.

It followed, therefore, that Hungary was allied with the Axis in World War II. During this period, the Nazis robbed the country of its food reserves, dismantled its machinery and stripped the nation of its natural wealth. In retreat, the Nazi armies blew up bridges, Allied bombs wreaked vast destruction, and the country became a battleground between the Soviet and German armies. The country was left prostrate by the war.

After liberation in 1945, land was divided among the peasants. This included many landless peasants who had been forced off the land by the policies of the Horthy regime and were given occasional work for subsistence pay. After the war, food was supplied by the Soviet Union, bridges were rebuilt and some factories were restored.

In the elections of 1948 the Communists together with the Socialists and left wing of the Small Landholders Party received a majority of the votes cast and formed a new government. Inflation was halted, currency stabilized and enough food produced to begin gradually

raising the standard of living. Many union leaders at that time were Communists and they supported the steps by the government in the direction of socialism.

The 1956 Uprising

Foldvari expressed the opinion that although things were much better now than they were several years ago, that the external danger of fascism still existed (from West Germany). He also told us that we would probably meet people who were opposed to socialism, but he thought that many of these people would change their political views as life grew better for everybody.

In response to our questions about the occurrences in 1956, he stated that the government had made mistakes in promoting a program of too rapid industrialization which caused much belt-tightening among workers. Living standards remained at the 1938 level, and there was dissatisfaction with many methods employed to achieve the development of heavy industry.

The students' demonstration of October 23, 1956, was well-meaning and honest in its demands, but armed counter-revolutionaries began shooting, and were supported by former landholders, industrialists, native and Austrian fascists who had infiltrated the country in preparation of a well-organized revolt.

Foldvari placed major responsibility for the situation on Imre Nagy, former premier and Communist party leader for plotting with reactionary elements to overthrow the government and restore capitalist rule. He claimed that Nagy refused to act firmly against the

counter-revolutionaries, and in the meantime Communists, union leaders, pension leaders and others associated with policies of the Communist-led government were being shot on sight by roving bands of fascist-led elements.

In reply to several other questions at another time on the same subject, we were told that many workers merely stayed home during this period, not taking one side or another. Some workers joined the revolt, but most workers stayed on the sidelines. The Hungarian People's army was ineffective because "some of its key leaders were part of the plot to overthrow the government and refused to give correct orders to their troops." The Communist Party itself was split on top and immobilized in the ranks.

"It is true that not everything was good in those days, but still it was much better than life under the fascist regime of Horthy," we were told.

On several other occasions, our delegation discussed the events of 1956 with other individuals whom we met. Their views varied as to the responsibility of people like Nagy (who was executed in 1958 after a public trial). But they all agreed that the revolt was made possible by the conditions imposed under the regime of Rakosi.

According to statements made to us by a variety of individuals during our travels in Hungary, life has improved a great deal since 1956. The standard of living is higher, large-scale housing projects are being built, more clothing is available and food is plentiful. On one occasion, a taxi driver was openly hostile towards the present regime, and told

us he was not afraid to speak that way even though he hardly knew us. On another occasion, another individual doing a responsible non-political job, was critical of certain aspects of life in Hungary today and was reluctant to speak freely on all subjects.

On the other hand, we met workers on the job who told us that they were satisfied that things were going very well. One such worker whom we met at a ship repair yard, spoke English. He told us that he had emigrated to Canada during the depression and had worked there as a railroad car repairman for 12 years. In 1948 he decided to return to his homeland, after saving enough for the expense of the trip. He said that he is now living as well, if not better, than he did in Canada, and he confidently expects conditions to improve because the system of life is such that the greater his production the more he will receive. He has a two-room home, commutes to work by train and earns 1700 florints per month. He also told us he is a Communist Party member.

Another worker standing nearby told us (through an interpreter) that he was not a Communist, but that he was in full agreement with the policies being pursued in the country at this time.

What about the life of a worker in Hungary today? It is not easy, but he lives better than he did ten years ago. Unemployment is nonexistent. In fact, there is a shortage of labor in various fields, and newspapers carry want-ads covering full pages of daily newspapers. Rent is controlled by the state except in new housing developments which have an allowance for building

costs. Food, housing, utilities, transportation and entertainment are fairly cheap. Hard goods, some items of clothing such as shoes are fairly expensive. Almost everybody has a radio, but only recently have some people been able to buy their own television sets. Many workers watch television in the workers' recreational centers that exist in every community. We visited several department stores and saw TV sets for sale in all of them.

Rest Homes and Resorts

Inasmuch as we were the guests of the Transport Workers Union, we thought it might be a good idea to find out something about it, such as membership, strength, jurisdiction, etc.

The union covers all river and sea-going ships, longshoremen, ship repair yards, navigation, on all bodies of water within the country, civil aviation, city buses and street cars, trucks under the Ministry of Transport, taxis and the foreign tourist agency. Its membership is 104,000 or 91 per cent of all eligible workers. Union membership is voluntary.

Because the activities of this union were widespread, we always discovered a direct connection between the rest homes, cultural centers, sports stadium, and many enterprises we visited and the Transport Workers Union.

On August 7, we drove to a town some 40 miles north of Budapest, called Djongdoss where we were greeted by trade union representatives and shown the Workers' Club built by voluntary labor. In the short time we were there, we were fed, toasted and asked many ques-

tions about our union and about the life of workers in the U.S. The question we heard the most (and this was our experience during our entire stay in Hungary) was one dealing with peace.

They particularly wanted to know what was being done by the American workers to guarantee that war would be forever abolished.

We told them a little about the record and history of the ILWU over the years in its campaign to insure peace and expressed our hopes that people everywhere would raise their voices and let themselves be heard on this question of life or death for mankind. They told us about their history and the fight of one 83-year-old veteran, in particular, to keep the union alive during all the years of the Horthy regime and even during the war years.

In parting they all sent warm greetings for peace and friendship to the members of ILWU.

From there we drove to a big hotel run by the Hungarian trade unions in the hills of Goyetotoe. This was a vacation resort with all kinds of sport and recreational facilities and clean, tastefully furnished rooms at very low prices to union members.

We were warmly welcomed and shown the grounds and the various parts of the building which housed nurseries for small children, a medical clinic and a dentist's office. We managed to speak to a group of vacationers who were sitting in one of the recreation rooms playing cards. We found them to be transport workers in various fields who were spending two weeks vacation at this resort.

Visit to Free Port of Budapest

On August 8 we visited the Free Port of Budapest and were greeted by a committee of workers and local union officers headed by Joseph Buyaki, secretary to the local union. The Port is located on the Danube river in a section known as Csepel island, a few kilometers from Budapest. It is accessible by railway and public roads and is the center of trade communication in Hungary. The port was built in 1920 and accommodates river and small sea-going vessels. Of the 750 workers employed in the port, 736 are members of the union.

In addition to the secretary, who is a full time officer, a Workers Committee of 42 is elected bi-annually by the various departments. They serve as liaison men between the departments and the next higher level of union leadership. If a member of this committee should be promoted to brigade leader, a special election is held to fill the vacancy.

A brigade leader performs functions similar to that of a foreman or gang boss. A worker qualifies by his efficiency and ability to get along with other workers. He is appointed by management and is responsible for the proper performance of the work and for the maintenance of safety conditions on the job. Brigade leaders and union representatives work closely together and attempt to settle all grievances. Unsettled grievances go to the secretary of the union.

The enterprise belongs to the state which appoints a director and two deputies through the Ministry of Transport. Periodic production meetings are called by management and attended by all of the workers in a department and the union committee. A report is made on the results of the work for a given period. During the week preceding our visit such meetings were held in the port and a new five-year production plan was announced, scheduled to begin in 1961.

Workers were asked to voice criticism,

suggestions, etc. Suggestions having merit are considered by management and the union and put into practice. As an example, at the meetings held to discuss the new five-year plan, it was reported that 1,000 florints surplus remained in the fund for work gloves. It was therefore suggested and decided that the funds should be used for more frequent replacement of gloves.

As a part of the coming five-year plan, the port workers hope to achieve a six-hour day. They now work eight hours a day, six days a week. The port works three shifts a day and the men are rotated every two or three weeks. Excluded from rotation are certain specialists who work days only.

Wage Rate Explained

Later, the same day, we visited a ship repair yard which began operations in 1914 and has recently expanded its activities to include new ship construction. This yard employs 1,000 workers and the plant management as well as the union leadership are mostly young people. Here, too, all work is being performed under a national five-year plan which has already been overfulfilled by the workers in this enterprise, because, as it was told to us, the workers are determined to acquire more modern machinery and install labor-saving devices.

All plans coming down to the ship level must in turn be finally approved by the National Planning Department. Although most workers work 48 hours a week, those performing hazardous or very uncomfortable work, labor 42 hours a week. Overtime is an exception rather than the rule. However, should overtime be required beyond the eight-hour day, the worker receives 25 per cent premium pay for the first two hours, 50 per cent for the next two hours, and 100 per cent for any hours worked over that.

There are seventeen departments in this enterprise, and therefore seventeen such committees. There has been no general across-the-board wage increase

since 1957. Only the national government has the power to decide this.

It is therefore possible for two workers doing the same work to receive different rates of pay. We were told, in answer to a question, that usually no animosity is present in such a situation, because the one receiving the lower rate of pay understands that the higher paid worker is a better worker, or has more seniority or has had special training.

Mechanization Not Feared

On August 9 and 10 we spent time in the Lake Balaton area. We visited the city of Stalinvorosh for a few hours. (Vorosh is the Hungarian word for city.) This city was started ten years ago in an area that contained one small village consisting of a few hundred people. It has just celebrated its tenth anniversary and is considered the model city in Hungary. It has heavy industry, is well planned with wide streets and modern apartment housing and a number of hotels, theaters and workers' clubs. Population is about 38,000 and the people who live there are mainly those who helped to build the city from the ground up.

On August 11 we were invited to visit the building of the Hungarian Navigation Company. We were met there by representatives of the company and union representatives. After exchange of greetings, we plunged into a discussion on mechanization. In response to our questions, we were informed that widespread discussion is taking place right now on the problems of containerization and mechanization, particularly with regard to loading and unloading. Some river ports are well equipped, others are not. The goal is to mechanize everything by 1963. Plans call for floating cranes, conveyors from ship to dock and bulk loaders for bulk cargo. As for containers, a survey is now being conducted as to a practical size both for ship and rail. A mutual committee representing various socialist countries is planning to discuss the entire matter of automation and

make recommendations for its utilization between the states involved.

When we asked "What happens to a worker who is replaced by a machine?" we were told that there is such a shortage of labor in the country that the worker will be given another job elsewhere at the same or better pay.

At the Hungarian Navigation Company, the union office is located in the same building. There are three full time officers elected by the membership and paid by the union.

Following our visit to the navigation company building we were invited to be their guests on a cruise up the Danube River. During our short voyage on the Danube we discussed the role of the Workers' Councils that exist in many industries but not as a rule in most of transport.

In industries where such bodies exist, they are elected every two years. Duties of the councils include examination of production plans, bonuses, work clothing allowances, and consultation with the director of the given enterprise over any proposed change of plans. The union committee in each plant helps the Workers' Council carry out the over-all plan. The union also has the responsibility of administering large sections of the social security program.

Asked if workers have the right to strike, we were told that they did, but it didn't make sense from their point of view inasmuch as they had a voice in the division of the profits at the end of the fiscal year. Less work means less income at the end of the year.

An organized program of education is one of the main jobs of the unions. We were conducted through one of the school buildings run by the Transport Workers Union. Part of this building is the Szot Hotel where our delegation was housed during our stay in Budapest. There are two types of courses given at this school, one lower level course lasting five months and one higher level course lasting two years. Students attending the five-month course are elected by the

workers in their enterprises. These students are on a full daily schedule and receive full pay while attending school. Their wages are paid from union funds. One per cent of all union funds are allocated for this purpose.

According to charts and figures which we examined in the headquarters of the Transport Workers Union, 85 per cent of the entire population of Hungary is covered by the social insurance. Workers contribute three per cent of their earnings toward retirement pensions. This covers part of the pension costs, the balance for this and all other benefits comes from funds allocated federally by law. Sick leave is payable from the first day of illness up to one year. All medical care is free for covered workers and their families, the sick worker is exempt from income taxes during periods of prolonged illness and he receives from 65 to 75 per cent of his basic wage depending on his seniority or length of service.

Housing Still a Problem

Adequate housing is still a serious problem in this country, as it is in many countries throughout Europe. We saw much new apartment housing going up, especially in and around Budapest. Most of these apartments were of the two-room type with kitchen, bath and entrance hall. We visited the apartment of Bela Ujveri and his family. Brother Ujveri was assigned by the Transport Workers Union to be our host during our stay and he really extended himself to make our stay as comfortable as possible, in addition to working out our schedule of meetings and visits to various industrial enterprises. His flat was modestly but adequately furnished, including a refrigerator, washing machine, television and a dining room set.

When we were visiting the Free Port of Budapest, we were invited into the two-room house of one of the workers named Somoni. He is 51 years old and expects to retire in four years at the age of 55. As a dock workers he is entitled to the lower retirement age. He showed

us his diploma from a technical training school as well as medals he had received for excellent work performance. Each medal also means an additional cash bonus for him. His house, located within walking distance of the port, had a garden of flowers and a vegetable patch on the outside. Inside, there was a bedroom, living room, kitchen and small storage room. His wife is employed in a local laundry.

In response to one of our questions, we were informed that it is hoped to solve the housing problem in Hungary by 1975 with the construction of one million new housing units.

Impressions Summed Up

We were told that there is never any resistance by workers to mechanization, because under a socialist economy, life is made easier for the worker and unemployment is no problem. We were told of the many workers who helped build factories and plants in the planned city of Stalinvorosh, and then found jobs in the very factories they built.

Unlike the Yugoslav economy, economic planning in Hungary is highly centralized, with the national government exercising control over the important industries with regard to planned production in distribution. When we asked what would happen if a particular factory did not fulfill its quota of a particular product considered important by the national planning commission,

we were given the example of the refrigerator industry. In 1958 there was a shortage of refrigerators. The federal government took special steps in the form of subsidies for the opening of new plants and thus helped guarantee the increased production of refrigerators. Now that this problem has been solved, furniture is in short supply because of a shortage of skilled furniture workers. Generally speaking, although national emphasis is still on the further development of heavy industry, other industries producing consumer goods are steadily increasing production.

Our delegation was received with great cordiality and hospitality wherever we went. Every courtesy was extended to us and the number of places and enterprises visited was limited only by our own physical endurance. Our union will be invited to send a delegation of observers to the congress of the International Federation of Port, Fishing and Transportation Workers in 1961.

Everywhere we went we were told that the Hungarian people have gone through enough wars and devastation to last them forever. They want and need peace to develop their land and seek the friendship of people everywhere. In reply to a suggestion that they send similar groups of workers' delegations to visit our country, they said that they would be most happy to do so as soon as the U.S. State Department lifted the ban on travel from Hungary to the U.S.

THE BUDAPEST INDUSTRIAL FAIR

BUDAPEST'S annual Industrial Fair will be held this year from May 19-29. Last year 60 million dollars worth of business was transacted at the Fair.

Countries which will have their own pavilions at the Fair include Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia, Morocco and the German Democratic Republic.

Among individual exhibitors who have taken space are firms from Holland, West Germany, Italy, Denmark, Canada, Switzerland and Sweden.

The individual British exhibitors this year will include makers of motor vehicles, agricultural machines, steam engines and generators, bottling machines, diesel components, textile and nylon goods, photo film and paper, scales and industrial measuring devices, and laundry equipment.

CULTURAL "SHORTAGES"

IT HAS long been the custom of American correspondents and Soviet "experts" to select a self-critical item from one of the Soviet newspapers and use it as proof of dire shortages, wide-spread inefficiencies and impending crisis in the Soviet Union.

Somehow they missed, either deliberately or otherwise, an item that appeared last summer in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the newspaper devoted to cultural matters and published by the Union of Soviet Writers. I came across the item during my visit last summer to the Soviet Union and thinking that your readers too might be interested in "shortages," I have sent along a translation.

The editors of the paper, concerned about a real shortage in the cultural field, present the problem mainly to its Komsomol (Young Communist League) members for debate and discussion. They point out that there are too few cultural workers and directors in the outlying districts—in the *soukhoses* and *kolkhozes* (state and collective farms)—of the Soviet Republics. In the Russian Federated Republic alone, they point out, there are 70,000 cultural clubs of which 66,000 are in the farming districts. To service these the universities are yearly graduating only 90 specialists with higher education and 5,000 with special cultural institute education. These graduates constitute a very small percentage of the number required.

To underline this shortage, the paper prints many letters from distant corners of the Soviet Union requesting that something be done about this situation. I have chosen one of these letters that I thought would appeal to your readers because of its humorous tone and bluntness of speech.

*Dr. Jacob Levenson
New York City*

Editor, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*:

TODAY is a very happy day for me. I received the diploma of "Master of Agricultural Science." But of course most of our specialists in the kolkhoz have a higher education. These days this is not surprising at all.

But a leader of cultural life in our kolkhoz? The kind of person who understands art and music, who would be able to organize lectures on literature, and who could lead our large ensemble of folk dancing and singing, such a person, to our sorrow, we still haven't got. He still walks around in the city, breathing in gasoline fumes, and complaining that he has not yet found work to please his heart and soul.

Give him our address!

Tell him that we have several clubs and each one has a director. We have three orchestras of wind instruments and conductors for each. One of these is a student at Kishinev conservatory of music. So you see our situation is not at all bad.

But what we need—how shall I say it?—is an experienced organizer, a person of great knowledge, full of fruitful ideas, who could supervise all of our clubs. He would get a salary of 1600 rubles a month. But we warn you. Our people are sharp and demanding. They will not tolerate a guy who comes here looking for an easy spot.

It would be wonderful if a person would come to us who is young and enthusiastic, preferably married and whose wife is also a cultural worker.

We need such people who would sink their roots deep in our soil. Give him our address, please!

B. Glushko, Chairman, Kolkhoz
"Viaza Nove," Moldavian
Soviet Socialist Republic

PUBLICATIONS IN ESPERANTO

We think some of our readers will be interested in information contained in a recent letter we received from Conrad Fisher, Secretary of the Esperanto League of North America:

AT PRESENT in the socialist countries the most attractive and largest periodicals published in Esperanto are *Nuntempa Bulgario* (Modern Bulgaria), which is issued by the national publishing house in English, French, German and Spanish; *El Popola Chinio* (published in People's China), this is an independent publication; *Junularo De Bulgario* (Youth of Bulgaria); and *Vietnamio Antaŭenmarsas* (Vietnam Advances). I receive the first two regularly.

The Soviet Union Esperantists have not been able yet to bring the movement there back to its glorious magnitude of the thirties, but a mimeographed bulletin is published in the Armenian Soviet Republic, and a Soviet Union Esperanto Society is now in existence.

The Universal Esperanto Association, Rotterdam, has been receiving an increasing number of new "delegitoj" (local representatives) from all over the Soviet Union.

Here are addresses of national organizations in which readers of *New World Review* would probably be interested:

Bulgaria Esperantista Asocio, Postkesto 66, Sofia; Jugoslavia Esperanto-Federacio, Mikosiceva 7, Ljubljana, Postni predal 275—this federation comprises six groups: Kroatia Esperanto-Ligo, Esperanto-Ligo de Bosnio kaj Hercegovino, Makedonia Esperanto-Ligo, Serbia Esperanto-Ligo, Slovenia Esperanto-Ligo, Vojvedina Esperanto-Ligo; Pola Esperanto-Asocio, Nowy Swiat 27, Warszawa; Cehoslovakia Esperanto-Komitato, Bianicka 4, Praha 12; Cina Esperanto-Ligo, P.O. Kesto 77, Peking; Hungar-

landa Esperanto- Konsilantaro, pf. 147, Budapest 4; Iniciata Komitato por Esperanto en la Rumana Popla Respubliko, Postkesto 205, Bukaresti 22.

Many Esperanto students in these countries write to our organization to request correspondents in this country.

I was interested to read the article on Tolstoy in your January issue. He was a great friend of Esperanto in the early days and his article that Dr. Zamenhof (founder of the Esperanto movement) published in *La Esperantisto*, the first Esperanto periodical, caused the Russian censor to suppress it! However, soon thereafter a new and more widely distributed paper filled the need in Russia.

The address of the National Headquarters of the Esperanto League of North America is: 808 Stewart Street, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

A POLITICAL HANDBOOK

Political Handbook of The World. Walter H. Mallory, Editor. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Brothers, New York, 1961. 253 pages. \$4.50.

THIS handbook, published annually for 34 years, contains reference materials on every country of the world. It cover the names, dates of appointment and terms of office of heads of state; organizational and political compositions of the legislature; information on the political parties and cabinet members; names, political affiliations, editors and circulations of the major newspapers and data on press associations and magazines. This year's volume includes some information on the new countries of Africa. Sections on the United Nations and its organs and agencies are included.

While an occasional note of bias creeps into some of the summaries of political events relating to the Socialist countries, these are in the main factual. This is a very handy reference book.

A FREE SAMPLE FOR YOUR FRIENDS

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

NEW WORLD REVIEW

34 West 15th Street

New York 11, N. Y.

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

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

•

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

•

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

•

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

•

To _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Sender _____

Address _____

MEET THE RUSSIANS IN THE NEW CAVALCADE OF GREAT FILMS

Now in Release:

FATHERS AND SONS
A HOME FOR TANYA
THE DAY THE WAR ENDED
A DAY WITH THE RUSSIANS
THE TRAIN GOES TO KIEV

Coming:

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

Artkino Pictures, Inc.

723 Seventh Ave., New York 19

Telephone: Circle 5-6570

A NEW LOOK AT CUBA

The Challenge To Kennedy

BY

JESSE GORDON

AND

GEN. HUGH B. HESTER
U.S. ARMY (RET.)

This important and timely article that appeared in the April issue of **NWR** is now available in pamphlet form

10c A COPY
6 COPIES FOR 50c
12 COPIES FOR \$1.00

Order Through

NEW WORLD REVIEW

34 WEST 15th ST., NEW YORK 11, N.Y.