

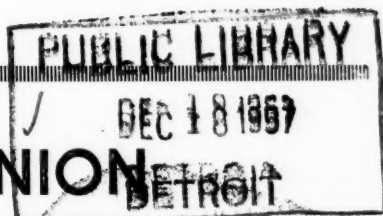
SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓

DECEMBER, 1957

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New World

REVIEW



SOVIET UNION

KHRUSHCHEV'S ANNIVERSARY REPORT

A NEW SHOSTAKOVICH SYMPHONY

Ralph Parker

CAMBODIA

THE PRINCE AND THE PEOPLE

Wilfred Burchett

CHINA

RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN

Grace Liu

POLAND

NEW LOOK IN POLISH BOOKSHOPS

Margaret Schlauch

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SPUTNIK AND PEACE

by JESSICA SMITH

SPUTNIK I AND SPUTNIK II have changed the world.

They have brought home to millions of people everywhere what a socialist society can do, what capitalist society has not yet been able to accomplish.

They have blasted the myth of Soviet backwardness, and thereby made the minds of men receptive to many other facts which have been kept from them by the ceaseless hostile propaganda of those who want only the destruction of socialism.

In the larger sense, this socialist achievement must be considered a human achievement. It shows there is no limit to the creative potentiality of the human mind when effective, all-round educational facilities are provided, as they are in the USSR, and when science in the service of man is given its proper place both in education and in society as a whole.

Therefore we must all glory in this achievement, a portent of all the limitless possibilities there are for human advancement, a challenge for a new cooperative effort by the nations of the world to pool their scientific knowledge for the welfare of mankind, instead of a divided effort for mutual destruction.

Until now it has been a question of the Socialist Soviet Union "catching up with and surpassing" the capitalist United States. Now, suddenly it is U.S. leaders who are saying "we will catch up with the Soviets." The Sputniks have o'erleapt us in space

—a demonstration that we may be o'erleapt in earthly spheres as well. They represent a peaceful accomplishment, with only the peaceful purpose of expanding man's horizons. Yet, at the same time they have dealt a fatal blow to the U.S. "positions of strength" policy based on a superiority in military weapons presumed to forestall a threat of aggression—which has never existed.

The power that threw a half-ton globe fitted with complex instruments (and a dog) into the air, and set it at an orbit which at its maximum carries it more than 900 miles from the earth which it circles at 26,240 feet per second, can also send intercontinental missiles to reach a target anywhere on earth. Thus the Soviet Union has already surpassed the United States in the rocket weapons which make obsolete a whole series of other military weapons which the United States has been piling up in its reckless arms drive.

The USSR Offers Peace

But the Soviet Union is not threatening us with these rockets. It is asking for new efforts to end the arms race, to make a start toward disarmament, to ban the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, beginning with the end of their testing, for new efforts for peaceful coexistence.

In his speech at the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution celebration in Moscow (see page 29) Nikita Khrushchev, first Secretary

of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, called for a high-level meeting of representatives of capitalist and socialist countries to find ways to abolish war and to enter upon peaceful competition for the satisfaction of human needs.

In an interview with Henry Shapiro of the *United Press* on November 15, Khrushchev pledged repeatedly that the Soviets "will never start a war." He reiterated his desire for a summit meeting as "the only way out" of the East-West impasse. He also said it would be possible for the USSR and the United States alone to settle major problems in bilateral negotiations, adding "if we two agree to relax international tensions other countries won't be offended."

Echoing the call for peace which was the first act of the new Soviet Republic on November 7, 1917, and has been consistently pursued ever since, on this November 7 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a new peace appeal to the governments and peoples of the world.

What has the Administration, which has rejected all these proposals, got to offer in the face of this great new turn in world affairs and world relationships, the magnificent new opportunities for abandoning the old policies increasingly discredited at home and all around the world?

With grace they could acclaim the new era ushered in by Sputnik—and join the human race in its great crusade for peace. America's great strength in that campaign is all that is needed for its victory. America's own great technical and scientific capacities could then be concentrated on ending hunger, poverty and disease at home and everywhere.

Where are men with wisdom, vision and concern for the human race in our government? All around them are such people pointing the way.

Americans Calls for a New Policy

During the month of November a dedicated group has been holding a "Prayer and Conscience Vigil" in Washington, calling on our government and all governments so engaged to stop the testing and production of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic weapons. Their aim is to help develop a powerful public sentiment for disarmament and ending war. A number of peace organizations are included in this vigil, including the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends Peace Committee, Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, and the War Resisters League.

How many hundreds of thousands of appeals to end nuclear weapons testing have reached the White House the American people have not been told. We know there has been a constant flow of signatures from the Quakers, Women's International League and other groups. Church groups representing tens of millions of people have called for disarmament and ending of tests.

Thousands of scientists have joined in such appeals, both here and abroad.

The November issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* printed in full the formal resolution passed by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR endorsing the findings of the historic Pugwash conference, as well as an appeal by almost 200 leading

Soviet scientists, calling for a broad international conference of scientists to discuss the question of the prevention of atomic war, the ending of nuclear weapons tests, and the creation of a secure peace.

Cyrus S. Eaton, Cleveland industrialist who was host to the Pugwash Conference, urged acceptance of the Soviet scientists' proposal in an article "Let's Meet the Soviets Half-way" published in the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 8. Stressing the frankness of Soviet scientists at the conference, he urged constant exchanges between scientists and other groups of the United States and the USSR as well as acceptance of the "desire for reaching an understanding with the Western world" that prevails in the Soviet Union. He said any conference should be held in a country where Chinese representatives could attend, calling the exclusion of them from this country "madness." He said, "It just doesn't make sense to continue this kind of armaments contest," and that, "Either we'll live together or perish together." In a leading editorial on the same day, the *Herald Tribune*, quoting the Soviet communications, declared that Mr. Eaton's thoughtful statement "should be worth the study of all Americans."

Senator Allen J. Ellender (D-La.) on November 9, returning from his third trip to the Soviet Union in recent years, called for new efforts for negotiations to achieve peaceful co-existence and scored U.S. refusal of a summit conference.

General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, in a remarkable speech on November 5, declared that the central problem of our time is "how to

employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind," specifically "in seeking an accord and compromise which will make it possible for mankind to control the atom and banish it as an instrument of war." Expressing discouragement at "our colossal indifference to this problem," he urged "unless we soon get started it may be too late." (See *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, November 18, which alone printed the full text.)

In a full-page ad in the *New York Times*, November 15, a group of distinguished and representative Americans launched an appeal to President Eisenhower to go before the United Nations and propose that nuclear test explosions, missiles and outer-space satellites be considered apart from other disarmament problems; that all nuclear test explosions be stopped immediately and that the UN then proceed with the mechanics necessary for monitoring this cessation; that missiles and outer-space satellites be brought under UN-monitored control, and that there be a pooling of world science for space exploration under the UN.

Under the heading "WE ARE FACING A DANGER UNLIKE ANY DANGER THAT HAS EVER EXISTED," the accompanying statement, (based on an editorial by Norman Cousins in *Saturday Review*, November 16) entitled first of a series, declares that a deep uneasiness exists among Americans because "we are not living up to our moral capacity in the world."

The statement calls upon America for a new dedication to peace, and a recognition "that none of the differences separating the governments of the world are as important

as the membership of all peoples in the human family."

Among the distinguished signers of the statement were: Roger N. Baldwin; Harry A. Bullis, Chairman of the Board, General Mills Corporation; Dr. Paul Doty, Chairman, Federation of American Scientists; The Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Pastor Emeritus, Riverside Church, New York; Clark Eichelberger, Director American Association for the United Nations; Harold Fey, Editor *The Christian Century*; The Right Rev. Walter H. Gray, Bishop Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut; Clinton Golden, Labor Official; John Hersey, author; Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester; Rabbi Edward E. Klein, Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, New York; Dr. Stanley Livingston, Department of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; The Rev. Robert J. McCracken, Minister, Riverside Church, New York; Lewis Mumford, author; Robert R. Nathan, National Chairman, Americans for Democratic Action; James G. Patton, President National Farmers' Union; Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary Emeritus, American Friends Service Committee; Eleanor Roosevelt; Elmo Roper, Public Opinion Analyst; James T. Shotwell, President Emeritus, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Professor of Sociology, Emeritus, Harvard University.

U.S. Fails to Answer the Challenge of Sputnik

President Eisenhower's response to the great new challenge symbolized by the Sputniks has been both pitiful and terrifying. In his speeches of November 7 and 13, his whole em-

phasis was on the use of science to build up still further our armed might, on an intensified drive to build up all kinds of armaments to outmatch the Soviet Union, to maintain a *strong nuclear retaliatory power*. There was only one small sentence giving lip service to peace. "What the world needs today even more than a giant leap into outer space, is a giant step toward peace."

And what is this giant step? That the Soviet Union should accept "the practical and workable disarmament proposals" of the United States! We have already shown in these pages how completely impractical and unworkable are these proposals, done up in a package of complex issues each one of which would take years to negotiate, and in which each step is dependent on every other, making it utterly impossible to take even a first step such as partial reduction of armies or ending of tests.

It has been made abundantly clear, as Marquis Childs pointed out in the *New York Post*, November 11, that the evidence all points to the fact that the United States Government is firmly determined "to avoid any realistic negotiations" on disarmament questions. Childs reported that a U.S. Senate Committee has evidence that at the point when it was generally believed that the Russians were prepared for a first stage disarmament agreement, Dulles flew to London "to make sure that no agreement would be reached with the Soviets."

The Soviet answer to the failure of the London negotiations was to propose to the UN General Assembly that disarmament negotiations become a matter for the entire membership of the United Nations. Op-

posing this, the United States was compelled to back an enlargement of the Disarmament Commission. However, the resulting enlargement of the Commission from 14 to 25 members leaves a commission so weighted on the side of the West that it is unlikely to produce better results than the previous one. The Soviet Union has made clear that only a commission evenly divided between West and West-oriented nations and neutralist and Socialist nations could be acceptable.

Secretary Dulles' press conference statements of November 19, bristling with warnings about the "Soviet threat," were even more alarming than those of President Eisenhower. He declared that the United States expects a plan to emerge from the forthcoming NATO meeting for the installment of missile bases in England and all West European countries that want them, for arsenals of nuclear warheads for various types of weapons to be scattered at various points on the European continent (naturally including West Germany), under U.S. control, but European units pre-trained in their usage *to have quick access to them in case of war.*

On November 20, the Secretary of State told the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations that there are three possible solutions to the world crisis: "These are to make a deal with the Soviet Union, go it alone, or meet the threat through cooperation with other free nations. *The last course is the only feasible one.*" (Italics added.)

Advice from the Democrats has shown equal bankruptcy—and that goes both for the Democratic Advisory Council and for former Pres-

idential candidate Adlai Stevenson, called in as a consultant on NATO problems by an Administration panicked by its falling popularity, to give a semblance of bi-partisanship to its policies. But Democratic advice adds up only to still greater arms spending and greater "unity with our allies." The latter will not be achieved by this reckless spread of nuclear weapons stockpiling, but by a lifting of the fear and resentment U.S. war policies are spreading, and ending the trade barriers with Socialist nations which have been having such disastrous economic effects on U.S. allies.

The more widely nuclear weapons are spread around the world, indeed as long as nuclear weapon stockpiles exist, the danger that an annihilating war may be precipitated by accident or madness exists and grows.

This policy must be stopped to save the human race.

"There is more spirit of war in the United States than in any other country in the world—and it is dangerous," said Cyrus Eaton in an interview in Toronto. "Our Mr. Dulles is talking just as the Kaiser did in 1914, and when one gets swollen with pride and becomes arrogant and truculent, someone will take up the challenge."

First and foremost, it is the American people themselves who must take up this challenge, for this spirit of war is not their spirit. Let them speak up in overwhelming numbers for a new, enlightened policy in response to the statement of the leaders of twelve Socialist countries issued in Moscow, November 21, that "The defense of peace is the most important worldwide task of the day."

—November 22

The New Look in Polish Bookshops

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

WHEN I first came to live and work here in Poland, one of my strongest and most abiding positive impressions had to do with the local consumption of good literature. I saw all around me a wide reading public poring over astonishing quantities of it in all sorts of places: in busses, on street-corners, in the parks, trains and cafés. Bookshops were among the most attractive stores opened on all the main streets of Warsaw as they were recovered from desolation to serve the purposes of civilized urban life. They were (still are) bright, cheerful and perpetually crowded with customers. The prices of books were (still are) kept very low. My guess would be that there were (are) more bookshops per street in Warsaw than cocktail-bars in Greenwich Village as I remember it; and I am not forgetting the very real literary charms of Eighth Street, either.

My first impressions were in fact well founded if incomplete. What I found most on display and being bought in impressive quantities was the cream of the world's best literature of the past: Polish of course in

leading position, then much Russian literature in both the original and in translations; besides these, the classics of all sorts of languages. It was indeed the classics that predominated. Not only the solemn ones, I may add, but also the lighter ones (for instance, Boccaccio's *Decamerone*), provided they were old enough.

All this was most gratifying to observe. Perhaps a good part of my own gratification arose from a negative factor, namely the absence of comics, of ineffectually vapid "slick" magazines, and of strident vulgar advertising for meretricious wares. Here in Poland it has not been considered necessary to proclaim the virtues of a new book—or a new cigarette, agricultural machine, fruit juice or household appliance—by picturing more or less clad human females in attitudes of seduction. Getting away from all that was, I may say, a relief.

(It is curious to note how the reverse is true when Poles of the younger generation now go to Western countries on visits. A group of our students of English philosophy spent last summer doing farm work in England in order to improve their practical knowledge of the language. On their return they told me that, with all their enthusiasm for other aspects of English culture, they were quite shocked by the advertisements

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, former Professor of English at New York University and Johns Hopkins, is now Director of the English Department at Warsaw University. She has lived in Poland since 1951.

of women's bras and stockings and such which they saw in railroad and underground stations.)

This, then, was the positive side of the picture. One could not help being impressed by the statistics on current publications, the tens and hundreds of thousands of copies of Polish classical works, by Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Prus, Zeromski and many others, being printed in this small country, as compared with the quotas of like books in various much larger countries to the west.

All this was true, but the picture I obtained, like other pictures, has had to undergo re-examination and re-evaluation in the light of a more complete and often disturbing knowledge. I shall try to estimate in general terms how the picture looks to me now. I think it can be said that while in part true, the image I had formed was also in part misleading. What was good, and still remains so, was the fact that people were given the physical basis—ownership or other accessibility—for the building up of a discriminating taste in literature, founded on a wide knowledge of the inherited past. One aspect of the situation on which more information is needed is the extent to which the blessings of book-owning and book-borrowing were shared by provincial communities. Towns in the countryside do not yet have advantages comparable to Warsaw's in this respect. And yet I do not intend to minimize the work of devoted librarians and enlightened booksellers in settlements all over the country. It is my impression that here too readers have been trained to ask for and get the best. During a month spent in a provincial spa this summer I was impressed

all over again at the titles I heard people asking for in the town bookshop: When are you going to get in a supply of that recent Shakespeare translation (*Coriolanus*, I think it was); what have you got by Balzac; and so on. Perhaps a spa is not representative, but what I observed there can be chalked up to the positive side of the question.

Another aspect that has still to be reported on is the answer to the rather embarrassing question: How many of the excellent books printed in very large editions were actually sold, and how many remained in the warehouses, undistributed? And finally: Were important areas of valuable literature omitted—whether overlooked or consciously excluded—during recent years, even among books that can be called classics?

It now appears that there was in fact a serious lack of coordination between those who planned and those who executed the distribution of literature, and mistakes of both omission and commission were surely made. Calculations seem to have been made according to a committee's estimate of the "intrinsic" value of a book (basically a good procedure, of course, if the committee is well chosen), plus somebody else's estimate—perhaps professional, perhaps amateurish—of the probable demand, and production went forward accordingly. Once the book was printed, dissemination occurred automatically through existing channels, not always with evident discrimination with regard to the destinations chosen. Little attention was paid to what we should call "promotion" as understood in the west, aside from dignified reviews and notices in literary and technical

journals. Here, one might say, is the direct opposite of advertising by scantily-clad females to allure possible readers! Because of faulty distribution, consignments of technical works sometimes turned up in weirdly inappropriate places, and centers of instruction requiring them were therefore left unsupplied.

These defects are now widely recognized and widely discussed. There are of course ways of letting people know effectively about a good thing that is available, and of seeing that the proper wares reach the proper places. These techniques can be studied in relation to good literature (why not?) as well as phoney, and surely they can be applied apart from vulgar incentives such as profit at the expense of quality. There are also ways of estimating the public demand for a certain item on the market, given certain conditions of its sale, such as price, attractiveness of format, current fashions and tastes. I do not know much about these things, but I should imagine that it might be a stimulating thing for socialist producers to master and adapt these techniques in the service of a socialist book trade. In the meantime, it is quite possible that a valuable work, original or translated, may fail to reach potential purchasers here. Or it may fail to be printed at all, because of mistakes in estimating its value in the first place. Human error will of course always be with us, but it must also be admitted that certain mistaken principles of judgment have also operated in recent years to restrict the flow of some types of good literature to readers eager to receive them. More of this in a moment.

A concluding point may be made

concerning the unequal risks shared by publishers and authors. True it may have been that an author had some very special hurdles to surmount before receiving a contract for publication. (Where doesn't he have them?) But once accepted, he was guaranteed full reimbursement by advances given on the date of signing the contract, on the date of delivery of the manuscript, and the entire balance on the date of publication. He did not receive royalties, but he was automatically insured against failure, and if the book went into a second and third edition he automatically received new awards calculated on the basis of the size and nature of the book, without having lifted finger to pen or hand to typewriter. In other words, once accepted, authors have been guaranteed against losses due to miscalculation, while they shared very handsomely in unexpected successes. Speaking as an author, I have enjoyed the sense of security resulting from such contracts; but speaking as a citizen, I have wondered about the effects on the publishing enterprises when I noticed the lack of promotion for books already published. Speaking as both, I am glad to see signs of a more enterprising attitude to these problems, at least in the field of scholarly publications. The State Publishing House for Scholarly Works, which in 1956 brought out my *English Medieval Literature and Its Social Foundations*, has recently done an excellent promotion job in getting a Cambridge firm in England to take it over as agent-publishers. This means no direct financial advantage to me, since I have already been paid in full for my work; but it does mean

that the first edition will be exhausted the more quickly by the number of copies sent to England, and I may the sooner expect a second honorarium from a second edition. I have heard reports to the effect that future contracts between authors and publishers may be of a different character, and authors may be expected to share in the risks due to miscalculation of success. All I can say is, that some sort of modification in that direction is well justified by previous impractical arrangements.

What is still good, just as it was, is the unabated appetite of the public for the classics, an appetite which can be verified by a visit to the most active bookshops and out-of-doors stands where books are being sold in the present mild autumnal season. Among the English and American classics recently translated and now prominently displayed are (to name but a few): Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*, Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd*, Oscar Wilde's *Portrait of Dorian Gray*, Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer*, Poe's *Tales*, Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and *Barnaby Rudge*. (I could never finish reading this last item, which seems to me to be a poor story and a distorted historical picture; but one needs all of Dickens in Polish, just as one needs all of any outstanding author's work, regardless.) Children's literature is very well represented by fairy tales from many languages, works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Jules Verne, Selma Lagerlof, Raphael Sabatini, Oscar Wilde, Kipling (*Jungle Book* and the like), and adventure stories translated from many languages. A recent addition is Jean Webster's *Daddy Long-legs*. As for

A. A. Milne, it may interest readers to know that a quiet street near where I live, recently recovered from ruin and now equipped with shade trees, benches, and children's playground, has been officially named The Street of Winnie the Pooh, and thus testifies to the popularity of this translated classic among Polish readers.

While the decisions on publication were still being determined by relatively rigid standards, a number of outstanding western writers were not adequately represented in the lists of translations into Polish. Their work was regarded as being below the level of recognized classics. Now it is freely admitted that the standards then applied were too narrow. Thus we are now obtaining Polish translations of works by such writers as Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Roger Martin Du Gard and Thomas Mann which were hitherto unavailable. Any adult reader with a world horizon surely needs to know these authors. Polish readers are as a matter of fact catching up on many books that caused a flurry in the 1930's and now seem rather dated to anyone who read them when they were new. But in Poland they were then only available in the original language or, in some cases, only translated in editions far too small for today's needs. Among authors now being translated are some of the best-known Americans: Faulkner, Hemingway and Steinbeck. Dreiser was already appearing, of course, some years ago. Aldous Huxley's *Eyeless in Gaza* has just come out. From the French we have books by Maurois, Malraux and others; from German, authors like Arnold and Stefan

Zweig, Erich Maria Remarque and Hans Fallada. A very recent addition is Simone de Beauvoir's *The Mandarins*.

Looking over some of the individual works by such authors, I have occasionally raised my eyebrows and wondered: Why just that, to be translated just now? For instance, while I consider John Steinbeck an outstanding novelist capable of fine and powerful writing, I look upon his *Tortilla Flat*, *Cannery Row* and *The Wayward Bus* as no more than pot-boilers marred by a peculiarly distasteful sentimentality. When an editor friend of mine told me that a leading publishing house is about to bring out all three of them, I exclaimed: Why? Why *all* of them? I was told that they really are fine creations of their sort, and that they answer to the people's needs for good light reading. Well, *de gustibus*... On the other hand I understand that there was some hesitation about taking over Dexter Masters' fine novel *The Accident* (which I sent for on the basis of the review in *New World Review*, and which I've been propagating enthusiastically ever since). It was feared at first, so I am told, that such a work might be "too depressing and too serious."

Now no one will deny that the Polish people have had enough of grim and nightmarish experience in the recent past to explain and justify their wish for some light fiction as relief now. I for one am glad to see a more generous amount of this being put on display, including well-written thrillers and detective stories. The question is: What, and how much? Again, we run into the need to study problems of demand and distribution, envisaged within the

framework of a socialist society. Previous methods had obviously to be reformed and policies had to be liberalized to fit the present situation.

But there are also dangers here, as in any shift of the sort in cultural affairs, especially an abrupt one. Some of the fiction now appearing in magazines, even more than that in books, seems to me to be of doubtful quality: a waste of good paper, if nothing worse. Yet one can understand its appearance as a kind of compensatory trend making up for extreme in the opposite direction. Let us hope that a sensible balance between light and heavy will soon be achieved, along with a discrimination between genuine and spurious in the realm of art.

One specific gain in the recent shifts comes to my mind as I write these words in Warsaw on November 7th, forty years after the great and memorable events of 1917. During the past years it was impossible to obtain here a copy of John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*, whether in library or bookshop. It had officially disappeared, this moving and first-hand account of the revolution in Russia, a classic of American reportage deserving preservation though it may not have been a document strictly answering to the demands of a scientific historian. Now it has been translated into Polish for the first time, and is widely available. Fantastic that it should have been withheld, good that it should have been restored. Liberalization of this sort is an unquestionable boon. Our problem is to make liberalization develop in the direction indicated by the restoration of such classic works to general consumption.

The Prince and the People in Cambodia

by WILFRED BURCHETT

IT IS almost impossible to write about modern Cambodia without writing about Prince Norodom Sihanouk whose personality is so strongly imprinted on almost every phase of contemporary developments in modern Cambodia. In the short space of sixteen years Sihanouk has moved from being absolute monarch (at the age of 19) to a constitutional monarch, then to a constitutional prime minister and leader of the country's most important political organization, the Popular Socialist Community (Sangkum). During the same period Cambodia has advanced from being a French colony to an independent, constitutional monarchy which has shown remarkable tenacity and courage in defending an independent neutralist foreign policy in face of heavy pressures from Washington. In internal affairs Cambodia has some elements of a planned economy and the avowed aim of Sangkum is to build up "a form of socialism suited to Cambodian conditions."

Cambodia's policy of neutrality and coexistence is deeply rooted in her history, traditions and religion, and suits her geo-political position. Sihanouk's ancestors were the Angkor kings who built up the remarkable civilization which endured for five hundred years between the 9th and 14th centuries. The superb ruins of Angkor Wat and of scores of other stone temples which today attract art historians and tourists from all over the world, are reminders of what Cambodia suffered in the past from her wars with the Siamese in the West and the Chams in the east, from what is now South Vietnam. The Hinayana (Little Wheel) form of Buddhism which the Cambodians adopted at the end of the 14th century, for all its outdated concepts represents a way of life based on peace and mutual tolerance which fits as a hand into a glove, into Cambodia's modern policies of coexistence.

The first hint that an independent Cambodia would have an independent foreign policy was in September, 1953, when Sihanouk as King was negotiating with the French for the transfer of police and military powers from French to Cambodian hands. When police powers were transferred, Sihanouk broadcast an appeal for national unity in which was used the phrase: "Although we are not Communists, we

WILFRED BURCHETT, internationally known journalist, covered the East for the "London Daily Express" during World War II. After the war he worked in Germany for the Express and the "London Times," going to China in 1950. His articles and books have contributed widely to an understanding of the struggles throughout Asia. Mr. Burchett is at present Moscow correspondent for the "National Guardian."

do not oppose Communists as such. . . ." There was a howl of rage at this from Washington, where it was correctly interpreted as meaning that Sihanouk had no intention of using independence to take part in an anti-Communist or anti-Vietnam crusade. The French daily *Le Monde* put its finger on the real reason for Washington's anxiety when it commented, "Washington does not hide the fact that its whole policy in Southeast Asia is in danger from a wave of 'neutralism' which the example of Cambodia has just launched." This was almost one year before the end of the war in Indo-China and long before the famous five principles of coexistence were formulated by Chou En-lai and Nehru.

In the face of the howls of rage from Washington, and threats to halt economic aid because of this innocent enough declaration of policy, the Cambodian Government issued a statement which said in part: "Cambodia demands its independence more than any aid. The fact that we are threatened that economic aid will be cut if we refuse to fight Communists outside the borders of Cambodia; the fact that we are refused the right to consider communism and Communists as other than our mortal enemies . . . these are facts that worry us." Washington rushed out Senator Knowland to see Sihanouk and purge him of his "heretical" views. Sihanouk did not receive him but sent Prime Minister Penn Nouth to express forcibly Sihanouk's views that he "had nothing against Communist regimes as long as they did not interfere with Cambodia." Knowland failed in his mission, but his visit

was the beginning of a prolonged U.S. intervention in the affairs of Cambodia. Thus Sihanouk's policy of neutralism and coexistence was formulated in September 1953, before the war was ended in Indo-China and before Cambodia became an independent state.

One of the most outrageous examples of pressures on Sihanouk to abandon his policies occurred in Manila in February 1956. It was at a time when American efforts to force Cambodia to enter SEATO were reaching their climax. Washington was demanding Sihanouk's signature as down payment on dollar "aid." The invitation to Sihanouk to visit Manila was intended to clinch the deal. The *Manila Chronicle* wrote on the day of Sihanouk's arrival: ". . . the arrival of Prince Norodom Sihanouk should end in Cambodia signing SEATO." But in a speech before the Philippine parliament, Sihanouk defended Cambodia neutrality. (To his embarrassment, amid the generous applause after his speech, several senators sprang up and demanded that the Philippine Government adopt a similar policy.) The sequel to this rejection of SEATO before the Philippine parliament was later recounted in a communique issued by Sihanouk.

"I had taken with me to Manila in my personal suite and at his request," the communique stated, "a foreigner named Francis Baroukh, who wanted to return to the Philippines from whence he had come to visit our country.

"Mr. Baroukh came to beg me to make a statement at Camp Murphy (headquarters of Philippine Army where Sihanouk was due to make a

speech) which would 'soften' the 'toughness' of my speech at the parliament. He explained that because of my fault the Philippine Government, which has sent him, had been put in a very difficult situation and requested me as a 'personal gesture' to smooth matters over.

"Mr. Baroukh himself had written 'my correction.' He brought it to me, written by hand in English on notepaper of the Manila Hotel. It was the text which I was supposed to pronounce at Camp Murphy. I learned later that M. Baroukh had edited 'my correction' in the bar of the hotel and it had been virtually dictated by an unknown person not of Philippine nationality. . . ."

(Members of Sihanouk's suite knew that the "unknown person" was a secretary from the U.S. Legation in Manila.)

The "correction" made Sihanouk say the opposite of what he had said before the parliament and was loaded with terms like "communist aggression," "communist subversion" etc. Sihanouk tried to redraft the "correction" but finally gave up and wrote a new speech in which he again defended neutrality and concluded with the words: "I express the wish that a better international understanding, desired by all peoples, will one day enable countries exhausted by the recent war to reduce their crippling military expenditures and to maintain, despite ideological differences, correct relations with all other powers on the basis of non-interference in each other's affairs, the only solid basis for lasting peace."

Sihanouk was not permitted to make this speech. The ceremony at Camp Murphy was cancelled. It

was accepted as a slap in the face not as much for the Philippine Government as for Dulles and his policies. When Sihanouk left next day, in an atmosphere of glacial frigidity, the U.S. Ambassador did not even turn up at the airport.

The result of Sihanouk's forthright behavior in Manila and his vigorous reiteration of support for peaceful coexistence the following month when he visited Peking, brought on his head the extreme wrath of Washington. There was every evidence that direct armed intervention was being planned to bring off a Guatemala type coup. Cambodia's communications with the outside world pass along the Mekong River through South Vietnam and along a railroad through Thailand. In March 1956, both South Vietnam and Thailand closed their frontiers with Cambodia. Both faithful U.S. satellite states mobilized troops and massed them on Cambodia's borders. Thai troops actually seized a Cambodian frontier village and from South Vietnam there were daily armed intrusions. American jet aircraft from Thailand made regular sorties deep into Cambodia territory. America-financed and armed bands headed by Son Ngoc Thanh, a former puppet premier under the Japanese and later denounced by Sihanouk as an American puppet, began terrorist attacks into Western Cambodia from bases in Thailand. And to complete the parallel with Guatemala, the person who master-minded these operations was none other than the notorious Peurifoy who had engineered the Guatemalan affair and who was at this time U.S. and SEATO ambassador in Thailand.

(Shortly afterwards Peurifoy was killed in a car accident in Thailand.)

Sihanouk's reaction to all this was typical. He called the American bluff by organizing a national congress of the Cambodian people and squarely putting the facts before them. Six thousand delegates saw the American Ambassador McClintock stalk off the diplomat's tribune just as Sihanouk was to deliver his report. The delegates unanimously voted to reject SEATO and for a continuance of the policy of neutrality and coexistence. They unanimously approved of establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp. They voted unanimously for accepting economic aid from the USSR, People's China and other countries of the socialist camp even if the U.S. Government halted its aid as a result. The Congress showed what everyone in Cambodia felt at the time, that the entire Cambodian people were behind Sihanouk and were determined to defend their neutrality and their frontiers to their last breath.

World opinion and especially Asian opinion began to notice what was going on in Cambodia. Washington had to beat at least a temporary retreat. In a period of forty-eight hours, Thailand and South Vietnam re-opened the frontiers, the U.S. Ambassador gave assurances that the U.S. would not intervene in Cambodian affairs and agreed that U.S. aid would be continued. Shortly afterwards U.S. Ambassador McClintock, whose arrogant behavior had resulted in Sihanouk and the Cambodian prime minister refusing to receive him, was withdrawn. Washington had lost the first

round of its battle to transform Cambodia into a U.S. satellite.

If one looks at the map of Southeast Asia, it becomes clear why Washington exerted such efforts. U.S. global policies are built on such a flimsy basis that sometimes it takes only a breath to upset them. This explains the panic in September, 1953 at Sihanouk's "heresy." No one in Southeast Asia wants SEATO and no one really believes in the possibility of communist "aggression." Geographically, Cambodia is a bridge between SEATO's chief base in Thailand and the chief SEATO satellite in South Vietnam. And on top of Cambodia is Laos with contiguous frontiers with the two chief targets of SEATO, People's China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Cambodia was important also as a Buddhist state, the center of a particularly pure application of Buddhism respected throughout the Buddhist world. One of the pet schemes of Dulles was to weld together a Buddhist military bloc, a connected group of states which would include South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, Thailand, and would finally pull in Burma as well, to form a common frontier with the SEATO state of Pakistan. Cambodia was the key. Without it, SEATO remained a collection of isolated states without a single common frontier. If Cambodia rejected SEATO, it was fairly certain that the sister state of Laos would reject it also. And of course, this is just what happened. The refusal of Cambodia to join dealt what may well prove to have been the death blow to SEATO.

When it was clear that nothing could shake Sihanouk's determina-

tion and that not only the entire Cambodia people supported his policy but also all the major Asian states, Washington bowed to the inevitable and sent a new ambassador with different manners and new tactics but to carry out the same policies. Outwardly polite and affable, the new Ambassador Strom worked hard behind the scenes to form a political grouping based on individuals who had a personal vested interest in the continuance of dollar "aid." By the end of 1956 he had influenced a sufficient number of members of the National Assembly to bring down the government, despite the efforts of Sihanouk to save it. It was the first time a government had fallen against the wishes of Sihanouk. As leader of Sangkum which held all 92 seats in the Assembly, Sihanouk had approved changes of governments in the past as a means of gradually building up a team capable of implementing Sangkum policies. But this one he fought to save—and failed.

Sihanouk took this as a warning that Cambodia's enemies had changed their tactics. Instead of overt attacks from outside, they were boring in from the inside. Henceforth Sangkum policies could be sabotaged any time the U.S. Embassy was willing to invest enough money to influence 47 deputies in the National Assembly. Again he reacted by taking the issues to the people.

A National Congress was held in January, 1957, organized by Sangkum but in which anyone could take part, including spokesmen of left and right opposition groups. Spokesmen from the left groups had previously expressed their approval

of Sangkum's foreign policies but opposition to internal policies. They had however asked for a merger with Sangkum at the previous congress in the sense of forming a sort of National Front. And this is what emerged from the January 1957 Congress. At Sihanouk's initiative, it was decided that in the future the National Congress would be the leading policy-making organ. The parliament would exist only to execute decisions of the Congress. The Congress could initiate laws and policies and parliament must carry them out. If they refused to implement any given law or policy, then the matter must be referred to the next National Congress and if necessary it could be decided by referendum. And as a double safeguard, in case any dollar-bought, temporary majority in parliament tried to overthrow neutrality, Congress, again on Sihanouk's initiative, as the first assertion of its policy-making powers approved an amendment to the Constitution to include a Neutrality Act making Cambodian neutrality a permanent feature. The National Assembly was instructed to prepare such an Act.

These were very important safeguards and showed a realistic reaction on Sihanouk's part to the challenge from a new quarter—from groups within his own party which, as he told the Congress, "are glutted with foreign money." Sihanouk in his opening report had also warned that "according to reliable information from our police, an insurrection financed from abroad is now being prepared. . . ."

Representatives of the right-wing opposition groups did not dare express open opposition during the

Congress sessions, because the temper of the rank and file delegates was very clear. They were unanimously with Sihanouk. Spokesmen of the left-wing Pracheachon (Peoples Party) spoke in favor of Sihanouk's initiatives. The January 1957 Congress opened up perspectives for the formation of a broad national front which could impose the people's will not only on the National Assembly but on Sangkum itself in case reactionary, anti-national groups seized the leadership.

What future developments will be in Cambodia only time will show. Dulles and those he represents have certainly not given up their plans to subvert Cambodia's foreign policy. U.S. policy demands an unstable situation in Cambodia in order to prove to the whole of Asia and the whole world that a policy of neutrality and coexistence can not work; that Washington will not permit it to work. By varying military threats with political pressures and deliberately stimulated internal economic crisis, Washington attempts to keep Cambodia off balance. But economic

aid from the socialist camp is starting to arrive and it reduces U.S. attempts at economic blackmail. People's China is building a cement factory, a paper mill, textile plant, plywoods plant and cigarette factory. The Soviet Union is putting in a five hundred bed hospital in Phnom Penh; her representatives are discussing other forms of economic aid with the Cambodian Government.

The political consciousness of the Cambodian people has been greatly awakened in those few years which have passed since the Geneva Conference on Indo-China confirmed real independence for Cambodia. They have had some rude lessons in political realism. But they have unswervingly supported Sihanouk and his policies and Sihanouk has increasingly turned to his people for guidance and support. Whatever difficulties lie ahead for Sihanouk and the Cambodian people, it is also becoming increasingly difficult for Washington to turn them back from their chosen path of peace, neutrality and coexistence.

THE PRINCE AND THE PEOPLE IN LAOS

ON NOVEMBER 18 a coalition government was established in the Kingdom of Laos, bordering on and north of Cambodia. The coalition was formed by the incumbent government and representatives of the left-wing Pathet Lao which has contested the authority of the Royal government since the end of the Indo-China war in 1954.

The new cabinet includes the leader of Pathet Lao, Prince Souphouvong, who is to be Minister of Planning, Reconstruction and Town planning. This agency shares responsibility for the use of United States aid funds.

The United States has been pouring something like \$45,000,000 annually into Laos in the form of economic and military aid to prevent Laos from moving to the left.

According to the *N. Y. Times*, Nov. 21, the State Department is deeply concerned about the formation of the coalition. "Privately, officials conceded that events in Laos amounted to a reversal for United States policy."

The New Shostakovich Symphony

FEW of the cultural events connected with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution were awaited with such keen interest as the performance of Dmitri Shostakovich's new Eleventh Symphony.

Over thirty years have passed since musical circles in Leningrad recognized in the person of the composer of the First Symphony a young man of outstanding promise. Shostakovich was twenty years old at that time. Today the Soviet public—and not only the Soviet public—familiar with the Fifth, Seventh and Tenth Symphonies, the string quintette and the violin concerto, have come to accept Shostakovich as one of the great composers of our times.

The Eleventh Symphony is the first in Shostakovich's symphonic cycle to have a clear and precise programmatic line. It is entitled "1905." True, the Seventh Symphony came to be known as the "Leningrad" symphony soon after its first performance in Kuibyshev in the spring of 1942, but when the composer discussed this symphony with me a month or two before he had completed it he told me that

the programmatic quality of the work was restricted to the clash and contrast of broad, general concepts such as peace and war, good and evil. . . .

The "1905" Symphony, on the other hand, is as frankly programmatic as Berlioz' *Symphonie Fantastique* though with this important difference—that whereas the *Symphonie Fantastique* was, in the composer's words "an episode in the life of an artist," the Eleventh Symphony of Shostakovich might be described as "an episode in the life of a people," were not the word "episode" inadequate for the revolution which has been described as the dress-rehearsal of the events of 1917.

Dmitri Shostakovich's talent has followed an extremely tortuous, at times contradictory, path of development, but in one respect at least his questing spirit has pursued a single aim—the search for a melodiousness appropriate and acceptable to the modern ear. In this search he has experimented with Spanish, Jewish, Scottish melodies as well as with the immense melodic wealth of Russia. In 1951 he turned in his Ten Choral Poems to the melodies that sprang from the background of grief and protest against which the tsarist autocracy moved to its end. This cycle, which seemed to herald Shostakovich's advent into the genre of opera, was marked by an unusual simplicity and straightforwardness in

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the reflection of involved philosophical problems. But, surprisingly, it was not in opera but in symphony that the composer chose to develop the experience he gained in that vocal cycle. In his Eleventh Symphony he has endeavored, with considerable success, to transplant that experience in the sphere of purely instrumental images. It is an effort of importance in principle for modern symphonists. There is much to be learned from the methods by which Shostakovich has used revolutionary songs not as ornamental inlay or external decoration, but as the mainstay of the entire sharply conflicting dramatic development, the impetus, the driving force of the symphony.

The first part of the Symphony—"Palace Square"—begins quietly and insinuatingly. The composer, in the form of a prelude, is depicting to us the vast empty stretch of St. Petersburg that lay within the vise of the Winter Palace and the General Staff building, as it awaited the tragic events of January 9, 1905—the day the world came to know as Bloody Sunday. Out of the sinister silence arise the sounds of slow, muffled chords. An image of an oppressive power operating over an immense, empty space is at once created. Kettledrum and muted bugle only add to the sense of the frigid, frosty aridity of the hour before dawn. And when dawn comes it is in the form of a distant song played by a single flute, the melody of the prison song "Harken" which is at once a call for and a dream of freedom. Then the double-basses introduce the melody of the folk song *The Arrested Man* the words of which were written by the revolutionary democrat Ogaryev, and gradually

there arises a gloomy picture of an imprisoned people.

The second part of the Symphony—"January 9"—follows without a break. Indeed, the entire 55-minute work is played without interval—and the fact that the composer maintains dynamic tension for so long a period is a remarkable technical achievement. In the second part the music develops a warm heart-beat. From the narrow streets of working-class Petersburg the people bring their petition to the tsar. They march to the melody of a song from Shostakovich's choral cycle which expresses their yearnings and protest, though the latter feeling is still wrapped in caution and even humility. But as the melody is taken up by the whole orchestra it acquires a bitter strength reminiscent of some of Moussorgsky's music. And to bitterness is added a note of triumph as the vast procession, which seems to come to life before one's eyes, breaks out into the vastness of Palace Square and brings life to that frigid expanse before the residence of the tsar—"Nash Batiushka."

In the process of development the music is enriched by another melody from the choral cycle of "Bare Your Heads." Later, this melody becomes the main musical theme of the symphony.

The marchers halt. They stand in silent expectation before the Palace. What will the tsar answer to their petition? That answer is heralded by a burst of drumming, the signal for the countermarch.

The following passage must rank with the greatest feats of virtuosity in modern orchestral writing. In rapid succession we hear piercingly

clear images of struggle, as expressive and vivid musically as the scenes of anguish in Eisenstein's famous sequence on the Odessa steps are visually in *Potemkin*. There is the excited crowd of many thousands, dominated by a single mood, and there are the individual characters who come for a moment into our field of vision, and there is the terrible crash of the artillery and the rattle of rifles as they pour grape-shot into the dense ranks of unarmed civilians. Up to this point Shostakovich has been revealing the antagonistic beginnings of the bloody events of January 9. Here the forces of good and evil clash. The direct emotional effect of that clash on Moscow audiences exceeds anything observed in the city's concert halls hitherto.

After this tragic episode the music returns to the original theme of the "Palace Square" and leads us into the third part—"Eternal Memory"—introduced by the opening bars of the folk song "You fell as victims . . ." which are developed to illustrate the funeral procession of the many hundreds of victims of the tsar's cruelty on January 9, 1905.

Naturally, any literary "description" of musical images, even those of a symphony as programmatic as this one, is always a mere approximation to the composer's intention. This is particularly true of the third part of this symphony where the expression of a people's grief for the victims of revolution takes a

general philosophic form. The cost of revolution, the cost of change, the price man has to pay for progress, the sacrifices of one generation for another, cruelty inflicted in the name of good, the very purpose of life, indeed—such ideas are aroused by Shostakovich's "Eternal Memory."

But no sooner are they aroused than we are in the fourth part—"Sound the Alarm"—which has been described as a forecast of the great historical events of the October Socialist Revolution. Here again the composer makes considerable use of revolutionary melodies, particularly of the well-known *Varshavianka* and the expressive "Rage, Tyrants," the use of which establishes the emotional character of the finale, until, in a highly characteristic passage, Shostakovich repeats the principal theme of the symphony on the sole oboe in a passage which might be considered "from the author," a melodic statement as pure, innocent and Mozartian as that which closes the string quintette or the Fifth Symphony.

This work will be widely debated. The critics have already hailed it as ushering in a new stage in the development of Shostakovich's talent. To this listener, for one, that stage seems to be one that logically leads to opera. Dmitri Shostakovich has never abandoned hope of writing a great opera. After listening to his Eleventh Symphony many may feel that he has drawn considerably closer to that achievement.

ESPERANTO: A WEAPON FOR PEACE

A RECENT article in the Soviet magazine *Literaturnaya Gazeta* by a philological expert called for a revival of the teaching of the auxiliary international language Esperanto. He stressed its importance in international congresses, in the dissemination of scientific knowledge, and its use as a weapon for peace.

CHINA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM

by **GRACE LIU**

I AM sending you a story of our present political activities that are making the whole atmosphere lively and enthusiastic. I think no other country does these things so well as China. The common ordinary people who before liberation had no say about anything now have a mighty voice that can overwhelm anything that tries to stop their progress toward socialism. The rightists had a well organized, widespread conspiracy to do away with Communist Party leadership and halt any further advance to socialism, and the rectification campaign in May looked like the time to strike. They thought to isolate the Communist Party, but instead their whole plot back-fired on themselves. They were met with such fury from the people—the workers particularly, that they couldn't stand it and had to bow their heads and acknowledge their wrong before the storms of denunciation that met them everywhere.

One rightist delegate to the Tientsin People's Congress who toward the end of the session stood up and "bowed his head to the people" said that when it become known openly that he was a rightist no one would speak to him, even his family. When

meals were served, no one bothered to notify him until finally an old maid servant came and said, "Well, 'lau yo' (old rightist), you might as well come and eat." When he went out all the children in the neighborhood congregated in front of his house and yelled, "Yo pai fentze" (rightist), at him. He quickly got a three wheeler—bicycle ricksha—and told the man to go as fast as he could. And when the children called to the bicycle man, "That's an old rightist you're riding," the bicycle man stopped and said, "Get out. I wheel no rightists."

We had wonderful weather for the October 1st parade. My daughters Shu-lien and Ai-lien both marched—Shu-lien with the waterworks and Ai-lien with her school. Wei Han, my young son, and I stayed home and listened to the Peking parade over the radio.

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The attention of Tientsin's citizens is concentrated, just now, on two important nationwide movements. The fight against the rightists is gradually winding up and the rectification campaign to correct the mistakes and improve the work of the Communist Party is being resumed full force.

The rightists are those people who suddenly came out from under cover during the earlier rectification campaign, wishfully thinking that now was the time to strike out and

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beat down the Communist Party. The ringleaders hoped to create widespread confusion, in the midst of which they would take over the leadership from the Communists. Jealousy, greed for power and contempt for the working class blinded them to the solidness and strength of the Chinese people's determination to go forward into socialism under the leadership that has already proven so advantageous to the whole country. This collision with the people has smashed the rightists.

In Tientsin, the People's Congress has just ended its second session, and some of the city's most prominent rightists were delegates—elected for two years in last fall's election. The Congress meetings were extraordinarily interesting and exciting, as face to face with their angry and indignant fellow-delegates, the rightists began to wilt under the devastating exposure of their hypocrisy and treachery.

The newspapers have printed full accounts of the Congress' proceedings and it has been exhilarating to see how the Tientsin people's delegates have stripped the rightists of all their smooth pretense and made them own up to their true intentions. For example, one of Tientsin's prominent doctors, a hard-core rightist whose very "active and progressive" front had gotten him elected to the People's Congress, was dealt with by his fellow doctors. They exposed him as a man who cared little about his country and people, but a great deal about his own freedom to acquire money and power. He had become prosperous during the Japanese occupation, and still more prosperous during the post-war Kuomintang period, and socialism

did not fit in with his dream of being rich and powerful. His crooked business deals, his squeezing money out of patients and his bad character were brought out into the open by people who had known him for years. His mask is off now and everybody knows him for what he is.

But even while the rightists are still being attended to, the greatest interest is now centered in the renewed "cheng-feng" (rectification campaign). This time it's called the "chuen ming cheng-feng"—"chuen ming" meaning "the whole people." This movement is to be very thorough. Everyone must have his chance to make complaints and give advice and suggestions. In line with the saying about many schools contending and a hundred flowers blooming, the newspapers are urging a "ta ming" and a "ta fang"—literally a great contending and a great blooming—throughout the whole population. Any criticism is welcome so long as it aims to improve the Communist Party, not to tear it down; to help the country's progress toward socialism, not to turn it back toward capitalism.

Here in Tientsin more than one hundred industries and enterprises including the public utilities companies, have gotten started in all out movements to correct the faults and mistakes of the Communists. About 300,000 staff members and workers are busily exposing any wrong doings, or behavior that is in any way unbecoming a Communist. As one manager, himself a Communist, said, "The people must put pressure on the Communists by fully exposing all their bad and weak points to public opinion. The people must not let any Communist

get by with any wrong doing or the wrong attitude. No Communist must be allowed to think he is something special."

At the factories and companies where "cheng-feng" is going on "cheng-feng gardens" have been prepared—that is, places to exhibit the criticisms, complaints, suggestions, posters, cartoons, poems and what not! Usually halls, stairways and courtyards are used for this. Then plenty of big sheets of paper, ink and brushes are supplied; and each company's best and fastest writers, along with artists and cartoonists, are available at small tables for anyone who feels he can't express himself adequately.

Also placed around in convenient locations are "cheng-feng boxes" in which anyone wishing to make his complaint or criticism privately may put his contribution, either signed or unsigned. Most of the things on display are signed, either by a single signer or by a group of signers; but some of them are anonymous. If one would like to make his criticism personally and privately to a particular Communist, the opportunity for this is also provided.

In the Tientsin Waterworks, where my daughter, Shu-lien, is working, every afternoon is devoted to cheng-feng; and Shu-lien has lots to tell when she comes home after a cheng-feng afternoon. The Waterworks campaign is gathering strength and sharpness after a mild start and one of the Communist managers is being practically "taken apart." Not only is he criticized for giving himself airs of a big shot, and for taking privileges not allowed others, but his private life is not approved of. Placards have appeared in big

characters asking him pointed questions about his treatment of his first wife whom he divorced to marry another woman. And a big poster has gone up showing Manager C. costumed as the villain of a famous Chinese opera, a scholar of ancient days who tried to get rid of his first wife when he married the king's daughter. Manager C., in the scholar's gown and long black beard is pictured kicking his wife out of the door while another woman stands behind his back.

The secretary of the Young Communist League is also criticized for his high and mighty airs and for his neglect of the rank and file. Wall newspapers are asking him, "How comes it, Comrade F., that people who have been here for as long as six months have never seen you? What is this too, too important business you are so busy with?" The head of the welfare department is criticized for "tooting his own horn" all the time and trying to keep all the business of the department too much in his own hands.

Manager L., the other Communist manager, is a truly good man and everyone likes him. However, he too has quite a few faults he must correct. Shu-lien saw him one afternoon, standing with his hands behind his back, reading earnestly and solemnly a long streamer of wall newspaper carrying an itemized account of his "sins."

While it is "open season" for any and all faults in Communists, the bulk of the criticisms concerns bureaucracy, mistakes and inefficiency in management, and dogmatic, hide-bound attitudes and thinking; and top Communists in most places are urging on the non-

Communists and rank and file Communists to more and sharper criticism. However, a certain responsible Communist tried to tame down criticism in his factory and was promptly removed from his position and told to think over and correct his attitude.

An important point of this campaign is that in each factory, industry and business, suggestions and corrections must be acted on immediately, wherever possible. In each place the Party collects, classifies and studies the criticisms, complaints and suggestions. If certain things cannot be corrected immediately, the management must give a thorough explanation. The workers and staff members, if they consider the explanation weak or unsatisfactory can apply more pressure with redoubled criticism. Sometimes criticisms are mistaken or unjustified. Whenever that happens the criticizers must be explained to fully why their criticisms are mistaken.

One day I talked to a capitalist, a manager of the big combined state-private export-import company, and asked him what he thought of the cheng-feng campaign and whether he had made any criticisms or not. He said he had criticized certain things and had suggested a few changes. "And I can tell you," he smiled, "it certainly made me feel good when the changes I suggested were carried out immediately. Everywhere these prompt responses are creating tremendous enthusiasm and new surges of energy."

When I asked him about the rightists amongst the capitalists, he told me that he and a group of capitalists had worked for two months

gathering evidence of the underhanded rightist activities of Tientsin's biggest capitalist. During the People's Congress, to which he was a delegate, this big rightist was left with nothing to cover his selfish, greedy, anti-socialist, anti-people soul!

These two movements, the "whole people's" rectification campaign and the anti-rightist campaign are stirring up and sweeping out a lot of old unhealthy refuse; besides this they are creating an extremely lively political life and raising still higher the political level of the great mass of Chinese people.

The Rectification Campaign

GRACE LIU's description of the impact of the two current political campaigns in China as they are to be observed in the large city of Tientsin where she lives presents a concrete, on-the-spot account of how deeply the lives of the Chinese people have been stimulated by the various stages of their road to socialism.

Mrs. Liu's article demonstrates how political concepts and broad political directives are translated into the everyday life of the people with results that make life in China today, by the reports of all observers, so exciting to the Chinese themselves and so profoundly stirring to the imagination of visitors and even to those who must learn of the developments in China only through written accounts.

In April of this year the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a general statement

and directive on the whole problem of correcting political work. This statement grew out of the report of Chairman Mao Tse-tung earlier in the year, entitled in its final form "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." (For full text of this report see the special supplement to *People's China*, No. 13, July 1, 1957 or *N.Y. Times*, June 19, 1957).

The policy of "Let flowers of many kinds blossom, let every school contend," an earlier step in the same general direction, was the subject of an article in NWR for March, 1957. See also NWR, June, 1957, "Bright New China."

We print below a condensed version of the April statement as an example of how the Chinese conceive the steps necessary to bring them further along their road to a full socialist society and as the theoretical background to Mrs. Liu's article.

THE APRIL STATEMENT ON RECTIFICATION

The first campaign to rectify working style launched by our Party in 1942 brought the great victory of the revolution. Now our country has passed from the period of revolution to the period of socialist construction and is in a state of new, vigorous and great change. Social relations have undergone a fundamental change and a change in the ideology of the people is also developing.

To lead the further transformation of the whole society, mobilizing fully all forces, uniting with all possible people, and turning passive forces into positive forces in order to fulfill the target of building a

great socialist state, the Party and the working class must at the same time remould themselves.

Many comrades in the Party do not understand, or understand inadequately, this new situation and further task of the Party. Because the Party is in a ruling position throughout the nation and has won the support of the masses of the people, many comrades are liable to use purely administrative measures as a method of handling problems. Some wavering elements are liable to be contaminated with remnants of the Kuomintang style of work from the old society and think of themselves as privileged, even resorting to oppressive measures when dealing with the masses.

In the past few years there has been a new growth in the Party of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism which tends to separate it from the masses and from reality. Therefore the Central Committee considers it necessary, on the basis of the policy of "proceeding from the desire for unity on a new basis," to launch within the Party once again an extensive, thorough-going rectification campaign against bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism, and to raise the Marxist ideological level of the whole Party and improve the working style to bring it into line with the present stage of socialist transformation and construction.

First to Bear Hardship, Last to Have Comfort

Party members should mainly understand how to serve the people; consulting the masses whenever problems arise; being the first to bear hardship and the last to enjoy

comfort; and carrying out criticism and self-criticism. Party members with an intellectual background, in addition to these requirements, are also required in particular to have contacts with the masses of workers and peasants, to make clear differentiation between the proletarian, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class standpoints; to overcome a tendency towards individualism and liberalism; and to strengthen their Party spirit. In order to overcome a subjective and one-sided way of thinking, the leading cadres and Party members with an intellectual background must also study dialectical materialism.

Gently as a Mild Rain

This campaign should be a movement of ideological education carried out seriously, yet as gently as a breeze or a mild rain. Meetings should be limited to small sized discussion groups. Comradely heart-to-heart talks in the form of conversations and exchanges of views between individuals should be used more and large meetings of criticism or "struggle meetings" should not be held.

But criticism should not be imposed upon a person who does not accept it. Whenever possible, the necessary conclusions should be drawn about arguments involving matters of principle, but the right to reserve differences must be permitted. Those found to have committed mistakes, big or small, except for serious cases against the law or discipline, are all to be exempted from organizational disciplinary measures. They are to be given positive help to achieve the aim of "taking warning from the past in order

to be more careful in the future and treating the illness to save the man."

Physical Labor for All

In order to strengthen the contact between the Party and the broad masses of working people and to change thoroughly the situation where many of those in leading positions are separated from the masses, it is necessary, while the campaign is being conducted, for the whole Party to advocate that leading personnel who hold key positions at all levels in the Party, in the government, and in the military services, and who are fit for physical labor, should devote part of their time to physical labor with the workers and peasants. This should gradually be made a permanent system.

For many years in the Party's history leading cadres shared weal and woe with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Close association with the masses is one of the fundamental factors that guaranteed the victory of the revolution. But during recent years not a few comrades have lost this close association. We must now proceed to establish a basic system under which the mental work of the leading personnel in the Party and government is integrated with physical labor so that they may become closely knit with the masses. In this way correct relations within the ranks of the people will be revived and the bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism and the "airs of a lord" will to a large extent be eliminated.

How the Labor is to be Done

Taking into account the various organizations and people concerned

regular contacts should be established with specific production or construction units. With the consent of the units concerned and under the guidance of peasants, workers, handicraftsmen and others with professional skill, people should voluntarily and not reluctantly take part in such physical labor as they can. This will be chiefly subsidiary, simple labor, like weeding, harvesting, collecting and carting manure, carrying water and earth, clearing, transporting material and equipment and taking inventories.

Leading personnel in organizations, including enterprises, may take part in physical labor in their own lines at the basic units in the organizations. All those who take part in such physical labor should observe the labor discipline of the units concerned. They should not hinder the work of the workers or impair regular production; nor

should they receive any remuneration.

A Permanent System

Over the past 30 years and more our Party has struggled together with the masses under difficult conditions and achieved victory in our revolution. The large-scale class struggle has in the main been concluded. The arduous task now facing us is to build our country into a great socialist state with modern industry and agriculture. In order to achieve this it is imperative for us to carry forward our tradition of close association with the masses and our tradition of working hard under all conditions. These traditions can only be carried forward by leading functionaries at all levels participating in physical labor and by this means establishing a system in which mental and physical labor will be permanently combined.

BELIEF IN THE PEOPLE

LIU SHAO-CHI, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, spoke at a rally in Peking on November 7, honoring the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution:

"The full and frank expression of opinions by the masses and general debates are in the final analysis favorable to socialism and unfavorable to its enemies. Of course, the flames of full and frank criticism will not only burn out the enemy but our own shortcomings and mistakes as well. Far from being dreadful, this is a matter to rejoice at. All cadres loyal to the socialist cause should welcome the exposure and criticism of their own shortcomings and mistakes by the masses and should not be afraid of 'being licked by the fires.'

"We proceed from a firm belief in the masses, in the majority of the masses. The policy to which we should firmly adhere is: 'Resolutely, boldly and thoroughly to let the masses air their views, and to rectify our ways and improve our work resolutely, boldly and thoroughly,'

"Our aim is to create a vigorous political situation which combines centralism with democracy, discipline with freedom, and united will with personal ease of mind so as to facilitate the socialist revolution and construction in our country."

REPORT BY KHRUSHCHEV

On November 6, the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, delivered a three-hour address at a ceremonial session of the Supreme Soviet. Present were Party and government delegations from all the Socialist countries, representatives from Communist and Workers' Parties of 61 countries and guests from many other countries. Since Khrushchev's speech on this historic occasion contains the most authoritative material currently available on Soviet internal developments and foreign policy, we are publishing below as extensive excerpts as space permits. Unfortunately we are compelled to omit much important material on the historical and political background of the Russian Revolution and its development, future plans for the expansion of the Soviet national economy, and Khrushchev's discussion on the growth of world Socialist forces and relations among Socialist states.

Soviet Industrial Gains

THE following data give an idea of the economic achievements of our country under the Soviet system:

Output of steel increased from 4.2 million tons in 1913 to 51 million tons in 1957. Whereas in 1913 our country produced 2.5 times less pig iron than Britain and less than France, today we turn out much more of it than Britain, France and Belgium taken together.

The Soviet Union now holds first place in Europe and second place in the world in coal output and third place in the world in oil production. Compared with 1913 coal

output rose from 29.1 million tons to 462 million tons in 1957, oil output having grown from 9.2 million tons to 98 million. Last year's increase in oil output alone exceeded the whole of pre-revolutionary Russia's annual output by nearly 50 per cent.

Electric power production increased from 1.9 billion kilowatt-hours in 1913 to 59,210 billion kilowatt-hours in 1957. The Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Power Station alone, put into full capacity operation by the fortieth anniversary, ahead of schedule, will generate five times as much power every year as was generated by all of Russia's electric stations in 1913. Electric power per worker in industry has increased 20-fold in Soviet years. All towns and nearly all industrial settlements and more than one-third of all the collective farms now use electricity.

As regards engineering, the backbone of technical progress in all branches of the national economy, suffice it to say that compared with 1913 machine building and metal-working have increased more than 200-fold in our country as against 1913, gross industrial output in the USSR increased 33-fold in 1957, output of the means of production having increased 74-fold. It should be borne in mind in assessing these data that almost two decades out of the forty years of Soviet rule were taken up by the wars imposed upon us and by subsequent economic rehabilitation. Hence the powerful

progress made in Soviet industry actually took 20 years, not 40. . . .

Hitler Germany's treacherous attack inflicted on the national economy of the USSR a damage which, combined with the military expenditure and the temporary loss of income provided by the industry and agriculture of the occupied areas, amounted to 2,569 billion rubles. Had this colossal sum been spent on peaceful development—that is, on the construction of factories, railways, electric stations and housing and on increased output of consumer goods—then we would long ago have achieved an abundance of material goods. . . .

History has never known such a rapid growth of industrial production, particularly in heavy industry—the mainspring of the entire economy—as was achieved in the USSR. It took the United States, Germany and Britain from 80 to 150 years to achieve a roughly 30-fold increase in industrial output. In absolute volume of industrial production the Soviet Union has long ago far outstripped the biggest capitalist countries of Europe—Britain, France and West Germany. We are successfully coping with the task of overtaking and surpassing, within a short period of time, the most advanced capitalist countries, including the United States, in per capita output. . . .

In pre-revolutionary Russia labor productivity was far below that of the United States and lagged a great deal behind that of Britain and France. At present the USSR has surpassed Britain and France, and is surpassing the United States, in labor productivity. As compared with 1913 annual labor productivity

in Soviet industry has increased roughly 9.5 times while in the United States it increased 2.3 times. . . .

Agricultural Development

The rapid development of industry, above all heavy industry, enabled us to undertake the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. . . . The victory of collective farming as a system has transformed the Soviet Union into a country with the greatest amount of large-scale agriculture in the world. All the peasants have associated in collective farms, of which we now have 80,000. We also have 5,800 state farms—major socialist enterprises which cultivate about 55 million hectares (one hectare equals 2.471 acres) of land, or 25 per cent of the country's total. Socialist agriculture has a powerful material and technical basis. Our collective and state farms are using 1,632,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 420,000 grain harvester combines, about 660,000 trucks and millions of other complex machines.

The socialist transformation of agriculture and its equipment with up-to-date machinery have resulted in a considerable increase in labor productivity on the farms. Although the share of the population engaged in agriculture has dropped almost by one-half compared with pre-revolutionary times, agriculture commodity production has grown several times over. Production of marketable grain has increased almost threefold as compared with the most productive pre-revolutionary year—1913—wheat showing a fivefold increase; production of raw cotton, sunflower seeds and vegetables increased sixfold and that of sugar beet

and potatoes nearly threefold. . . .

I should like to cite some data indicative of agricultural progress in recent years. In 1957 the sown area in the Soviet Union totaled 193.2 million hectares, which was 75 million more than we had in 1913. This advance is noteworthy in itself, but what is even more noteworthy is the fact that of the increase in the sown area achieved under the Soviet system, almost one-half, or 36 million hectares, dates from the last four years. The increased sown area and greater crop yields account for the sharp increase in the gross harvest and procurement of farm produce. Here are a few indices:

By November 1, 1957, state procurement and purchase of grain was 20 per cent greater than in the same period for 1953, the increase in wheat being 43 per cent, sugar beet 75 per cent, potatoes 48 per cent, vegetables 79 per cent; the procurement and purchase of livestock was 48 per cent greater, with pork showing a 204 per cent increase, milk and dairy products 90 per cent, wool 42 per cent, and eggs 65 per cent. In ten months of 1957 state factories produced 234,000 tons, or 68 per cent, more butter than for the same period of 1953.

True, because of drought in some areas, especially the Volga country, the Urals and certain regions of Kazakhstan, this year we harvested less grain than last year. Nevertheless, thanks to the cultivation of virgin and fallow lands, our state now has adequate quantities of grain. Here are a few facts testifying to the exceptional role played by cultivation of virgin lands in the Soviet economy. By November 1,

1957, we had procured 1,021,000,000 poods (one pood equals 36.113 pounds) of grain—excluding substitutes—in the areas of virgin and fallow-land cultivation, compared with the whole of 1953 when we only procured 618 million poods in those areas. The respective figures for Siberia were 645 million and 247 million poods. . . .

For a long time stockbreeding was one of the most backward sections of agriculture. The measures taken by the Party have changed the situation. Whereas in October 1953 the number of cattle exceeded that of pre-revolutionary Russia by a mere 4.6 million head, in the subsequent three years it increased by 7.4 million head and in October 1956 exceeded the pre-revolutionary figure by 12 million. This growth was attended by increased productivity of livestock. As compared with 1913, the production of marketable meat has doubled, that of milk and wool has trebled, and that of fine and semi-fine wool has increased almost fivefold.

After taking careful stock of the potentialities and prospects for the further development of stockbreeding, our advanced collective and state farms pledged to considerably increase output of animal products and called on the agricultural workers to go all out to overtake the United States within the next few years in per capita production of meat, milk and butter. . . .

Welfare, Culture, Science

The emancipation of women and their participation in public life is one of the outstanding achievements of the Socialist Revolution. In all spheres of the economy and culture

Soviet women are making a tremendous contribution to the country-wide struggle for the victory of communism, to bringing up the new generation.

Socialism, which provides unlimited scope for the development of the productive forces, has ensured a steady rise in the well-being of the people. Most indicative in this respect is the growth of the national income. Compared with 1913, it shows a 13-fold per capita increase. During the same period per capita national income in the United States has increased less than two-fold, and in Britain and France by a little more than 60 per cent.

The victory of socialism in the USSR has forever done away with the scourge of unemployment. The number of industrial and other workers employed in our national economy has increased from 12,900,000 in 1913 to 52,600,00 in 1957, or more than fourfold. The Socialist Revolution not only proclaimed but also effectively guaranteed all citizens the right to work, education and rest. A feature of socialist society as the most humane of societies is the care shown by the public for the rising generation and for aged people who have worked honestly for the people, for socialism.

In fulfillment of the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress we have raised the wages of the lower paid workers and reduced the work-day on the eve of holidays and on Saturdays. We are carrying into effect the decision of the Party and the government on shifting to a seven-hour day and to a six-hour day in coal mining and extraction industries in the case of underground work. We have also considerably

increased the scale of housing construction in recent years.

Every year the Soviet state allocates enormous sums for social insurance grants, pensions, allowances for students, free education, medical services, and so on. This year alone the total appropriations for these purposes is to exceed 192 billion rubles, nearly one-third of the total budgetary expenditure of the USSR.

Increased consumption and expanded trade are signs of the rising standard of living of the Soviet people. Our people can buy more now; they eat, dress and live better than ever before.

In 1957 state and cooperative shops sold 3.3 times more meat and meat products, 3.5 times more butter, milk and other dairy products, 3.3 times more sugar and 2.8 times more fabrics than in 1940. The sale of woollen fabrics increased nearly fourfold and silk fabrics ninefold. In 1956 the population bought over 21 million watches and clocks, more than three million bicycles and 4.2 million radio and television sets, and this year even greater quantities of these commodities are being bought. In recent years our industry has been putting out greater numbers of sewing machines, refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners.

One of the major gains of socialism is the cultural revolution, which has carried our country into one of the leading places in the world in science and engineering. In our country illiteracy was abolished in the main before the Second World War. Today more than 50 million people are studying in educational establishments throughout the country. Institutes of higher learning and vocational colleges alone now have

more than four million students as against 182,000 in 1914. More than six million university and secondary school trained specialists, or nearly 33 times as many as in pre-revolutionary Russia, are today engaged in the national economy. A vast army of engineers and technicians, agronomists and livestock experts, teachers, doctors and other professional people are actively helping the great cause of building communism. Considerable success has been attained in literature and art. Writers and other art workers comprise one of the foremost groups of our intelligentsia which is actively working for the triumph of the great ideals of communism, for bringing up a new kind of people, builders of a communist society.

Summing up the results of the forty years since the Revolution, we recall with particular gratitude the fruitful work of Soviet scientists who have enriched our motherland and all humanity with discoveries and inventions of the greatest international importance. I shall limit myself to reminding you that our country leads the world in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and that recently we have successfully tested an "intercontinental ballistic missile."

"Commonwealth of Sputniks"

The crowning scientific and technical achievement was the creation and launching on October 4, 1957, of the world's first earth satellite. Less than a month later another Soviet sputnik, equipped with better and more varied scientific instruments and carrying an experimental animal on board, was sent into the heavens. Our first sputnik no longer feels alone in the universe. Two

messengers of the Soviet Union, two stars of peace are circling the globe. Our scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and workers gave the Soviet people a really fine present for the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution by bringing the most daring human dreams to life. . . .

This tremendous exploit of our scientists, engineers and industrial workers has brought sincere joy to and is evoking the admiration of millions of friends throughout the world. At the same time this triumph of the Soviet Union has scared and confused our enemies; the fact that the Soviet Union was able to solve such intricate scientific and technical problems showed them the high level to which we have raised our science, engineering and industry. . . . Our sputniks are circling the globe and are waiting to be joined by American and other sputniks to form a commonwealth of sputniks. This commonwealth, this competition would be much better than the armaments race, a race to produce lethal weapons.

20th Congress a Milestone

Comrades, the main result of the Great October Revolution is the establishment of socialism in the USSR.

In the history of man socialist society is a new, unprecedented society. Soviet society is not split up into hostile classes. It is welded together by a unity of interests, unity of purpose, and is rallied closely around its vanguard—the Communist Party. Our Party grew, gained strength and matured in the struggle against everything alien and hostile to Marxism, to the class interests of the proletariat. . . .

From the very first days of the victory of the October Revolution, the Communist Party, headed by the great Lenin, its organizer and leader, directed all the efforts of the Soviet people toward defending the gains of the Revolution, implementing the plans of socialist construction and consolidating the might of the Soviet state. After the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the Party rallied around its Central Committee, headed by J. V. Stalin. It carried out Lenin's program firmly and consistently and led our country from success to success. Under its leadership the Soviet people carried out socialist industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, built a socialist society and won a historic victory in the Great Patriotic War (World War II). These victories transformed our country into a mighty socialist power and brought it still greater international prestige.

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was a milestone in the Soviet Union's advance toward communism in the life of our Party and the Soviet people. The entire country and all the people warmly approved the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the plans for the construction of communism worked out by the congress, and are implementing them with the greatest enthusiasm. There has recently been a noticeable increase in the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and they are now taking a larger share in guiding economic and cultural construction. The trade unions are developing the creative activity of the masses, drawing them into industrial management on an even broader scale. Much fruitful work

is being done by the Lenin Young Communist League. . . . The period since the congress has been marked by further major successes in our country's development.

In summing up the path traversed and in outlining plans for the future, the Twentieth Party Congress took a highly principled Marxist-Leninist stand, displaying irreconcilability to past shortcomings and mistakes and raising Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism to new heights, and gave an example of a creative approach to the solution of problems advanced by life at the given stage of communist construction.

The Party Congress subjected to principled criticism the mistakes linked with the Stalin personality cult and outlined measures aimed at overcoming the consequences of this cult. In its criticism of the personality cult the Party Congress proceeded from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, from Lenin's critical remarks about the shortcomings and negative features of Stalin's character, which became particularly pronounced in the last period of his life and gravely injured our common cause. This criticism and the far-reaching work done by the Party to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult have helped to improve the entire work of the Communist Party and promoted the consistent implementation of Lenin's principles on collective leadership and norms of Party life, strict observance of revolutionary law, development of inner-Party and Soviet democracy, upsurge of ideological work and the growth of the creative initiative and activity of the broad masses.

On Stalin's Role in History

At the Twentieth Congress our Party, on its own initiative, criticized Stalin's mistakes. It did so, first, to correct them, second, so that they should never be repeated anywhere and, third, in order to preclude any dogmatic attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and ensure a creative approach to our great theory of scientific socialism while at the same time strictly observing the purity of this theory.

We Communists criticize the personality cult as being alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, as an intolerable occurrence in the Communist Party and in the socialist society. The Party is doing this in order to strengthen its position and consolidate the socialist system, so that such things shall never occur again. But we cannot agree with those who try to use the criticism of the personality cult for attacks against the socialist system, against the Communist Party. While criticizing the negative aspects of Stalin's activity, the Party fought and will continue to fight all who slander Stalin, who on the pretext of criticizing the personality cult gave a wrong and distorted picture of our Party's activity during the whole historic period when the Central Committee was headed by Stalin. As a devoted Marxist-Leninist and a staunch revolutionary, Stalin will occupy a worthy place in history. Our Party and the Soviet people will remember Stalin and pay tribute to him.

Some "critics" are doing their utmost to cast a slur on this period of our Party's struggle, to revile that high period in the Soviet Union, in

its struggle for socialism. They call people who have devoted their lives to Leninism and who have unsparingly fought for the interests of the people, for socialism, Stalinists, giving it a negative meaning. By so doing they try to defame, to discredit the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties devoted to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism. "Critics" of this variety are either thorough slanderers or people who have descended to the rotten positions of revisionism and are trying to mask their departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism with shouts about "Stalinism." It is not at all accidental that imperialist propaganda has added the provocative slogan of struggle against "Stalinism" and "Stalinists" to its arsenal.

The Party has fought and will resolutely continue to fight any departure from Marxism-Leninism and every attempt to distort its essence, will fight all who want to weaken our will in the struggle for socialism and communism, break our solidarity and undermine our unity.

Only the Marxist-Leninist party, strong, believing in the people, indissolubly linked with them and enjoying their wholehearted support, could have taken the courageous step of directly and openly criticizing the shortcomings and mistakes linked with the personality cult. Is there a ruling party in the capitalist countries that could have done anything like this? There isn't one! On the contrary, all of them cover up and conceal from the people the negative sides and mistakes in their activity, whitewash the incurable defects and sores of capitalism and deceive the working people with all

kinds of false theories about "class peace" and "harmony" in bourgeois society. The working class as the rising revolutionary class does not have to conceal shortcomings and mistakes in building the new life. . . .

Steadfastly observing Lenin's norms of Party life, our Party is constantly improving its forms, methods and style of work, implementing the principles of collective leadership and inner-Party democracy in all links from top to bottom.

Overcoming Contradictions

Marxist dialectics teaches that every development takes place by way of disclosing and overcoming contradictions. Under the conditions of the capitalist system with its diametrically opposed, antagonistic classes, these contradictions are irreconcilable and can be resolved only in the course of a class struggle. In the first stages of building socialism, when remnants of the exploiting class (capitalists, landlords, kulaks) still exist and enjoy a certain influence in the country and have the support of external counter-revolutionary forces, the class struggle may grow acute and the contradictions assume an antagonistic character.

In socialist society, which is welded by a great moral and political unity, where there are no longer any exploiting classes and only friendly classes of working people—workers and peasants—remain, the contradictions are fundamentally different. They are, in the main, contradictions and difficulties connected with the rapid progress of socialist economy, with the growth of the material and cultural requirements of

the people, contradictions between the old and the new, between the advanced and the backward; they are contradictions between the growing requirements of the members of socialist society and the still limited material and technical base from which to satisfy them. As the forty years' experience of the Soviet state shows, these contradictions are being overcome by socialist society itself through rapid and steady development of the material and technical base of socialism and communism, by raising the socialist consciousness of the working people. . . .

The Soviet people's unanimous support of the policy of the Communist Party was convincingly demonstrated by the warm nationwide approval of the decisions taken by the June plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov and Shepilov, who sided with them, which opposed the line adopted by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and tried to undermine the Leninist unity of our Party. . . .

The experience of the Soviet state during the past forty years shows that without a united and strong Party, without a Party armed with a knowledge of the laws of social development, without a Party faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the working class, the toiling peasantry and all our people would never have been able to seize power, defeat their enemies, establish a socialist society and successfully begin the gradual transition to communism. We shall continue to guard the Leninist unity of our glorious Party as the apple of our eye, strengthening its bonds with

the people and holding aloft the great and victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The guarantee of the future successes of the Soviet country lies in the close unity of all the peoples of the USSR around their tried vanguard—the Communist Party—in the indissoluble unity of the Party and the people in their struggle for communism.

THE SOVIET POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

From the earliest days of its existence our state has firmly rejected in its international relations all that was founded on plunder, force and conquest, and resolutely proclaimed the principle of good neighborly relations and equal economic ties with all countries.

On November 8, 1917, Lenin said from the platform of the Second Congress of the Soviets as he substantiated the provisions of the Decree on Peace: "We reject all clauses dealing with plunder and violence, but we shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for friendly relations and economic agreements; those we cannot reject." (*Works*, Vol. 26, page 223.)

As soon as it came into being the Soviet state made the principle of peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems the basis of its foreign policy. As early as in 1918 Lenin derided the harmful idea that the interests of international revolution forbade any peace whatever with the imperialists. At that time he wrote: "A socialist Republic surrounded by imperialist powers could not, from the standpoint of such views, conclude any economic treaties; it could not

exist unless it flew away to the moon." (*Works*, Vol. 27, page 49.) Socialism and capitalism exist on one planet and their coexistence is a historic necessity.

We stand for the policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries, for the conclusion of both bilateral friendly agreements to promote peace and collective security agreements in Europe and Asia.

There are five well-known principles governing relations between countries with different systems: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs for economic, political or ideological reasons, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. The indisputable fact should be admitted that there are socialist and capitalist states, that they are following their own separate courses and that their systems are the concern of their own peoples. All international issues should be settled by negotiation, without recourse to war. Peaceful coexistence is built on life without war on the basis of peaceful competition.

The Soviet Union, consistently pursuing a policy of peace, stands for mutually acceptable agreements with the Western countries on all matters affecting disarmament. It is ready considerably to reduce its armed forces and armaments, ban atomic and hydrogen weapons, immediately discontinue all tests of those weapons and have international control set up, provided the Western countries carry out the same measures.

If all countries, above all the USSR and the United States, that is, two states which possess the greatest

economic and military resources succeeded in settling in a businesslike spirit, in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding, vital international problems, including disarmament, then the chances of preventing a new war and establishing a stable and lasting peace for all countries and peoples would be greatly increased. The Soviet Union will firmly adhere to its policy of lessening international tension and improving relations with all countries, including the United States, since mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States could benefit the international situation to a decisive degree. In saying this we have no desire to improve relations between our two countries at the expense of other countries, by spoiling relations between the United States, on the one hand, and Britain, France and other countries, on the other. In fact, our country would like to have good relations with all countries that are against war and favor peaceful co-existence, and we are doing all we can to establish such relations. The surest way to achieve this is to renounce the "policy of strength," since the ultimate phase of this policy is war.

The imperialists are trying to profit even from the launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union. They are clamoring from the housetops, saying that the launching of the satellites threatens peace, threatens the capitalist countries with a new weapon.

We solemnly declare that our people have never given thought, nor will they ever think, of using any means of destruction unless our country is attacked by imperialist

countries. We are aware that since the Soviet Union has succeeded through the efforts of its scientists, engineers and workers in making the satellites, other countries, particularly such a highly developed country as the United States, can do the same. Of course, what our country has achieved is of great importance since it signifies that we are winning time in the competition with the capitalist countries. But a country that was the first to achieve such results must not kindle passions that would heat the atmosphere of the cold war and create conditions for the armaments race. For we know that the "policy of strength" and competition in piling up armaments leads to war, and war today means countless victims and the destruction of immense material values.

For a New Summit Conference

Not so long ago American and British statesmen held a separate meeting not for the purpose of finding a way to ease tension, but to increase it, and to continue the arms drive. We should like a summit conference between representatives of the capitalist and socialist countries for the purpose of reaching agreement, with due regard to reality and on a basis of mutual understanding, on ruling out war as a method of dealing with international issues, ending the "cold war" and the arms drive, on establishing international relations based on co-existence and on settling controversial issues, not by means of war, but through negotiations, peaceful competition in promoting economy and culture and in meeting man's requirements as fully as possible.

The Communist and Workers'

Parties and those Socialist Parties which hold Marxist-Leninist views adhere to the same standpoint. Some bourgeois parties likewise advocate peaceful coexistence.

Today the peace-loving peoples are concerned, and rightly so, about the fact that the competition in question is going the wrong way. The recent conference between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain made it plain that the ruling circles of the two leading capitalist states intend to abide by the "policy of strength." The communique issued after the conference clearly shows that, on the pretext of an allegedly growing threat on the part of the Soviet Union, the ruling circles of the United States and Britain have reached agreement on fanning the flames of the "cold war" and increasing appropriations for the means of destruction, that is, on preparing a war.

The meeting of the heads of government of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, scheduled for December, bodes nothing good for peace. Attention is drawn by the circumstance that in a number of NATO countries the governments have been, or are, headed by leaders of Socialist Parties. These parties, which call themselves socialist, are actually carrying out the policy of the imperialist circles. They confuse the working class and try to make it appear that the Soviet Union is opposed to agreement on disarmament and easing international tension and allege that this forces them to continue the arms drive. But that is deception of the working people. And this policy, pursued by some of the leaders of the socialist parties, is

cunningly used by the imperialists. It was not accidental that Mr. Spaak, the NATO Secretary General and leading member of the Socialist Party in Belgium, received an invitation from the heads of the U.S. and British governments to the recent Eisenhower-Macmillan meeting. The facts show that the imperialists are using the right-wing Socialists in the misanthropic business of preparing war.

But no matter what the imperialists resort to, their plans are doomed to failure. The people do not want war, they stand vigilantly on guard over peace, oppose and will continue to oppose the aggressive designs of international reaction.

The Soviet Union has always championed world peace and will continue to do all in its power to avert the danger of a new war. In the future, too, we shall strive for disarmament, prohibition of weapons of wholesale extermination, work to establish confidence between the nations and to make the United Nations organization a genuine instrument of peace.

The more aggressive imperialist circles are striving to provoke conflicts wherever possible, to intensify the war danger and in this way divert considerable man power and resources from constructive labor in the socialist countries. Their tactic is to encircle the socialist countries with military bases, to create and extend military blocs.

Imperialism and the Arms Drive

Imperialist reaction pursues the line of maintaining and intensifying international tension. The imperialists are pursuing the policy of cold war and want to maintain the

arms drive. The most striking expression of this is the Dulles concept of keeping the world "on the brink of war." In this way they aim at ensuring good business for the U.S. monopolies, which, while waxing rich on the arms drive, are adding to the tax burden borne by the working people. For them a relaxation of tension and disarmament are not profitable. Abandonment of the arms drive would force the monopolies to switch industry from a war footing to production for civilian needs. This reorganization of production would benefit the people, but the monopolists are afraid to put it through because it will cut their profits from war orders. They are haunted by the fear of a worsening economic situation, of increased difficulties in marketing peaceful goods; moreover, they dread that a lessening of the tension and an ending of the arms drive would deprive them of the possibility of keeping the working people in a state of fear, of being able to intimidate people with the "bogey of communism" and of using these pretexts for reprisals against the progressive forces working for peace. The policy of the cold war arms drive and the aggravation of international tension are needed by the imperialists for the purpose of reinforcing the dictatorship of monopoly capital. They try to convince the workers that a militarized economy means full employment, that it is even advantageous to them. But the advanced workers, well aware of the instability of the war situation, know that prosperity cannot be built on the arms drive.

There is another perspective—that of developing civilian production. The possibilities for mutually

beneficial trade between all countries are enormous. The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, has repeatedly expressed its readiness to engage in the widest possible trade. This undoubtedly provides a solid foundation for trade and economic contacts between the peoples; it is fully in keeping with our line of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The banner of the socialist countries is a peaceloving policy aimed at easing international tension and consolidating friendship between the nations. And this policy harmonizes with the vital interests of the working people, with the interests of developing and consolidating the new social and economic system and stabilizing world peace.

Experience shows that the sole correct way in international relations at the present stage is the policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy of strengthening peace and friendship among the nations.

In advocating peaceful coexistence we, of course, have no intention of saying that there are no contradictions between socialism and capitalism, that complete "harmony" can be established between them or that it is possible to reconcile the communist and bourgeois ideology. Such a viewpoint would be tantamount to retreating from Marxism-Leninism.

The ideological differences are irreconcilable and will continue to be so. But this does not preclude peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist countries.

With military technology at its present level, the launching of a

world war by the imperialists would in all probability lead to fearful devastation and loss of life; use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and intercontinental missiles would be a terrible calamity for mankind. And the capitalist system, by evoking this calamity, would doom itself to irrevocable destruction. The people will no longer tolerate a system which brings mankind torment and suffering and bloody predatory wars.

Although we Communists are convinced that the outcome of another war, should the imperialists unleash it, would be the destruction of the system causing it, that is, the capitalist system, and that the socialist system would be victorious, we have no desire to achieve victory in this way.

We Communists have never sought, nor do we seek, to achieve our aims by such monstrous means—means that are amoral and contradict our communist outlook. We believe that war is not needed for the development of socialism.

950 Million People

The international communist and workers' movement is developing under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the militant and glorious motto: "Workers of all countries, unite." Glancing back over the path traversed by the international workers' movement, we proudly note that our predecessors were the glorious English Chartists, the heroes of the barricades in 1848 in France, Germany, Hungary, the fighters of the First International, the immortal heroes of the Paris Commune, and the American workers, on whose initiative the working

people of all countries began to celebrate the First of May—the day of international proletarian solidarity. . . .

Comrades, the results of the forty years that have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution are proof of the historic victories won by the working class in the struggle to establish socialism. At present, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, more than 950 million people in the socialist countries are building a new life, doing all in their power to build socialism and bring nearer the triumph of communism.

Socialism has now ceased to be merely a question of theory, it has long been transformed into a living reality, has become the living and creative undertaking of many nations.

Today hundreds of millions of people are marching forward under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Tomorrow their ranks will be reinforced by tens of hundreds of millions of working people.

The Soviet people, celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, demonstrate before all mankind the successes achieved by them under the leadership of the Communist Party. Who can deny that the Soviet Union is now a mighty socialist state, a country of high culture, science and technology. The greatest success of the socialist revolution is the unprecedented growth of the culture of the people, the education of the new man—the active builder of communism. Rich indeed is the spiritual world of the man of socialist society, grand and daring are his dreams and his deeds.

Why Zhukov Was Removed

The terse announcement that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR had appointed Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky Defense Minister of the USSR, and had relieved Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov of this post was made by Tass, the Soviet News Agency, on October 26. (Marshal Malinovsky had been deputy Defense Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet land forces.)

Coming close on the heels of numerous stories in the American press to the effect that Marshal Zhukov was about to establish a "military dictatorship" in the Soviet Union, and the statement by Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, that "the military seems to have become the decisive element in the Soviet Union," the announcement gave rise to a welter of confused speculation in Washington and the press.

The official explanation of the action came when Pravda, on November 3, published a decision of a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "On the Improvement of Party-Political Work in the Soviet Army and Navy." The plenary meeting voted unanimously to expel Zhukov from membership in the Central Committee of the CPSU and its Presidium, on the ground that he had sought to curtail Party and Government leadership in the Army and Navy and to build a "cult of personality" around himself. The full text of the resolution follows.

TEXT OF PARTY DECISION

HAVING won a historic victory of world-wide significance in the Great Patriotic War, the armed forces of the Soviet Union proved to be equal to their tasks and justified with honor the love and confidence of the peoples of the USSR.

In the postwar years, thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party and the So-

viet Government, the general development of the national economy of our country, the great successes in the development of heavy industry, science and technology, the armed forces of the Soviet Union have risen to a new, higher stage in their development. They are supplied with all types of modern military equipment and weapons, including atomic and thermonuclear weapons and rocket technique. The political conditions and morale of the troops are high. The commanding and political personnel of the Army and Navy are boundlessly devoted to their people, to the Soviet homeland and the Communist Party.

The complicated international situation, the armaments race in the chief capitalist countries, the interests of the defense of our homeland demand that the commanders, political organs and Party organizations steadily continue to perfect the military training of the troops, strengthen military discipline among the personnel, educate them in the spirit of devotion to the homeland, to the Communist Party, take care to satisfy the spiritual and material demands of the servicemen.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU believes that in the accomplishment of these tasks particularly great importance is acquired by the further improvement of Party and political work in the Soviet Army and Navy, which is called upon to strengthen the military might of our armed forces, to rally the personnel around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, to train the servicemen in the spirit of selfless devotion to the Soviet homeland, in the spirit of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of proletarian internationalism. Yet, serious shortcomings still exist in practical Party-political work, while sometimes it is plainly underestimated.

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU set before the Party and the people the

task of keeping our defense at the level of modern military engineering and science, of ensuring the security of our socialist state. In accomplishing this task, side by side with the commanders who exercise single authority, an important role belongs to the military councils, political organs and Party organizations of the Army and Navy. All of them must firmly and consistently implement the policy of the Communist Party.

The chief source of the might of our Army and Navy is that its organizer, leader and educator is the Communist Party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. One should always remember V. I. Lenin's directives to the effect that "the policy of the military department, as of all other departments and institutions too, is pursued in strict accordance with the general directives given by the Party, through its Central Committee and under its direct control."

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU notes that of late the former Minister of Defense, G. K. Zhukov, has violated the Leninist, Party principles of leadership of the armed forces, has pursued a line directed toward curtailing the work of Party organizations, political organs and military councils, toward the abolition of leadership and control of the Army and Navy by the Party, its Central Committee and the government.

The plenary meeting established that with the personal participation of Comrade G. K. Zhukov, the cult of his personality began to be propagated in the Soviet Army. With the help of obsequious flatterers and toadies, he began to be inordinately praised in lectures and reports, in articles, films, pamphlets, excessively exalting his person and his role in the Great Patriotic War. Thus, in order to please G. K. Zhukov the true history of the war was distorted, the actual state of affairs misrepresented, minimizing the gigantic efforts of the Soviet people, the heroism of all our armed forces, the role of the commanders and political workers, the military skill of the commanders of fronts, armies, fleets, the directing and in-

spiring role of the Communist Party.

The Party and the Government highly appreciated the services of G. K. Zhukov, conferring upon him the title of Marshal of the Soviet Union, honoring him with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union four times, decorating him with many orders. Great political confidence was placed in him. At the Twentieth Congress of the Party, he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU. The Central Committee of the CPSU elected him an alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, and later a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU. But owing to his inadequate Party spirit, G. K. Zhukov, misinterpreting this high appraisal of his services, lost the modesty of a Party member, which V. I. Lenin taught us, conceitedly thought that he was the only hero of all the victories won by our people and their armed forces under the leadership of the Communist Party and crudely violated the Leninist Party principles of leadership of the armed forces.

Thus, G. K. Zhukov failed to justify the trust placed in him by the Party. He turned out to be politically wanting, inclined to adventurism both in his understanding of the most important tasks of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and in his leadership of the Ministry of Defense.

In connection with the foregoing, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU resolved:

To exclude G. K. Zhukov from membership of the Presidium and membership of the Central Committee of the CPSU and instructed the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU to give other work to G. Zhukov.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU expresses the certainty that Party organizations, fulfilling the decision of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, will continue to direct their efforts toward the further strengthening of the defensive capacity of our socialist state.

(Unanimously adopted by all the members of the Central Committee, alternate

members of the Central Committee, members of the Central Auditing Commission, and approved by all the military men and high-ranking officials of Party and government organizations present at the plenary meetings of the Central Committee.)

An article in the same issue of Pravda reported that Zhukov had admitted both military and political mistakes and had expressed deep regret that only during the Central Committee meeting had he come to realize the significance of the mistakes he had made "especially recently." Zhukov noted that he had once before been expelled from the Central Committee, "during Stalin's lifetime, in 1946" but at

that time could not acknowledge the action as correct. "But now it is a different matter. I admit my mistakes. In the course of the plenum I fully understood them and I give my word to the Central Committee of the Party to fully correct my shortcomings."

The Pravda article made clear that during the discussion many of Zhukov's old-time comrades-in-arms joined in and amplified the criticisms against him, charging him with excessive self-glorification at the expense of others, and extreme arbitrariness in methods of leadership.

Subsequent reports have indicated that Zhukov would have a new job "in keeping with his experience and qualifications."

THE SPACE AGE IS HERE

"SCIENTISTS in the West have reacted generously to the remarkable Russian enterprise in shooting the first man-made moon into its orbit. The suggestion that the Russians had double-crossed the IGY by operating the signals on other than the agreed wavelengths and sending the satellite up by stealth was immediately denied by the IGY Secretary-General, Professor Marcel Nicolet, who announced that the Russians had duly communicated their proposed wavelengths and had observed, within two hours, the international agreement to notify IGY of a successful launching.

"This is a technological achievement which must shatter forever any illusions about western engineering superiority. But the launching into the orbit has proved something else—the scientific qualities of the Russians. Because of the emphasis which, for the past 40 years, the Russians have put on practical results, it has commonly been assumed that the Russians were promoting applied science to the neglect of pure science. This, of course, ignores the fact that there was a great tradition of academic science in pre-revolutionary Russia, and that Soviet policy has been to glorify science and to treat academicians as an aristocracy.

"The prestige of this accomplishment is enormous—a physical achievement very different in kind but second in importance to the release of atomic energy. The Americans are crestfallen because it shakes their confidence in their technical supremacy: despite the vast amount of money they have already spent on rocket development they have been beaten to the post. This setback, however, will undoubtedly provoke them to greater efforts and expenditures.

"The Russian achievement will have a salutary effect on the thinking of all scientists. The Space Age is definitely here. This 'break-through' will promote research with all kinds of intermediate practical possibilities, and release the thinking of a new generation of scientists from the physical limitation of this planet."

RITCHIE CALDER: *New Statesman*, Oct. 12

"NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

reviewed by MURRAY YOUNG

NOT BY BREAD ALONE, by Vladimir Dudintsev. E. P. Dutton. New York. 1957. \$4.95.

LAST February we published a long account of this novel by our Moscow correspondent Ralph Parker, in which he described in detail the story and the excitement attendant upon its serialization in *Novy Mir* during the fall of 1956.

Subjected to severe official criticism, even made the central point of an attack by Khrushchev in the course of an important speech on the whole relation of the Party to creative expression, the novel was published in an edition of 30,000 this spring, refuting the dark predictions of various Western Soviet "experts" who maintained that it would never be distributed in book form.

Eagerly sought by Western publishers as no Soviet novel had been in years, it has now been published in this country with a preface written by the author specially for this English language edition.

It has already been widely reviewed in the American press which in general found the book competently and, at times, extremely well written. Most reviewers found the characters interesting if a little bewildering, the background of the city of Moscow, its apartment houses and streets, the metallic glitter and polish of official offices and the taut atmosphere of conferences and engineering offices done with exceptional skill. A number, attracted by the ideas and moral problems closely woven into the texture of the story, felt the relation of the novel to the great Russian novels of the 19th century.

But almost without exception the reviewers expressed a sense of disappointment—was this really the "sensational" exposé of Soviet society the "experts" had told them it was? Had this book

really "rocked the Soviet Union" as the jacket proclaims?

Indeed a number of reviewers felt that the book had given them a deeper understanding of Soviet life. The reviewer in the *New York Times* (Oct. 21) said:

"In spite of the long and documented account of Soviet bureaucratic shortcomings here set forth, the effect of the novel might very well be to create in the reader a sympathy for the Russian people and a better understanding of Russian life under communism."

And the reviewer in the *New York World-Telegram* (Oct. 21) had this to say: "Over and over, you find yourself doing a mental double-take as the thought intrudes that this is not an anti-Russian book but a Russian one."

The *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 22) sums up its review:

"One may argue, it is true, that this indictment of Communism does not deny the existence of Sputnik. It can also be noted that the path of the creative individual is not automatically easy in the United States. But the situations are hardly comparable and this book is first-hand evidence of the degradation reached under the Soviet system of collective avarice." (Whatever "collective avarice" may be.)

Certainly any open-minded reader would agree that this book does not deny the existence of the Sputnik. As a matter of fact it makes clear the chief reason that Sputnik is now encircling the earth: the enormous importance given to science in the Soviet Union everywhere in evidence in the book, the admirable examples of true collective experimentation presented in the course of the story, and the profound sense of social responsibility displayed not only by its hero but also by the people who unselfishly come to his assistance.

"The 'degradation' the *Wall Street Journal* rejoices in is, of course, to be found in the portraits of the officials and their accommodating subordinates and in the unsavory details of the hero's entrapment, trial, and sentencing to a term in a labor camp. This is not a pretty story nor did Dudintsev mean it to be. These, he feels are alien elements in a society whose desired form he from time to time indicates in the thoughts and speeches of his hero. That such elements still exist under socialism the revelations of the past two years have made clear. It must be remembered that this book was written before the 20th Congress which set in motion measures to correct many of the abuses attacked by the book. Indeed the very publication of the book, however sharply criticized, is part of the purification process itself.

In his preface, the author says that when he saw articles on his book by certain Western "experts," "I felt as though my novel, a peaceable ship in foreign waters, had been seized by pirates and was flying the skull and bones."

It was in part this kind of reception by unfriendly critics in the West that seemed to concern many of the Soviet critics of the book. Khrushchev's sweeping denunciation of the book that though it contained "certain correctly and strongly written pages but is in general tone basically wrong" centered not only on its effect abroad but also on the role of the Party as shown in the book and the overemphasis of the "lonely hero" in opposition to the collective relations that more truthfully reflect a socialist society.

For readers outside the Soviet Union this is a difficult point to determine beyond recognizing that the Party in the novel does seem to play a most illusive and indirect role and that such "lone wolves" as the hero can hardly be typical of a collective society but would appear to be survivals of the past or reflections of unrealized relationships whose fuller realization it is the purpose of this novel to help bring into existence.

In his preface the author says:

"We Soviet people jealously guard the basic principles of our life, that uplift of the soul and that purity of new human relations which spring up in us from our early years. And with all the force which a dedicated man suddenly torn from a beloved activity is capable, we repudiate those who bring disillusionment, introversion and selfish calculation into our ranks, we pour out on them all our anger, and however tough such seasoned timeservers may be, we shall force them to surrender."

This statement seems to express the objective of the book and the passionate intensity of many of the passages is clear testimony of the author's deep concern. It is true that he has managed his story so that his "lone wolf" hero wins out against the whole official apparatus of the government but he has used no easy pattern of simple good and evil. The hero himself is by no means entirely admirable, he is difficult in all his relations, particularly his purely human ones (witness the three women who love him). And the officials who make his life hard are shown not as wholly bad men; they are complacent, jealous, selfish of their own interests, but they are capable of generosity and certainly in the midst of their closely-held authority they are pathetic and more than a little foolish.

This is a first novel and many of the technical and other inadequacies probably have their source in inexperience. Its one-sided picture of the difficulties surrounding creative workers in the Soviet Union is of course by no means the whole story, making us more eager than ever to read recent novels by more experienced novelists which address themselves to many of the problems too narrowly treated in this book and which, according to report, give a far more rounded picture of life today in the Soviet Union.

Soviet life in the light of the remarkable achievements signalized by the appearance of the two Sputniks in the skies above us will become of wider and wider interest to people in our country; we

hope that other publishers will hasten to satisfy this interest by making available to us a far wider range of Soviet creative work, not only novels, but plays, poetry and critical works that will help us understand more clearly the moral values and types of human relationships developing under socialism.

SOVIET PSYCHOLOGY

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE SOVIET UNION, edited with an introduction by Brian Simon. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Cal. 1957. 305 pp. \$6.00.

THIS collection of papers by leading Soviet psychologists is an important addition to the very limited knowledge we have in this country about psychology in the USSR.

Selected and edited by Brian Simon who contributes an extremely important introduction, these papers provide valuable insight into the nature of Soviet psychology and its achievements, particularly in the last five years.

In his introduction, Mr. Simon first of all makes clear the philosophic background of Soviet psychology by a lucid exposition of the materialist viewpoint upon which it is based. In defining the principles of dialectical materialism which underlies all Soviet scientific work, Mr. Simon explains the reasons for Soviet criticism of psychoanalysis, and in the field of education, their refusal to permit the use of mental testing (the I.Q. system).

Because experimental psychologists in the USSR hold that Pavlov's theory of higher nervous activity provides the firm scientific basis for their work, Mr. Simon provides a useful summary of the elements of Pavlov's great and original contribution essential for a proper understanding of the papers that follow.

Mr. Simon also provides a brief summary of the present organization of psychology in the Soviet Union in the course of which he introduces the authors of the

various papers and defines the scope and general content of their individual contributions.

The papers themselves include a review of research in psychology during the years 1953 to 1957 which serves as an introduction to the other contributions and indicates the range and the subjects of interest to Soviet psychologists.

This is followed by a group of studies dealing with the bearing of Pavlov's theories in the field of physiology upon psychological research and with accounts of direct research into higher nervous activity.

A third section deals with work being done in perception and memory, and the fifth section consists of three theoretical studies.

It is the fourth section on child development and the psychology of learning that will probably prove of the greatest general interest to teachers and parents. Specifically the two papers dealing with the formation of mental abilities in children who have been diagnosed as backward will be of special interest to all those concerned in any way with education. Mr. Simon points out it is because of the confidence Soviet educators have in the possibility of the formation of mental abilities that there is a single common school in the USSR with a common curriculum and with no selection of any kind permitted.

Two brief summaries are appended: one on the main features of psychopathological research in the USSR, the other a brief report of the Fourteenth International Congress of Psychology held in Montreal in 1954, which serves to place Soviet research in the wider setting of work being carried on in other countries.

The clear and objective presentation of the background material by the editor, combined with the skillful choice and careful editing of the examples of Soviet research, makes this an admirable example of cultural and scientific exchange at its best.

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