

JUNE, 1959

25¢

New World

REVIEW

TIBET — WHAT'S AHEAD?

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

OUR TRIP TO THE USSR

MURRAY YOUNG

Agriculture in Czechoslovakia

GEORGE WHEELER

Soviet Youth on Ethics and Aesthetics

RALPH PARKER

Jews in the Soviet Union

The German Democratic Republic

NEW WORLD REVIEW

JUNE

1959

Review and Comment

<i>Jessica Smith</i>	3
Springtime, Friendship and Peace <i>Murray Young</i>	5
Tibet—What Happened? What's Ahead? <i>Anna Louise Strong</i>	8
In the German Democratic Republic <i>Edgar P. Young</i>	19
Agriculture in Czechoslovakia <i>George S. Wheeler</i>	22
14 Years Later <i>Bernard Koten</i>	26
Soviet Youth on Ethics and Aesthetics <i>Ralph Parker</i>	28
Along Mother Volga <i>Archie Johnstone</i>	31
All-Russian Theatrical Society <i>Andrew Rothstein</i>	33
Jews in the Soviet Union <i>Paul Novick</i>	37
Critics on Bolshoy Ballet	41

BOOK REVIEWS

<i>The Enchanted Prince, or The Beggar in the Harem—Leonid Solovvey</i> <i>reviewed by Rockwell Kent</i>	44
<i>Ira Aldridge, the Negro Tragedian—Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock</i> <i>reviewed by Murray Young</i>	45

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

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

Vol. 27, No. 6, June, 1959. Second Class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription \$2.50 per year. \$1.25 for 6 months (Canadian, \$3.00, foreign \$3.50 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York.) Published monthly by the N.W.R. Publications, Inc., 34 West 15th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: CHelsea 3-0666.
PRINTED IN U.S.A.



TO OUR READERS

How we hoped we would be able to avoid another appeal before vacation time! But we're sorry to say the last one, while many responded generously, did not bring in nearly enough. We must have another \$5,000 *right now*—never mind about later—we'll come again—but we really mean *right now* to meet our immediate needs.

If you'll make it possible, we'll bring you rewarding material in the months ahead, with more people than ever visiting the USSR, the People's Democracies and other countries.

Murray Young brings you the first results of his trip to the USSR in this issue—more later!—and from others too.

An article on how they handle juvenile delinquency in Poland is on the way, more on Czechoslovakia from the wonderful Wheelers—and articles on Rumania and Bulgaria.

Soon we shall be hearing from recent visitors to Hungary.

Albania too! In England there is a British-Albanian Friendship Society which has promised firsthand reports.

And more on developments in China, from Anna Louise Strong, Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, Israel Epstein and others.

And of course you'll want to have material and analyses on the course of the Foreign Ministers' Conference, and the Summit which *must* follow.

Please send us whatever help you can as quickly as possible so we may keep solvent and continue publishing. Use the special book premium offer on the back page for renewals and to get new subscribers.

Is there \$1,000 somewhere lying idle that could be put to work usefully? Are there thousands of \$1, \$5, \$10, \$25 contributors? We need them!

PLEASE FILL OUT AND MAIL TODAY

NEW WORLD REVIEW, 34 W. 15th St.
New York 11, N. Y.

I enclose \$..... for your publication fund.

Name

Street..... City.....

Zone..... State.....

Geneva-First Phase

by JESSICA SMITH

WITH THE GENEVA foreign ministers' conference still in its early stages, we can attempt no more at this point than a brief summary of its first week.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's proposal on the eve of the conference for full participation of both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, while turned down by the West, resulted in agreement that both could speak at the conference, if no objection were raised, rather than being present merely as consultants. The question of full participation of Czechoslovakia and Poland, which he also raised, will undoubtedly come up again.

In opening statements May 13, the three Western foreign ministers sharply criticized the Soviet Union's proposals on the German question. Secretary of State Christian A. Herter accused the USSR of attempting "unilaterally to liquidate" four-power responsibility for Berlin and German reunification.

Mr. Gromyko stressed the importance of a German peace treaty and declared the dangerous situation of a NATO-occupied West Berlin in the heart of the German Democratic Republic must be ended. He restated the Soviet position that reunification could only be achieved by negotiations between the two German states themselves. Referring to concrete proposals of the USSR, in the draft peace treaty it proposed concluding with both Germanys pending reunification, and its proposals for transforming West Berlin into a demilitarized free city (see NWR, Jan. and Feb. 1959), he said his government was willing also to examine any constructive proposals on these problems submitted by other participants in the conference. Expressing hope that the conference might achieve positive results, he concluded:

Our task, in the deep conviction of the Soviet delegation, does not consist in seeking causes of dissension and exaggerating that which divides us. We should concentrate our attention on that which could unite us, on the search for mutually acceptable decisions.

On May 14 the much heralded "package plan" of the West was presented "as an inseparable whole," to come into effect in successive stages.

Where were the constructive and realistic proposals heard in enlightened Western circles before the conference, to the effect that the existence of the two Germanys must be recognized, that German unification is impossible at this time, and all-German elections not the immediate problem?

On Berlin: The first phase of the complicated Western plan would be all-Berlin free elections (depriving the GDR of its capital), under quadripartite or UN supervision. The city would be ruled by an elected council under four-power authority until unification was achieved, and retained as the capital of a reunified Germany. The powers would undertake to solve any dispute by peaceful means, refrain from the use of force, and withhold assistance to any aggressor.

On reunification: A mixed committee of 25 from the Federal Republic of Germany and 10 from the German Democratic Republic would be formed, decisions to be by a three-quarters majority. It would draft an electoral law (or two laws, if agreement were not reached on one) to be submitted to a plebiscite. Countrywide elections would be held within two and a half years; until then the four powers would retain the right of stationing troops within the country. The peace treaty would follow reunification.

On security: This includes an over-all disarmament provision under which the United States and the Soviet Union would cut armed forces to agreed limits,

negotiate other cuts and extend reductions to other states. An inspection system against surprise attack would be set up. East Germany and other Eastern European states would renounce production of chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons, as West Germany has done. [Nothing said on the decision of West to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons.] Chosen allies of reunited Germany would agree not to station troops beyond dividing line. Ceilings on armed forces would be created in an agreed European zone.

Secretary Herter, opposing the Soviet proposal for a peace treaty with each German government, presented a purely legalistic argument to the effect that since the Nazi Government with which the Allies were at war was the government of all of Germany, that "international entity" remains in existence, and therefore a peace treaty could be made only with such an entity. (This argument, wholly unrelated to reality, could of course be turned with equal force against all Western relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, with which the West has been dealing as an international entity.)

Foreign Minister Gromyko pointed out that the Western plan tied together both questions it had been agreed to discuss at the conference and others that had nothing to do with them. He declared that including the complicated question of disarmament which had already been under discussion for a decade and a half could only produce new bottlenecks. He said the position of his government was that these problems had to be solved separately, instead of being tied into an intricate knot incapable of solution. Similarly, he declared that tying the questions of Berlin and a peace treaty with that of German unification blocked the possibility of any solution.

Mr. Gromyko reiterated that under the conditions, since the two German governments had been acting independently for almost ten years, a united Ger-

many could come into existence only by agreement between the two German states. The Soviet Union, he said, was not of course opposed to an all-German committee, but this was the business only of the two German states. Similarly, the Soviet Union did not oppose all-German elections, but again this was the business of the Germans themselves and not the four powers. He declared that the question of European security and disarmament should certainly be considered at an appropriate time, but not interwoven with other unrealistic elements. He opposed the Western plan as failing to make proposals on a peace treaty, in envisaging it only as the last stage of a complicated and intricate process which meant in fact postponing it indefinitely.

The Soviet Foreign Minister charged that the Western plans were actually aimed at preserving the present dangerous situation in Europe, specifically provided retention of foreign troops and military bases on German territory after the treaty had been signed, and contained no provisions for preventing the revival of the aggressive power of German militarism. He stressed the fact that German unity could best be served by its non-alignment with any opposing military blocs of powers, and that his government continued to believe in a united, peace-loving, democratic Germany, free from foreign occupation.

While declaring the plan as a whole unacceptable, Mr. Gromyko emphasized the readiness of the Soviet Government to consider separate aspects of it. This, he said, referred to such provisions as the four-power declaration of a settlement by peaceful means of all international disputes and the refusal of assistance to any aggressor, some questions of disarmament and the establishment of a limited armaments zone. He urged that the conference concentrate on the two pressing problems of a peace treaty with Germany and of West Berlin, and expressed hope for progress at the present conference and the summit.

Springtime, Friendship and Peace

by MURRAY YOUNG

SPRINGTIME came early this year to Europe; by the second week of April, when the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship tourist group reached Kiev, trees were green and the great squares and streets brilliant with the season's first flowers.

Day by day, for the next three weeks, under sun-drenched skies, the green of the trees became richer and the colors of the flowers more varied in their brilliance. Our week in Moscow passed under a shining sun, unshadowed by a passing cloud.

Even Leningrad, the most northerly city we visited, was by the first week of May far advanced into spring, so that its formal grandeur was everywhere softened by the delicate green of willow trees along its canals and the display of flowers in its vast, almost overwhelming squares.

But it was not only the early spring that welcomed us with its warmth and fresh colors. From the Soviet people themselves came a welcome boundless in its open-hearted warmth. For we were not merely just another group of tourists (to all of whom of course every kindness is generously proffered)—our group bore within its title the noble word "friendship." This word and its companion "peace" we were to hear, both in their English and Russian forms, thousands of times before our visit was over.

It did not take us long to understand the urgent sincerity of this offer of friendship that would assure peace in the world, for the terrible years of the Second World War remain a haunting presence in the Soviet Union.

In this first spring of the new Seven-Year Plan, most traces of the ravages of the war have been obliterated by the magnificent new construction of public buildings and countless apartment houses, but in the hearts of the people, in the stories of their broken families, in their memories of Nazi savagery, and the bitter struggle of rebuilding when the war had been won, there has been no obliteration—only a passionate determination that peace, based upon friendship with all peoples, must be the order of the future.

Stalingrad today is a splendidly planned city, proudly rising along the broad waters of the historic Volga, but in the spring of 1943, after the surrender of the Germans, two houses alone remained standing in the ancient city.

The May Day slogans this year proclaimed in bold white letters on the red banners a shining future for all mankind, but the Soviet people know what this future costs. Perhaps the most valued experience a visitor to the Soviet Union can have is to understand a little more clearly why the word peace is never far from the lips of everyone he meets.

At this point the reader probably says impatiently to himself, "This is all very well, but I should like to see for myself. What is it like traveling in the Soviet Union? Will I find the language a barrier, will I be able to find my way about, will I be able to see relatives and friends? How about the food, the sleeping arrangements, etc. etc.?"

The answer to these questions is, of course, *Intourist*. This is the remarkable organization whose purpose it is to see that your visit is, first of all, as cheap as possible, and, secondly, smoothly and efficiently arranged.

How shall one sing the praises of the young men and women who run *Intourist*? Their knowledge of English, their constant concern for your comfort, their ability to solve the most difficult as well as the most trivial problems as they arise is beyond praise. And when joined with a knowledge of the history, art, architecture, music, literature of their own country as well as with an astoundingly wide acquaintance with that of others, the lucky tourist can only sit back and admire.

Stepping out of our plane at the Kiev airport, we were met by a tiny young woman with a shyly smiling face, who told us her name was Irina Roshchina, and that she had come down from Moscow to be our permanent guide during the three weeks of our visit. As the crowded days went by, Irina became more than our guide, counselor and friend—she came to symbolize for us all the disciplined, purposeful young people of the country. Proud of their country's past, devoted to its present, and confident of its future.

Irina stayed with us until our final departure at Leningrad, but in each city we visited local representatives assisted her. Merely to recall their names is a pleasure—Rima Cherenko in Kiev, where Larissa Aleshkina, about whom Rockwell Kent writes so lyrically in his "Of Men and Mountains," gave valuable assistance; Nikolay Perepelitsa in Kharkov; Eugene (who kept quoting, of all people, Thomas Moore!) in Sochi; Igor Levkovich in Stalingrad; Boris in Moscow; and in Leningrad the charming Vera.

Full of laughter, tireless in our behalf, quick to sense difficulties of understanding in speech or custom, these young people did their utmost to make our visit pass without flaw. Whatever crises arose—for we are all too human—were brief and quickly forgotten, and in the end all of us realized the great experience we were having, against which poor coffee or a broken toilet seemed of minor consequence.

Moreover, so well organized is *Intourist* that from our entry into the country until our departure, we carried no luggage, slept in comfortable beds, were served excellent meals promptly, saw whatever we requested to see, and traveled entirely by plane.

As for seeing relatives and friends, for a number of people in our group there were touching reunions after 40 years of separation. The sister of one of the group had come all the way from Tashkent to join her brother in Sochi. In Moscow there were general reunions and much visiting in the homes of relatives and the joining with us in visits to

the theater by newly found brothers and sisters.

We arrived in Moscow the week leading to the 1st of May, and each morning we saw that leaves on the trees had turned greener, that more flowers had opened in the squares, and that more red banners had been hung on buildings. By the 30th of April it did not seem possible that more flags and banners could be displayed, so decorated was every street and square.

On the evening of the 30th we were invited to a reception at the newly opened Friendship House—once the town house of a wealthy Russian merchant.

In the beautiful blue and white, once private, concert hall of Friendship House, we were welcomed in a touching speech by Mrs. Nina Popova who heads the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

"Everywhere green shows in the streets—spring! And we are met here in the name of friendship and peace. How perfectly the three names—spring, friendship and peace—form a unity. For life renews itself in springtime—but only when there is peace based upon love and friendship."

Mrs. Popova was followed by other speakers from China, Korea, India, Algeria, the French Congo, and our own beloved Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, whose name the next day was to be heard around the world as one of the receivers of this year's International Lenin Peace Prize.

All the speakers expressed deep happiness in being in Moscow on the eve of the great International

May Day Festival and all of them spoke passionately for peace and for friendship among the peoples.

May Day proved that there could be more banners and flags. Moscow was alive with their redness and the green of trees now fully in leaf—and everywhere people carried flowering branches or great bouquets.

Our group was fortunate: we had reserved places on Red Square. In brilliant sunlight we watched the three-hour "demonstration" as it is called. Here again, as always with the people to whom we talked on the streets, in the factories, on collective farms, the first and last words on every banner and in every song were "friendship" and "peace."

This is only a brief report written in haste, with no pretensions of being a full account of our remarkable three weeks. I hope later to describe our visits to schools and factories, conversations with all kinds of people everywhere, aspects of Soviet life that will need more thorough analysis.

If this hasty report has done nothing more than make you curious and want to see for yourself whether some of my more extravagant-seeming claims are true or not, it has served its purpose.

You should go and see for yourself. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship by arranging tours (of which the one I have described is the first of many to come) has put us all very deeply in their debt. Reasonably priced, carefully planned, the Council tours open for you, in the easiest way possible, a visit to that world—that "future"—which Lincoln Stefens long ago prophetically said *worked*. Well, go and see for yourself—it does work.

TIBET

What Happened? What's Ahead?

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Peking, April 24, 1959

WHEN I listen in my quiet Peking study to the Voice of America, as duty sometimes bids, I wonder if any voice of mine can pierce the smoke screen of wild inventions and find on the North American continent some rational humans who want facts. If so, the *New World Review* will find them, so here goes.

You are told that Peking commits history's worst oppression, that its army of 300,000 men puts down a pious folk, that 50,000 men plus planes staged a man-hunt for the god-king who escaped to India "by a miracle." Committees to help refugees from Tibet arise under philanthropists like Lowell Thomas and General Wedemeyer. U.S. naval vessels patrolling the China coast hold prayers for the poor Tibetans.

This is just funny nonsense—if it were not so intentionally evil. Peking never had anything like 300,000 soldiers in Tibet: the area could never have used them nor fed them. Peking had just 14,000 soldiers in all that wild frontier area of a million square kilometers when the reactionary clique of serf-owners launched rebellion March 10: and

these were in small detachments many days' journey apart over high mountain trails. Peking never launched any man-hunt nor tried in any way to catch the Dalai Lama; to do so might have endangered his life and would certainly have injured his dignity and that of Peking. Willingly or unwillingly, he was in the hands of the fleeing rebels. Peking sighted their journey from observation planes and announced his crossing of the Indian border by routine news item a day before Prime Minister Nehru disclosed it in parliament. Nehru seemed disturbed by this, but it seems to me that it was Peking's neat, unincriminating way of saying to Nehru: "We know where he is. If you want him, that's your affair."

American naval vessels holding prayers for Tibetans should have prayed years ago for the Indians our armed forces obliterated, or more recently for the Koreans they burned with napalm by entire villages. The Tibetans do not need their prayers. Hundreds of them have hurried home from the schools in Peking and Chengtu where they were studying, because at last they can organize schools and hospitals in Tibet without being murdered for it. They leave with their Han friends these words:

"Our people are happy already to be freed from three evils: the Kasha,

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, famous world correspondent and author of many books on the USSR, China and our own country, has been living and traveling in China for the past few months.

the feudal army, the whip! Now, step by step, it will be possible to free the serfs and give them land."

In Feudal Tibet

What they mean by this becomes clear from notes and articles of Israel Epstein, who visited Tibet in 1955 with thirty journalists from eight countries. He told me how instruments of torture hung openly on the wall in Lhasa's "court of justice," how witnesses were given preliminary beatings to put them in the right attitude, and more serious floggings if the judge did not like their testimony. Don't blame this on the Tibetan character—it was a custom in Europe too in the feudal days.

The practice of "ula" was also described by Epstein. This was the unpaid labor which any commoner might have to give to any person with a government order. Unhappy serfs, acting as unpaid porters for long distances, had to furnish their own food and sometimes died of hunger while they toiled. Chumei Bajan, a young woman studying in a modern school in inland China, said she had come to help the People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.) because her father starved to death doing "ula" for the old Kuomintang Army. When the new army paid for labor and transport, the Tibetan commoners could hardly believe it. That was what began Tibet's awakening eight years ago.

Let us start with the fact that Tibet has been an integral part of China very much longer than California has been part of the United States. Forget words like "suzerain," which Britain likes to use for the relationship. That was true in the

Tang Dynasty when Tibet had a king who married a Tang princess and paid tribute to the Tangs. In later dynasties, centuries ago, this "tributary" relation was superseded by actual incorporation in the old Chinese Empire. Tibet kept its local government, but Peking stationed a minister in Lhasa who had final choice of each new Dalai Lama and even supervised the Dalai's family affairs. This control was somewhat affected in the last century by Britain's "sphere of influence," but just now, when the Dalai Lama, in India, seems to speak of Tibet's "independence" from China, a certain man named Cheng Chen sputters in Peking. He was the general who, under Chiang Kai-shek, formally "approved" the present Dalai Lama and permitted his elevation as a god.

Peking's Tactful Policies

The present Peking government has handled Tibetan affairs with a brotherly care and a tactful consideration for all past traditions, greater than has ever been shown in history by any government dealing with a backward people.

First of all, despite all headlines in the U.S.A. about Chinese aggression, Peking *never* invaded Tibet, not even in 1950 when Washington was trying to take Tibet over. In 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek was collapsing on one side of Tibet and British imperialism was collapsing on the other, Lowell Thomas went to Lhasa to do an American job. He has stated that he had no government task, and I will not dispute him, though I note that he carried a letter from President Truman and says he kept warm in Tibet's cold

nights with whiskey given him for the purpose by General Willoughby, MacArthur's chief of G-2. One need not implicate Mr. Thomas with G-2: one should see only his main function. He did a worldwide job of public promotion for Tibetan "independence," a formula under which Washington has been gaining control of sundry areas in South Asia along China's borders. It is the formula used by Britain for a century.

Tibet is a big territory with a small population. It contains a million square kilometers, as much as four of our western states, like Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona: its average elevation is as high as most of the Rocky Mountain peaks. Its population (excluding Chamdo which will be discussed below) was around 900,000, of whom 150,000 were monks known as lamas, mostly living in great lamaseries owning vast tracts of land. The rest of the land was owned by some fifty noble families and by the Dalai's government. It was cultivated by serfs. The lamas did not labor, and while one cannot claim they were always celibate, they had no legal children.

"A Religious Attitude Toward Lice"

The fact that nearly a third of the adult males abstained from productive work and from responsible reproduction, was a main cause of Tibet's long decline. Another cause was the widespread disease bred by superstition. I quote from a physician seen by Epstein in a hospital established by Peking, who was carefully refraining from comment on the lice that crawled on him from a patient. He told Epstein that if

he protested, this would destroy his patients' confidence in him. "They have a religious attitude towards lice," he said.

Tibet's government was complicated. There was a cabinet of nobles, part lay, part clerical, called the "Kasha": its six members were known as "kaloons." Its decrees had to be sealed by the Dalai Lama's secretariat to make them valid. Every government post was staffed by two persons, a layman and a clerical, who had to "agree." The clerical voice was higher. All this government handled mainly the affairs of the nobles. Commoners were directly ruled by their masters, who had power to cut off a serf's hand or foot or blind him for disobedience or for running away.

The nobles, as individuals, were supposed to obey the Dalai Lama but the Dalai obeyed throughout life the rituals set up for him by the hierarchy, which held him to a routine of prayer and fasting and occasional appearances as an object of worship. How little real power he had is shown by the fact that only two Dalai Lamas left a dent in history: the Great Fifth and the Thirteenth.

The Dalai Lamas occasionally did not attain power, but died suddenly and mysteriously sometime around their eighteenth birthday. The assumed reason was that the hierarchy preferred to rule through a succession of child-gods rather than through adult men who might have ideas of their own. The present Dalai is the fourteenth, and is supposed to have survived because the deal with Peking was made before he came of age.

The present Chinese Government

seek
In r
Arm
ders
"pe
Peki
the
sider
Chia
over
able
The
In r
defe
do,
for r
from
and
ment
CH
It is
west
most
that
provi
as Si
ished
Chan
mous
porat
Regio
has n
Dalai
pende
On
of De
Bomc
Natio
now.
than
many
differ
take t
dicat
patien
The
impor

seeks ends with minimum friction. In 1950 when its People's Liberation Army was pushing out to the borders, many areas were taken by "peaceful liberation." The city of Peking itself was a noted example: the P.L.A. sat in its suburbs a considerable time and negotiated until Chiang's Commanding General came over, and thereby gained an honorable post in the new government. The take-over of Tibet was similar. In 1950 the P.L.A. encountered and defeated a Tibetan Army at Chamdo, and then sat down and waited for more than a year until a mission from the Dalai Lama came to Peking and made the now famous "Agreement of 1951."

Chamdo is a place to remember. It is high in the mountains northwest of Szechwan and its people are mostly Tibetans; but it was not at that time in Tibet but in a Chinese province you can see on your maps as Sikang. Peking has now abolished Sikang as a province, and Chamdo is a new Tibetan Autonomous Chou, which will be incorporated in the Tibetan Autonomous Region when this is organized. It has not at any time been under the Dalai Lama: it has various independent lords.

One of these, known as the Queen of De Ge, or as the Lady Janyang Bomo, is sitting as a deputy in the National Congress of China right now. She has 70,000 serfs in more than thirty clans, scattered over many mountain ranges and in two different provinces. . . . These things take time. I mention this lady to indicate both the problems and the patience of Peking.

The battle of Chamdo in 1950 is important for another reason. The

Tibetan forces were commanded by the Dalai Lama's Commander-in-Chief, Ngapo Ngawan Jigme—in Chinese known as Apei—and he was not only defeated but won by good treatment plus explanations to trust the new government in Peking. The Dalai then appointed him to go to Peking as chief of the mission which negotiated "the peaceful takeover." He was one of the six kaloons of Tibet's ancient government, and also became in 1956 Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomy. During the rebellion, Apei was one of the two kaloons who remained loyal to Peking; he is now the executive of the new local Tibetan Government. Himself a serf-owning noble with 2,500 serfs, he is pledged to reforms which will in due time free also his own serfs with appropriate recompense.

Ngapo may thus be regarded as the most dynamic man in Tibet's immediate history, more important for Tibet's future than either the Dalai Lama or Panchen Lama. These two "living gods" are both young, in their early twenties, symbols of godhead, spending their lives in prayer and fasting. Their assent is all-important but they themselves are expected to remain above the battle. Ngapo is Tibet's seasoned political figure, linking the past Tibetan Government, the Kasha, to the future government.

1951 Agreement Unfulfilled

The beginnings of this future were laid down in the 1951 Agreement in Seventeen Articles. This historic document declares the Tibetan people to have had "a long history within the boundaries of

China," states that they "shall return to the motherland," that the local government of Tibet "shall actively assist" the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and there take over the national defense, that the Tibetan Army shall "step by step" be reorganized as part of the P.L.A.

Peking agreed not to alter the existing political system of Tibet, nor the powers of the Dalai Lama, nor the income of the monasteries, nor to "use compulsion" in reforms. Even agitation among the serfs was by implication forbidden, since Peking promised that "when the people raise demands for reform," these shall be taken up with the "leading personnel of Tibet." All reforms were therefore to be made through the local government, which pledged to "carry out reforms of its own accord."

Eight years went by and no basic reforms were made. The Tibetan Army was not incorporated into the P.L.A. It remained a serf army, officered by nobles, preying on the people. Local government continued in the old complicated theocratic system. Serfdom remained.

When I asked Wang Feng of the Nationalities Commission of the State Council what reforms, if any, had taken place in Tibet he replied that the buying and selling of serfs had largely stopped, that the custom of amputating hands or feet or blinding serfs for punishment had greatly lessened in all areas where the Central Government might see it, but had not entirely ceased; that *ula*, the unpaid labor by serfs, had decreased because the P.L.A. and the Central Government paid for labor and for transport and this raised among nobles and

serfs alike the idea that it was a proper thing to pay for work.

Besides this, the three great roads built by the P.L.A. to connect Tibet with the rest of China had made tea and cloth and other commodities several times as cheap in terms of Tibetan animal products so that people were somewhat better off, and merchants were more numerous, since, by hiring a state motor lorry, they could turn their capital over three times a year instead of once a year by yak-team. The Central Government had also been able to set up 20 primary schools in Lhasa and in Shigadze, and also one people's hospital and one experimental farm in each of these cities.

Beyond this, Peking had been unable to go, because of the opposition of the Tibetan serf-owners expressed through the Kasha. They objected to schools and hospitals on religious grounds, though, if hospitals were set up, the lamas came eagerly for help. They objected to roads, and, while Peking had put through the three major highways as a military necessity, Peking could not get permission to connect up the counties, and therefore many army posts were several days journey on foot from the central cities. Even the land for the experimental farm in Lhasa had to be got by reclaiming a dried river-bed, because the diehard group obstructed all such things.

Serfdom basically continued. No peasant owned land or even fully owned his own body up to the very date of the March 10 rebellion. So stubbornly had Tibet's rulers resisted change that in 1956 Peking had agreed to give them six more years before demanding any re-

forms. However, the Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomy had been set up in 1956, with the Dalai Lama as chairman, the Panchen Lama as vice chairman and Ngapo as secretary general. It was supposed to be working out a constitution for Tibet, but its work also had been sabotaged for three years.

"Were the Tibetans disturbed by any large number of incoming settlers of other nationality?" I asked, since this is a charge I had seen in the foreign press.

"Very few settlers were allowed," said Wang Fen. "The total number of people in Tibet from the rest of China were, as of March 10, 1959, some 18,000 people, of whom 14,000 were the P.L.A. men scattered in frontier posts, while 4,000 were civilian government employees, half of these Hans and half Tibetans, who set up the state bank and state trade and state transport, and the 20 primary schools, hospitals and experimental farms. In the first years we sent in more people, both soldiers and civilians, when we were building the great highways, but by March of this year many had been withdrawn."

Why Reform Was Slow

The slowness of reform in Tibet was due to two factors: the stubborn hold of Tibet's upper class on the past and the belief in Peking that no changes can be properly made until the people themselves are ready to make them. Peking's patience is a very conscious strategy. Never have I known any people who so calmly and confidently walk with history as do today's Chinese, who so patiently await the hour and move

so swiftly when it finally comes.

For history it was only a moment, but for China it seemed long. Land reform flamed across China, but not in Tibet. Mutual aid teams came and farming cooperatives and then people's communes. These came not only to the Han people, but to Tibetans in autonomous districts in Kansu, in Chinghai, in Szechwan, in Yunnan. Only in Tibet were none of these changes.

Peking waited while all over China spread the fierce drive for education, while county by county and province by province grew primary schools, middle schools, universities, classes for illiteracy, until China was almost everywhere literate and almost all children in school. There came the drive for technical knowledge and everywhere the people gained new skills. Over the land raged the battle against age-old diseases. Syphilis was conquered in the cities and pursued even where it lurked in men's bloodstream in rural areas and on Mongolian plains. Blood-fluke was beaten in the rice-fields and malaria in the marshes.

Two miles up in the air on its million square kilometers Tibet, which was also China, remained illiterate and disease-ridden, with 20 primary schools, two hospitals and a "religious attitude" towards both education and lice. On March 10, two days after the Women's Federation of China exulted that nurseries and kindergartens were almost universal, the Kasha of Tibet rebelled against the Central Government, and abrogated the 1951 Agreement, complaining to the world, not that Peking had given them too little, but that Peking, which had managed to set up 20 schools and two hos-

pitals, had "intruded too much."

When change came at last to Tibet it was precipitated directly by the Kasha, the clique of the most reactionary serf-owners in Tibet.

"Were they crazy," I asked, "that they thus destroyed their own power?"

My Chinese friends said: "No, not crazy. They behaved like all reactionaries."

In most of the world people think it an advantage to take "the initiative" in a battle. Peking does not. My friends put it in these words: "We let the enemy take the initiative and show his aims to the full until the people all know who is the aggressor. When we act then the people are with us, and the job can be more readily done."

Peking knew that change in Tibet was certain when the great highways were built, when trade came along them, bringing cheaper goods and more ideas, when the serf-owners took pride in sending their children to study in Peking and Chengtu and other Chinese schools. Peking waited while all around Tibet in the many autonomous Tibetan counties and districts in other provinces of China, reforms came and people prospered. Split began in Tibet in the upper class, many of whose members saw that modern industrial production gave a better living standard than they could get from thousands of barefoot serfs. "Progressives" appeared even among serf-owners, who were ready to free their serfs in return for the life incomes Peking offered, plus education and jobs for their children. Peking could afford to make this offer, for the noble families are few, and Tibet has great natural re-

sources, whose development serfdom held back.

How Rebellion Began

The diehard serf-owners were entrenched in the Kasha, four out of six. Fearing the change they saw coming, the Kasha struck first.

For more than a year the rebellion built up in wild, distant areas. Tribal chiefs and landlords, dispossessed by land reforms in other Chinese provinces, came into Tibet with bands and ravaged the people, attacking travelers and settled villages, and finally the smaller outposts of the People's Liberation Army. The P.L.A. did not retaliate. They were in Tibet as guardians of the national frontier, not custodians of local order. They referred the situation to the Kasha, and asked them to restore order. The Kasha encouraged the attacks, and became convinced that Peking was weak because it took no action. In March, 1959 the Kasha concentrated forces in Lhasa for a showdown. On March 10 the Kasha repudiated the 1951 Agreement, declared that the Hans must be driven from Tibet, which must become "independent," and began to surround all Central Government installations with armed men.

The Dalai Lama was expected to attend a theatrical performance at the P.L.A. headquarters on March 10; he had himself proposed the date a month earlier. Great crowds, stirred up by the Kasha, surrounded Norbu Linka, his summer palace, and armed forces of the Kasha mingled with them so that the Dalai could not go. General Tan, political commissar of the P.L.A. and Peking's chief representative in Lha-

sa,
an
you
tha
cau
adv
tha
rat
han
tro
tio
tha
C
ric
lin,
the
the
day
rep
pal
fre
pal
in
reb
the
tha
but
Dur
thre
rece
The
Nga
clos
two
rebe
G
reas
the
the
his
Dala
distr
ence
can
he v
eral
since

sa, then sent the Dalai a calm, pleasant letter saying: "It was good that you wanted to come," but suggesting that in view of the "difficulties" caused by "reactionaries," it might be advisable for the Dalai not to come that day. The Dalai replied in a rather distraught letter in his own handwriting, complaining of the trouble caused him by the "reactionaries" and showing great relief that General Tan "did not mind."

General Tan's first letter was carried by the Living Buddha Jaltso-lin, the Dalai's reader. He delivered the letter but was then confined by the rebels and reappeared only ten days later. His report and later reports by many attendants of the palace, show that the Dalai was not free to move at will within his own palace after March 10, that he was in much distress, that groups of rebels surrounded him in dispute, the tenor of their remarks being that the Dalai's life must be saved but his words need not be heeded. During these days the Dalai sent three letters to General Tan and received three from General Tan. The later letters were carried by Ngapo Ngawan Jigme, the kaloon closest to the Dalai, and one of the two kaloons who did not join the rebellion.

General Tan's letters are calm, reassuring, reporting to the Dalai the rebel actions taken to break the highways into inland China, and his own measures of defense. The Dalai's letters show vacillation and distress over "reactionaries' interference," a belief that he, the Dalai, can "bring them to order" and that he will then go "secretly" to General Tan to consult. The Dalai has since told Nehru that he wrote these

letters personally. Much testimony has also been given in Lhasa by lamas attending him that he was much upset by the rebels, and for two days, March 15 and 16, refused to eat.

The last letter was sent March 16. On the night of the 17th, the three kaloons, arch-leaders of the rebellion, left Lhasa, taking with them the Dalai Lama and his family and vast loot. They withdrew south across the Tsangpo River to the area called Loka on the way to India, where they apparently awaited the result of the armed attack they were yet to launch in Lhasa. General Tan and Peking also waited.

The rebels finally launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army garrison and the Central Government offices in Lhasa late at night March 19. The P.L.A. held its fire until 10 A.M. next morning, Peking time (somewhat earlier in Lhasa), until all Lhasa knew who attacked and whom. Then they cleaned up the Tibetan Army in a few hours and restored order in Lhasa in two and a half days. The fact that they took even that long indicates that the Lhasa garrison was not large.

Details of these hectic days have been disputed. The statement alleged to have been made by the Dalai Lama on April 18 in Tezpur, India, claims that three mortar shots were sent up by the P.L.A. on the 17th in the direction of the summer palace, but that they fell into a pond. This is one of the items that made Ngapo and other Tibetans declare before the National Congress in Peking that the Tezpur statement was imposed on the Dalai Lama by others, since, according to Ngapo,

"not a single shot was fired by the P.L.A. until the morning of the 20th and everyone in Lhasa knows that this is the fact." Since the Dalai "would not tell such lies," Ngapo concludes the statement in Tezpur was not his.

New Government Formed

The rebellion was clearly defeated by March 23. The rebel leaders began moving from Loka into India, taking the Dalai with them. There is no indication that Peking tried to halt them: there is every indication to the contrary. Peking still withheld political action until March 28. Then, when the rebels were within two days of the Indian border, the State Council in Peking proclaimed the dissolution of the Tibetan local government, the Kasha, and recognized in its place the Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomous Region, whose chairman was the Dalai Lama. In view of the Dalai's absence "under duress," the Panchen Lama, who was vice chairman, was asked to become Acting Chairman. The Panchen wired his acceptance, expressed the hope that the Dalai himself would soon return to take charge, but meantime he himself would act. Thus simply, legally and with wide support, the new government of Tibet was formed.

The timing was masterly. The old government was dissolved only after it had itself abrogated the Agreement of 1951 by which it held power, staged armed attack against the Central Government and failed, and when the ruling kaloons were within a few hours of leaving Tibet for India. Certainly no Tibetans could expect a government to retain power when it moved into a foreign

land. The choice of the new government was also masterly. The Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomous Region had been set up in 1956 by mutual agreement as the power to prepare the new constitution and the new local forms. The Dalai Lama was still its chairman, the two loyal kaloons were still operating within its framework, Ngapo as its secretary general and the other as the deputy commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Tibetan Area. Nobody's power was abolished except that of the four rebel kaloons who had gone into India, one who went years ago to make the foreign contacts for rebellion, and three who went with the Dalai Lama. These, and their lower hangers-on, were declared no longer in power.

By its strategy of long patience, by waiting for an entire year as the rebellion grew and referring all action to the Kasha, by waiting during the last days of provocation in Lhasa until the old Tibetan Army attacked the P.L.A. garrison in force, and then by swift clean-up, Peking achieved the unifying of Tibetans behind the Central Government, at a minimum cost and a maximum effect. Good timing also was shown in the arrival of the Panchen Lama in Lhasa on April 5, the welcoming banquet, his two visits to the leading lamaseries in Lhasa where he read the Buddhist Sutras two hours in each, the session of the Preparatory Committee on the following day, and his subsequent departure to Peking to attend the National People's Congress, to which he, as well as the Dalai Lama, is a deputy. Nothing could have said more clearly to Tibetans that the rebellion

was over, and orderly government restored.

From universities in Peking and Chengtu and elsewhere in China, Tibetan students hastened homeward to take part in the new local county governments or to set up new schools. Most of them were children of serf-owners, but they knew something of the wider world and had learned new ways. From the castlewards of die-hard rebel serf-owners, who had been captured or fled to the hills, daring serfs were taking the great whips and delivering these to the county governments.

Mass meetings were being held in all Tibetan cities and towns, the greatest mass meetings Tibet had ever seen, hailing the beginning of the new day. For the first time in all Tibet's history, nobles and serfs were speaking from the same platform. The loyal kaloon with an impossibly long name that begins with Sampo, who had been wounded by the rebel kaloons when he refused to join them, mounted the speaker's stand in Lhasa with a cane to declare his joy in the victory. He was followed by one of the Living Buddhas, by bodyguards and servants of the Dalai who told of the Dalai's last distraught hours in Lhasa, and by commoners who reported the atrocities committed by rebels and their armed quarrels over the loot.

"Now the sun of happiness is really rising over the heads of us poor folks," they said.

The Road Ahead

It was surprising how many Living Buddhas appeared in various parts of China to support the Central Government's action and to predict a

happy future for Tibet. Most of them, and indeed, most Tibetans, still revere the Dalai Lama and believe that he went into exile "under duress," with his very life in danger unless he complied with the rebels' will. This is Peking's official view and there is much to indicate its truth. Even as I have been writing this article I have stopped to attend the Congress sessions and to hear the Panchen Lama in clerical robes of gold brocade, and the ex-kaloon Ngapo, in the long white silken balloon sleeves, which the Tang Dynasty took to Tibet, assert that the alleged statement of the Dalai Lama, released in Tezpur by an Indian diplomatic officer, contradicted all the Dalai's public and private utterances for the past eight years, and contained many misstatements of fact which he would not make, and was not even in the ordinary Tibetan style.

The Dalai's own attitudes and actions may be long debated, and the truth about them difficult to know. I myself am neither psychiatrist nor theologian to estimate how much free will can exist in the soul of a man who from babyhood is conditioned to long prayers and fasts decreed by regents who call him a god. But I know that his body is in the hands of ruthless men of a type who killed many Dalai Lamas of the past to preserve their own power. And beyond these men, he is now in the hands of the great political pressures of the world, a heavy burden for a youth. Thus far, Peking and the people of Tibet have preserved for him a way of return, if he can take it.

Whether or not he returns, the way of Tibet's people lies clear

ahead. It has been declared before the National Congress of China by the former kaloon Ngapo, who is still a nobleman with some 2,500 serfs, but who announces that Tibet will proceed "through democratic reforms on the socialist road." The details will be worked out by a million Tibetans, who are even now holding their mass-meetings in all the cities and towns of Tibet. They will be led by men of the old days who remained loyal, such as Ngapo

and Sampo, the two remaining kaloons, and the Panchen Lama and many Living Buddhas, and also by a thousand young Tibetans of all classes who have been in schools in inland China, studying for the last eight years the new ways. Despite high elevation and harsh climate, their's is a land of great promise, with gold, silver and other precious metals, and with much arable land of which only some five per cent has yet been ploughed.

RUMANIAN FOLK ART EXHIBIT

THE RUMANIAN FOLK ART EXHIBIT which opened in early May at the New York Museum of Natural History, is a welcome sign of the extension of the cultural interchanges now going on on a large scale between the United States and the Soviet Union, to other socialist countries.

This exhibit was sent here in exchange for an exhibition of American crafts shown in the People's Republic of Rumania last year. It is sponsored by the Traveling Exhibition Service of the Smithsonian Institute and will tour other U.S. cities after it leaves New York the end of July.

The exhibit is very rewarding, full of rich and beautiful color and design. Featured are rugs and hangings, costumes, needlework, woodcarving, painted wood and pottery. The fabrics and embroideries are decorative and skilfully done, and the costumes and clothing fascinating. The pottery is exceptionally good in shape, craftsmanship and design. Many centuries-old objects are on view, as well as those of today, which show how carefully the folk art traditions are being preserved, under government sponsorship. Some of the traditional crafts are learned by children in school, or under specialists in old arts and techniques. The Institute of the History of Art and the Rumanian Folklore Institute are concerned with the study and development of folk art.

The model of a room in a Transylvania house has been set up showing how the rugs, woven scarves and other objects are used in the home. A series of fine photographs show the picturesque Rumanian countryside, and various types of cottages, churches and other buildings.

The exhibit was officially opened by the Rumanian Minister to Washington, M. Silviu Brucan, and representatives of the State Department, of Mayor Wagner and the Museum. All stressed the importance of the event not only in the sphere of culture, but in strengthening friendly ties between the United States and Rumania.

In the German Democratic Republic

by EDGAR P. YOUNG

THE overriding impression with which I have returned to England after a recent three-weeks' visit to the German Democratic Republic is one of its people's confidence in the future.

One of the main reasons for this was apparent at the Leipzig Fair. The East German exhibits were far ahead—both in quantity, and, more significantly, in quality—than any that I have seen there before: and in the second place, the Fair was more full than ever before of business representatives from the West (with the notable exception of the United States), wanting to buy from, and sell to, the German Democratic Republic.

This means, of course, that the businessmen of Western Europe—if not yet their politicians, though I suspect that these do not always believe what they profess to believe—have at last been forced to recognize that the constantly and rapidly increasing purchasing power of the people of East Germany has produced a promising market for their export goods, and that the German Democratic Republic is producing

export goods which they would gladly buy with the Deutschmarks they earn by their sales, which was not the case formerly.

Traveling around the GDR on my business of fact-finding, I was quite satisfied that the Leipzig Spring Fair, and Leipzig itself while the Fair was there, was not a deceptive facade. People are living much better everywhere than I found them a year earlier. I was particularly impressed with the way in which the housing problem is being tackled—by the government, by local authorities, and by industrial enterprises, which regard the proper housing of their workers as the responsibility of management, in cooperation with the trade unions.

Building with large pre-fabricated blocks and sections, housing is going up at a phenomenal speed, though the standards are somewhat lower than those I saw in Czechoslovakia last summer.

Clothing likewise has improved enormously since a year ago, especially footwear, and so have food supplies, where such shortcomings as still persist, owing to difficulties of East-West trade, will soon be eliminated by supplies under recent trade agreements.

Among the towns I visited was Dresden, which I have seen repeatedly since 1949, when it was still very much as it had been left after

EDGAR P. YOUNG, Commander Royal Navy (Retired), is known to our readers for his articles on the countries of Eastern Europe. This article is a result of a recent visit to the German Democratic Republic.

the wanton bombing in the last fortnight or so of the war. It is still rising—and rising magnificently—from its ruins. The famous Technical High School, which now has 10,000 full-time and 15,000 correspondence students, is still erecting new buildings. It has almost completed the conversion of an adjacent prison, where thousands of German democrats were done to death by the Nazis, into lecture rooms, laboratories, etc.!

I had the interesting experience, while visiting the Jet-Engine Development Establishment at Pirna, a few miles away from Dresden, of seeing in practice the principle of socialist education as applied in the GDR, of sending students to industrial enterprises. There the students could see their theoretical teaching carried into practice, and discover practical problems to which to devote their research. I was happy to be able to visit again the famous physicist, Professor Manfred von Ardenne, in his own "private" Electronic Research Establishment (with 80 workers), which is not only tolerated, but even generously financed, by the government of an allegedly "totalitarian" state, in which personal initiative and enterprise are supposed to be *verboten*!

Driving by car from Dresden, I spent a most interesting and inspiring day at a vast new socialist enterprise—known by the name of an inn which still stands and is doing good business, as *Schwartze-pumpe*—for the exploitation of lignite deposits in the Senftenberg-Lausitz area. Conceived in August, 1955, and set in construction in June 1956, this was "just some big holes," I was told, when I was discouraged

from going there just a year earlier. It is something very different now, thanks to the hard work of some 15,000 enthusiastic workers who are determined that it shall be finished as planned by 1968, or at the latest 1970. The deposit which it will exploit contains no less, it is estimated, than 24 billion cubic meters annually of gas, which is to be piped all over the Republic (perhaps by then all over a united Germany!) for industrial and domestic usage: 12.5 million tons annually of briquettes, to be turned into coke for the metallurgical industry; and large amounts of light oils, phenol and a variety of valuable chemical products. It will be the largest enterprise of its kind in Europe, employing 18,000 workers, though the whole of the mining and transportation will be mechanized and largely automatized.

The last leg of my tour took me up to the Baltic coast, where I revisited the shipyards at Rostock, Warnemunde, Wismar and Stralsund. In marked contrast with the shipyards of Britain and other countries of Western Europe, where more and more slips are unoccupied, every slip is occupied. The order books of all these yards are full until 1970 and later, with orders for ships ranging in sizes up to 10,000 dead-weight tons. Many of these are for export, to the USSR and China in particular, or to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which is being equipped for high-seas fishing by the "People's Shipyard" at Stralsund. But many are also for the merchant fleet which the German Democratic Republic is building up to meet the needs of its fast-growing overseas import-export trade. It is to meet

those needs also, which might be hindered as things stand now if that trade has to pass through Hamburg and other West German ports, that the port of Rostock is being extensively expanded and deepened.

I would remark, in conclusion, that I found the people everywhere generally contented. Still anxious about the danger of war as they watch the resurgence, with American encouragement, and with passive acceptance by uneasy Britain, of Nazism and militarism in West Germany, but encouraged by the peace moves of the USSR, by the strength of the Socialist bloc to which their

Republic belongs, and by the growing strength and determination of the peace movement throughout the world to feel that war will be prevented. What they want above all—and in this way they are at one with the majority of the Germans of West Germany—is reunification of their country, on terms reached by the German people themselves, the long-overdue conclusion of a peace treaty with all their former enemies, and the withdrawal from their land of all occupying armed forces. Toward this they hope the forthcoming big power negotiations will open the way.

"LE MONDE" WRITER ON GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

THE LEADING PARIS newspaper *Le Monde* published a long article some months ago by Henri Smotkine who had just completed a tour of the GDR. Herewith a few quotes from the article:

"The economists of the (West) German Federal Republic regard it as good form to spend their time pointing out mistakes and shortcomings in East Germany. Such shortcomings really exist, but at the same time there has been much progress there. . . . In the First Five-Year Plan (1950-55) industrial production made a huge step forward, doubling itself . . . this means that the rate of development was higher than in the Federal Republic, and as high as in the Soviet Union. Apart from the steel works . . . industrial concentration was not pushed ahead as fast as in West Germany . . . private industry has maintained an important position. . . .

"Production of soft coal rose from 101 million tons in 1936 to 200 million in 1955 and 216 million in 1957. . . . Power production per head of the population was already higher in 1955 than in West Germany. . . . The German Democratic Republic holds sixth place in the world in chemical production. . . . East Germany is at present producing all types of machinery from imposing 370-ton machines for making cables . . . down to the most complicated precision instruments. In the communist world it is second only to the Soviet Union in machine production. . . . Economic recovery went hand in hand with a considerable increase in the workers' purchasing power, especially since 1953. The production of consumers' goods was higher than originally planned. . . . The second Five-Year Plan will be able to consolidate progress already achieved. It is planned . . . to concentrate more on agriculture. . . . I was particularly impressed with the prosperity of the cooperative peasants whom I visited in Schorba, near Jena. The cooperative has a house of culture in the village, which contains a fine library, a television room, a big hall and bar. . . . The newly built houses are well furnished and there are a comparatively large number of motor vehicles."

Agriculture in Czechoslovakia

by **GEORGE S. WHEELER**

MOST American farmers have a barrel full of worries in addition to the weather—in particular they worry about the market. If they are typical small farmers they also worry about where the money is coming from to buy a new tractor or other machinery—or how to pay for what they bought on credit. In Czechoslovakia farmers have their worries, including the weather, but they do not have to worry about a market or how to get their field plowed. Even if they are private farmers they can hire the machine and tractor stations to do the work. There is a market for all they can produce, and premium prices for extra heavy crops or marketing more livestock than the quota.

The problems in socialist agriculture are difficult, but the road to their solution is clear and broad—it is the increasing application of science and modern technology to expand output per acre and per man-hour. For many years agriculture has lagged behind industry in its development. Then one country

after another, first the Soviet Union, then China and Bulgaria and now Czechoslovakia reached the point in their economic development from which they could make a great leap ahead. All are making progress in many directions, improvement in output of crops, in quality of livestock and in productivity.

All of these countries also had had a traditionally backward, in some cases primitive, agriculture, and all suffered badly in agriculture during World War II. To measure the progress in Czechoslovak agriculture we should start from the year 1948. During the war and Nazi occupation, depletion of soil and deterioration of livestock had been marked. For example, the output of milk per farm worker in Slovakia dropped from 766 liters in 1936 to only 620 in 1946. Output of eggs was down from 298 to 164 per farm worker; and during this time there was a big decline in total farm workers so that farm production was far below prewar. Then, in 1947, came the worst drought in more than a generation—so bad that even the depleted herds of cattle had to be slaughtered because there was nothing to feed them.

It was from this low point that socialist development of agriculture in Czechoslovakia started. By 1958 these handicaps had been left far behind. Output per worker was 81

GEORGE WHEELER was formerly in U.S. Government service in Washington and later in the military government in Berlin. With his wife, our correspondent Eleanor Wheeler, and their four children, he now lives and works in Prague, where his book on U.S. agriculture has recently been published.

per cent higher than it had been in 1938.

There was also a substantial increase in output per hectare of most crops, for example wheat, with 1,626 kilograms per hectare, was nearly double the prewar yield. The output per farm worker of milk in Slovakia was more than double the 1946 level and around fifty per cent above the pre-war level.

This is no little progress, and even more was being made in the fundamental reorganization of agriculture from a fragmented, small plot individual basis, 33,000,000 of them, that could never have been mechanized or scientific, to large consolidated fields, mainly in cooperatives, but also in state farms. These fields were of a size that could be mechanized and the area in each cooperative was large enough to permit proper crop rotation. Some of the cooperatives are still too small for optimum efficiency when they are fully mechanized with known technology—but they are incomparably better suited to modern agriculture than the fragments they replaced.

For example, in Slovakia an average cooperative now contains 97 former farms, while the cooperatives in the Czech lands average 37 farms. Remember that each of these individual farms had been composed of several scattered fields, and you begin to get an idea of the impossibility of using machinery on them with any efficiency. From this point of view alone, formation of the cooperatives was a fundamental advance toward rational and productive agriculture. By March 1, 1959 nearly three fourths (73.9 per cent) of all agricultural land was

in cooperatives. Four-fifths of all communities had unified cooperatives and they consolidated 609,105 individual farms.

Furthermore, and this is also a prerequisite for scientific and mechanized agriculture, the industrial base of Czechoslovakia had been developed so that it could and was supplying the countryside with an increasing flow of agricultural equipment, chemical fertilizers, sprays, antibiotics, etc.

This was a record of progress and of preparing the base for much greater advance. Why then has Czechoslovak agriculture come in for such severe criticism as it has just received at the Fourth Congress of Unified Cooperatives held in Prague March 19 and 20? The answer is that the rate of progress was not as high as it could have been *and not as high as had been planned*. The Five-Year plan had called for a 30 per cent increase in agricultural production—an ambitious rate by any previous standards, but perfectly within reason with the advantages which the socialist economy was providing. This was part of a broad plan of raising working and living standards adopted at the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Instead of advancing 18 per cent in the last three years, agricultural output increased only 6 per cent. Two per cent a year might have been considered fine by old standards—but in the Five-Year Plan it was an outstanding failure. No other part of the economy was lagging so, and the failure of agriculture to progress as scheduled was a brake to all the economy. It meant

a slower rise in standards of living since it required larger food imports than planned and that meant less imports of some other important products.

What was the cause of this lag? Before the Fourth Congress of the cooperatives more than a million members and farm workers participated in meetings to discuss this problem. They came up with nearly 135,000 suggestions for improvements! Obviously we can not discuss all of these. The important thing is that even before the Congress the cooperatives took the initiative in putting about four-fifths of the suggestions into effect.

There are broad and deep problems that are not so easily remedied as recognized. One of the most important of these is the lack of trained farm experts. In the last two decades agriculture had leaped ahead in its use of science and technology. Today every farmer needs some scientific training and an understanding of machinery. Yet this is just what was lacking in the Czech and Slovak countryside. The private farmers who now form the members of the co-ops had had almost no experience with machinery—let alone chemistry. The writer not long ago visited a cooperative where a good electric washing machine had been set up for use of the co-op farm wives. At first only one woman could be persuaded to use it—and she confessed that it was mainly because she felt that as a Communist she should take the lead! Soon, of course, all the women saw the advantages and took their turns with the new laundry.

The new Minister of Agriculture, Lubomir Strougal, has pointed out

that there are still far too few scientifically trained workers in agriculture—only one college graduate for every 92 cooperatives! Even of middle school technicians there is only one for every six cooperatives.

It will take time and money to correct this, since even some teachers in the schools themselves have slipped behind in agricultural technology. Still the problem has been recognized—and once recognized correction was undertaken. There are now far more agricultural schools than ever before and more students who are now beginning to graduate and to turn agriculture into more modern ways.

Among the specific changes planned is an increase in amount of fertilizer used, an improvement in seed selection, an improvement in livestock and poultry breeds and changes in crops. In general fodder crops will be intensified and less fodder imported and more bread grains. Less hard wheat will be planted and more soft wheat which yields about 600 kilograms more per hectare.

Belatedly, more of the meadows which help make Czechoslovakia so attractive to tourists, will be planted to improved pastures. More land will be irrigated, 72,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.47 acres) by the end of 1960. But this is only a start since irrigation would be the biggest single factor increasing yields of most crops in most years—and it permits the effective use of far more fertilizer.

The individual cooperatives will be given more leeway to decide what to plant and how to fill their quotas of the main farm products. Fewer

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS AWARDED INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZE

AMERICA IS HONORED in the award this year of one of the International Lenin Prizes for the Promotion of Peace among Nations for 1958, to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, outstanding Negro leader, scholar and fighter for peace.

Leading figures from other countries who received the award this year are Nikita S. Khrushchev, Premier of the Soviet Union; Otto Buchwitz, prominent figure in the labor movement of the German Democratic Republic; Costas Varnalis, a leading writer of Greece; Ivor Montagu, British publicist and writer, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

This award was established by the Soviet Government in 1949, to be given annually "to citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle for the strengthening of peace." The awards are made by an international jury formed "from among representatives of the democratic forces of various countries of the world." The chairman of the committee who made this year's awards is Dmitri Skobeltsyn of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Moscow State University. The vice-chairmen are Kuo Mo-jo of China and Louis Aragon of France. Members of the Committee are Grigory Alexandrov, Prof. J. D. Bernal, Jan Dembowski, Anna Seghers, Pablo Neruda, Mikhail Sadoveanu, Sahib Singh Sokey, Ilya Ehrenburg.

Beside the citation scroll, the prize carries with it a gold medal and a cash award of \$35,000.

In announcing the award to Dr. Du Bois, Academician Skobeltsyn pointed out that the many-side activities of Dr. Du Bois had long been associated with the struggle for peace and the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples, and that today, at 91 years of age, Dr. Du Bois continues the struggle for peace and the happiness of the peoples with great vigor.

items will be planned centrally, but encouragement is given to plant maize for silage and to shift from potatoes to sugar beet tops and pulp for fodder. Experiments are being made to develop varieties of maize more suited to the various Czech climates.

The state farms and cooperatives now have higher yields per worker and per hectare (except for potatoes) than private farmers. The higher forms of the cooperatives have a distinct advantage in output, and if all farm land were made as productive, a good part of the lag in the plan would be overcome. This is an added reason why a new drive is being made to complete

the socialization of agriculture. The small farmers have become a distinct drag on living standards and the time has come when they should join cooperatives or accept jobs in industry, and there are plenty of them.

The program is to overcome the deficit in the plan and to complete it on schedule. Nearly 6,500 cooperatives have pledged themselves to reach the 1960 target this year. Some have already reached the 1965 targets for productivity. It will be a big task to bring up the laggards. But—given a decent break in the weather—it is sure to be done. Just watch Czechoslovakia's progress this year and in 1960!

14 Years Later

by BERNARD KOTEN

FOURTEEN years ago, perhaps for the first time in history, two armies faced each other across a river in thousands and thousands of numbers in an unprecedented outpouring of friendship, after fighting a common enemy for four years. The river was the Elbe in Germany and the armies were the American and Soviet armies. The meeting signalled the end of the long and difficult war against fascist Germany. It also signalled a friendship, the tangible fruits of which we on our part had been looking forward to enjoy with great excitement. It turned out the Russians had too.

Weeks of celebration followed this meeting, with pledges taken on both sides that the friendship formed would be strengthened and the peace attained be jealously guarded.

A Chicagoan, Joe Polowsky, headed the patrol that made the first contact with the Soviet troops across the Elbe. There had been great friendly competition among the Americans for this "first." Joe's reactions to this meeting were so deeply moving to him that the continuation of this Elbe friendship became his life work. He is a dedicated missionary.

This year, we American and

Soviet veterans of the April 25, 1945 Elbe River Link-up had our fourth river meeting, this time, as four years ago, on the Moscow River. Last year we met on the Potomac.

Seven of us came to Moscow this year, at the invitation of the Soviet Veterans' Committee, for a visit from April 28 to May 10. We came from the East, the West and the Middle West. Besides Joe Polowsky from Chicago, leader of our group, the other six were: Harry and Alexander Lieb from Los Angeles, Matthew Kane from Washington, D.C., Pete Sitnik from Alexandria, Virginia, Murry Schulman and myself from New York.

We have been surrounded by such warm concern and friendliness here that it seems to all of us that we are visiting with very old, very close friends. In these ten days we have already been to Leningrad and Stalingrad, in addition to Moscow.

Our group is deeply impressed with the well-being of the country, the fantastic construction, the bustle of living. No country getting ready for war would be so involved in such all-encompassing building activity at home. We are impressed by the friendliness of the people, their free and relaxed attitude in contacts with us, and are convinced of their desire for peace. Friendship and peace are the Russian words we all learned first.

But our sharpest impressions are of the city of Stalingrad. Just as the Elbe Link-up signalled the end of the war, Stalingrad signalled its turn-

BERNARD KOTEN is Director of Library and Research at the Library for Intercultural Studies in New York City, and Instructor in Russian language at New York University. He holds degrees from both U.S. and Soviet Universities.

ing point. And for me personally the trip to Stalingrad had a very special meaning—for here I met again General Mikhailitsin, whom I had first met at the Elbe. We had then struck up a firm, warm friendship despite the fact that I was a private and he a general. Our meeting in Stalingrad was quite by chance. As we got off the plane, I recognized a familiar, jolly little figure. He recognized me too and pulled out a picture we had taken at the Elbe fourteen years ago, a picture he had treasured all these years. And so we renewed our friendship.

Together with the other Soviet and American vets we wandered over the City of Stalingrad—first to the sites of the old World War II battles (at Mamayev Kurgan I scraped up some of what is to the Russians sacred soil, to take home), and the mass graves and monuments and memorials, and to what little is left of the ruins of old Stalingrad—and then through the new Stalingrad rising on the ruins of the old. It might have been easier and cheaper to build the city anew somewhere else, but it was decided to rebuild it precisely where it had been

for the last few hundred years. It is a proud, beautiful city full of fine new buildings, endless trees and parks and squares—all along the famous Volga.

When I asked the people of Stalingrad what they would do when the city was completed, the plan fulfilled, they said that they would go fishing!

May we all have time to go fishing. We are proud veterans, but we hope we are the last in this world. May there be no more veterans, no more wars—only understanding and peace and friendship.

•

Just before leaving, our delegation was received by Premier Khrushchev in his office in the Kremlin. We had asked for this opportunity in order to present the Soviet people, through Mr. Khrushchev, with the original map used by the U.S. Army patrol to make the first contact between American and Soviet troops at the Elbe. After the presentation of the map, the group sat down with Mr. Khrushchev, at his invitation, for informal talks on friendship and peace, and what could be done to further this cause.

POLOWSKY ADVOCATES "ELBE PRIZES"

JOSEPH POLOWSKY, Secretary of the "American Veterans of the Elbe River Link-up," has announced plans of the group to recommend to the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to establish April 25 as a day set aside each year to honor the US-USSR cultural-scientific exchange program.

Mr. Polowsky declared that it was anticipated that US-USSR veterans would take steps to establish the "Elbe Prizes" for American and Russian school children and disabled World War II veterans, and prizes of university scholarships in both countries for young people whose fathers or other close relatives were killed or disabled in the war. These prizes would be awarded each year by a committee made up of both United States and Soviet citizens. He expressed the hope that the establishment of such prizes "will contribute to bring about increasingly a sense of honor, dignity and cooperation in the conduct of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, befitting their responsibility to future generations."

Soviet Youth on Ethics and Aesthetics

by RALPH PARKER

READERS' letters and the editors' replies to them, now appearing regularly in the widely-read newspaper for the "under-thirties," *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, throw a more intimate light on Soviet life than the foreigner is usually able to do, however hard he tries. It is this newspaper's practice to follow up letters which indicate a miscarriage of justice, a case of abuse of authority, or simply the existence of some general problem of youth, by sending reporters out to investigate. Sometimes the results are startling. Sometimes, too, they provide material on which short stories or films are based.

An example is provided by the true story of a Georgian student, who, out of compassion for the lot of two motherless children, married the widower, their father, only to be abandoned by him for another woman.

The human problem involved, whether the young woman should accept responsibility for the children, formed the subject matter of a highly controversial film "Another's Children" produced at the Tbilisi studios.

Ethical problems provide most of the subject matter of the letters sent

to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. This is a true reflection of the state of mind of Soviet youth today. Youth clubs debate such questions as to whether it is possible to be both a good worker and a bad character, or what will be the relations between men and women under communism. The nature of true happiness is a constant theme of stories and novels for young readers.

The following is an extract from the minutes of a discussion between young men and women at the social club attached to a large engineering plant at Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine.

Yeshov (electrician): "Surely under communism we won't have egoists, hypocrites, toadies, careerists, thieves and drunkards among us, shall we?"

Vongarovsky (electrician): "Oh, we'll be delivered of those survivals of the past, I imagine."

Khanilo (lathe operator): "We're always talking about survivals of the past. But what I'd like to know is how those born long after socialism was established acquire those obsolete characteristics. I'm sure their fathers don't teach them to drink vodka, use foul language, carry knives and act like rowdies."

Vodnikov (electrician, an older man): "It's wrong to argue that just because a man happens to be born after the end of capitalism he can't have survivals of the past in his na-

RALPH PARKER, our Moscow correspondent, has lived in the USSR for almost two decades. He is also Moscow correspondent for the British weekly *New Statesman*, *The Times of India*, and other publications.

ture. Capitalism still exists in the world and makes its influence felt. The remnants of the old regime still live on among us. Go to the market and see how many loafers, profiteers and spongers there are there! They draw young men into their company and contaminate them."

Khanilo: "What are the militia-men for?"

Vodnikov: "Oh, don't blame the militia. Roll up your own sleeves. All decent people, we workers above all, ought to combat rowdiness and other anti-social manifestations. . . ."

Khanilo: "A man's being determines his consciousness."

Voice from the floor: "Don't confuse a man's being with his mode of life."

Khanilo: "Well, take drunkenness, for instance. Isn't that a survival of the past?"

Ekonemtsova (leader of a Communist labor team): "Drunkenness is a vice, a vice incompatible not only with communism but with socialism too. It disrupts production and cripples family life. It's high time a stop was put to smoking, too. . . ."

A voice: "Do you consider, Galya, that in the society of the future smoking won't be tolerated?"

Ekonemtsova: "Yes, I do."

There is a curious mixture of sophistication and naivete in the columns of this newspaper when the burning question of individualism is raised. One correspondent asks: How original can I be? In the long reply printed in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the names of Pasternak, Picasso and Presley, of Salvador Dali and Louis Armstrong jostle incongruously. "I don't understand all

the fuss about Communist labor unions," a puzzled young man writes. "I've always lived well and I shall continue to. I live according to several mottoes among which are: 'Everyone has the right to be crazy in his own way,' and 'Do what you like doing and not what you ought to do.' I enjoy dancing rock 'n roll and playing with the hula hoop. I know how to take a woman with one look, to put myself in the center of attraction and, in general, to stand out above all others. . . . I like the pictures in the Hermitage but I like Polish abstract painting too, while Louis Armstrong has the same effect on me as Chaliapin. Tell me, please, why I have become what I am."

It is not surprising that his *cri de coeur* evoked a long reply from the editors. What is surprising is that it was cast in a reasonable, even sympathetic tone. It is a sign, one of many, that those who make themselves responsible for the moral education of youth realize that they have a ticklish problem on their hands. The lessons of the autumn and winter of 1957, of the premature "thaw," have not been unheeded.

Closely connected with the revived interest in ethical problems is the campaign of aesthetic education. Party, Communist Youth League and trade union congresses have touched on this question recently and the Communist Party's leading journal *Kommunist* has devoted an important article to the subject. Noting that Party propagandists were still timid about raising questions of aesthetic training, *Kommunist* pointed out that this left a gap that bourgeois ideology

was eager to fill. "Bourgeois tastes poison the minds of some unstable young people and members of the artistic and literary professions, who, in their search for the new, are not always capable of discriminating between what is really new and what is pseudo-innovation," it wrote. There is nothing new in that. Where *Kommunist* struck an unusual note was in condemning manifestations of "petty bourgeois philistinism" which until recently have formed the conventional environment of Soviet life—cloyingly sentimental paintings, ornate architecture, banal songs. At the same time, the sale of unaesthetic objects is roundly condemned.

"For this," it said, "those in charge of consumer goods production are to be blamed. The press should help fight philistinism in our home surroundings; it should help fight poor taste in the cut and color of clothing and millinery, in the design of furniture, and in general of all the objects that surround Soviet people in their everyday life."

The popular press has responded to this lead most readily. The tasseled orange silk lampshade which has for long occupied a place of honor in most Russian homes has been attacked as unaesthetic and unhygienic. So have the heavy velvet portieres which surround the doors of every Russian home with pretensions to good style, and the antimacassars and lace doilies with which housewives love to embellish their homes. The potted aspidistra and the ficus have come in for attack. Zealous young people in a suburb of Moscow recently raided the local market and arranged an exhibition of their spoils, a collection of veri-

table horrors consisting of gaudily painted china dogs, crude oil paintings of mermaids and medieval knights rescuing fair maidens.

One result of this campaign is renewed insistence by artists and designers in the field of the applied arts to win for themselves a position in light industry. Hitherto the manufacturer and the distributor have tended to crowd the artist out of the so-called "artistic councils" which determine the designs of consumer goods. Now the situation is changing.

But far the most important feature in the campaign of aesthetic training is the establishment of People's Universities of Culture and Art. Since last February no fewer than a thousand of these "universities" have been organized. "It is generally known," writes *Kommunist*, "that aesthetic training has not been satisfactory in our secondary schools. . . . Of all forms of art, literature is the only one studied in school, while the fundamentals of the fine arts, music, the theater, the cinema, applied art and architecture are not taught at all." It is to make up for lost ground until the school curriculum is changed that these new courses of art appreciation have been organized.

A visit to a Sunday lecture in some factory club hall packed to overflowing with young men and women leads one to the conclusion that the Soviet people are ripe for a "leap forward" in their aesthetic education. And with their material standards changing so rapidly this promises to bring about a visual transformation of the Soviet scene within a matter of from five to seven years.

Along Mother Volga

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

AN OLD Russian saying, popular more for its jingle than for any depth of meaning, goes "*Volga pleet' dolga*"—"the Volga is a long stretch of water." In one important respect the Volga isn't nearly long enough.

The round trip Moscow-Astrakhan-Moscow in one of the luxurious new river vessels takes only three weeks. For me, these three weeks were probably the shortest in my lifetime; but they gave me the holiday of a lifetime and left me with memories for a lifetime.

For several years now the passenger fleet has been augmented at the rate of about a score of diesel "liners" a year. Under the Seven-Year Plan the total strength of the USSR's entire river fleet (commercial as well as passenger) will be *trebled* and the organization of bookings from abroad is being steadily improved.

Even so, the demand for these trips is so great that at present reservations have to be made weeks, sometimes months, in advance, and for this year until the season ends in October there will be only a few vacant cabins. However, now is a good time to start thinking about a Volga trip for next year.

I am told that groups from abroad have a better chance of being booked

than individuals. Indeed, when a big enough group is organized Intourist charters a whole ship—one that gives you more time for sight-seeing at the historic river cities and makes occasional stops for bathing at little sandy beaches miles far from any human habitation. Shorter trips, lasting only a few days, can also be made, say, from Moscow to Gorky, and there are regular sailings up the Kama towards the Urals and through the Volga-Don canal to Rostov, to mention only the Volga-based services.

If you think of any other means of holiday travel covering several hundreds of miles—by road or rail or land or sea or air—you will see that *not one of them* combines all these advantages: your means of transport is also your holiday accommodation; there is no constant packing and unpacking of luggage; no smoke or dust or pitching or rolling or bumping or jolting—and hundreds of miles of ever-changing landscape and "waterscape" flowing past you without your having to move a step.

The greatest surprise for me on my first trip was the scenery. Because the Volga flows through the great central Russian steppeland—which is said to be the largest plain in the world—I expected the scenery to be rather featureless. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Each evening we would solemnly curse the sunset no matter how magnificent it was, because it meant that that day's feast-for-the-eyes was coming to an end.

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE, former editor of the British Embassy newspaper in Moscow, has lived in the USSR since 1947, and now writes for a number of publications in Britain and the U.S. "*Ivan the-not-so-terrible*," a collection of his articles, was published in 1958.

Even the low left bank is fascinating; the high right bank with its gentle, tree-covered slopes, its towering cliffs cut into fantastic shapes by deep ravines, its infinite variety of geological formations, make a thousand-mile-long panorama that takes your breath away.

Every now and then you come upon a scene that is pure fairy-tale illustration—a little town with a kremlin and a cluster of onion-shaped domes and minarets crowning the top of a hill, and, if you are lucky, a wisp of ground-mist that leaves this crown floating magically in the air. In the height and heat of summer in the lower reaches you occasionally get mirages that give a doubled image of the distant scene or make it like a water-color in which all the colors have run.

It is thrilling, too, just to watch the ceaseless flow of life along Europe's longest waterway—great oil tankers whose flat decks are almost flush with the water, tugs hauling rafts of timber several acres in area, barges loaded with mountains of glistening green water-melons, dredgers with trains of pontoons supporting sea-serpent-like pipes through

which the sand is sucked, fishing cobsles, flotillas of sailing boats, "rivertrams," ferries and all kinds of odd craft.

Many of the great Volga cities were built by Ivan the Terrible as fortresses against invaders from the East, and to visit them today gives some idea of how vital a part the river has played in the history and in the very survival of the Russian people, quite apart from its incalculable contribution to the country's growing strength and well-being since the Revolution. And to sail along its broad stream is to understand, in part at least, why the very name *Volga Mat*—Mother Volga—evokes such deep feelings of love and gratitude in every Russian heart.

For one reason or another—usually concerned with work rather than leisure—I have visited or actually lived in many of the best-known resorts and holiday centers of Europe and North America, and I am convinced that if only the Soviet Union had the sense of publicity so highly developed in the West, the fame of the Volga panorama would stand far above most of them in the world's travel attractions.

U.S. DELEGATION TO WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YOUNG Americans have registered to go to the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna, this July 26-Aug. 4. They come from all over the country—north, south, east and west. They are mainly students, but also include professional people, workers, dancers and singers.

The American delegation will present three national concerts, in which their aim will be to show the specific contributions of Americans to world culture, and will participate with the youth of other countries in four international concerts.

Delegates have expressed their belief in the importance of getting together with the youth of other countries, and it is their aim to present as clear and accurate a picture of the United States as possible by having a delegation which represents all the prevailing interests and ideas of American youth.

Further information on the Seventh World Youth Festival may be obtained from the U.S. Festival Committee, 246 Fifth Avenue, New York 1.

The All-Russian Theatrical Society

by ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

ON THE evening of December 29 last, the actors and actresses of Moscow were hosts to their colleagues of the British Shakespeare Memorial Theater, then at the peak of their brilliant tour in the USSR. In the large hall on the sixth floor of the Central Actors' Club (Dom Aktiora) on Gorky Street artists of the State Variety Theater like the juggler Meshcheryakov, well known to British audiences, Ekaterina Maximova, the brilliant young dancer from the Bolshoy Ballet, our old friends Sophia Mey and Igor Divov, puppeteers, kept a packed audience excited, amused and enthusiastic.

From the walls great relief portraits of famous Russian players looked benignly down on the latest generation of their successors—for in principle none but stage people had been admitted on this occasion. By their roars of laughter, enthusiastic applause and uninhibited comments to the English-speaking Soviet friends sitting among them, the British company showed that they felt themselves thoroughly at home, in surroundings to which Charles

Lamb could have done justice. "I was always fond of the society of players," he confessed, and justified this in his essays—in which one feels the real presence of Betterton and Garrick, Mrs. Siddons and Mrs. Jordan, the Kembles and Bensley, just as, that evening, one felt the real presence of Mochalov and Shchepkin, Fyedotova and Yermolova, Lenski and Martynov.

I was privileged to be present as the guest of Fyodor Pimenovich Bondarenko, member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Theatrical Society (*Vserossiiskoye Teatralnoye Obshchestvo*, VTO for short), one-time director of the Bolshoy Theater, and a very good friend of Anglo-Soviet cultural relations (as those can testify who saw his presentations of Soviet variety artists in England during Friendship Month, November-December, 1957). He had already told me something of the great work done for the theatrical profession by the VTO, in which the Central Actors' Club belongs. It is one of the few Russian voluntary organizations existing since long before the Revolution. Founded as an actors' charitable body in 1883, it became the Russian Theatrical Society in 1894, and did much to improve actors' conditions and raise their professional status. Since the October Revolution, with branches in every region of Russia and sister

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN (M.A., Oxon), is a member of the executive committee of the British Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR and vice-chairman of the British-Soviet Friendship Society. He is a former lecturer at the University of London and author of many books on the USSR.

societies in all the other Union Republics (except, so far, in those of Central Asia), the VTO has made its main work that of advancing the professional skill and cultural development of the Soviet actor and actress. It provides material for closer study, publishes books, organizes lectures and discussions on new plays and problems of drama, and so forth. It is the better able to do this because its former functions of protecting the material interests of the profession are now amply fulfilled by the Union of Art Workers and various state bodies (though the society maintains its own homes for retired actors and vacation rest homes).

On a visit to the VTO, two days later, Mr. Bondarenko took me on a tour of the large building (the Actors' Club hall and the restaurant, with other leisure facilities, occupy only two floors). In the Foreign Theater section there are upwards of 10,000 slides, pictures and other well-catalogued pieces of reference material bearing on foreign drama. Okhlopkov, the well-known producer of an original "Hamlet" in recent years, was waiting to receive some fifteen young provincial producers, to start them off on a three weeks' course of specialized training. They were waiting outside as we left—an energetic-looking group, including several young women.

Then came the Children's Theater section. There are 32 full-fledged children's theaters in the USSR. In addition there are 103 puppet theaters under the Ministry of Culture (their repertoire including adult plays as well), hundreds of free-lance puppet groups who take concert engagements and 5,000 (yes, five

thousand) amateur puppet groups, notably among the staffs of kindergartens. "We have a very popular line in puppet sets," they told me, "eight different puppets, with ten plays and a book of advice on production for 800 rubles. They go as fast as we can make them." In this section they have over 1,000 slides of children's plays available.

The Operetta and Ballet section has some 20,000 slides and other classified materials, and the Russian Classics section no less huge a figure. Then there is the Bibliographical section, which keeps a systematic index of literature in Russian on every aspect of the theater, beginning with 1936-37. It has more than 1,500,000 references on its card-indexes, which the student, producer or actor can follow up either in the society's library or, where necessary, in the State Lenin Library a few streets away.

Several were in fact at work in the reading-room of the Library, which can accommodate 50 students at a time. At their disposal were Russian journals on every aspect of the theater from the 1830's onwards, and books, both Russian and foreign, from the 1860's—118,000 in all—a truly magnificent possession. It is particularly rich in texts and commentaries on individual plays. On the "New Literature" stand I noticed half a dozen recently-arrived British journals of the theater, cinema, ballet and dance, and about as many American.

In the publishing section, where we looked in for a moment, staff and consultants were studying the proofs of a new 720-page book on Shakespeare productions in the USSR, to sell at 33 rubles 50 kopeks,

with a first print of 10,000. The page-proofs, an example of excellent layout and typography, with separate initial letters designed for each chapter (according to the play it deals with), looked most attractive.

It was an instructive visit. So was this "Plan of Work for December, 1958" of the Central Actors' Club, which I was allowed to take away from the library, and which I reproduce without comment.

DECEMBER

2nd—7:30 P.M.—Opening of exhibition of portraits by N. P. Akimov, People's Artist of RSFSR and Tadzhikistan.
8:30 P.M.—"Outstanding Masters of Cinema Art" series. Laurence Olivier (sequences from films). Introduction by V. F. Ryzhov.

3rd—1 P.M.—Showing of new documentary and art film "Daughter of the Maly Theater" (A. A. Yablochkina).

4th—8 P.M.—Opera by Shebalin: "Sun Over the Steppe," performed by Soviet Opera Ensemble of VTO.

6th—7:30 P.M.—(At the Drama and Comedy Theater). Evening devoted to 60th birthday and 40th year of professional and public activity of A. I. Shchagin.

8:30 P.M.—(Small Hall). Galina Razumovskaya in "Letter From an Unknown," by Stefan Zweig.

1 P.M.—4th meeting with VTO players: L. A. Skopina (People's Artist of RSFSR) and L. P. Galis (Meritorious Artist of RSFSR).

8th—8 P.M.—(Small Hall). Dmitri Lukashenko, artist of the Omsk Regional Philharmonia, in a program of verse and song: "Learn to Value Love."

9th—8:30 P.M.—Creative Evening of S. S. Samodur (Meritorious Artist of RSFSR, Central Puppet Theater): "25 Years on the Stage."

10th—8 P.M.—(Small Hall). Towards the 21st Congress of the CPSU. Readings of new poems. Meeting of poets with actors.

11th—8 P.M.—(Jointly with Theater and Music Sections of the Union of Soviet Friendship and Cultural Relations Societies): I. A. Moiseyev, People's Artist of USSR—"Cultural Life of America—Personal Observations."

12th—8 P.M.—(Jointly with Soviet-Indian Friendship Society and Theater Section of the Union of Friendship and Cultural Relations Societies): "India Drama and the Soviet Theater."

13th—8 P.M.—Spoken Journal of the Central Actors' Club: "Youth Has Its Say." (Second edition).

15th—8 P.M.—Towards the 21st Congress of the CPSU. "Stories of the Great Plan" (first evening).

3 P.M.—(Small Hall). Art-Production Section. A. M. Drabkin: "Lighting Equipment of Theaters Abroad, as experienced by the Art Theater Tour in 1958."

7:30 P.M.—(Jointly with Editorial Board of the monthly journal *Theater*). Conference of readers of *Theater*.

16th—8:30 P.M.—Creative Evening of P. I. Korobkov, soloist of the Stanislavsky Nemirovich-Danchenko Theater and the Soviet Opera Ensemble of the VTO: "25 Years on the Stage."

18th—7 P.M.—Towards the 21st Congress of the CPSU. Stories of the Great Plan (Second Evening). (Small Hall). Art-Production Section: Creative Evening of E. T. Bellesheva.

19th—8 P.M.—(State Institute of Dramatic Art, the Art Theater and the VTO). Evening devoted to 60 years of professional activity of I. I. Gudkov, Meritorious Art Worker and head of the art production section of the S.I.D.A.

20th—8 P.M.—Discussion on "Paths of Development of the Modern Art of the Ballet." Opener—A. R. Tomsy, Meritorious Artist of Uzbekistan. Participants: maitres de ballet, dancers, critics, librettists, composers of Moscow and Leningrad.

21st—1 P.M.—(Audience Section). Fifth meeting with VTO players. M. O. Knebel, People's Artist of RSFSR, M. M. Shtraikh, People's Artist of RSFSR.
9 P.M.—Lecture by A. Orozov, Min-

ister of Culture of Turkmenistan, "The Flowering of Socialist Culture in Turkmenia." Concert to follow.

22nd—8 P.M.—Meeting with the Prague Puppet Theater (scenes from its plays).

8:30 P.M.—(Jointly with the Mayakovsky Theater). Evening devoted to the 75th birthday and 50 years of stage activity of V. A. Kislovsky, manager of the Mayakovsky Theater.

23rd—8 P.M.—"Outstanding Masters of Cinema Art" series. M. I. Zharov, People's Artist of USSR. Opener: R. N. Yurenev. Sequences from films. M. I. Zharov will speak.

25th—8 P.M.—Spoken Journal of the Central Actors' Club: "Life and Knowledge" (3rd edition).

8:30 P.M.—Anatoli Sventitsky, artist of the Moscow Drama Theater: "Poetry of the East." (Small Hall).

26th—8 P.M.—First performance of opera

by M. Chuikov, "The Flame of Prometheus," by Soviet Opera Ensemble of the VTO.

29th—8 P.M.—Evening on the theme: "The Small Part." Opener—S. V. Gyasintsova, People's Artist of the USSR. Scenes from plays at the Moscow theaters.

31st—New Year's Eve (Details to be announced).

5, 6, 7, 14, 28, 30—Showing of Art Films.

LECTURES ON CINEMA HISTORY

3rd—8th lecture. The work of Erich Stroheim.

10th—9th lecture. Chaplin and American Comedy.

17th—10th lecture. The work of A. M. Room.

24th—11th lecture. Swedish Cinema of the 20's.

Courtesy of Anglo-Soviet Journal

U.S. EDUCATORS COMMEND SOVIET HIGHER EDUCATION

DR. HARLAN H. HATCHER, President of the University of Michigan, leader of one of several groups that have recently surveyed the Soviet educational field, brought back very favorable impressions, according to a Moscow dispatch from Harrison E. Salisbury in the *New York Times*, May 12. Dr. Hatcher declared:

"Soviet society is moving at a much faster rate than is generally realized. . . . Education is the motivating and guiding force in this evolution."

Dr. Hatcher and his group visited seven of the principal Soviet universities—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tiflis, Tashkent, Samarkand and Irkutsk. The *Times* dispatch reported:

"Their principal impression of Soviet higher education was one of drive, energy, pioneering spirit and high competence. They devoted chief attention to the humanities and were surprised to find that contrary to the reports of some observers, Soviet humanities were not being skimmed for the sake of science.

"'On the contrary, we have found that the humanities have benefited from the impact of new scientific attitudes,' Dr. Hatcher said. He gave much credit to the excellent foundations laid in the Soviet ten-year schools in languages and literature, not only of Russia but of foreign countries.

"'Students arrive at the universities wonderfully well prepared,' he said. 'They have excellent study habits. Their extra-curricular activities are tied into serious subjects. Reading habits are widespread and good. The use of libraries is exceptional.'"

Dr. F. Cyril James, President of McGill University in Montreal, also a member of the group, concurred in this opinion. He declared: "Each student is free to choose his own subject and the arts are as greatly appreciated as the sciences."

JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

by PAUL NOVICK

Mr. Paul Novick, editor of the New York Jewish Daily, Morning Freiheit, has been traveling since early this year in the Soviet Union and several of the Eastern European People's Democracies. His impressions, particularly regarding the Jewish question, of which he made a special study, appeared in a series of articles in the Freiheit, from which we publish the following extracts.

Soviet Jews Resent Fabrications

I JUST returned from Leningrad where I visited a huge plant and met with Jewish workers and engineers. I interviewed leaders of the Writers' Union and also leaders of the theater, the Institute of Music and the Philharmonic orchestra. I talked with Jews occupying important positions in these organizations and also with average non-prominent Jews.

This experience and numerous other facts I assembled expose even more strikingly the latest monstrous East Broadway [the reference is to the *Day-Jewish Journal* and the *Forward*] slanders concerning alleged Soviet "anti-Semitism."

I received newspaper clippings from New York with screaming hate-mongering stories about alleged broadcasts over the Soviet radio. I showed these clippings to Jews here. They resented bitterly the unimaginable irresponsibility of these fabrications, most of which appear to originate in Munich, and are designed to promote the aims of the German revenge seekers, who are determined to block a peaceful solution of the German problem.

Sholom Aleichem Centenary

Sholom Aleichem celebrations are taking place throughout the land. . . . These celebrations are on a *government level* Soviet society, representing the different

nationalities of the USSR, was involved. The most important Soviet writers and intellectuals participated. The Soviet press, beginning with *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, joined the celebrations, as well as the radio and television. . . .

Yiddish Sholom Aleichem concerts are taking place. N. Lifshitz is presenting "Wandering Stars" in concert form in Moscow to a sold-out house.

People stand in line, literally all night, to subscribe for the six-volume edition of Sholom Aleichem in Russian which "Goslitizdat" is publishing. And there is the new volume of Sholom Aleichem in Yiddish which "Goslitizdat" published in 30,000 copies—literally unheard of for a Yiddish book in any country.

A special Sholom Aleichem postage stamp has gone on sale.

First of course, must be noted the celebration in the historic Hall of Columns here in Moscow. . . . There were present, of course, many Jews, but also Russians and people of other nationalities. . . . The overcrowding was particularly severe because the sympathetic militia admitted many people, especially elderly Jews, without tickets. On the big stage sat the most important representatives of Soviet literature . . . all the Yiddish writers of Moscow were present. And that world famous son of the Negro people, Paul Robeson, came from a sanitarium near Moscow to participate in the event.

This was a historic demonstration of friendship between peoples under socialism, of the attitude of a socialist government and a socialist society to a classic of Yiddish literature.

How warmly the audience received the speech of Boris Polevoi, who opened the evening in the name of the Union of Soviet Writers, the World Peace Council and the Ministry of Culture!

How the audience received the beloved Russian-Jewish poet, Samuel Marshak, who read his poem about Sholom Aleichem. An ovation greeted the Yiddish poet, Samuel Halkin. He and the poet Aaron Vergelis read their verses in Yiddish. The prose writer Noah Luria made a speech about Sholom Aleichem in Yiddish.

All the speakers, in honoring Sholom Aleichem, also honored the Yiddish people, Yiddish workers, the Yiddish language. Vseyevolod Ivanov expressed his joy that among the giants of the earth marches "this mighty figure of Yiddish literature." He added:

I speak about this with pleasure because the love and respect of the peoples of the Soviet Union for Sholom Aleichem show love for the whole Yiddish people and its language.

One must also underline the short speech which Pavlo Titchina sent from Kiev. Titchina is not only one of the greatest Ukrainian poets. He is also Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. His speech took note, among other things, of the struggle against anti-Semitism and chauvinism. Titchina during the war wrote a most moving poem "To the Yiddish People" and in recent times he especially learned Yiddish in order to translate the verses of Yiddish poets. . . .

In a later article, Mr. Novick described a number of other Yiddish programs and concerts he attended—of which it has been reported that over 4,000 had taken place in 1957 and 1958, attended by over 4,000,000 people. Mr. Novick wrote that there are Yiddish amateur groups in a number of cities.

Growth of Jewish Population

The recent census will supply authoritative information on the number of Jews living in the USSR. But I have just visited a number of Soviet cities, and was astounded by the rapid growth of their Jewish population.

When I visited Minsk in 1946 it was a striking example of a community that had been wiped out by the Nazi hordes. The entire center part of the city had disappeared, and over 80 per cent of the city as a whole had been razed to the ground. It was void and empty! Now Minsk presents an example of nearly miraculous reconstruction.

In 1946 I reported finding some 20,000 Jews in Minsk. I also called attention to the part played by the Soviet Government in literally saving the Jewish people from annihilation by the Hitlerites. At that time my report was challenged . . . it was asserted that there could not possibly have been so many Jews in Minsk.

During my present visit Deputy Mayor Isroel Kazhdan assured me in the presence of a number of other city officials that 130,000 Jews now live in Minsk. When I expressed amazement, the director of the Department of Education said that the figure is substantiated by the records of school enrollment. Some 30 per cent of the pupils and students in all Minsk schools are Jewish. The total population of Minsk is now 500,000, more than double the prewar level of 230,000.

I was unable to get a firm estimate of the number of Jews in Kishinev . . . estimates reached a consensus of 50,000. Both in the town and in the Kishinev synagogue all the Jews I spoke to emphasized that the surviving Jews were saved as a result of the policy of the Soviet Government which evacuated the Jews from the border regions before they were invaded by the Nazis.

Mr. Novick gave a number of other examples showing the growth of the Jewish population in cities and towns visited in the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Occupations of Soviet Jews

A word about the occupations of Soviet Jews. Jews are working in factories and mills, in scientific and cultural institutions, etc. . . .

A book on Jewish members of col-

lective farms by Elia Gordon was recently published in the Soviet Union, and received a great deal of attention. When I visited the publishing house "Soviet-sky Pisatel" (Soviet Writer) they let me have several letters from people in the Urals inquiring where they could get additional copies of the book. These letters testify to the eagerness of all sections of the Soviet public to get hold of new books, and also to the popularity of books by Jewish authors published in Russian. Of exceptional importance is the question of Jews in agriculture. Little has been written on this subject, except in publications about Birobidzhan.

I was greatly interested in what the Yiddish writer I. Yakir had to tell me about Jewish collective farmers and Jewish leading members of such farms in Moldavia (former Bessarabia). He referred to twenty Jewish families, members of the *kolkhoz* Duroitar near Rishkan. There are Jewish members in many other *kolkhozi* in Moldavia.

I visited the important plant *Vibrator* in Leningrad. This enterprise is engaged in the manufacture of delicate instruments for ships, airplanes, cameras, etc. Abram Damsky is the director and Boris Silber the chief constructor—both Jews. Four hundred of its workers are members of the Communist Party, 41 of them Jews. *Mr. Novick then mentions Jews met in prominent positions in various cultural and scientific organizations.*

Yiddish Writers in the USSR

When I met the Soviet Yiddish poet Halkin immediately upon my arrival here at the end of December 1958, I was pleasantly surprised by his sparkling cheerfulness, not a vestige of depressed spirits. There was a kind of challenge and resentment in his bearing against those unwelcome expressions of sympathy in foreign lands that must have reached him. Halkin spoke of *the blossoming* of the creative work of the Soviet Yiddish writers in Moscow and other Soviet centers. They are writing a great deal and better than ever before. . . .

Just before leaving the Soviet Union I heard the same sentiment expressed by the Yiddish poet Aaron Vergelis, as well as the writers in Kiev and Odessa. At a meeting with a large group of Yiddish writers I was told that their number is increasing by the ripening of additional new young Yiddish authors. I perceived the remarkable vitality of the Soviet Yiddish writers whose creative works are discharging a historic mission. Make no mistake about it. Their creativity is part and parcel of the *cultural revolution* taking place in the Soviet Union in general. The general *atmosphere* in the country encourages creativity. The writer is held in high esteem and affection. While the Yiddish writers have their serious problems stemming from the question of Yiddish culture and Yiddish publications in general, they do enjoy the warmest relations with the Russian and Ukrainian writers, as well as the writers in other Soviet languages.

My discussions with individual writers made it crystal clear to me that certain tactics of friends abroad were by far not always helpful. . . . The Yiddish writers here are Soviet patriots. The hard times did not undermine their patriotism. Halkin called my attention to the fact that in those hard years he never ceased creating as a *Soviet* poet. . . .

But lest anyone should get the mistaken notion that the Soviet Yiddish writer ought to be comforted, let me emphasize that the contrary is the case. When getting together with them it is these writers who comfort the foreign visitor. That, in spite of the fact that the greater the creative upsurge, the more ardent is the aspiration for publication first and primarily in the original Yiddish.

This problem has by far not been solved as yet. But there is an opinion—and one wishes it may prove true—that the publication of the Yiddish volume of Sholom Aleichem augurs a beginning in that respect. Grandiose developments are taking place in the Soviet Union, stemming from a policy that has already

brought about remarkable improvements both within the country and in foreign relations. Many mistakes of former years have been eliminated and their effects repaired. That justifies the hope that the problem of Yiddish literature and Yiddish cultural expression in general will also find an early solution. The prospects in that respect are enhanced by the publication of Yiddish literary works in translation—in Russian, Ukrainian and the languages of the other Soviet Republics. Sixty Yiddish books have already been published in these languages. The Soviet public, the writers and artists, and the multi-million peoples of all the Soviet Republics have thus discovered the existence of a great Yiddish literature!

New Republic Article Answered

I have before me an article from *The New Republic* of February 9 on "Jewish Life Today in the Soviet Union." It is written under a Moscow dateline by Philip Ben, a contributor of the Paris *Len Monde*. Let us look into some of his statements.

1. Ben claims that Jews are not allowed to serve as officers of the Air Force or of the Navy. . . . It so happened that at the celebration of the Sholom Aleichem centenary in Moscow I came across several generals and one of them, a general of the Air Force, carried several copies of the *Yiddish* volume of Sholom Aleichem's works that had just appeared. More important, the MIG is a Soviet jet fighter of worldwide fame. The term MIG is made up of the first letters of the names Mikoyan and Gurevich (a Jew) as constructors of airplanes for the Soviet Air Force.

2. Jews, says Ben, are barred from those sectors of the CPSU which are engaged in the work of propaganda. Now, I met in Moscow a number of Jews who are propagandists for the Party. Furthermore, how is it that the writer for the *New Republic* and *Le Monde* while in Moscow failed to see in

Pravda of February 6 the speech of M. B. Mitin at the 21st Congress of the CPSU? Mitin was introduced as the Chairman of the All-Union Department of Political and Scientific Propaganda. Mitin is a member of the Central Committee. He is a Jew.

3. Ben claims that the number of Jewish students in the universities of Moscow and Kiev is smaller than the proportion of Jews in the total population of these cities. I have no way of checking this assertion. I did not count the respective numbers, nor did Ben. But if one is to consider the number of Jewish students in reference to the proportion of Jews in the total population, one cannot possibly leave out of consideration the fact that both Moscow and Kiev universities service not these cities alone and not even just the Russian and Ukrainian Republics, but the whole USSR. In the final analysis, since there are so many Jewish scientists and professors, does not this testify that there must be a great number of Jewish students? The fact is that the numerous Jews to whom I spoke in these cities practically all told me that their children or grandchildren are students of universities or of specialized higher Institutes for the various professions.

After making several more points, Mr. Novick concluded as follows:

Does that mean that all vestiges of anti-Semitic prejudices have been totally eliminated? By no means. Some survivals from Tsarist times and traces of the effects of Nazi propaganda during the occupation as well as of deliberate attempts by foreign agents of the cold war to disrupt the Soviet Union from within by means of chauvinist and anti-Semitic propaganda are still to be wiped out. There are differences of opinion concerning the best way to combat and eliminate any vestige of prejudice. . . .

Only propagandists of the cold war would indulge in the deliberately false charge of anti-Semitism in relation to the Soviet Government or any Soviet State institutions.

THE CRITICS

ON THE BOLSHOY BALLET

JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK TIMES

On Romeo and Juliet: "Ulanova is a glorious artist . . . her Juliet is the total creation of a young girl by a supreme artist. What emerges is truer than reality itself. . . . Everywhere there is magnificent acting and magnificent creative direction. Lavrovsky is a master of ensembles. . . . He has wasted not an accent or a nuance of Prokofiev's marvelously theatrical music, virile, passionate and tender. The company is all stars. . . . Yuri Zhdanov as Romeo . . . is an excellent artist all around. Yaroslav Sekh makes a masterpiece of Mercutio . . . Marina Kondratieva is not only brilliant but also winning and lovely to look at. . . . In the orchestra pit Yuri Fayer and a first rate orchestra made the Prokofiev score sound for all it is worth. Altogether an evening nobody who was present is likely to forget. The term 'ballet' is likely to take on new meaning in these parts." *April 17*

"Raissa Struchkova . . . a lovely looking and appealing Juliet and a superb dancer." *April 18*

"Leonid Lavrovsky, the choreographer . . . is a star of incomparable magnitude. . . . Lavrovsky has given us a great theatrical spectacle, formally conceived with sensitive vision, and choreographed in every minute detail from the rise of the curtain to its fall some three and a half spellbinding hours later. . . . His inventions . . . are perceptive, brilliantly conceived and tautly realized . . . the most remarkable of them consists of the use of highly acrobatic lifts not for the purpose of exhibiting virtuosity but for the communication of emotional states that transcend the ordinary dimensions of normal experience. . . . Music, movement, story, characters are all one, in a

noble, vigorous, intensely masculine creation of the choreographic theater. . . ." *April 26*

On Swan Lake: "As to Plisetskaya, there can be no question of her greatness; as to the ballet, it is far from the best version of the old masterpiece that has been seen hereabouts. . . . Plisetskaya is a beautiful girl, vivid of personality and brimming with temperament. She is also possessed of an incredibly plastic body, strong as steel, but supple as a wand. . . ." *April 22*

"Nina Timofeyeva was the Odette and Odile and took the house by storm. . . . Boris Khokhlov was the Prince . . . his dancing in the pas de deux was incredibly brilliant. . . . It is still possible to make reservations about this version of the ballet itself, but when it is danced like this, it makes very little difference what the version is. . . ." *April 23*

"On the credit side . . . are a brilliant and lively first act . . . the addition of a jester who, in the hands of Georgi Soloviev, is a joy and a delight; and a fourth act, created anew by Asaf Messerer, with a beautiful and unusual pas de deux. . . ." *May 3*

On Giselle: ". . . Another superb piece of choreographic art . . . it has never before been seen here with such richness of texture, such fullness, such a combination of sensitiveness with complete authority . . . Leonid Lavrovsky . . . has given it a life and vitality as fresh as the air. . . . Here is no star production. Every character is beautifully conceived . . . woven into a theatrical texture that is truly three-dimensional. . . . Raissa Struchkova was the Giselle on this occasion, and a fine and moving one. . . . Yuri Zhdanov plays Albrecht with an easy conviction. His dancing . . .

is topnotch . . . Bogomolova is a darling. . . ." *April 29*

"Galina Ulanova is an artist of rare and unearthly quality, and the role of the heartbroken peasant maiden who is transformed into a supernatural creature of the air falls naturally into her personal range. . . . It is . . . the projection of tender and subtle colors of the spirit in terms of movement that comprises the substance of her concern. . . . It is amazing that a single company could present two versions of a single ballet as different as this one and the one that preceded it. The individual artists are apparently allowed a remarkable degree of freedom in finding and developing their roles within the master plan. . . . Fadeychev dances the role of Albrecht superbly . . . Levashev's Hilarion is hot-tempered, high-spirited and passionate . . . Maya Samokhvalova . . . danced Myrtle stunningly . . . Ekaterina Maximova . . . danced with sheer perfection. And surely she could not have had a more gracious partner than Gleb Evdokimov, a truly remarkable dancer in his own right. Then, of course, there was that matchless corps de ballet, who make the second act something very like magic. . . ." *May 2*

"In the second act . . . we are transported into another world by Lavrovsky's magic. . . . It is of incredible delicacy . . . and Yuri Fayer conducts the Adolphe Adam score with tender beauty. . . . There has certainly never been a production of Giselle hereabouts to compare with it. . . ." *May 3*

On the Stone Flower: "The second act [The reviewer was not enthusiastic about the first] is one of the marvels of the repertory . . . Vladimir Levashev gives an astounding performance . . . The Mistress of the Copper Mountain is danced by Maya Plisetskaya, in green tights that allow us to see the full effect of that incredible body in action . . . Marina Kondratieva, who has a lovely lyric quality, dances the faithful sweetheart beautifully . . . The handsome,

high-jumping Vladimir Vassiliev makes an ideal fairy-tale hero. . . ." *May 5*

"Nina Timofeyeva was the Mistress of the Copper Mountain . . . Her technique is prodigious, but for all its brilliance it is characterized always by a texture of womanliness . . . Lovely little Maximova . . . is enough to melt the heart of any witch . . . On second seeing, the ballet as a whole appears to much better advantage . . . exciting really is the word for it. . . ." *May 6*

On Highlights I: "The things that went on at the Metropolitan Opera House last night . . . cannot possibly be believed without being seen . . . This fantastic company did everything technical except take off into outer space . . . Still to come when this awe-stricken reviewer reluctantly staggered down the aisle, were . . . [he enumerates them] . . . Wow!" *April 24*

On Highlights II: "The second program of Highlights . . . proved to be lit even higher than the first one if that seems at all credible . . . the highest light . . . was the brief moment in which Galina Ulanova gave us her version of 'The Dying Swan.' She is an artist of supreme communicating powers . . . an exquisite creation . . . by one of the loveliest of dancers. . . ." *May 1*

WALTER TERRY, NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

On Romeo and Juliet: "An event of historic significance took place last evening when the world-famous Bolshoy Ballet made its American debut . . . the spotlight shone on Galina Ulanova, whose radiance of presence was such . . . that special lights seemed quite unnecessary. . . ." *April 17*

"Raissa Struchkova [as Juliet] came up with a performance which was dewy in its sweetness, airy of action and altogether satisfying. . . . The total performance had considerably livelier pacing than it did on the opening night. . . ." *April 18*

On Swan Lake: ". . . A masterful

performance of a great ballet. . . . Miss Plisetskaya's Odette is a wonderfully lyrical figure. It is quietly regal, very delicate (almost elusive) in its romanticism and miraculously birdlike . . . [as Odile] Miss Plisetskaya not only turns in an enactment of telling power but gives her audience all those tricks of virtuosity which evoke bravos and squeals and cries of delight . . . a vivid interpretation, brilliantly danced by a ballerina who belongs in the top roster of stars. . . ." *April 22*

"Nina Timofeyeva, [as Odette-Odile] in the second 'Swan Lake' . . . glided on to the stage and, before long, had won all hearts and resounding cheers. . . ." *April 23*

On Giselle: ". . . the star of the occasion was the corps de ballet . . . Raissa Struchkova moved with a lovely lightness . . . Liudmila Bogomolova was absolutely exquisite. . . ." *April 29*

". . . Ulanova builds a characterization as compelling as any I have ever seen in the theater . . . the only way to describe it is as a 'miracle' . . . I am tempted to babble on and on about a performance none of us present will ever forget . . . Nikolai Fedeychev . . . enacted the role of the young count with splendid sensitivity . . . Ekaterina Maximova was enchanting . . . the corps was once again fabulous to see. . . ." *May 2*

On Stone Flower: [The reviewer was not so keen on the ballet itself but—] "The shine of artistry emanated from the dancers, from the wonderful Miss Plisetskaya and the magnificently trained troupe of Bolshoy performers." *May 5*

On Highlights I: "The Russians, last evening, primed the pumps, pulled out the stoppers, turned on the taps and flooded the stage . . . with just about every twist and trick at their command . . . And then came the highlight of this program of high lights, the magnificent Maya Plisetskaya as the flamboyant Bacchante in the Walpurgis night scene from Faust . . . [she] can best be described in the good old American

slang expression 'Wow!' . . . A great dancer. A great performer. The youngest of the Bolshoy ballerinas, 19-year-old Ekaterina Maximova . . . showed herself not only to be a beautiful girl with a lovely figure but also a splendid little dancer. Gennadi Lediakh . . . served notice he is one of the best of the Bolshoy men dancers. . . ." *April 24*

On Highlights II: "Mme. Ulanova worked her magic once again . . . in 'The Dying Swan' . . . her gentle dance, very simple of outline, very delicate of mood, won a roof-shattering ovation . . . a wonder of a dance . . . Vladimir Vassiliev (he just turned 19 a few days ago) brought tremendous agility and enthusiasm to bear on his role as a Tatar youth . . . Raissa Struchkova and Alexander Lapauri brought down the house with the rousingly danced tricks of 'The Waltz.'" *May 1*

"But now we come to the manner in which the Soviet dancers perform their flashy bits . . . First of all, they move with a great sense of joy as if they would rather be dancing than doing anything else . . .

"The faultless timing demonstrated by the Bolshoy dancers in the execution of their dance tricks as well as in their beautiful dancing of lyrical passages is, of course, the result of long association, constant practice and firm discipline as only an institution can provide. Most of the artists grew up together and trained together and performed together and they don't have to worry about earning a living any other way nor do they have to anticipate seasonal layoffs without pay. Small wonder, then, that they perform with such single and total brilliance. . . ." *May 3*

We could go on and on, quoting from ecstatic critics in many other publications. Not only the great Ulanova and the other gifted leading ballerinas but all who danced lesser roles, and always the incomparable corps de ballet as a whole, won continuous accolades from critics and wildly enthusiastic audiences.

An Epic for All Men

A review by ROCKWELL KENT

The Enchanted Prince, by Leonid Solov'yev. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957, 449 pp. \$1.50, Imported Publications, N. Y. Published in 1957 in the U.S. under the title of *The Beggar in the Harem*, by Harcourt Brace and Co., New York. 256 pages. \$3.50.

ONCE upon a time—or, probably, except in people's minds, never—there lived, somewhere and everywhere in the Near East, in Daghestan, Azerbaidzhan, Central Asia, Turkey, Persia, one Khoja Nasreddin who, because he was like other men, had a wife and lots of children; because money meant little to him, was poor; because he was restless, inclined to vagabondage; because he liked companionship and, incidentally, preferred riding to walking, owned an ass; and who was gifted with such unscrupulous virtue that he would balk at no villainy or dirty trick to right injustices as he encountered them. But if in the pursuit of vagabondage Guljan, his wife, and his increasing family were a constant hindrance to Khoja—and they unquestionably were—to the ass they were a burden not to be endured. One day the creature, “while nibbling the fresh spring grass, chanced to look at Guljan and marked that she had grown round of body again. His worst suspicions confirmed, the ass with a bray of despair broke his tether and made a dash through the bushes.” Whether or not inspired by this act of revolt, Khoja shortly thereafter contrived to break or slip his own tether. It is of Khoja's and the ass's travels together, of their “vagabondage” and the strange and often harrowing adventures they encountered that “*The Enchanted Prince*” is the narrative.

Khoja and the ass: they were as Don

Quixote and his Rosinante. And as their Sancho Panza was a one-eyed, conscience-stricken thief—a sinner seeking righteousness but far less tortured by past sins than by the abstinence from new ones that virtue forced upon him.

Khoja Nasreddin and the one-eyed thief: they were as Robin Hood and Little John. Merry as they were in the doing of good deeds by any brave or clever means that came to hand. The two as one were like Till Eulenspiegel—*most*, perhaps, like Eulenspiegel in their wit and wile and in their likeness to the folk of whom they were and whom, against the wicked rich, they championed. Yet, unlike Till, those two had conscious purpose. Nasreddin sought, like Percival, a “Holy Grail”; and, like him, found it:

“Majestically, and solemnly, in the company of the stars, the world floated through the blue gloom of night. The wind rustled in the trees, the nocturnal birds cried, the dewy verdure smelt sweetly and Khoja Nasreddin's heart beat high within his breast. In all this he suddenly perceived his faith, felt it with absolute certainty, albeit he could not yet give it a name. His heart overflowing with rapture and the joy of boundless love for the world, himself aware of a similar answering love from the living world, he mingled and merged with all the animate things around him without losing himself, and entered within the portal of one of those precious moments, when man makes contact with the great and eternal whirligig of life, to which death has no access.

“His faith sounded ever louder within his soul, and brimmed over, but the word for it, the one and only wondrous word, eluded him. He knew it was there, somewhere near, and he strained all his powers in order that the flame of his soul rise to his mind and kindle that great word within it; and when, at last,

he seemed to be swooning with the violence of his efforts, the word suddenly flashed within him with a blinding, dazzling light, and, flying to his lips, seared them with its invisible flame.

"'Life!' he cried, quivering, unaware of the tears that streamed down his face.

"And everything around him quivered in startled response—the wind, the leaves, the grass, and the distant stars.

"Strange—he had always known that simple word, but never till now had he probed its fathomless depths, and now that he had plumbed them, that word became all-comprehensive and infinite to him.

"From that memorable day, when the prophetic word had been revealed to him at the graveside of the old dervish, he began to live differently—to live in lucid serenity, untroubled and undisturbed by doubts, unoppressed by the

confusion and seeming chaos of the world he lived in, for he now held the true and trustworthy key to everything."

And with these last impassioned moving words the author, as he tells us, lays down his pen: "for we have said of him all that we know and all that we have wished to say."

But about the book, the reviewer has scarcely begun to say all that is in his heart to say. Teeming with adventure, witty and compassionate toward man and beast, tenderly appreciative of nature, deep in wisdom, it is an experience in reading far less to be written about than to be quietly absorbed into the reader's very being. The story, beautifully translated into English, is an epic for the enrichment of the lives of all men, everywhere and always.

A Great Negro Actor

A review by MURRAY YOUNG

Ira Aldridge, *The Negro Tragedian*, by Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock. Macmillan. New York, 1958. 336 pages. \$7.50.

IN THE Shakespeare Memorial Theater at Stratford-upon-Avon one of the thirty-three chairs in honor of the great actors of the world bears the name of Ira Aldridge. The chair was given by the Negro people of the United States in honor of the greatest of all Negro actors who was born in this country early in the 19th century but won his fame in England and on the continent.

The first really authoritative book about Aldridge appeared in Moscow in 1940. The present book is the first scholarly study of Aldridge to appear in English. The co-authors tell a depressing story of their attempts to trace accurate records of Aldridge in the theatrical histories of the past hundred years. Only when their research led them east-

ward from the place of his birth—to England, Germany, Poland, Russia—did the material grow in depth and richness. The reason for this neglect, if not downright suppression, the authors believe, is the fact that Aldridge was a Negro.

The first Negro to play white roles, including Macbeth, Shylock, King Lear, Aldridge received more honors and decorations than any actor before or since. Made a "Knight of Saxony" by the state of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, he ever after called himself Chevalier Ira Aldridge, K.S.

Praised and honored throughout Europe, it was in Tsarist Russia that he seems most deeply to have influenced his fellow actors. From his first appearance in St. Petersburg in 1858, in the wake of the great popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and in the midst of the agitation for the emancipation of the serfs, his realistic method of acting, his free-

dom from meaningless poses, and the impassioned, natural way he spoke his lines, had a profound effect upon the course of Russian acting. Actors came to his performances as if they were classes in dramatic art. This was all the more remarkable because Aldridge spoke English while the rest of his company spoke in German!

In 1862 he played in Moscow at the Maly Theater; this time with a Russian speaking company. Aldridge again spoke in English. After the opening performances at the Maly, so great was the demand for seats that the subsequent performances were given at the much larger Bolshoy.

Aldridge made several long tours in the Russian provinces, visiting many towns where no theatrical companies had ever before appeared. Thus it came about that many Russians made their first acquaintance not only with theater proper but with Shakespeare, through an American Negro.

Behind Aldridge's triumphs on the continent were many years of touring the English provinces. His London appearance came early in his career (only a few years after he had arrived from the United States); his lack of experience and the prejudice of the London critics prevented further engagements. It was not until many years later, covered with honors from the continent, that Aldridge again appeared before the London public.

The years of his preparation in the English provinces are told with careful concern for facts by the authors and at the same time with a deep sympathy for the difficulties of a proud and immensely talented Negro slowly rising in his profession under the most discouraging circumstances.

Of his several children the most interesting for us today was his daughter Amanda, born in 1866, the year before her father's death. A successful concert singer for many years, she became a famous teacher of singers, dying at the age of 90 in 1956. Among her more

famous students were Marian Anderson, Roland Hayes and Paul Robeson.

This brief outline gives only a hint of the richness of the book's content and its enlightening discussion of the political significance of Aldridge's career in England, on the continent and especially in Russia.

Perhaps some of the concluding remarks of the book will give the reader a better indication of the range and quality of this remarkable study:

As a pioneer in laying the foundations of that still-to-come theater of the human race, Ira Aldridge was the first to show that a black man could scale any heights in theatrical art reached by a white man—and recreate with equal artistry the greatest characters in world drama. . . .

He did this in a white world, and showed that if a white man can blacken his skin to represent Othello, then a black man can whiten his skin to represent Lear, Macbeth, or Shylock with equal artistry. A simple fact—but even today not wholly accepted in this democratic age. Nevertheless, the colored peoples are beginning to achieve, in fact, the equal rights he always made his basic theme. . . .

And one day, for sure, there will be professional African theaters in South Africa, Ghana, and Nigeria, and Negro theaters for black and white in Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia, and some of these theaters and companies will be named after Ira Aldridge, and the great dramas of the world, including their own, will be played by black companies for their own people, and they will tour the same countries Aldridge toured, and similarly triumph. . . .

NOW READY

Bound Volumes of
NEW WORLD REVIEW, 1958
\$4.00 each

Index alone, 35c

Order through NWR
34 W. 15th St., New York 11, N. Y.

NEW SOVIET FILMS

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

Alexei Tolstoy's:
THE SISTERS and 1918

NEW CIRCUS ATTRACTIONS

MY BELOVED ONE

Artkino Pictures, Inc.

723 SEVENTH AVE., NEW YORK 19

Telephone: Circle 5-6570



OF MEN AND MOUNTAINS

by
ROCKWELL KENT

An account of the travels in
Europe and especially the USSR
of the author and his wife, Sally.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE AUTHOR

Price \$1.00 Postpaid

Order through
NEW WORLD REVIEW
34 West 15th St., New York 11

TOURS SOVIET UNION

Personally Escorted All Expense Air Tours

29 DAYS

21 days in Soviet Union in six cities
including Black Sea resort
Extension to Poland & Czechoslovakia
if desired

Departure from New York

TOUR "B" JULY 6th
TOUR "C" JULY 19th

Registration Limited
For full Information Write

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP**

114 E. 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

TOWARD A SOCIALIST AMERICA

A Symposium of 15 Essays
Edited by HELEN ALFRED

Contributing Authors: Stephen H. Fritchman,
Bertha C. Reynolds, John Howard Lawson,
John T. McManus, Broadus Mitchell, Herbert
Aptheker, Paul M. Sweezy, Carl Dreher, Victor
Perlo, George Olshausen, Scott Nearing, Reuben
Borough, Homer Ayres, W. E. B. Du Bois
and Philip S. Foner.

*"An eye-opener to those who do not under-
stand what socialism really means . . . a chal-
lenge to the divided Left to find common ways
of working for common purposes."*

New World Review

WHY NOT ORDER YOUR COPY TODAY:

PEACE PUBLICATIONS

P.O. Box 164, New York 24, N. Y.

Name

Address

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

Reduced price — Cloth \$2; Paper \$1.

SO
JU
25

Save Money — Enrich Your Library

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION AND PREMIUM BOOK OFFER

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

- ☐ **\$1.00** for special 5-month trial subscription to NWR. (Really six month if you act quickly. We will include the especially informative March issue as long as it lasts.)
- ☐ **\$2.50** for one year subscription—12 copies of NWR. Plus either of the following books. (This is our regular sub price—the books alone regularly cost \$1.00.) Check one.

— **OF MEN AND MOUNTAINS**, by **Rockwell Kent**. A glowing account in words and drawings of the recent trip of the distinguished artist and his wife Sally to Ireland and the Soviet Union. Just published.

— **HERE I STAND**, by **Paul Robeson**. The great singer and actor (now playing OTHELLO at the Stratford Festival in England) tells the story of his life and his convictions.

- ☐ **\$3.50** for one year subscription. Plus either of the following books. (Cloth—regular cost of books alone, \$2.00.) Check one.

— **EARLY DAWN**, by **Lev Kassil**. This leading Soviet writer for young people presents a sensitive story of young Soviet artist, Kolya Dmitriev, killed in an accident. Handsomely illustrated by Dmitriev's work, in black and white and color.

— **THE MALACHITE CASKET**, by **Pavel Bazhov**. Folk tales from the Urals retold with great artistry by a leading Soviet writer. **The Stone Flower**, in the Bolshoy Ballet repertory for their U.S. visit, is based on one of the stories of this collection. Illustrated in color.

- ☐ **\$4.00** for one year subscription PLUS

— **THE ROAD TO LIFE**, by **Anton Makarenko**, in three volumes, cloth. Classic account of establishment of a special school in early days of Soviet Union by this great educator. A literary masterpiece, this book is also a basic source of Soviet educational theory. (Regular cost of books alone, \$3.00.)

- ☐ **\$4.50** for one year subscription PLUS

— **THE BRAVE NEW WORLD**, by **Helen and Scott Nearing**. An inspiring and informative account of their recent journey to the USSR and People's China, by two gifted social observers. (Cloth—regular cost of books alone, \$3.50.)

(Add \$.50 to above prices for Canadian orders, \$1.00 for foreign).

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

☐ Check here if this is a renewal.