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The Anniversaries: A Time For Renewed Dedication to Peace

Sixty-one years ago this month, the Russian Revolution brought into being the first country ever to be run by workers and farmers. These miners and wheat-growers, school teachers and sailors saw their most fundamental interests to lie in building a life without exploitation, without racism and national oppression, and without war. In the years since then, the Soviet people have built a highly advanced, industrial society of equality and plenty in their own country, and through an unparalleled struggle for the peace they needed to do so, have opened up to the world's people the possibility of overcoming war. This is what Americans who stand for peace and friendship have uppermost in their hearts this year as they salute the anniversaries of the October Revolution and of normalization of US-Soviet diplomatic relations.

Simultaneously, two anniversaries of a very different sort are occurring. Six years ago negotiations began on the second strategic arms limitation accord. A year ago the interim agreement to limit strategic offensive arms, part of the SALT I agreement, expired. The ongoing SALT talks are pivotal for US-Soviet relations and for world peace. Unless a mutually agreed ceiling is placed on the runaway growth of these immensely destructive forces and the basis is thus laid for disarmament, the squandering of resources will be endless and the threat of nuclear holocaust enormous.

Two years ago Henry Kissinger told us the new agreement was "90 per cent complete." A few weeks ago Paul Warnke told us it was "95 per cent complete." A Louis Harris poll last spring indicated that three-quarters of the American people are eager for the new agreement to be completed. The Soviets have repeatedly urged that SALT II and other arms control and disarmament agreements be concluded. But the fact remains—we still do not have a SALT agreement. What's happening?

One of Jimmy Carter's campaign promises was speedy conclusion of SALT II. We recall all too well that his first move to fulfill that promise was to send Secretary Vance to Moscow with a set of proposals which would have obliged the USSR to make major reductions while leaving the US arsenal virtually untouched. Rightly rebuffed by the Soviets, the Carter administration took a soberer tack when talks resumed.

In May 1977 a three-part framework for a new SALT agreement was outlined. The first part sets a ceiling of 2,250 on the number of missiles and bombers each side may have, and establishes sub-limits for the number which may bear multiple warheads. The second part is a protocol of lesser duration than the main accord, temporarily limiting certain aspects of cruise missiles, new types of missiles and mobile ICBMs. The third is a statement of principles to guide further talks under SALT III, when steps to reduce arms are anticipated.

News reports at the end of Secretary Vance's talks in Moscow in late October indicate that unresolved issues include the Soviet "Backfire" bomber, an intermediate range plane the US claims could be used for intercontinental missions under certain conditions; limits on the range of cruise missiles; restrictions on modernizing existing missiles and introducing new ones including mobile missiles; and the time span to be covered by the protocol.

The US' consistent leading role in developing and introducing new weapons systems since World War II is well known. Unfortunately, President Carter has kept this momentum going. Last summer, despite the difficulties in SALT over cruise missiles, he announced plans for their mass production. When the neutron bomb became public knowledge, he did not move to ban it, but instead asked that funds be appropriated for it and stated that he would decide the question of production later. Last April he again said the ultimate decision about introducing the neutron bomb would be made later, and that it would be

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"influenced by the degree to which the Soviet Union shows restraint in its conventional nuclear arms programs and force deployments affecting the security of the United States and Western Europe." In other words, the neutron bomb is a club to force the Soviets to knuckle under in other spheres of negotiation such as SALT and force reduction in Central Europe.

A few weeks ago Carter released funds for production of component parts for the neutron warhead. Not only does this action increase the likelihood that this very dangerous type of weapon will be deployed and ultimately used, but the very timing of Carter's announcement just as Secretary Vance was leaving for Moscow can only be construed by Americans and Soviets alike as extremely threatening to SALT.

The Soviets have repeatedly urged a ban on the neutron bomb. At the Komsomol Congress last spring, President Brezhnev again termed it "a particularly inhumane weapon of mass destruction." "Our stand on this issue is absolutely clear," he said. "The countries concerned should, before it is too late, conclude an agreement reciprocally renouncing manufacture of this weapon. And may mankind be delivered from it once and for all!"

The ultra-right argues that the Soviets are driving toward military superiority. Again, top US arms experts disagree. In the October *Scientific American*, Philip Morrison and Paul F. Walker observe that in the first four years of SALT I, "the US increased the number of nuclear warheads in its constant inventory of land and submarine based missiles at a rate of more than 100 a month, three times the rate achieved by the USSR in the same period." The US now has 9,000 strategic warheads to the USSR's 4,000, they say, and the US "leads the world technically in nearly every significant aspect of military hardware, non-nuclear as well as nuclear." Ultimately, they indicate, it is the unique combination of technical advantage with size and structure that makes the US forces so powerful. "The general-purpose forces are capable of bringing non-nuclear power to bear in any part of the world. In this respect the US stands alone as the world's only truly global power."

The Soviets make it plain they have no plans to seek military dominance. As Foreign Minister Gromyko told the UN General Assembly this fall, "By now . . . an approximate equality or parity in arms has come into being. The Soviet Union . . . does not intend to change this correlation in its favor. What is more, we have been and are proposing now that the levels of military confrontation be reduced, i.e. that the security of each and everyone be ensured with lesser quantitative and qualitative parameters of armaments and armed forces."

The only real security for the American people lies in reversing the arms race. According to Sen. Frank Church, in a recently-released report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "the psychology of the arms race is such that without a mutual agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to live within certain proscribed limits, the race will escalate—even though it is obvious that neither government could ever reach a point at which it would feel secure enough to stop. In short, the only practical way to preserve stability, enhance our national security and, simply put, keep the lid on, is through strategic arms limitation agreements."

As the leader in the race, the US government has the responsibility to lead in establishing conditions for achieving arms control and disarmament agreements. That means the Carter administration must accept the Soviet proposal to ban the neutron bomb, must act quickly to resolve remaining issues in SALT, must complete the agreement and campaign vigorously for its prompt ratification by the Senate.

The most appropriate and effective way for Americans who favor peace and friendship to observe the anniversary of the October Revolution, is to act now to press the Carter administration to take these vital actions.

M.B., November 1978

Guest Editorial

Growing Thin: In Jest and For Real

Switching their radios over to the shortwave band, Soviet people are intrigued to hear stories about how they live, coming from Washington, London, Cologne, Munich. . . . The broadcasters continuously tell them about their miserable life and the good life in the West. Since presumably Soviet people do not know everything about their lives, this deficiency is made up with a vengeance.

Well, isn't it interesting to learn that you are half-clothed, semi-hungry, and even half-shod? True, regarding being half-shod, some bewilderment arises. Even Salvador Dali and his colleagues—surrealists, and more-than-extravagant folks—wore two shoes each. Dali would stroll around Paris not with a dog but with an armadillo; but he always wore both his shoes.

In the USSR, in addition to wearing both shoes, there is another permanent fashion: growing thin. This is usually a good thing to do. Lovers of humor are enthusiastic about it. In comparison with the tall, thin Britons and Swedes, Soviet citizens—Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks—are a bit too stout. A few figures may suggest some historical reasons for this.

Consumption of Foodstuffs, USSR
(kilograms per person per year)

	Scientific ration	Actual consumption 1950	Actual consumption 1970	Actual consumption 1976
Bread and bakery products	120.4	172	149	142
Potatoes	96.7	241	130	119
Meat and meat products	81.8	26	48	55
Fish and fish products	18.2	7	15.4	18.5
Sugar	36.5	11.6	38.8	40.4

Average daily caloric intake in the USSR is 3,180 calories: the same as in Great Britain, France, Denmark and Canada and slightly more than in the Federal Republic of Germany (where, apparently, growing thin is in greater vogue), and slightly less than in the USA (3,240) and New Zealand (3,290).

As can be seen from the table, the Soviet pattern of food consumption has changed sharply, with less bread and potatoes and more meat, fish and sugar. In short, Soviet people intend to grow thin through increased consumption of calory-rich food.

Meat is still produced in insufficient quantities. The shortage is partly made up with fish: very few countries have reached the scientific ration for fish consumption. But still, raising meat production is one of the major tasks of the Soviet economy right now. It is being solved, but not as quickly as we would like.

Whenever there is an occasion—and even without one—some people in the West like very much to write and speak about this. There are even specialists, whom we Soviet journalists jokingly call “meatmen.” We are convinced, however, that this narrow specialty is unreliable, and will soon disappear. So we urge the meatmen, in their own interest, to start retraining for some other line of work, lest their purchasing power over meat evaporate. Especially since meat *prices* are far from growing thin—in Washington, London, Cologne or Munich. . . .

In contrast, meat prices in the Soviet Union have not been raised once since 1962, that is, for almost 16 years. Indeed, the production of meat is unprofitable, as the average retail price of beef, for example, is 1.65 rubles per kilogram and its production costs 3.21 rubles. Soviet consumers buy beef at 50 per cent of cost; the rest is subsidized by the state. The total subsidy for meat, milk and some other foodstuffs exceeds Soviet defense expenditures, and by a wide margin.

But the Soviet government is not going to raise meat prices. Because people would then really have to grow thin, but no longer of their own free will. And so far we are

growing thin, each in his or her own particular way. Some people do it according to the latest dietary recipes; others on the athletic fields; still others just by having a hearty laugh at their semi-hungry and semi-shod existence, of which they are daily informed. From Washington, London, Munich, Cologne. . . . And even from Peking.

GENNADY PISAREVSKY
Economic Correspondent, Novosti
Press Agency

The Unknown War—The Way It Really Was On the Eastern Front in World War II

The world's greatest wartime epic, the Soviet people's defense of their native land and their heroic drive to sweep the Nazis not only past their borders but out of Eastern Europe as well, saved millions of Western lives and destroyed Hitler's timetable which included invasion of Britain and the U.S. Tragically, because of the cold war most Americans know very little about this Eastern Front where 20 million Soviet people died. If the story of Soviet heroism and Nazi devastation were fully understood here, could anyone fail to understand the depth of Soviet desire for peace?

Now, through a unique cooperative venture between US and Soviet film-makers, everyone with a TV set can learn about “The Unknown War,” through the cycle of 20 one-hour films jointly produced by Air Time International and Sovinfilm. Air Time's vice-president, Fred Weiner, was greatly moved by what he learned of the Soviet World War II role while he was in Moscow two years ago, and through the firm, he proposed the joint project. The great Soviet director Roman Karmen was chosen director-in-chief, and US and Soviet film experts worked together to prepare the

Christian Science Monitor Comments: Those Enduring Soviet Cosmonauts

It's almost getting routine, but mark up another “first” for those far-out Soviet record-breakers, cosmonauts Vladimir Kovalenok and Alexander Ivanchenkov. Now they have become the first earthlings to spend more than 100 days in space. And with their every orbit of the earth, the space travelers seem to bring us a step closer to the science-fiction worlds of “Star Trek” and “Battlestar Galactica”—that obviously not-so-distant future time when it will not be unusual to live and work in space.

What the Russians are proving to the rest of us on this small planet is that it is possible to spend months in the weightlessness of outer space with no apparent ill effects. And that's not all.

While they go about chalking up their series of spectacular firsts in the Salyut 6 laboratory—such as the first double-

docking in space history, the first refueling of a space lab, the first docking of an unmanned cargo capsule, to name just a few—Soviet scientists back on earth talk of future large-scale space construction projects.

Soviet spaceship designers view orbiting space stations as a likely answer to earth's dwindling energy supplies. And while American technicians work toward a 1979 launching of the reusable space shuttle, Enterprise, Soviet technicians discuss plans for assembling industrial plants in space a module at a time. In line with this, the orbiting cosmonauts have been experimenting with an electric furnace in attempts to create new alloys aboard the Salyut space laboratory, and new welding and soldering techniques are being tried out on earth.

For all us earth-bound workers, the message in all this may be: your future is looking up.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, September 27

series, based primarily on Soviet newsreels but also including British, US, German and Japanese footage.

The series begins with June 22, 1941, and includes the battles of Moscow, Stalingrad and the Caucasus, the siege of Leningrad, evacuation of factories and people to the East, the role of the partisans, the giant tank battle near Prokhorovka, the anti-fascist coalition, the battle for Berlin, the route of the Japanese army, and finally, *The Unknown Soldier*. Included are special interviews with President Brezhnev, Ambassador Averell Harriman, Premier Kosygin, Marshall Dmitry Ustinov. All the narration is done by Burt Lancaster, and the musical format was provided by Rod McKuen.

Not surprisingly, the course of collaboration was not always smooth. Roman Karmen told *Literaturnaya Gazeta's* N. Osipov, "When people are discussing artistic matters not for the purpose of confrontation but to arrive at a goal together, then realism prevails. Yes, we argued a good bit, and sometimes even shouted ourselves hoarse. Burt once even called me 'thick-headed'—and immediately insisted we continue the work, for we were serving peace, and the people and their happiness."

On learning of Roman Karmen's tragic death just before the project was completed, said *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Lancaster observed that the best memorial would be to show millions of television viewers the last inspired work of this wonderful artist, and McKuen declared the special music he had composed for *The Unknown Soldier* was "my wreath on the graves of those Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles against fascism, and on the fresh grave of dear Roman."

Linus Pauling Receives Top Soviet Science Award

Dr. Linus Pauling received the Lomonosov Gold Medal, top award of the USSR Academy of Sciences, from Academy President Anatoly Alexandrov, in Moscow on September 25. The occasion was the opening of an international symposium on Prospects of Bioorganic Chemistry and Molecular Biology, which emphasized global problems of increasing agricultural productivity, combating disease, controlling heredity and protecting the environment. In his remarks, Academician Alexandrov expressed the hope that the symposium would be a major landmark in strengthening international links among scientists and would contribute to peace and mutual understanding among peoples.

Dr. Pauling holds the Nobel Prizes for Peace and for Chemistry, and the Lenin Prize for Peace.

The series is currently being shown in New York, Los Angeles, Boston, San Francisco, San Diego, Cleveland, Memphis, Kansas City, Columbus, Ohio, and Rochester, N.Y. It will begin in Cincinnati after the first of the year.

NWR urges all readers to help publicize these films, and to write to their local television stations expressing appreciation for this most significant effort toward US-Soviet friendship and mutual understanding. □

Muhammad Ali Interview Draws Nationwide Response

More than 13,000 copies of the September-October issue have been circulated to date, and we are still receiving orders. Many readers have commented with great appreciation concerning the issue as a whole, while others have emphasized especially NWR's interview with Muhammad Ali. A number of readers have asked us to forward letters to Mr. Ali.

We would like to share excerpts from a few of the letters we have received.

DEAR FRIENDS:

Honesty, sincerity and truth penetrate the murky clouds of obfuscation. And it is a treat to see how Muhammad Ali does it with all the simplicity and clarity of a peace-loving humanist.

Congratulations to you and to stout-hearted Ali for exposing the dissemblers, the war-mongers, the exponents of decay and death. Muhammad Ali's outstretched hand for peace and friendship will be grasped by the peoples of the world.

For a world at peace,
HERMAN STOLLEY
Rego Park, New York

DEAR MUHAMMAD ALI:

I have read your exclusive interview in *NEW WORLD REVIEW* and again I take my hat off to you. You will go down in history, not only for your outstanding accomplishments in the boxing ring, but of greater importance, your admirable and courageous stand against the terrible and immoral Vietnam War.

Your visit to the Soviet Union and your interview with President Brezhnev has given the lie to President Carter's so-called Human Rights Program and his attempts to break the spirit of detente between the United States and the Soviet Union. You have correctly pointed out that the Russian people live in peace, freedom and security, and that their only "crime" is that they wish all people in all countries to live alongside each other in the same spirit.

It is a tribute to your wonderful record that you have spoken out plainly, and emphasized the good that can be accomplished, if we start promoting international understanding and peace.

Sincerely,
AARON SPIEGEL
West Hempstead, New York

TO THE EDITOR:

Your September-October issue is superb. I especially liked your interview with Muhammad Ali, with him doing most of the talking.

Many thanks and warm good wishes,
EDNA RUTH JOHNSON
Editor, *The Churchman*
St. Petersburg, Florida

TO THE EDITOR:

Your interview with Muhammad Ali is fascinating. . . . I was especially appreciative of Karen Talbot's article of the UN Special Session. . . . Joe Walker's article is perceptive and informative. I have many reasons to be especially appreciative of the articles on US-USSR cancer research. Holland Roberts was one of the organizers of the US delegation to the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950 of which Willard Uphaus was a member and they remained close friends until Roberts' death. This public report on US-USSR cooperative efforts on cancer research was an historic occasion for the Holland Roberts Center and the American-Russian Institute. . . .

Sincerely,
RUTH MACLENNAN UPHAUS
World Fellowship
Kerhonkson, New York

TO THE EDITOR:

The Muhammad Ali issue arrived yesterday. I immediately dropped everything and started reading. Ali's description of his meeting with Brezhnev brought tears to my eyes. It is a beautifully eloquent statement of our great need for peace.

Sincerely,
RICHARD MEYERS
Chairman, Society for Cultural
Relations/USA-USSR
Los Angeles, California

Paul Robeson Honored At United Nations

On October 11, the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid paid tribute to Paul Robeson's great lifelong struggle against all forms of racial and national oppression as it presented the Anti-Apartheid Medal to him posthumously.

Robeson's son, Paul Robeson, Jr., said in accepting the award for his father, "The great tribute represented by this award has special significance because my father's efforts on behalf of the liberation of Black people in South Africa was indivisibly linked to his efforts on behalf of Black liberation in the United States. More than 25 years ago he presented a petition to the United Nations accusing the US government of violating the Convention Against Genocide in its treatment of its Black citizens.

"He saw both of these struggles not just as struggles for civil rights but as struggles for total liberation—for an equal share of the power and wealth of the nation. . . . Today it is all the more appropriate to state unequivocally that the decisive issue in South Africa is the taking of power by the Black majority. And it is inevitable that the time when that happens will come soon.

"So it is time for the people of the United States to compel their government to impose an economic boycott on the South African rulers. And it is time for us Black Americans to tell the rulers of the United States that we will not permit United States military intervention on behalf of the white-supremacist South African government. We should, we must, do whatever is necessary and pay whatever price is required to prevent those hands we know so well—the hands of our own oppressors—from quenching the bright revolutionary flame of Black liberation in South Africa."

Others honored were Olaf Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden, Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the late Kwame Nkrumah.



A Will To Help . . .

NEW WORLD REVIEW wishes a very long and healthy life to all our readers. It is a common observation that people who are concerned with the welfare of their fellow humans, and work in various ways to make the world a better place, often achieve an active longevity.

At the same time, there is a very special way our readers can help NWR achieve a long and healthy life, carrying forward the fight for detente, and for the understanding between peoples that must underlie a lasting peace. That way is by including a bequest to NEW WORLD REVIEW in your will. If you would like information on how to do this, please write to NWR, 156 Fifth Ave., Suite 308, NYC 10010.

DEE A. BATES

“Youth of the World, Cuba is Your Home”

They came from all over the world — from South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, from Cyprus, Lebanon and Palestine, from the Soviet Union, GDR, Vietnam, Korea, from Jamaica, Chile, Uruguay and Nicaragua, from the Sahara, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, from France, Britain and Canada. They came for the Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students July 28 through August 5, in Havana, Cuba, the Western Hemisphere's first socialist country. Almost 19,000 strong from 145 countries, they came from every sector of humanity—workers, students, artists, men and women. They did not agree on everything for they did not all view the world in the same way. But they wanted to participate in a meaningful event focused on peace, progress and brotherhood of peoples the world over. And, despite our government's continuing, criminal blockade of Cuba, we from the United States came, too.

We were 440 Native, Afro, Hispanic, Asian and working-class white American youth—steel and auto workers, high school and college students, community activists, athletes and artists, youth organization leaders. We went to see for ourselves what this Eleventh Festival was all about, to learn from the people of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe and the Americas about their just struggles, to learn from youth of socialist countries what it's like to help build a different kind of society.

On the first day members of each delegation, bearing brilliant-hued flags and banners, marched two miles through the streets of Havana to the Latin American Stadium. As they marched, many in colorful national costume, from 23rd Street up Paseo and along 20th and De Mayo Avenue, the Cuban people cheered, threw kisses, grasped hands and applauded. Chants and slogans rang out from marchers and spectators alike. Many languages were spoken and not all the words were understood, but everyone could feel the friendship and solidarity. The city, draped with Cuban flags and bright with flowers, was as festive a sight as the marchers themselves. The motto, *Joven del mundo, Cuba es tu casa* (Youth of the world, Cuba is your home), welcom-



DEE A. BATES was formerly on the staff of the International Affairs Department of Operation PUSH. She was a member of the US Preparatory Committee for the Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students. She is affiliated with the Paul Robeson International Center for the Arts and Humanistic Study, in Washington, D.C.

ed delegates and guests throughout the city and was later repeated by Raul Castro, second secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, in his greeting. That message was confirmed again and again by the Cuban people's warmth and hospitality throughout our stay.

The crowds in the stands cheered as the delegations entered the stadium in alphabetical order. Thunderous applause greeted the US delegation as we passed by the grandstand where special guests like Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, and Fidel himself, sat to view the pageantry. At one end of the bleachers sat a precision-placard team of 4,500 young Cubans, whose creation of 48 different designs with their multicolored placards was a high point of this inaugural gala.

Alberto Juantorena, Cuban winner of two Olympic gold medals, lit the festival flame, and then there began a magnificent display by 10,000 Cuban children performing synchronized exercises, modern dance and gymnastic exhibitions by hundreds of Cuban youth, and a concert by 2,000 singers and 500 instrumentalists. Each of the scenes—*Victory Lies in Unity, Peace, The Future is Peace, Song of Friendship, and We're Part of the Great Family of Humankind*—was coordinated with the placard section's designs.

Overall, the festival was a great kaleidoscope of some 1,200 political, cultural and sports events and tours of Cuba. At any one moment, there were volleyball and soccer games, solidarity meetings between delegations, concerts, films, theatrical performances, sightseeing expeditions. No matter how hard we tried, or how little we slept, we couldn't be everywhere, and even if we could have, to tell the whole festival story would take a book. So I can only try to highlight some of the most significant events.

Each day of the festival was dedicated to solidarity with a particular struggle against oppression. The five political discussion centers which were open daily were meeting places for thousands of delegates to examine the most relevant issues of our times. One focused on peace and detente, another on the struggle against imperialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism. A third examined the New International Economic Order. The center on unique problems of youth in capitalist countries emphasized youth rights and the advancement of working-class people, and dealt with unemployment, racism and equality for women. The center on education, science and ecology emphasized problems youth would encounter in the future and how science and technology would change their lives.

Bilateral friendship and solidarity meetings were held by the various delegations. Among the groups most sought for meetings were many of the African and Middle Eastern groups. Because of the intense struggle going on in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and the Middle East and the difficulties faced by Angola and Mozambique, other delegations made a sincere effort to discuss how they could help through solidarity efforts when they returned home.



A view of the delegation from Angola,

The US delegation met with those of South Africa, Vietnam, Canada, the USSR, Angola, Zimbabwe and others. Our delegation and the Canadians met together with the Cubans, and heard Fidel speak with great emotion of the immense developmental needs of the peoples of most of the world, and the urgency of ending the arms race and releasing the over \$300 billion spent on the military each year to be used for doctors and schools, food and clothing, housing and sanitation. Because the Cuban people have themselves experienced all the problems of poverty, they feel a special responsibility to help those infinitely poorer than themselves, he said. Humanity's problem is to resolve these difficulties, and the objectives of the revolution and socialism are the same.

If Cuba and the other socialist countries have been forced to arm, he emphasized, it is because otherwise they would have been crushed. "The Soviet Union had first-hand experience of fascist aggression and knows what it cost them," he said. "It cost them 20 million lives. Those who have to deal with the Soviets know that the Soviet people do not want war. They have the same problems that we have, of developing industry, schools, factories, culture, the standard of living and of aiding other countries."

The US blockade, Fidel said, has been a totally indefensible attempt to starve the Cuban people into surrendering. "To demand concessions of us is an error, because we are not going to make any concession in our



in the opening-day march.

Photo by Ken BeSaw

principles, even if the blockade is prolonged for another 20 years. We are not going to make concessions in our policy of solidarity with Africa, in our struggle against racism, apartheid, fascism and neocolonialism."

Fidel also emphasized that the Cubans never confuse the peoples of North America with the US government or the monopoly and multinational corporations, and that Cubans realize how much the North American people suffer because of the exploitative economic system under which we live.

The cultural aspect of the festival was incredibly rich and varied. Every night, some delegation was responsible for putting on a gala performance. In addition, there were films, folk and jazz concerts, poetry readings, poster and art exhibits, classical concerts, dance performances and discussions by literary and art critics, as well as parties, dances and several carnivals.

Among the world-famous artists and groups who performed were Harry Belafonte, the exiled South African singer Miriam Makeba, the exiled Chilean folk group Quilapayun, and the Cuban National Ballet. Among the US delegation's contributions in the cultural field, the Native American/AIM group and the jazz/Latin groups Sputnik and Los Nuyorquinos, and folk singer Hazel Dickens received very warm receptions. West Virginia miner Andy Willis' painting was presented to the South African delegation during our bilateral meeting.

There were also many meetings of artists and cultural workers, and activities at the Institute for Young Ar-

tists. The International Political Song meeting was held at the Acapulco Theater, and featured cultural workers from Cuba, Colombia, Poland, Italy and many other countries.

A very special meeting of university students held at the University of Havana's International Student Center dealt with the ways students can work in areas of social concern.

"CDR Night" was especially exciting for all the delegates. If you can imagine a block party on every street in Havana, you can guess what it was like. In an overwhelming outpouring of hospitality, the Cuban people welcomed every one of the near 19,000 delegates into their homes. They met us with tables laden with specially prepared cakes and sweets, and honored us with special gifts. And it gave us a chance to talk with ordinary Cuban people, and to find out for ourselves what they really think about their revolution. The evening was sponsored by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the neighborhood organizations which in the early years were a vital part of Cuba's defense against counterrevolutionary forces. Now the CDRs are primarily responsible for discussing political information in the neighborhoods, making sure the health needs of the people are met, beautifying the neighborhoods and other civic activities.

One of the festival's most outstanding events was the Youth Accuses Imperialism International Tribunal. On each day, charges in a different category were considered: colonialism and neocolonialism; forms of discrimination; imperialist aggressions; imperialism's political, economic and military organizations and criminal agencies such as the CIA; terror, repression and fascism; and imperialism as a system that causes social, economic, political and cultural evils among youth.

The tribunal was headed by an Uruguayan physician, Dr. Hugo Villar, and included Vo Thi Thang, a Vietnamese army officer; Ferdinand Ruhinda, a Tanzanian journalist; Roland Matthes, Olympic swimming champion from the GDR; Alexander Pishchakov, a Soviet scientist; Fernando Tabio, president of the American Association of Jurists; William Shaap, head of the Washington Lawyers Guild, and Jules Borker, a French lawyer.

Among those testifying were former CIA agents, some of whom had been captured by Cuban security forces, and former mercenaries active in Southern Africa. The words of Palestinian, South African and Chilean freedom fighters were profoundly moving. A 14 year old South African girl told how almost every inhabitant of her village was murdered. "My hamlet was very pretty until some white men came and destroyed it," she said. "I hid in an empty boxcar with my little sister, and when we returned, the only thing we saw was houses in ruins and blood, lots of blood." Young Palestinian women described intense mental and physical torture visited by the Israelis even on pregnant women. Orlando Letelier's sons gave evidence about FBI and CIA involvement in the murder of their father.

A considerable amount of testimony dealt with CIA attempts to destroy the Cuban revolution. US insinuations of a link between Cuba and Lee Harvey Oswald, and a consequent tie between Cuba and the assassination of John F. Kennedy, were shown for what they are when the former Cuban consul in Mexico City said the man claiming to be Oswald and requesting a visa for Cuba was not the Lee Harvey Oswald photographed after the assassination. Testimony that no one named Lee Harvey Oswald ever belonged to the "Fair Play for Cuba" organization, nor had it ever had a branch in New Orleans, directly contradicted statements to the Warren Commission following President Kennedy's death.

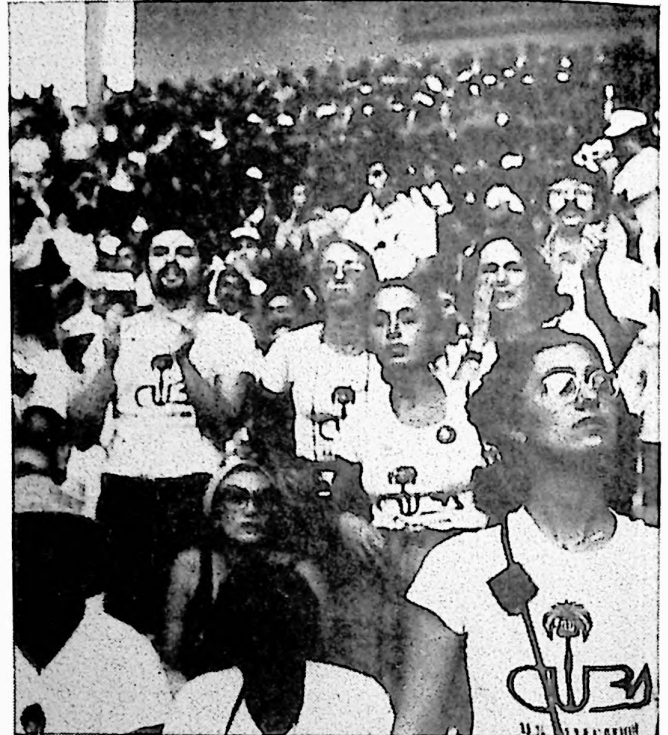
The US Festival Preparatory Committee's coordinator, Antar Mberi, provided one of the high points as he gave extensive testimony concerning charge number six, *the social, economic, political and cultural evils forced upon young people by imperialism*. "Every kind of obstacle is used to avoid the socially useful education of youth, to retard their talent and deny satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations and rights; using drugs, corruption and vice, long-term unemployment and destitution." Mberi condemned the "chemical warfare" of drug and alcohol addiction which takes the place of a well-rounded educational, cultural, sports and social life. Unemployment is a major scourge, with half the country's unemployed being under 24, and unemployment running to 60 percent among Black Americans and as high as 75 and 80 percent among Black youth in some parts of the country. Racism and police brutality are rampant, he said. Internationally, imperialist brutality has massacred millions of young people in Vietnam, Southern Africa, the Middle East and Chile, while the economic pressures of imperialism have greatly worsened the conditions faced by youth in a large number of developing countries.

The Tribunal concluded with a unanimous verdict: "We condemn imperialism for being a constant threat to the peoples and for trying with the help of a stick in one hand and the neutron bomb in the other, to hold back the progress of mankind, even at the price of its destruction."



Photo by Ken BeSaw.

Along the line of march, Cubans greeting Delegates.



photos by Ken BeSaw

Members of the US (left) and South African (right) delegations.

Fidel on China: Hostility

Following is a brief excerpt from the address by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, at the rally which celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Moncada Garrison. This meeting was attended by many delegates to the 11th Festival of Youth and Students.

What is strange about the Chinese Government's today supporting Pinochet's bloody fascist regime and the other repressive and reactionary military governments of Latin America? What is surprising about its collaborating with Mobutu along with the NATO interventionist forces? What is surprising about its joining South Africa against Angola; Somalia in its attack on the Ethiopian Revolution; Egypt in its sell-out and separate peace policy; the conservative and reactionary forces of England and the Federal Republic of Germany; NATO in Europe, and Yankee imperialism all over; or its dangerous and stupid assumption of the inevitability of a Third World War?

However, the most reprehensible crime committed by the Chinese leadership is its hostility to Vietnam. Nobody is unaware that Maoism and the Chinese ruling clique are behind Cambodia's extremism; nobody is unaware that they are behind the acts of provocation against Vietnam; nobody is unaware



Below: friendly, welcoming Cubans.

Condemns toward Vietnam

that they are behind the artificially created "problem of the Hoa." An enormous chauvinistic propaganda campaign is now being waged in China against the Vietnamese, and all economic cooperation is being suspended. In this criminal and unscrupulous way, Vietnamese efforts to rebuild their country, so cruelly devastated by the imperialist war, are being sabotaged...

Some days ago, the wire services reported violations of the Vietnamese border by squadrons of Chinese military planes. If these criminal actions are not stopped in time, we will witness more serious acts of aggression and military provocation by China against heroic Vietnam. This is why we should offer the people of Vietnam our most determined solidarity and support. Our Party proposes to reactivate the Committees of Solidarity with Vietnam in the face of the threats of imperialist aggression, this time orchestrated—absurd as it may seem—by imperialism's brand-new allies in the camp of counterrevolution....

Sooner or later, the hard-working, militant, self-sacrificing, heroic and revolutionary Chinese people will settle accounts with the traitors who have dropped their beautiful internationalist banners at the feet of imperialism.

These ten intense days, and the chance to see what life is like in a socialist country, changed us all. A teenage girl delegate from the Midwest said she was especially impressed with the educational system. She wished all her friends could visit the Lenin School and the Jose Marti Young Pioneer Camp, and she could hardly wait to tell her parents about Cuba's free education all the way through graduate school. One young woman from Oregon was amazed at how the Cubans seemed to have solved the "mind-boggling" problem of racism. And she was right, for the rationale for racism does not exist in Cuba. Merit determines getting a job or entering an educational program, necessity forms the basis of eligibility for housing, and just plain being alive is the basis for receiving complete health care.

Several young people of Cuban background were members of the US delegation. They had especially emotional experiences as some were reunited with family and friends they had not seen for as long as 18 years. Others met brothers and sisters they'd never seen before. One teenager from Washington, D.C., met his father's mother for the first time. These young people, part of the Cuban community living abroad, were especially proud of their ancestry and delighted by the warmth of their reception by their fellow Cubans.

The Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students brought together people from all over the world, with a wide variety of points of view, so that we could learn to understand each other, and understand the struggles for peace in today's world. What we seek is not a static peace concerned only with ending armed conflict, but an active peace focused on eliminating the conditions for injustice, racism, apartheid, discrimination because of national origin or sex—an active peace which seeks equity for all in education, jobs, health services and housing. Such an active peace is based on the principle that we are all part of the family of man and therefore our own self-interest is served best when the interests of all are served justly and fairly.

Cuba shows the way—it can be done!



Literature as a Mirror of Soviet Society:

In recent years a number of US newspapers and magazines have referred to "anti-Semitic" material in Soviet publications. The examples cited usually turn out to be Soviet condemnations of Zionism as a reactionary ideology whose adherents deny the human rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and conduct anti-Soviet activities including within the USSR itself.

Another type of material cited as anti-Semitic is anti-religious writing, which in the Soviet Union is certainly not confined to Judaism but appears in relation to all other religions as well. Of course, there is a vast difference between condemning a particular set of religious *beliefs* as part of the general condemnation of religion and expressing hatred against a *people*. This distinction, recognized in Soviet Constitutions since the beginning, is expressed thus in the 1977 Constitution: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited." And, "Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, are punishable by law."

Constitutions are all very well, someone will say. But what is the *real* attitude of Soviet society toward the Jewish people who are part of it? I think the fundamental attitude of any society toward the people that make it up can be seen quite clearly by examining that society's literature. A case close to home is the denigration of Blacks which pervades so many works by white American authors. In terms of Soviet society, I'd like to share my observations about the treatment of Jewish characters especially by non-Jewish authors, as well as the extent to which Soviet writers who are Jewish are published and esteemed.

I wish to emphasize that we are here discussing an *introduction* to a theme. Half a century ago my Ph.D. thesis, *Russian Literature and the Jew*, was the result of thorough investigation. It dealt in the main with pre-revolutionary writers and only briefly with early Soviet literature. The study revealed how closely the writing of the 19th and early 20th centuries mirrored the non-Jew's view of the Jew and also how Jewish writers viewed their own people. One influenced the other!

Now, fifty years later, I'm discussing a modest, but currently very significant segment of contemporary writing in

The following article is based on an interview NWR was privileged to have with Joshua Kunitz. Dr. Kunitz received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1927, and his dissertation, Russian Literature and the Jew: A Sociological Inquiry into the Nature and Origins of Literature Patterns, was published two years later by Columbia University Press. He has written a number of books and pamphlets on developments in the Soviet Union, with particular emphasis on literature. These include Dawn over Samarkand (1935), Along Came Stakhanov (1936), Russian Literature Since the Revolution (1948), and the biography of Albert Rhys Williams which is the introduction to

the USSR, which I have been observing mainly through the pages of *Soviet Literature* magazine, and I find that it readily reinforces the validity of my original thesis. But to undertake a scholarly investigation of the subject and to bring it up to date is beyond my present capacity. I believe that the purpose of this discussion will be well served if it stimulates a younger person to take on this very intriguing, useful task.

A word about the magazine *Soviet Literature*, published monthly by the Writers' Union of the USSR. The first socialist society with its more than 100 nationalities in-



Three sketches by Moscow artist Hersch Inger, for the story "On"

How Jewish Characters are Portrayed

Williams' book, Through the Russian Revolution. The first volume of Kunitz' Russia, the Giant That Came Last was published in 1947; the second volume was a victim of the rising tide of cold war.

Joshua Kunitz edited Azure Cities (1929), the first anthology of Soviet writings to appear in the US, and was one of the principal contributors to Voices of October: Art and Literature in Soviet Russia (1930). He translated Lenin's writings of 1917 and 1918 for the English edition of the Collected Works, and has written many articles for Soviet Russia Today and NEW WORLD REVIEW.

cludes peoples who had no written languages before the revolution; now they, along with others, have famous writers, playwrights, poets and film-makers, and works by writers of all nationalities appear regularly in Russian and other Soviet languages as well as their own. To make such reading available throughout the world, the art of translating has become an important profession. We see the product in the excellent English translations in *Soviet Literature*, which is not tailored simply for American consumption as some might think.

To return to our subject. In the observations I've made,

I have yet to see a Jewish person portrayed negatively by a Soviet author. In fact, some of the most positive Jewish characters in world literature appear in Soviet plays and fiction. This is not to say there may not be occasional anti-Semitic acts by individuals in the Soviet Union. But it does speak volumes about the attitude of the Soviet people as a whole and reflects the way Soviet society has consciously worked and succeeded in overcoming the legacy of racism and chauvinism which it inherited from tsarist Russia.

In the twenties and thirties, I spent quite a bit of time in the USSR. In my book *Dawn over Samarkand*, I described my journey together with an international group of writers and journalists, to Varsobstroy in Tadzhikistan. Before Soviet power came, the people of this rugged Central Asian land had been desperately poor subsistence farmers and herdsmen, disease-ridden and oppressed by feudal nobles, tsarist colonial authorities and reactionary religious leaders. Now work was beginning on one of the very important early hydroelectric projects which would lay the basis for industry. Our guide was Khodzhayev, an important Communist Party official. He introduced us to the engineer responsible for the entire project, Aron Markovich Gindin. The men discussed the great difficulties they faced in assembling the needed equipment, and the magnificent prospects for the entire region when the project was completed.

Slapping Gindin vigorously on the back, Khodzhayev declares proudly, Aron Markovich Gindin is a real engineer, a Soviet engineer, one of the heroes of the *piatiletka*.

Gindin, however, is reticent. Sunburnt, his skin as black as a native's, stocky, vigorous-looking, this Russian-Jewish fellow is almost girlishly bashful. . . .

Gindin gone, Khodzhayev becomes eulogistic. "He has the real stuff in him, he is genuine pioneer material. Nothing scares him, nothing stops him. He is not a Party man; but his loyalty, his devotion, are unflinching. When he came here, he had nothing but a portfolio under his arm, and determination. For two months we had no living quarters for him, so he slept on a desk in one of the offices of the VSNKh. The bureaucrats here refused to take him seriously, he was too young, they said. . . . Then he was confronted with a lack of funds. Then the question of building materials came up, then of transportation, then of workers, then of food and shelter for them. Furthermore, in the spring there arose the additional danger of *basmach* (counterrevolutionary bandits — ed.). But Gindin never wavered. His dream is to have the entire Varsob region electrified. He has all kinds of dreams for Tadzhikistan, and he is neither a Communist nor a Tadzhik!

Now, I didn't look at the book again after it was



"The Fiddle," by Sholom Aleichem.

published in 1935. Then I came across Alexey Marchuk's *I Dreamed I Saw a City* (*Soviet Literature*, No. 11, 1976). Marchuk and his wife, both newly-graduated engineers, came to work at Bratsk in the mid-fifties, during the initial stages of the great hydroelectric project. Early in Marchuk's reminiscences, I came across the name, Gurevich. Any Russian, any Jew, would know that it is a Jewish name. Sasha Gurevich was a university graduate who came to Bratsk as an instructor at the city Komsomol Committee, but soon shifted jobs to become a drill operator. "There," says Marchuk, "amidst the dust and rattle of



pneumatic drills, he could reveal to his fellow-workers the romance of their hard daily labor."

Here's Marchuk, describing his close friend:

That's Sasha Gurevich singing. The least contact with nature makes him want to sing. I like Gurevich most of all for his remarkable gift of extracting the joy of life from humdrum days and the surrounding world. Many a time I felt like howling over my failures or errors of judgment. Everything would drop from my hands, but then Gurevich would appear like a genie from a fairy-tale and lead me away to the sea or the taiga, pointing to the fine deeds of our youth embedded in concrete, to beautiful girls, the blue sky, or the glittering stars of Cassiopeia. We would sit on the shore and stare into the distance. My soul rose and fell in unison with the waves, worries drifted away together with the somber clouds, the surf sifted softly through the pebbles at our feet.

Once I got interested in Gurevich, I got involved in reading Marchuk's account of those years. When Marchuk and his wife arrived at Bratsk, they were sent to the chief engineer, the man in charge of the whole project. And I came across his name—Gindin. Let's see, I think I wrote about a Gindin, but it would have to be another Gindin. So then there's a name and patronymic, and to my great joy, it happens to be Aron Markovich Gindin. And how does Marchuk describe Gindin? In even more laudatory terms than I did in *Dawn over Samarkand!* First of all, a lack of bureaucracy, an open warmth and humanity. In the early days of Bratsk, conditions were primitive, housing was scarce, and most workers lived in bachelor quarters. So the young newly-weds asked Gindin if they could be together.

"Certainly. True, we're rather hard up for living quarters, but I'll try to help. Go to Zaveriyaika. Good luck."

It was more than forty kilometers by a dusty forest road from the famous Padun, but not too far for the powerful support of the chief engineer. We were given a room. It was glorious. We placed our two suitcases in the middle of the room and kissed. . . .

I liked to watch Gindin at work. It was a school of higher engineering. The Bratsk hydroelectric station was not just his job, it was his love, his hobby, his passion and pride. For its sake he went down into the bottom outlet of the 58th section and inspected the cracked steel shield holding back the devastating force of a fifty-meter head of water. For the sake of the Bratsk HES he boarded the first train over the trestle bridge when the railwaymen refused to drive it because of a bent support. At one time he ap-

peared at work with a broken arm in a plaster cast. In his enthusiasm he gave no respite to himself or others. The scars of five microinfarctions healed on his heart before he gave into the doctors' insistence and left Bratsk.

On Marchuk's first shift as a construction foreman, Gindin came to the site.

The blue Volga of the chief engineer rolled up soundlessly and unnoticed. The large, grey-headed man got out of the car and went down to the very edge of the water. He removed his hat for some reason and stood for a long time, watching the rushing, foaming water snatch the rocks slithering from above and carry them off into the rumbling inky night. I walked over to him, thinking, "Here face to face are two titanic energies. Who will overcome?"

In my observation, the press in the US just doesn't deal very often with this phenomenon of positive portrayal of Jewish characters. A case in point is the reaction to the Bolshoy Opera's production of *The Dawns are Quiet Here*, presented in New York in 1975. This opera is based on a story by the Russian author Boris Vassilyev, which has also been made into a play and a film. The story centers around a group of young women in a behind-the-lines anti-aircraft unit in Karelia during World War II. The young women are all killed resisting a band of Nazi saboteurs. One of them is Sonya Gurevich, a very sympathetic, heroic Jewish soldier who recites a lot of Alexander Blok's poetry. Harold Schoenberg's review in *The New York Times* avoided any mention of a Jewish character, or the anti-war intent of the opera, and was, in fact, one of the nastiest anti-Soviet pieces on music I have ever read. Harriet Johnson in the *Post* was far more honest and perceptive, speaking of the special poignancy of Sonya's fears for her parents in Nazi-occupied Minsk, and understanding the plea for peace embodied in the opera.

Here are Sonya and her family, in Vassilyev's original story (*Soviet Literature*, No. 5, 1971):

By the side of the door was the handle of the door bell, which had to be pulled hard to set it in action. Sonya's entire childhood had passed to the accompaniment of its anxious ringing—day and night, winter and summer. Her father would take his doctor's bag and set out on foot, whatever the weather, because he had no money for a horse cab. Coming home he would talk in his soft voice about tuberculosis, or a sore throat or malaria, while grandmother would pour out a glass of home-made cherry cordial for him.

Theirs was a big and friendly family: the children, cousins, grandmother, mother's unmarried sister and some distant relative, and there was not a single bed in the house which was not shared, and one of the beds slept three.

Even while studying at the University Sonya wore dresses handed down from her sisters. . . . but she did not wear them for long—only a year, after which she started wearing army uniform and top-boots—two sizes too large.

The Dawns are Quiet Here attracted a great deal of favorable attention at home and abroad, and *Soviet Literature* (No. 1, 1973) published several letters from foreign readers along with Vassilyev's reply:

I belong to the generation that went to war straight from the school-leaving dance. On Saturday we were dreaming of becoming poets or Arctic explorers, artists or building workers, and on

Monday we were already in Army uniform. There were eighteen boys in my class: only four came back from the front.

I consider myself lucky not simply because I survived. I am lucky because all my life I have met good, courageous people. They taught me to value friendship, they shared their last crust of bread with me, they covered me with their army greatcoats, they saved me from death. And if I remained among the living, it is only because someone died for me.

So these are the people who are my heroes. For me these people are the supreme example of devotion to duty, to their country, to their fellow countrymen, for me they are examples of all that is best in my life experience, and in this sense, all my stories are slices of autobiography.

Nor is Sonya Gurvich Vassilyev's only Jewish heroine. Mirra, the young crippled woman in *His Name Was Not Listed* (*Soviet Literature*, No. 2, 1975), is drawn even more fully and sympathetically. The story takes place in the Brest fortress, on the eve of and in the ten months after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Mirra's family welcomed the coming of the Soviets to this formerly Polish sector in the fall of 1939. Her uncle, the violinist Ruvim Svitsky, says:

You know, ever since the easterners came—I mean your Soviet people—yes, since then we've gotten out of the way of darkness. Darkness and unemployment. And people have started to have big weddings, and all of a sudden everyone wants Ruvim Svitsky! We're fortunate, yes, and it seems better times have come at last, and Jews can hold their heads up like human beings. . .

Ruvim Svitsky has introduced young Lieutenant Nikolay Pluzhnikov to Mirra, and their tender love story in the depths of the fortress after the Nazis have overrun it is the counterpoint to Pluzhnikov's heroic and finally solo guerilla battle against the conquerors. Mirra displays the greatest emotional and physical courage as, pregnant and seeking to save the life of their unborn child, she leaves her beloved Nikolay and attempts to join a women's forced labor battalion at work within the fortress walls. Of course, the Nazis spot her, and she fears most of all that Nikolay will witness what is about to occur, or that that Nazis will discover him, too.

Even when they struck her—with a rifle butt brought down with a savage swing that had a man's whole strength behind it—even then she felt no pain. She felt a push that whipped her head back, and her mouth filled with something thick and salty. But even after that blow she continued to advance, for some reason not venturing to spit out the blood, and there was no power which could have halted her now. But blows continued to rain down on her shoulders, she bent lower and lower under them, instinctively protecting her stomach, but thinking not of what lived in it, but of the one who was left behind forever, trying with her last strength to spare him. And when they did at last fell her, with the last remnants of consciousness she crawled stubbornly forward, dragging her brace awkwardly.

This grouping of excerpts also illustrates another fundamental point, and that is the universality in Soviet literature of the theme of the Great Patriotic War. Sooner or later every artist of worth in the USSR comes to grips with the influence of that war on his or her writing. Anyone with the sensitivity and insights of a good writer will connect the quality of life in the present with the pain-filled, heroic past that consumed 20 million lives in the space of four years. Over and above the writers' individual

treatment of that never-to-be-forgotten national memory can be heard their collective cry for peace.

Of course, writers who are Jewish also write of Jewish characters. One example is Alexander Chakovsky. *The Siege* (SL, No. 6, 1972) is about the magnificent struggle of Leningrad during World War II. Zaltsman, Director of the Kirov Works, arms the workers and prepares them to help defend their vital factory. The Nazis are virtually knocking at the factory gates, but Zaltsman, like his fellow Leningraders, continues steadily, calmly and courageously to do everything necessary to keep his beloved city alive. Here, he tells the military command about the factory's situation:

Our present output is KV tanks and divisional and regimental artillery. We're not military people ourselves in the sense of knowing anything about tactics. But with the situation developing as it is, our workers may have to drive their own tanks into battle and fire their own guns. So I ask you not only to help us with our defense works but in training our people for the fighting they may have to do.

If the need arises, we can, of course, field a lot more men. We'll send everyone into battle if necessary. Still, at the moment this is a factory, not a regiment or a division.

Actually, many people do not know that Alexander Chakovsky, who edits *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, is Jewish. In past generations, many Jewish families took names which are not specifically Jewish, just as has happened in the United States. Mikhail Golodny, Mikhail Svetlov, and Eduard Bagritsky, dear friends of mine and poets who played very important parts in developing the new Soviet culture in its earliest years, are also Jewish. It was a great delight to me when *Soviet Literature* a few years ago commemorated the 80th anniversary of Bagritsky's birth with an article accompanied by translations of several of his poems. In similar fashion, SL has just honored the 75th anniversary of Svetlov's birth (No. 6, 1978), and has given important recognition to Vera Inber, Olga Berggholtz, Selvinsky and Bezymansky, who are also close friends.



Another very important literary figure is Aron Vergelis, editor of the Yiddish journal *Sovetische Heimland*, who comes especially to my mind now because *Soviet Literature* has just paid a highly significant tribute to him as a major poet, and has presented some fine translations of his poetry (SL No. 5, 1978).

All this, of course, is just a bare taste of an immense and very important subject, and my biggest hope is that it will whet someone's appetite to want to go into the question fully. But I think what's here is enough to illustrate my basic point—that not only does anti-Semitism not exist in Soviet literature, but that there is a definite trend toward portraying Jewish characters in a specifically positive light. And, that Jewish authors and poets are accorded great esteem in the Soviet Union. □

A Woman and Her



In this United Nations Decade of the Woman, almost 12 years since the struggle for women's liberation has swept over the nation, gifted women, grappling with difficulties no man ever faced, have yet to gain equal opportunity to develop their talents and full citizenship in the arts. In the office of a prestigious architectural firm, a young architect recently inveighed against women in architecture—traditionally a men's turf. He clinched his harangue with shabby victim blaming. "Where," he nearly shouted, "where is the great woman architect in the history of architecture?"

Thanks to socialist society, there is an answer: "Go to Kiev. Feast your eyes on the prize-winning 'Ukraina' Palace of Culture—one of the world's great buildings—designed and built by a woman architect. Stand humbled before the grand edifice, and mark well its creator's name: Merited Architect of the Ukrainian SSR Yevhenia Marinchenko."

Yevhenia Marinchenko is one of many noted women architects in the Soviet Union. Projects described in the Soviet architectural press often carry names of one or more women architects. Soviet women architects publish learned papers, articles and books; sit on architectural juries; and hold leading positions in architectural organizations. Yevhenia Marinchenko gained world fame by virtue of having designed an extraordinary building—a central

MORRIS ZEITLIN is an architect-planner and long-time writer on Soviet architecture and city planning. He is the author of a book, *Cities Can Be Beautiful*, forthcoming from International Publishers. Photos courtesy Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations.

palace of culture commissioned by the Ukrainian SSR to mark its capital's cultural, artistic and technological achievements.

The "Ukraina" Palace is a national institution. Essentially, it is a versatile meeting hall convertible into a concert hall, theater, opera house, cinema, or convention hall. But we are getting ahead of our story. To appreciate its significance to Kievites, one needs some perspective of its cultural and physical context.

Walking the streets of hilly Kiev, one's eye falls on interesting buildings peering down from behind a thick screen of tree tops on wooded hillsides. One aroused my curiosity on an early summer evening. At the top of a thirty-foot stair climb, I landed on a broad flagstone-paved plaza in front of a large three-story building. The bronze letters on the portico frieze read: "House of Miners." It was a palace of culture operated by the miners union, one of several union palaces of culture in the center of the city in addition to the local ones at industrial plants and residential districts. Inside, wide staircases led to large lobbies on each floor, from which corridors with many big doors branched out in three directions. The place hummed like a beehive. People of all ages arrived and entered various rooms. Opening doors revealed performances and animated meetings. The sound of music and song spilled

Architect

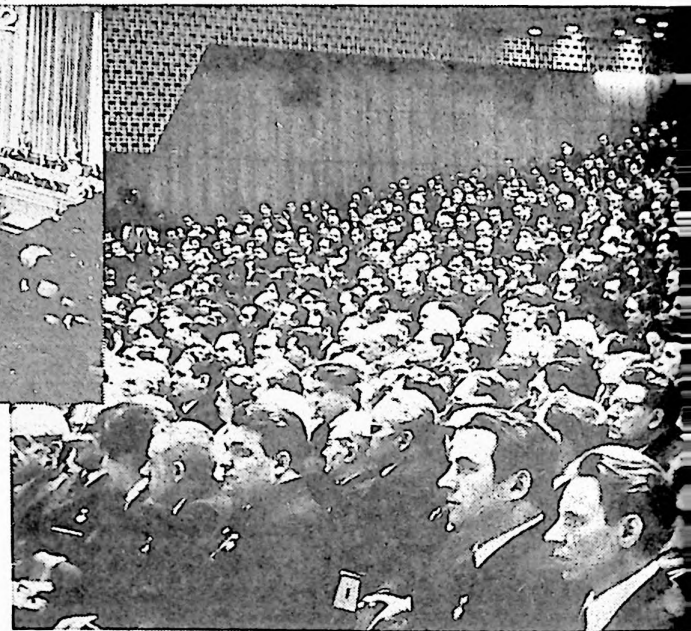
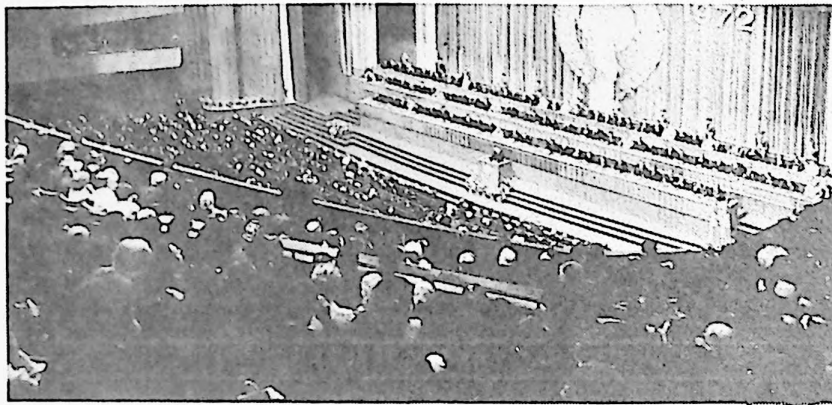
Magnificent Palace

out of some. A large auditorium on the ground floor had a concert in progress. A miners' song and dance group from Donetsk had made it to Kiev. Palaces of culture, I was told, form a ladder of cultural institutions providing successively wider audiences and social recognition to rising local talent. To the beginner in the arts, successful performances in a local palace of culture achieves the recognition and encouragement of peers. To be invited to perform in one of the capital's palaces of culture means recognition of high artistic merit, and the highest is the national palace of culture. The national palace of culture, therefore, hosts the finest talents, performances and assemblies of national importance; and its socio-cultural importance demands a central location. For high accessibility, the "Ukraine" Palace of Culture was sited on a major thoroughfare connecting the center of Kiev with its rapidly growing new residential districts across the Dnieper River.

Wandering about the city, one comes upon magnificent architecture, both old and new. Grand buildings, monuments, squares, plazas and parks abound. Such an environment would inspire young talent, good taste among the people, and still greater architectural achievement. That Yevhenia Marinchenko should blossom in Kiev and that her "Ukraine" Palace of Culture should rise there are, no doubt, related phenomena.

The immediate vicinity of the Palace is typically Kiev. Weatherbeaten old buildings of classic design line the streets. Lush chestnut trees arch over the clean sidewalks and pavements. Now and then, recesses break the building line to lure pedestrians into charming little plazas and gardens. Often, the openness of a square or a bend in the street relieve the linear perspective. Pleasant surprises frequently meet the eye. One grows to expect them and looks for the next one hiding behind the omnipresent tree trunks and foliage.





All at once, turning a corner, one gasps astonished at the sight of the dynamic magnificence of Yevhenia Marinchenko's Palace of Culture. Imagine in the midst of old Kiev, coming upon a modern building of the style and size of New York's symphony hall at Lincoln Center, shining brightly in the middle of a brand new square. To heighten the sense of drama at the approach to the building, the architect raised the Palace on a stylobate above the square so that even the building's low base lines and battery of entrance doors take on a dramatic effect.

The structure's main compositional elements consist of strongly projecting vertical members, clad in anodized aluminum of a dark golden hue, rising along its full height between bottom and top granite bands. When viewed in the round, they seem to now fuse with their framing bands, now to move apart to simulate a colonnade, revealing dark vertical strips of plate glass fenestration. The steady rhythm of the side walls is relieved by the plastic curvature of the main facade. Low grade walls at the sides of the front wall, a cantilevered balcony with a besculptured granite railing curving to the front wall and ending at wide "flying" staircases leading to the plaza complete the composition. The building's light colors, shining glass, the water pools, fountains, and banners waving from rows of tall flagpoles on the plaza give the whole square an air of splendor and festiveness.

Entering the building, we questioned the wisdom of the open balcony cantilevered above us. Its obvious function was to facilitate egress from the upper levels as well as shelter the entrance doors. Yet, in Kiev's cold winter, would it not have been wiser to enclose the egress facilities? Was the balcony a mistake? Was the architect carried away by aesthetic considerations? We were to learn the answer after the performance.

For one accustomed to the small, dingy lobbies of American theaters, the amplitude and brightness of the Palace lobby was refreshingly pleasant, and puzzling. When the surprise wears off, the cost-conscious American tends to think: "What a waste of construction and maintenance funds!" The notion dissolves at the sight of thousands of people comfortably moving within the expanse of the lobbies to reach ticket windows, the coat counters and bathrooms, waiting to meet friends, or entering the hall. The architect was clearly mindful of the pre-performance needs of the people and provided the space and amenities to serve them with dignity. At columns, elegant benches beckon the tired and the waiting. Atten-

dants behind the long coatroom counter quickly relieve the arriving multitudes of their topcoats and packages. There are no waiting lines at the numerous ticket windows, nor in the gleaming bright airy restrooms. Everywhere, the plan speaks of a gentle concern for people.

Throughout the lobbies and foyers, the colors and textures of natural stone harmonize with the brown tones of the oak parquet floors, sycamore and ash veneered walls, and the white acoustic-tile ceilings. An inlaid-marble mural of a birch grove, a minigarden and water pool and large potted plants tie in the interior with the landscaped square outside, everywhere visible through the walls of polished plate glass.

We rose on an escalator within an open stairwell past wide snow-white marble stairs and columns. The well continued upward beyond the gallery with unpeopled stairs and motionless escalators leading, we supposed, to some conference rooms. Actually, as we discovered at intermission time, they led to a delightful surprise.

The compositional pivot of the Palace is its 4,000-seat auditorium built in the form of an amphitheater with one balcony. It gradually slopes downward to form an integral whole with the stage. Like the rest of the building, it shows a high standard of materials and workmanship. The azure-blue fabric of the well-spaced rows of seats contrasts pleasantly with the greenish yellow aisle carpeting and the light brown panels and lace-like wood pattern of the acoustically treated walls.

Upon entering the auditorium, the visitor is impressed by its openness, excellent sight lines, and brightness. The entire ceiling, composed of translucent shaped plastic panels and small cylindrical lamps, forms a single luminescent surface bathing the audience in a complementary warm white light. As performance time approaches, the light fades and the ceiling turns into an exciting undulating pattern of blue, red and yellow lights heightening the au-



dience's anticipation of the drama about to unfold on stage.

The virtuosity of its designing engineers turned the Palace into a mechanical and electrical marvel. From a battery of concealed control rooms suspended from the gallery at the back of the auditorium—audio, mechanical, translation, film projection, lighting, radio and television—skilled attendants operate nearly all of the Palace's mechanical and electrical equipment. The stage is equipped with 72 microphones, 22 of which can be switched on simultaneously in different sections of the huge stage allowing a performer freedom of movement. Loudspeakers have been installed everywhere—behind the projection screen, in the ceiling, in the walls and, little ones, in every seat in the house. An entire jazz orchestra with a soloist can be moved onto the stage by a double strand transporter. When that performance is over, a symphony orchestra can be raised out of a pit to accompany a large choir assembled on the stage. Automatic mechanical devices can transform the stage to accommodate the presidium of a meeting or congress. All seats on the stage and in the auditorium are equipped to receive simultaneous translations into eight languages.

The most important thing about the auditorium, however, is its acoustics — long a major problem for architects. Despite technical progress, acoustical design still depends as much on the architect's skill as on good engineering. Sometimes it ends in costly failure as in the case of the symphony hall at the New York Lincoln Center which led to a complete reconstruction of its entire interior. The acoustics of the Palace, or to be more exact, the architectural solution and the skillful use of technical means, justify calling its auditorium truly unique. It is rigged for the finest sound amplification, recording, and reproduction. It is also equipped with an echo chamber for various special sound effects.

All this however, cannot replace the magic of the natural voice or the enchanting sounds of the cello, piano or

violin. Marinchenko's staff of architects, engineers and scientists therefore tried to give the Palace's auditorium universal acoustical capabilities. And they succeeded. It is enough to press a button on the mechanical control panel to convert the stage into an acoustical shell in a matter of minutes. This enables listeners even in the farthest balcony seats to hear the natural sounds of singing or the softest strains of the violin.

When the spell of the stage disappears behind the dropping curtain and the house lights announce the intermission, the new visitor to the Palace is in for a novel experience. Literally the whole audience rises and empties the hall within a minute. Some take a stretch in the spacious lobbies but most head for the wide stairs and escalators to rise to what we assumed earlier to be conference rooms. Instead, one lands within a large brightly lit hall. From behind an array of illuminated glass counters, neatly attired waitresses dispense sandwiches, pastry and beverages on shining china to the visitors who proceed to scores of gleaming white marble-top tables. The bright light, pleasant service, and the beautiful simplicity of its interior design combine to give the snack hall an air of warm-hearted festivity. Within 20 minutes, everyone is served and gets back to the auditorium.

Such regard for comfort and dignity of masses of people, we thought, could happen only in a society in which the people are "king." But it was more than that. It was also the kindly sensitive touch of a *woman architect*. We saw her feeling for people confirmed upon leaving the Palace at the end of the evening. In contrast to the shuffling crowds funneling at inadequate theater exits back home, the audience of the Palace egressed with dignity. Thousands moved leisurely across the vast lobbies, down the wide stairs and escalators and through the dozens of doors opening onto the balcony and plaza. Out of the building, we stopped and looked back as did hundreds of others. Floodlights swept the Palace, the trees and the fluttering banners. Masses of people moved along the balcony and down the wide granite stairs, talking, laughing, waving. The whole front facade of the Palace came alive with colorful, joyous humanity. That sight was the culminating episode of a drama-filled evening. The wisdom of the open balcony became apparent. In a stroke of genius, Architect Yevhenia Marichenko wove people and human joy into the design of her Palace. □

JEAN DAMU

Zaire: Pivotal Point in Africa

King Baudouin yawned and almost dozed as he sat in the sun, lost in his own thoughts. Why had he been forced to come to this dirty, out-of-the-way place? Anyone else could have come and delivered a simple message about giving these primitive Africans their independence; after all nothing would really change, he would still be the King of Belgium and they would remain faceless figures that worked in Belgian copper mines, the King thought to himself.

Despite King Baudouin's boredom the air was charged with electricity June 30, 1960, as thousands of Congolese citizens, hundreds of foreign diplomats and journalists crowded into Elizabethville to celebrate the birth of the Republic of the Congo. Tribal groups, dressed in gaily colored clothing, sang and danced. At the Chamber of Deputies, the seat of the Congolese Parliament, a large platform had been erected for Belgian and Congolese dignitaries who would officially proclaim the independence of the Cong-

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Below, a sea of people seemed to swirl and wash about the platform.

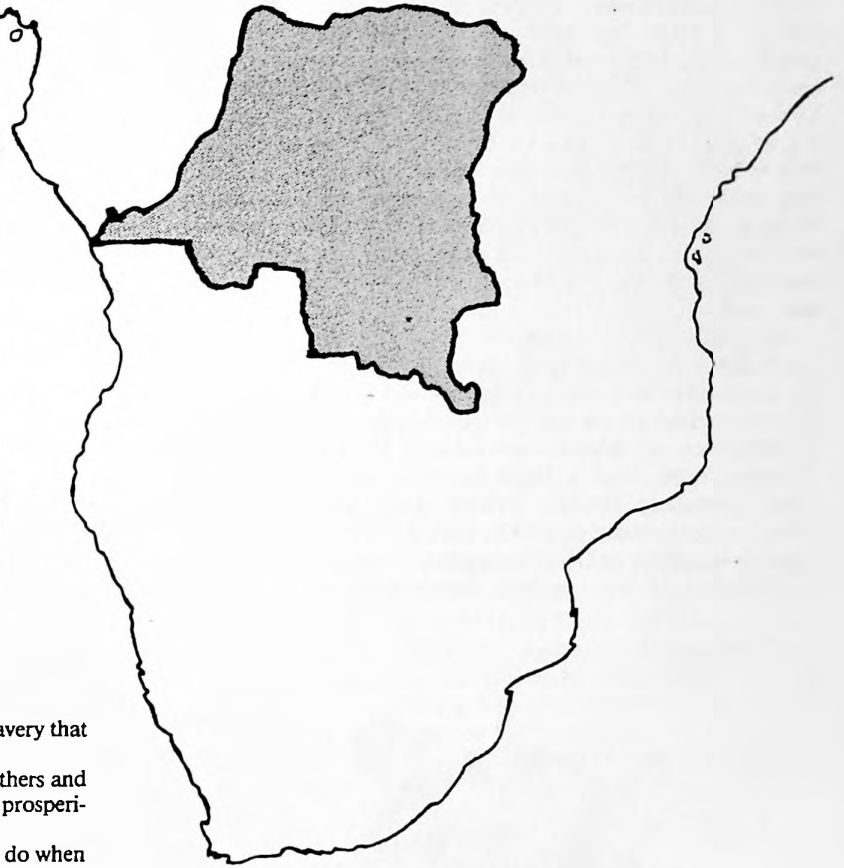
When it was time for him to speak the King delivered a paternalistic greeting about how the Belgians had always looked kindly upon the Congolese and it was a pleasure to grant them their new republic. Finally the King finished speaking and sat down.

Suddenly Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba jumped to his feet and grabbed the microphone; the President of the Chamber, Joseph Kasongo introduced him, even though he was not on the program jointly agreed upon by the Congolese and Belgians. Lumumba said:

I ask all my friends, all of you who have fought unceasingly at our side, to make this thirtieth of June, 1960, an illustrious date that will indelibly be engraved upon your hearts. . .

For though this independence of the Congo is today being proclaimed in a spirit of accord with Belgium, a friendly country with which we are dealing as one equal with another, no Congolese worthy of the name can ever forget that we fought to win it [applause], a fight waged each and every day, a passionate idealistic fight, a fight in which there was not one effort, not one privation, not one suffering, not one drop of blood that we ever spared ourselves. We are proud of this struggle amid tears, fire and blood, down to our very heart of hearts, for it was a noble and just struggle, an indispen-





sable struggle if we were to put an end to the humiliating slavery that had been forced upon us.

We are going to begin another struggle together, my brothers and sisters, a sublime struggle that will bring our country peace, prosperity, and grandeur.

We are going to show the world what the Black man can do when he works in freedom, and we are going to make the Congo the focal point for the development of all of Africa...

We are going to do away with any and every sort of discrimination and give each one the rightful place to his human dignity, his labor, and his devotion to the country will have earned him...

I ask you finally to respect unconditionally the life and property of your fellow citizens and foreigners who have settled in our country. If the behavior of these foreigners leaves something to be desired our justice will be swift and they will be expelled from the territory of the republic; if on the other hand, they conduct themselves properly they must be left in peace, for they too will be working for the prosperity of our country.

The independence of the Congo represents a decisive step toward the liberation of the entire African continent [applause]...

Today, nearly two decades later, though the vision and inspiration of the African patriot and anti-imperialist Patrice Lumumba remain with us, his hopes for his fellow Congolese citizens and the Republic of the Congo have been cruelly thwarted and distorted beyond recognition by world reactionary forces.

The four Western contenders for super-profits in the Congo began their frantic drive to redivide that country just four days after the independence proclamation date. On July 4, 1960 Belgium attacked the Congo, and eight days later Moise Tshombe, the Belgian and British-paid puppet declared the province of Katanga to be independent.

This last action in particular hurt the new republic as the Belgian owned Union Miniere copper mines and the British owned Tanganyikan Concessions (extractors of diamonds) were both located in Katanga and provided 60 percent of the Congo's income. The secessionist maneuver, on the other hand, prevented US monopolies from penetrating the Katangan region; therefore it was in the interest of Washington to attempt every possible course of action to reunite Katanga with the rest of the republic; but not with Lumumba as its Prime Minister.

Throughout the 1960 Congolese travails, Col. Joseph Mobutu and military forces loyal to him played a critical role in the fortunes of Lumumba and the nationalist government. Although they were allies during the first two months of independence it was Mobutu who first arrested Lumumba, held him under house arrest for several months, recaptured him after he briefly escaped and then returned him to Leopoldville where Lumumba was finally handed over to Belgian mercenaries.

On January 17, 1961 Lumumba was assassinated and Cyrille Adoula, firmly within the US camp, became the head of government. Britain, Belgium and France continued to back Tshombe and his Katangan renegades, clearly trying to prevent any US takeover of their economic interests there. Then on September 18, 1961 UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold flew to Katanga, at the urging of the US, to meet with Tshombe and try to convince him to allow UN troops to be stationed there. If Tshombe had agreed it would have been tantamount to bringing Katanga back inside the republic. But the meeting never took place. On his way to Katanga, there was a mysterious explosion onboard the Secretary General's plane and he was killed.

Next followed a series of diplomatic offensives and resolutions inside the UN, sponsored by the US, to have foreign troops in Katanga expelled and for the province to be re-attached to the central government. Finally the US orchestrated an armed intervention by UN troops into Katanga, and after a huge international publicity campaign exposing British, French and Belgian economic activity there, those countries were forced to make significant concessions to US monopolies. Katanga was ultimately restored to the central government at the end of

February, 1963. In 1965, Major Joseph Mobutu, now known as Mobutu Sese Seko, engineered the military coup in which he replaced Moïse Tshombe as head of the country.

Since the successful penetration of US monopoly corporations into Zaire in the early 1960's, the two countries have developed exceptionally close ties and Zaire has become the spindle around which US foreign policy to Black Africa has been wound.

Zaire lies almost directly in the center of Black Africa, is roughly the size of the US east of the Mississippi River, and is bordered by nine independent republics. These facts graphically underline Lumumba's contention that "the independence of the Congo represents a decisive step toward the liberation of the entire African continent." The logical corollary is that continued Western domination of Zaire helps to ensure continued domination of much of the African continent.

In addition, Zaire is one of Africa's countries most amply endowed with natural resources, including manganese, cobalt, uranium and some of the world's largest deposits of copper, and is blessed with an internal system of waterways which makes transportation of the minerals relatively easy. Clearly, Zaire's problems, as with



many of the other developing countries, stem not from lack of marketable minerals but rather her continued exploitation by the imperialist countries, compounded by the rollercoaster economy of the capitalist world. During the late 1960s and early 70s the Mobutu ruling clique enjoyed high incomes from the sale of copper on the world market. But since 1973 the price of copper has dropped by more than half, sales have been down, Mobutu's ability to import necessary commodities has been diminished and the dismal lot of the African workers and peasants has become even worse.

Zaire's problems have been compounded by a corrupt military and government leadership, whose members have never failed to find ways in which to expand their personal bank accounts. During Mobutu's 13 year regime foreign currency in payment for Zairean products has continued to flow into the country but only Mobutu and his corrupt bureaucratic elite (about 300 families all centered in the

capital Kinshasa) profited.

In the early 1970s, when copper prices were greatly inflated, Citibank of New York headed a group of US and Japanese investment institutions which loaned Zaire \$52 million. In addition new mines were opened and others scheduled to be opened costing hundreds of millions of dollars. Construction of one of the world's largest hydroelectric power transmission lines, stretching nearly 1,200 miles from Inga dam to the copper mining regions of Shaba, is being financed by the US Export-Import Bank. Expenses so far have been in excess of \$400 million.

It is plain that the US and other capitalist nations have made huge economic commitments in Zaire and conse-



quently they have exerted urgent efforts to keep the Mobutu regime afloat.

Despite the influx of capital, the vast majority of the 22 million Zaireans live in abject poverty and are faced with increasing obstacles to their very survival. The legal minimum wage was recently slashed by two-thirds. It is becoming more difficult for rural cash crop growers and Zaire now imports more agricultural goods than before 1960.

A confidential 1975 report by the World Bank said that "About one third of the rural population suffer deficiencies in caloric intake; and more seriously, a grave shortage of protein is characteristic of most of the population." It also stated that about 75 per cent of the people live by subsistence farming, averaging \$25-50 per capita annual income.

It is estimated that since 1962 Washington has poured some \$350 million in economic and military assistance into Zaire, in addition to which the CIA has reportedly paid some \$150 million directly to Mobutu. In the current decade military aid to Zaire has been increasing, reaching \$30.5 million in 1976, and estimated to climb to \$42.5 million this year.

In the light of this, the imperialist powers were chagrined when in March 1977 anti-Mobutu rebels walked into Shaba province, set their sights on capturing the capital of the mining region, Kolwezi, and met little resistance from the Zairean army. Mobutu registered as much surprise as anyone else, but there had been plenty of warning that all was not right within Mobutu's army.



For years the Mobutu regime had been sniped at and harassed by secessionist or anti-Mobutu organizations; and on occasion high-ranking military personnel were found to be involved. In earlier years these organizations were made up of Congolese loyal to Tshombe or other Congolese leaders, including Lumumba; but recently these groups are more anti-Mobutu than anything else.

The March 1977 and March 1978 offensives in Shaba province were carried out by the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo (NFLC), the core of which, it is said, are the remnants of the Katanga secessionist movement. In 1964, after Katanga was rejoined to the central government, Tshombe's gendarmerie was integrated into the national army. After the 1965 coup in which Mobutu replaced Tshombe, the Katangans fled to eastern Angola, where initially they were employed by the Portuguese colonialists to fight against the MPLA. But at the time of the consolidation of Angolan independence in 1976 the Katangans, now referring to themselves as the NFLC, were firm supporters of the MPLA and set into motion preparations for their re-entry into Zaire.

The NFLC launched their first offensive early in 1977 and by most accounts they were enthusiastically received by the local population, while the national army garrisons in Shaba exhibited little ability or inclination to resist. The rebellion and the rebels themselves, however, remained shrouded in mystery as the rest of the world had little information about the supporters of this latest anti-Mobutu movement. But despite certain confusions one thing was outstandingly clear: the Mobutu regime and its supporters were deeply shaken. The Zairean economy, flimsily supported on a match-stick structure of huge foreign debts,

was on the verge of collapse, spelling potential disaster for the world's capitalist banking institutions if Zaire should default on its billions of dollars worth of loans.

Mobutu's response to the crisis was instinctive; he charged that the rebels in Shaba were supported by neighboring Angola and Cuban and Soviet weapons and training. He also demanded his Western allies must provide him with more military and financial support. Mobutu's charges, however, were contradicted by denials issued by the Belgian and French envoys to Angola that the MPLA was in any way connected with the Shaba disturbances. Cuban President Fidel Castro stated that his country opposed the NFLC actions because:

First of all we have always been in favor of Angola having peace, because Angola needs to rebuild the country. Second, we are categorically opposed to the development of conflicts between the peoples of Black Africa. Third, we believe that the fundamental problems of Africa are in southern Africa, the problems of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. This is the fundamental problem in Africa, the problem that unites all of Africa; and I believe it is the problem on which Africans must concentrate their efforts. And for this reason, for political reasons, we have been absolutely opposed to this kind of action by the Katanganese.

In early 1977 the economic situation in Zaire was so critical that the Kinshasa government was on the verge of defaulting on \$2.5 billion in debts. In early March the IMF agreed to a special program of stretched-out payments and granted \$113 million in capital and credits to help Zaire meet its foreign payments. With the outbreak of the Shaba rebellion, however, and Mobutu's cries of "communist threat", the US government, France and Belgium lost no time in pumping extra public monies and military hardware into the tottering Mobutu regime.

According to many observers, though, the massive buildup of arms in Shaba seemed to resemble the loading of a cannon to annihilate a fly. The pesky NFLC was said to number probably not more than 500 members, though Mobutu claimed 5,000. A more likely reason for the massive build-up there could have been to funnel weapons to the traitorous UNITA organization in Angola, headed by Jonas Savimbi. In mid-1977, the Angolan government had exposed an operation referred to as Cobra 77 in which major imperialist powers including Zaire and South Africa would attempt to destabilize the Angolan government. Today UNITA continues to carry out incursions against the Angolan state and there is little reason to doubt they receive their arms through Zaire and South Africa.

The severe economic crisis facing the Mobutu regime and the military challenges to it by the NFLC in 1977 and again in 1978 saw the Western countries and their allies in Africa respond with a new economic, military and political approach to Zaire, a tactic designed to make sure the country maintains its moderate course and continues to be a key weapon in preventing "the radicalization of Africa."

The first move by the imperialist countries was to in effect make Mobutu and all of Zaire "wards of the court." In other words representatives of Western governments and multi-national corporations will be in charge of much of the Zairean economy. In return they agreed to rush \$100 million in emergency funds to Kinshasa in mid-1978 and have agreed to funnel another \$1 billion there by 1980.

On the military front the imperialists were no less blatant in their intervention in Zaire. During the 1977 Shaba rebellion the Mobutu government signed a sensational contract with the West German corporation OTRAG (Orbital Transport und Raketen-Gesellschaft). The contract gives OTRAG virtual ownership of nearly one-third of Shaba province, an area greater in size than all of West Germany, on which they say a missile launching site is being built. In the contract Zaire allows OTRAG to "conduct all kinds of activities on the territory, specifically to build airfields, launchers, highways and railways and to install radar and communication centers."

The real meaning of such a move by Zaire and West Germany is obvious. The establishment of such a facility gives the Western powers a jumping-off place for the encirclement of progressive countries and movements in all of Africa; and Zaire, which according to the agreement cannot cancel the contract until at least the year 2000, is located in just the spot to make such a strategy feasible. And it should not be overlooked that the buildup of any military force in the OTRAG area will be of critical importance in stabilizing or destabilizing the Zairean government.

Politically, however, the OTRAG agreement says in effect that Zaire is now institutionally aligned with the NATO forces and spells clearly that Mobutu will be expected to continue playing his reactionary role.

In defining the meaning of Mobutu's political role the correlation of events between the Shaba invasion of 1977 and 1978 must be kept in focus. During the 1977 rebellion Moroccan infantry nearly single-handedly put down the insurgent NFLC forces. Although Egypt airlifted the Moroccan troops into Zaire she did not otherwise become directly involved; and importantly Saudi Arabia offered to finance the airlift but Egyptian President Sadat refused the offer.

In 1978, however, with imperialist prodding Morocco, Egypt and Saudi Arabia all fell into line to back up the main thrust of the counter-attack against the insurgents waged by French paratroopers and the French Foreign Legion. And not one to wait at the hideout while reactionary gangsters carry out a heist against democratic movements, the People's Republic of China stepped up its military aid to Mobutu, reportedly airlifting to him heavy artillery and tanks. The political importance of this shameful attack and intervention against the Zairean people is that Mobutu requested the intervention on the grounds he claimed his country was being invaded by outside forces, namely communists supported by Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The Western countries and the Kinshasa government deliberately distorted statements, facts and figures which put the lie to Mobutu's claims. In fact President Castro adequately proved to most of the world that US national security advisor Brzezinski manipulated dialogue alleging Cuban support of the NFLC to hoodwink the US Congress into sending massive airlifts of arms to Mobutu.

However, the convergence of Moroccan, Egyptian and Saudi Arabian foreign policy which brought those countries to the support of the French intervention in Zaire laid the basis for the imperialist-inspired concept of a Pan-African peace-keeping force. The function of such a body would be to crush liberation movements in other countries such as the French intervention in Chad. France, although not the largest exporter of capital to the African continent is by far the most active; she invests 32 per cent of her foreign investments in Africa as compared to four per cent and nine per cent for the US and Britain respectively.

The timing of the tactic was important for it came just a couple of months before the Organization of African Unity and non-aligned nations meetings, both held at the end of July 1978. Although the peace-keeping force tactic was new, the strategy of attempting to split the Organization of African Unity and isolate Cuba from the non-aligned nations meeting was an old one. Mobutu's calls for Western intervention allowed the imperialist powers to equate their attempts to crush democratic and national liberation movements with the aid and sacrifice rendered to the African countries by the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries.

Needless to say, this equation fools very few people in Africa these days; Soviet aid has been a consistent factor in the continent's liberation struggles for decades, and the more recent contributions of Cuba are welcomed as a further bond between socialism and the peoples of Africa. Aid to African freedom cannot be equated to aid which perpetuates its subjugation.

Thus, even while the imperialists were attempting to knock together their reactionary peace-keeping force, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere denounced the meetings, saying: "There should be no mistake; whatever the agenda of the Paris and Brussels meetings, they are not discussing the freedom of Africa. They are discussing the continued domination of Africa and the continued use of Africa by the colonial powers."

Presently, although the Western countries failed to get

their proposal for a Pan-African peace-keeping force adopted by the OAU, or to have Cuba isolated from the non-aligned nations conference, they have succeeded in shoring up several reactionary, pro-imperialist governments, particularly Mobutu's in Zaire. The recent international developments in Africa, however, notably the destruction of Portuguese colonialism, the success of the Ethiopian revolution and the current beleaguered state of the racist government in Zimbabwe, indicate that even the partial successes of imperialism are only temporary.

That the fundamental problems of the continent exist in southern Africa there is no question, but the keystone of US policy in Africa is Zaire, and there is every reason to believe the patriot Lumumba's hopes and aspirations for a democratic and independent Congo lie in the not too distant future. □





Young People, Young Theater

Russian Plays for Young Audiences, translated and edited by Miriam Morton. Introduction by Natalya Sats. New Plays Books, Rowayton, Connecticut, 1977. 401 pp., \$11.95, paper, \$7.50.

In this recent volume a gifted veteran translator, anthologist and critic of Soviet literature who is familiar to NWR readers has brought together a marvelous collection of five contemporary plays for young people—of all ages. It is a diverse gathering, as youth in its wanderings is everywhere many-sided, and affords us young people an opportune window through which to observe their brothers and sisters over there, and to wonder at the similarities of manner, style, and psychology, as well as the contrasts.

I found none of these plays boring or

stodgy; they all move briskly, unpredictably and imaginatively. There are some pointed comments—illuminations might be a better word—on the important matters of life, as well as some lovely and moving songs. But no long-winded sermonizing, no heavy plodding artificiality. Creative sequence and blending of scene, the use of image and symbol, musical and other dramatic techniques, the ease of control impressed me. These are five good plays, and I would not at all mind seeing at least three of them—specifically *The City Without Love*, *Hey There, Hello* and *The Young Graduates*—played before young American audiences, helping thus alleviate ever so slightly the one-sided cultural imbalance between the two countries.

The first play's title speaks for itself. It's a clever allegory about the grayness

and dismalness of living in a city where love and laughter are officially and technologically suppressed—but to no avail by the end: the mayor and his aides cannot prevent a clown and an "urchin," with the assistance of some swallows, from infiltrating the ranks and bringing happiness, springing from human relatedness and compassion, and liberal doses of much needed paint of many colors to brighten the place up. No longer are flowers ceremonially executed for growing in the wrong places!

Hey There, Hello is the vacation-time idyl of two young teenagers at a seaside resort town in the Black Sea area. It's not a Soviet "Summer of '42," but rather a sensitive and at times funny sounding of the whims, fantasies, insecurities, hangups and fixations of young Masha and Valerka, groping toward a recognition of the importance of their feelings and honesty to one's self and others. There is a medley of playfulness and seriousness in this flirtatious little play, and Valerka, the boy, is very often on the defensive, even to the point of getting a good beating towards the end. Teenagers in the United States could easily relate to this play.

In *The Young Graduates* we have somewhat older youth undergoing the hesitations, rivalries, anxieties and impulsiveness of young people trying to decide what to do with their lives, and how to discipline themselves for the sacrifices necessary to attain their goals. In *Graduates* one gets more of a broad sense of the current Soviet scene as it is experienced by critical, restless young peo-



A scene from the play *Thinking of Him*, at the Leningrad children's Theater; the audience.

ple who would like to know the reason why—or why not. Youth of both sexes from “the provinces” make for interesting interplay with their better off peers in the big city. And so with the young generation as it contends with parents, the pull of the different professions, and the varying status attendant on each. But perhaps the largest dialectic in all the subtly complex drama is that between the attractions of comfort and security on the one hand, and the aspirations of idealism on the other. This is a thoughtful play about the prospects of adult life as envisioned from the vantage point of smart young men and women who know they are on the threshold and have a chance to make something of their lives.

The other two plays in this anthology lend themselves even less to brief comment. The first, *The Two Maples*, is a children's fairy tale complete with witch, magic and talking animals. Like many good fairy tales the fun and suspense of impossible situations dramatize some very real and important truths about the human situation—here the values of loyalty, work, kindness, service to others, points, incidentally, which are not absent from the other selections in the anthology, either.

The final play in Ms. Morton's book is *The Young Guard*, a moving, tragic and heroic play based on the epic story of an underground youth resistance organization in the Nazi-occupied Donets Basin area, shortly before the town's recapture by the Red Army in early 1943. Through a series of very two-sided interrogations of



captured youth by Nazi officials, and related flashbacks and other scenes, one realizes what an impressive effort this is to portray what is impossible to fully comprehend: the glory and the horror, with occasional betrayal, of those terrible years in which young Soviet boys and girls quickly became mature men and women—if they were so fortunate.

It is fitting that Ms. Morton put this play at the end, and the fairy tale at the beginning. The message is clear, in the final song of the Young Guard to posterity, at the conclusion:

*We give thanks to you, our heirs,
For your loyal memory, our heirs,
We give thanks too for the promise of
new dawns!*

A Man of Our Era

Charles P. Steinmetz, Scientist and Socialist, 1865-1923, by Sender Garlin. Occasional paper No. 22. American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1977. 42 pp., \$1.50.

Sender Garlin and AIMS have performed an invaluable service in perpetuating the memory of a great engineer who was among the first leading world figures to understand fully the significance of the Russian Socialist Revolution in both scientific and human terms. Charles P. Steinmetz was a native of Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland). His editorship of the illegal Socialist paper, *People's Voice*, brought him to the attention of authorities enforcing Bismarck's repressive laws. He was forced to flee just at the point where his doctoral dissertation had been accepted by the University of Breslau, but not yet confirmed.

Steinmetz arrived in the United States in 1899 at the age of 24. His poverty and unprepossessing appearance—the short crippled body and large head—raised doubts with immigration officials as to whether he could get a job. But his writing in German technical journals opened the way, and with the help of a fellow emigre he soon obtained work as a draftsman. This led him eventually to the General Electric Company in Schenectady, New York, where he served as chief consulting engineer for the remaining thirty years of his life. He also became professor of electrical engineer-

*Not in vain did we scorn and mock
death,
Not in vain our tears and our wrath...
Not in vain our songs. And our vows.*

*You now have the gift of life,
Of a long and splendid life...
You who are—our reincarnation,
You who are—our consolation,
You who are our glory! And, our hope!*

But of course we should thank *them* too. And the social-moral ideals and society that made them possible. And let us not forget Miriam Morton, who has afforded us another opportunity to glimpse, at several different levels, the fascinating world of Soviet youth.

DAVID B. BUEHRENS

ing and electrophysics at Union College (1902-1923).

In spite of his open espousal of socialism, his GE employers were well aware of the technical and financial benefits to be derived from his genius and put no limits on his activities. Steinmetz' major achievements and inventions resulted in considerable expansion of the electrical industry during the first part of the 20th Century. A total of 195 patents were registered in his name.

The Socialist mayor of Schenectady, George P. Lunn, named Steinmetz to the Board of Education, which elected him President. Deeply interested in children and their needs, Steinmetz was responsible for the building of eight new schools and special schools for retarded and tubercular children.

The interests of Steinmetz were boundless. In addition to his scientific writings he wrote on wide-ranging current social and political issues in the

AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

LEON BAYA, college instructor and labor activist, contributes frequently to our book review section.

DAVID B. BUEHRENS is a graduate student in literature, and former editorial associate at NWR.

BRIEF BOOK NOTES

Young Teens Blaze Paths to Peace: The Story of Their First Global Festival for Peace, by Miriam Morton. Foreword by Dr. Benjamin Spock. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1978. 188 pp., paper, \$3.50.

Every summer, International Young Pioneer Camp Artek in the Crimea is host to youngsters from every part of the world, who join with Soviet teenagers in four weeks of getting to know, understand and love each other through sports and games, crafts, contests, festivities, music, theater, and just plain fun, as well as serious sharing of problems and joys of life in their respective homelands. The year 1977 was special as Artek was the site of the First International Children's Festival for Peace. Miriam Morton was there. Her chronicle captures the great welling-up of friendship among these young people, and the longing for peace which each of them took home.

A full review will appear in a forthcoming issue.

The Counterforce Syndrome: A Guide to US Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine, by Robert C. Aldridge. Transnational Institute, Washington, D.C., 1978. 79 pp., paper, \$2.50

As an engineer at Lockheed, Aldridge "helped design every US submarine-launched ballistic missile the Navy has bought." Now a full-time researcher, writer, and lecturer on the nuclear arms race, he clearly refutes the many recent statements by the Pentagon, CIA and reactionary members of Congress that the Soviet Union is driving toward a first-strike capability and seeks world military domination. Aldridge demonstrates the leading position the US has always had and continues to maintain in the arms race, and analyses the capabilities of a variety of US weapons systems, present and future, and their Soviet counterparts. All his conclusions are backed up with technical details explained clearly for the non-scientist.

This booklet is of vital importance for everyone concerned with issues of US-Soviet relations, arms control and disarmament.

popular periodicals of those times, as well as in many left publications.

NWR readers will be interested to know that as a member of the Advisory Council of the left-wing *New Review* during 1913-17, his associates included Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Eugene Debs, Maxim Gorky and Mary Heaton Vorse.

Garlin tells us that Steinmetz followed events in Soviet Russia with "rapt and sympathetic interest." He served on the board of *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, predecessor of *Soviet Russia Today* and *NEW WORLD REVIEW*, along with such figures as William Z. Foster, Ella Reeve Bloor, Upton Sinclair, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Helen Keller and Albert Rhys Williams. He also became a member of the advisory committee of the Kuzbas Industrial Colony.

Hearing of Lenin's great plan for the electrification of Soviet Russia—GOELRO—Steinmetz wrote the Soviet leader at once, expressing his admiration for the "wonderful work of social and industrial regeneration which Russia is accomplishing under such terrible difficulties," and offering to be of any assistance desired in electrical engineering matters. Lenin's answer concluded:

"In particular I want to thank you for your offer to help Russia with your advice, suggestions, etc. As the absence of officially and legally recognized relations between Soviet Russia and the United States makes the practical realization of your offer extremely dif-

ficult both for us and for you, I will allow myself to publish both your letter and my reply, in the hope that many persons who live in America, or in countries connected by commercial treaties with the United States and Russia, will then help you (by information, by translations from Russian into English etc.) to give effect to your intention of helping the Soviet Republic. With very best greetings, Yours fraternally, Lenin."

Further correspondence followed (published in full in Garlin's paper). Lenin's inscribed photograph, brought him with one of the letters by Harold Ware,* hung on Steinmetz' office wall. (Steinmetz was also interested and helpful in Ware's work of introducing tractors and other modern agricultural machinery to the Soviet peasants.)

There is no doubt that a way would have been found for Steinmetz to carry out his wish to help personally in Lenin's electrification program had it not been for his sudden death from a heart attack in October 1923.

Sender Garlin has done an exceptional job of meticulous research and vivid presentation of the life and many-sided gifts of one of the great men of our era.

JESSICA SMITH

*See *Harold M. Ware (1890-1935): Agricultural Pioneer, USA and USSR*, by Lement Harris. Occasional Paper No. 30, AIMS, 1978.

Soviet Theater Today

Nine Modern Soviet Plays. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977. 728 pp., cloth, \$6.75. Available from Imported Publications, Chicago.

In his important survey of present-day Soviet drama, *People's Theatre: From the Box Office to the Stage*, Mike Davidow summarizes and analyzes, in expert fashion, the best of the plays now current in the Soviet Union. The valuable anthology under review provides the actual texts for nine of these plays. We can thus make our own judgments concerning the quality of Soviet drama.

The plays range from the stirring historical work, *The Bolsheviks*, which takes up the vital problem of dealing with counter-revolutionaries even as Lenin hovers between life and death after being shot by a member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party; to the witty, intense-

ly emotional *Evening Light*, in which a married man gives up his love for another woman, and by doing so keeps his family together.

Since the Soviet theater is honest, it concerns itself with the achievements, shortcomings and daily lives of the Soviet people as they progress towards a society that steadily brings socialist goals closer to fruition. Thus, the Lithuanian play *Mindaugas* revolves about the theme of the qualities that are required of a leader of the people. Using an actual 13th century king, the play demonstrates, very poetically and symbolically, how a ruler, well-intentioned in his desire to unify his divided country, loses his humaneness and generosity as he ruthlessly pursues his aim.

Frequently Soviet plays make dramatic use of music. In the *The Birds of Our Youth*, an old, conservative woman, superstitious and unwilling to take advan-

tage of modern technology, comes into conflict with the newer generation. However, she is treated with respect and kindness. The playwright uses a stork, which the old woman used to find dwelling on her ancient thatched hut, to stand for the old, while the skylark, soaring ever upwards and singing as it rises towards the blue sky, becomes the symbol for socialism. The most beautiful passage in the play consists of a violin solo played by a gypsy violinist; his song, "The Bride's Farewell," imaginatively covers the whole gamut of life, from sadness to joy to an expression of man's immortality. The author, I. Drutse, a Moldavian, also flavors his play with Moldavian customs, such as a bride's taking of her pillow as she leaves for the home of her husband-to-be.

The importance of women in the building of socialism is evident in the popular play, *Maria*. The heroine, an independent, courageous woman, challenges the chief administrator who is building a power station without regard to the damage it might cause to the town and its people.

Undoubtedly the most moving play, except for *The Bolsheviks*, is the heart-rending *The Dawns Are Quiet Here*,

which, incidentally was made into an opera, and presented here in 1976 by the Bolshoy Opera. The plot revolves about the heroic actions of seven young women, one of them Jewish, who join in a search party against invading nazis. They and their male leader are killed, and we get still another dramatic account of the sacrifices made by the Soviet people in their valiant struggle against the fascists. The play is marked by warm personal relationships, charm, wit and penetrating motivations for each of the young women who are part of the search party.

Can youthful love last? How much should parents interfere when young people fall in love? What are the prospects for early marriages to succeed? These are among the ideas dealt with in the well-written, timely *Valentin and Valentina*, a kind of Soviet *Romeo and Juliet*. The play, which was produced in San Francisco by the American Conservatory Theater and in Washington, D.C., has been widely acclaimed both in the Soviet Union and here for its honesty and its differing views on the problems of love, marriage and family. The play is quite funny as well.

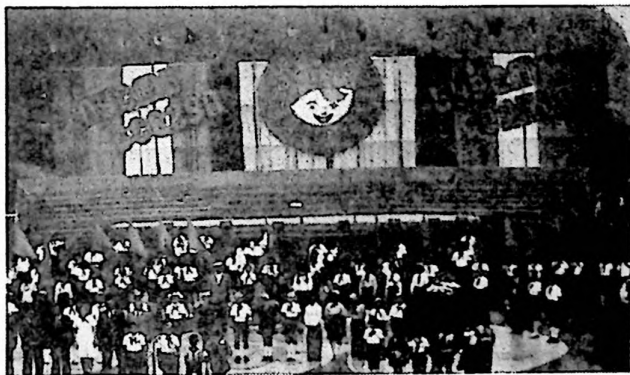
Another play about young people is the brilliantly written *Last Summer in*

Chumlinka. It concerns the breach made in a family by a young man whose mother believed her husband, long a prisoner of war, to be dead. The young man displays traits that are, in many ways, non-socialist and he has to realize that his presence and attitudes are contrary to the goals of the socialist society. The dialogue in the play is terse, intense and often ironic. A fence, broken down constantly and as constantly repaired by a young woman, becomes the symbol of the need to observe socialist behavior.

When we compare these plays with what is current here, we must conclude that much of our current fare suffers from triviality, unreality, and emphasis on prurient sex and repulsive violence.

The Helsinki Accords provide for the mutual exchange of books and of plays. The Soviet Union has more than lived up to this part of the agreement, since it publishes many US authors and presents many US plays. However, our country's failure to abide by this aspect of the agreement is inexcusable. We are certain that Soviet novels, plays, books on criticism, on science, mathematics and culture in general would prove pleasurable and informative to a wide American public.

LEON BAYA



YOUNG TEENS BLAZE PATHS TO PEACE

By Miriam Morton

Foreword by Dr. Benjamin Spock

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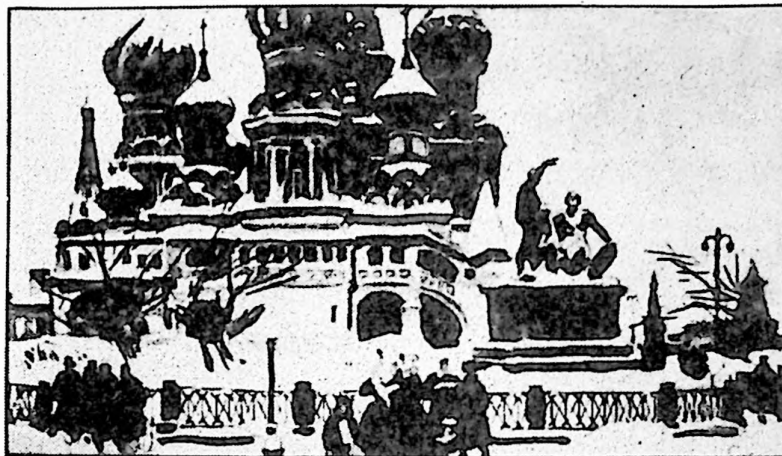
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