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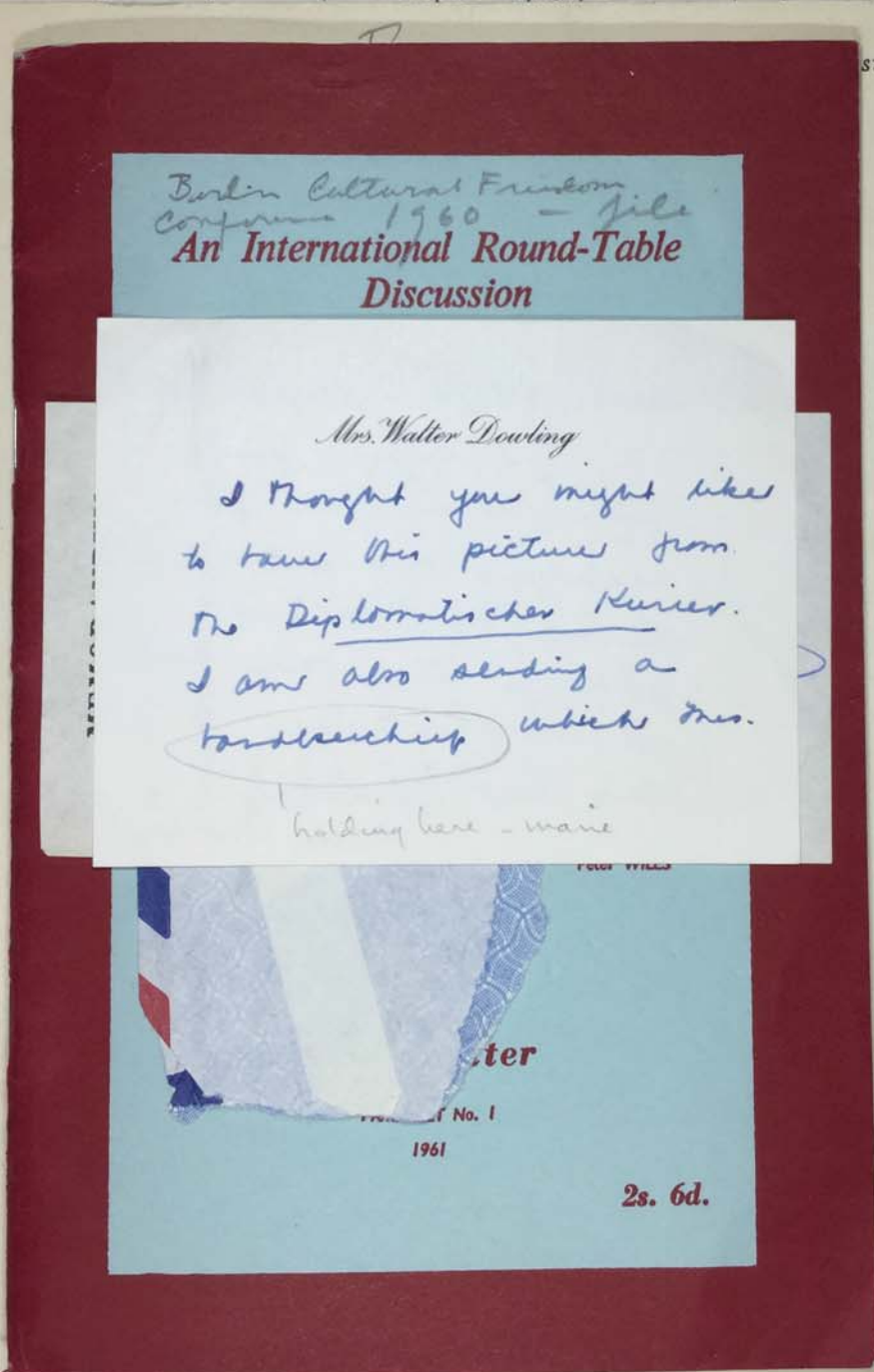
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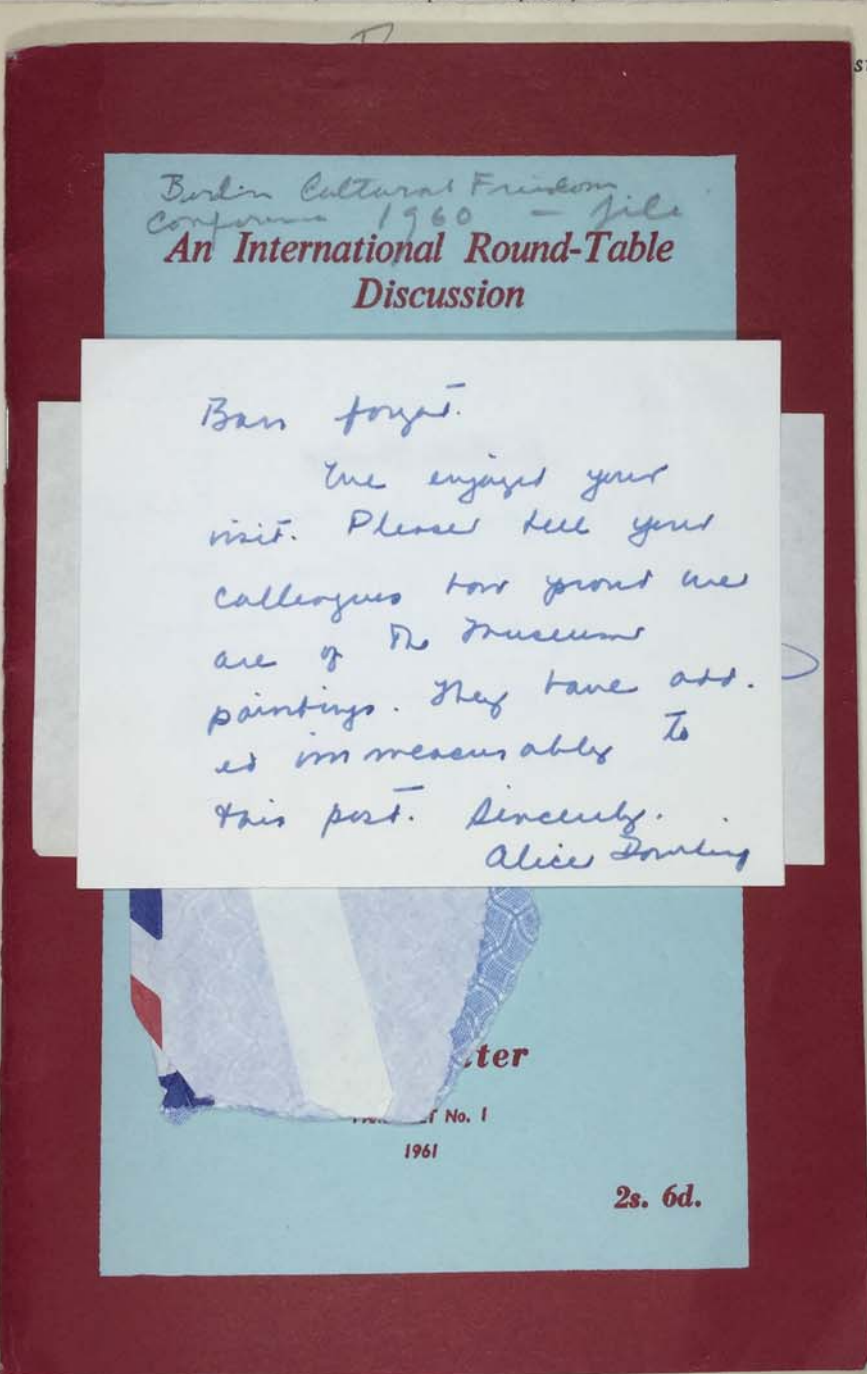
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Berlin Cultural Freedom Conference 1960 - file
An International Round-Table

MEMORANDUM

To: *Mr. Ban.*

From: MRS. GERTRUD A. MELLON

Date:

Subject:
*Alfred
Haidé Ruzuel*
told me last week how much we have appreciated in Berlin. He said it had been a terrific morale builder. Saw so glad we had it.

Jerda

PAMPHLET No. 1
1961

2s. 6d.

Alexander
Dan J.
Ehsan
Edward

of the peoples of the third world toward the Berlin crisis. One or two speakers pointed out the differences in perspective between European and Afro-Asian ways of regarding such problems: thus, M. Charles-Henri Favrod, African specialist of the "Gazette de Lausanne", said that many people in the "third world" did not view the issue of "recognition" as did Westerners and often accepted the existence of "two Germanies" in terms of commercial and technical aid agreements, though not necessarily of diplomatic relations. And Mr. Nasim Ahmed, London correspondent of the Karachi paper

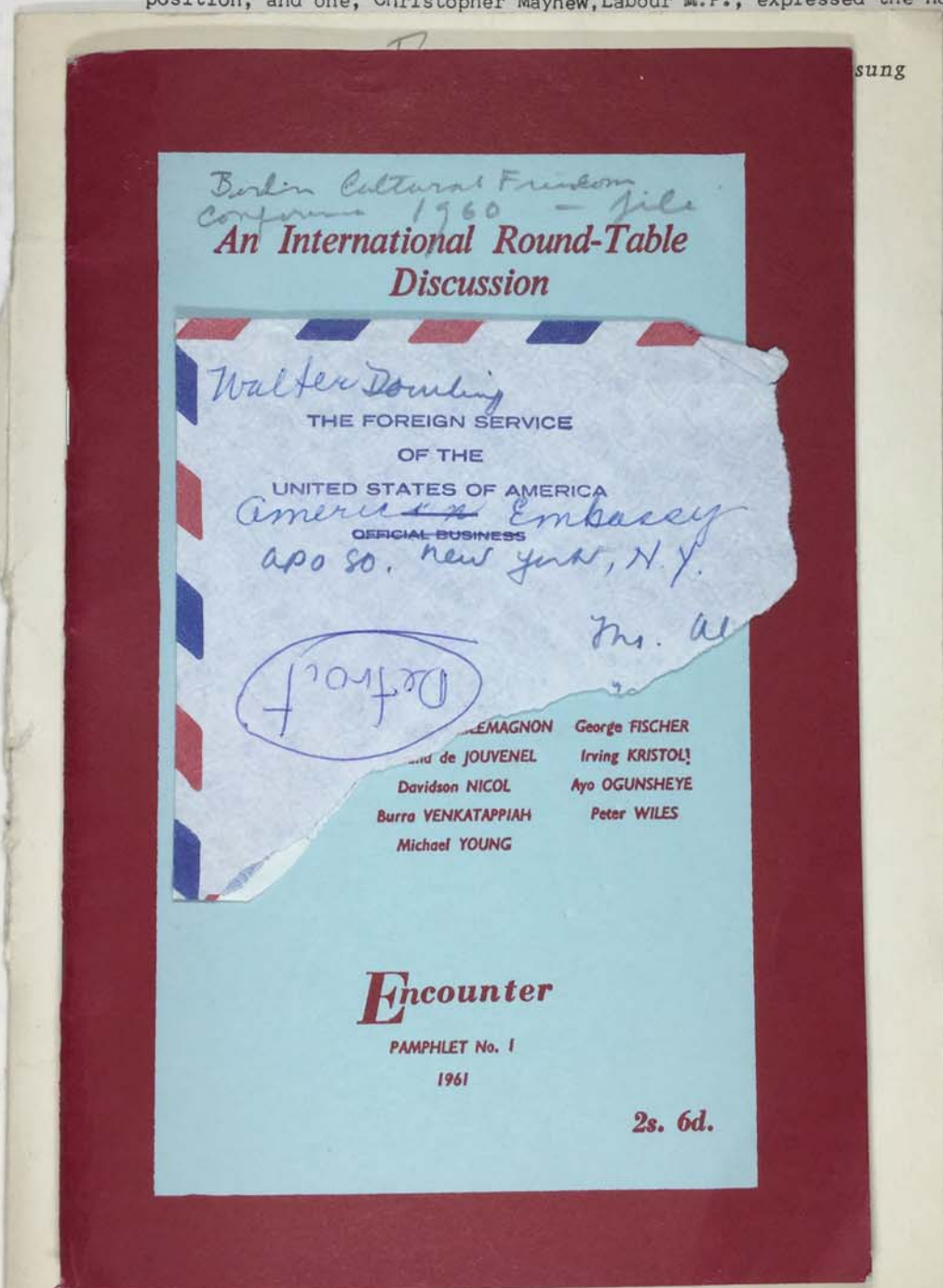
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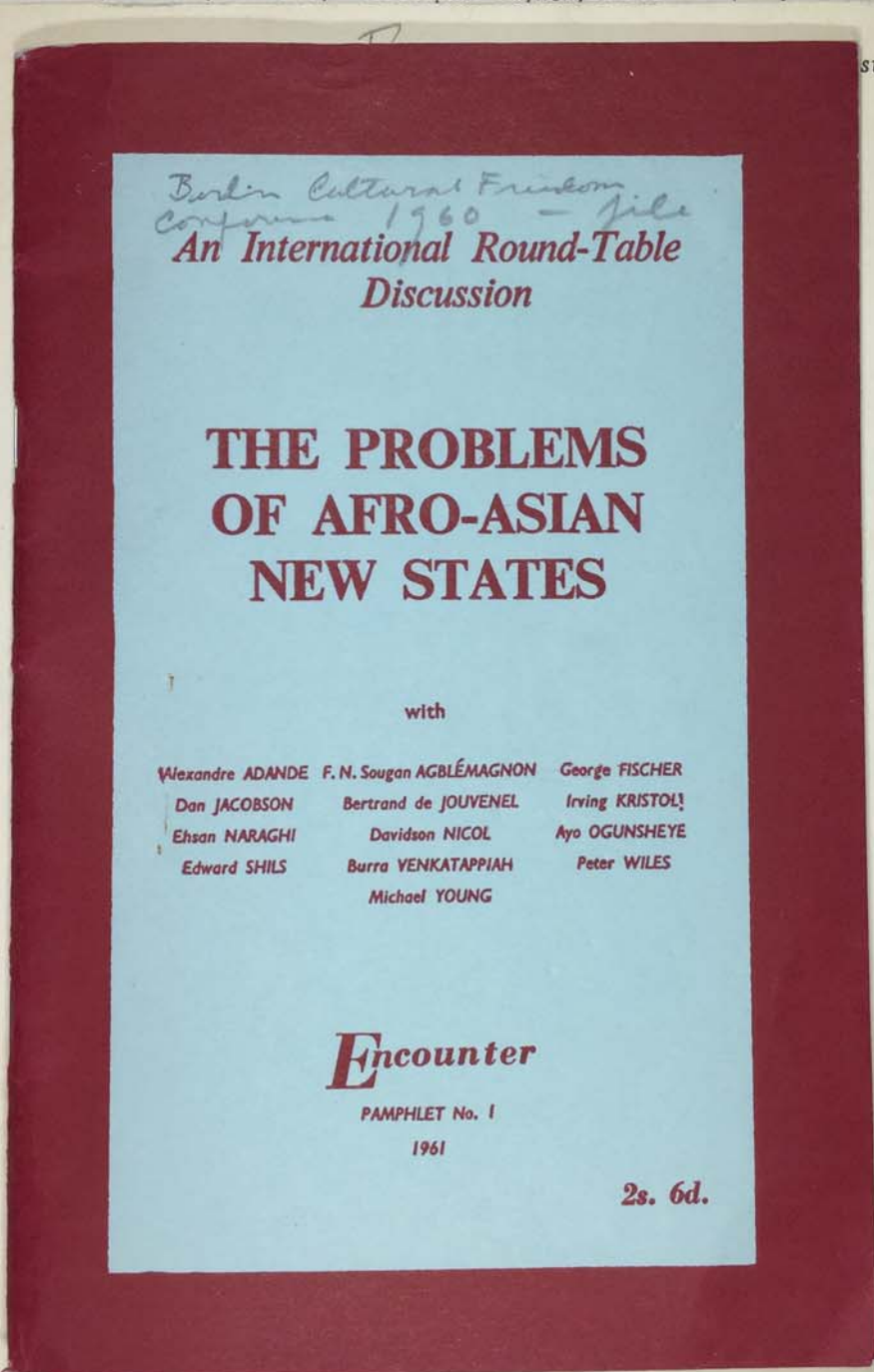
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NOTE

The material for this pamphlet consists of papers and interventions in the debate delivered at a seminar on *Tradition and Modernity*, which was held in Berlin in June, 1960, under the auspices of The Congress for Cultural Freedom. The introduction and postscript by Professor Shils, the director of the seminar, have, however, been written specially.

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The Congress for Cultural Freedom
1961

Tradition and Modernity:
The Setting of the Problem

By EDWARD SHILS

THE ardent desire of the élites of the new states to translate their countries into modernity proceeds hand in hand with a concern to establish an identity which is at once unique and also valuable according to universal standards. They wish to be modern, but not simply and solely modern.

This joint ideal has not yet found its classical formulation. The ideal of modernity is tangible enough, because it is derived from the practice of the advanced countries. It is the ideal of a modern industrialised economy, with a strong modern government at the centre, with a bias toward technological innovation on the foundation of scientific research, a comprehensive system of public education, a high standard of living, modern means of communication, and the rest of the apparatus of modern life. Its cultural and moral concomitants are more difficult to define. Efficiency and rationality are likely to be integral to the economic and governmental systems, and they are therefore more unqualifiedly accepted. Other cultural qualities are less clearly discernible, partly because social and cultural philosophy everywhere is in a shambles, and partly because they touch more questioningly on the values and modes of thought of the traditional culture which is the source of the other portion of the joint ideal of uniqueness in modernity. The conceptions of "Négritude," of "the African Personality," or of "the Indian heritage," have come closest to the constitution of a relevant doctrine. But, in truth, little hard thought has been given within the new states of Asia and Africa, or in the older states of the West, to the serious problems of combining modernity with an identity-maintaining continuity.

It was with the hope of moving thought on these problems a little farther forward that I proposed to devote two of the six sessions of our study group on "The Quality of Life in Modern Society" to *The Reassessment of Traditional Societies and The Modernisation of Traditional Culture*. It was intended that the first discussion should concentrate on an examination of the nature and value of traditional institutions in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. I was especially concerned with the potentiality of traditional institutions, such as family, law, religion, and tribal authority, to undergo modernisation without bringing about a violent reaction against the policy of modernisation or producing a painful disruption and disorganisation of individual and social life. I was particularly interested in beginning a discussion of the possibility of maintaining an appreciable continuity between traditional practices and the very different types of practices which are thought essential to a modern social life.

I therefore put before the study group the following propositions:

The still largely traditional societies of Asia and Africa will confront the advantages and disadvantages of modernisation only when their economies

of the peoples of the third world toward the Berlin crisis. One or two speakers pointed out the differences in perspective between European and Afro-Asian ways of regarding such problems: thus, M. Charles-Henri Favrod, African specialist of the "Gazette de Lausanne", said that many people in the "third world" did not view the issue of "recognition" as did Westerners and often accepted the existence of "two Germanies" in terms of commercial and technical aid agreements, though not necessarily of diplomatic relations. And Mr. Nasim Ahmed, London correspondent of the Karachi paper

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Political Progress: Democracy, Order and Freedom

AKADEMIE DER KÜN STE

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Herrn Alfred H. B a r r

*Travel - Mr. Francis Nislas - Congress Secretariat
Buses 9.15 AM, 14.55
" 12.20, 17.20-18*

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DER REGIERENDE BÜRGERMEISTER VON BERLIN

bittet

Herrn Alfred H. B a r r

aus Anlaß

der Internationalen Tagung des Kongresses für kulturelle Freiheit
zu einem Empfang am Dienstag, dem 21. Juni 1960, 20 Uhr, in der Großen
Orangerie des Schlosses Charlottenburg, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Luisenplatz.

Willy Brandt

U. A. w. g.: 710261, App. 3569

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Der KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT gibt sich die Ehre,
anlässlich der Eröffnung seiner Internationalen Tagung

Herrn Alfred H. Barr

zu einem Presse-Empfang einzuladen.

Donnerstag, den 16. Juni 1960
um 18 Uhr 30

Kongreßhalle
Berlin

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DER SENAT VON BERLIN

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Herrn Alfred H. Barr

anlässlich der internationalen Tagung
des Kongresses für kulturelle Freiheit in Berlin
zu einer Dampferfahrt auf der Havel am Sonntag, dem 19. Juni 1960, 16 Uhr.
An Bord werden ein Imbiß und Erfrischungen gereicht.
Abfahrt: 16 Uhr pünktlich von der Dampferanlegestelle Berlin-Wannsee.
Rückkehr: gegen 18 Uhr an der Freybrücke, Berlin-Spandau.

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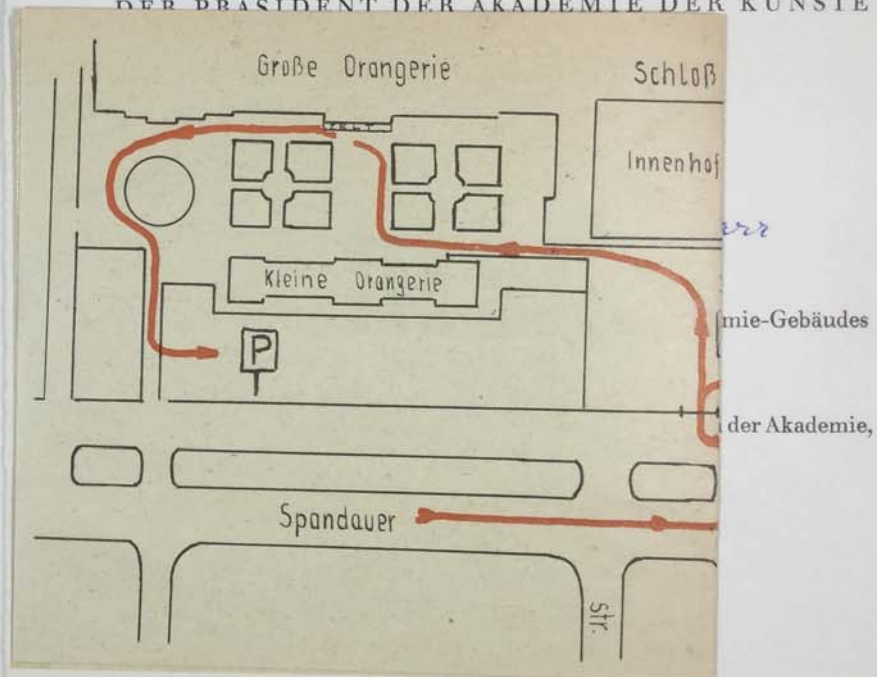
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am Sonnabend, dem 18. Juni 1960, 11 Uhr,

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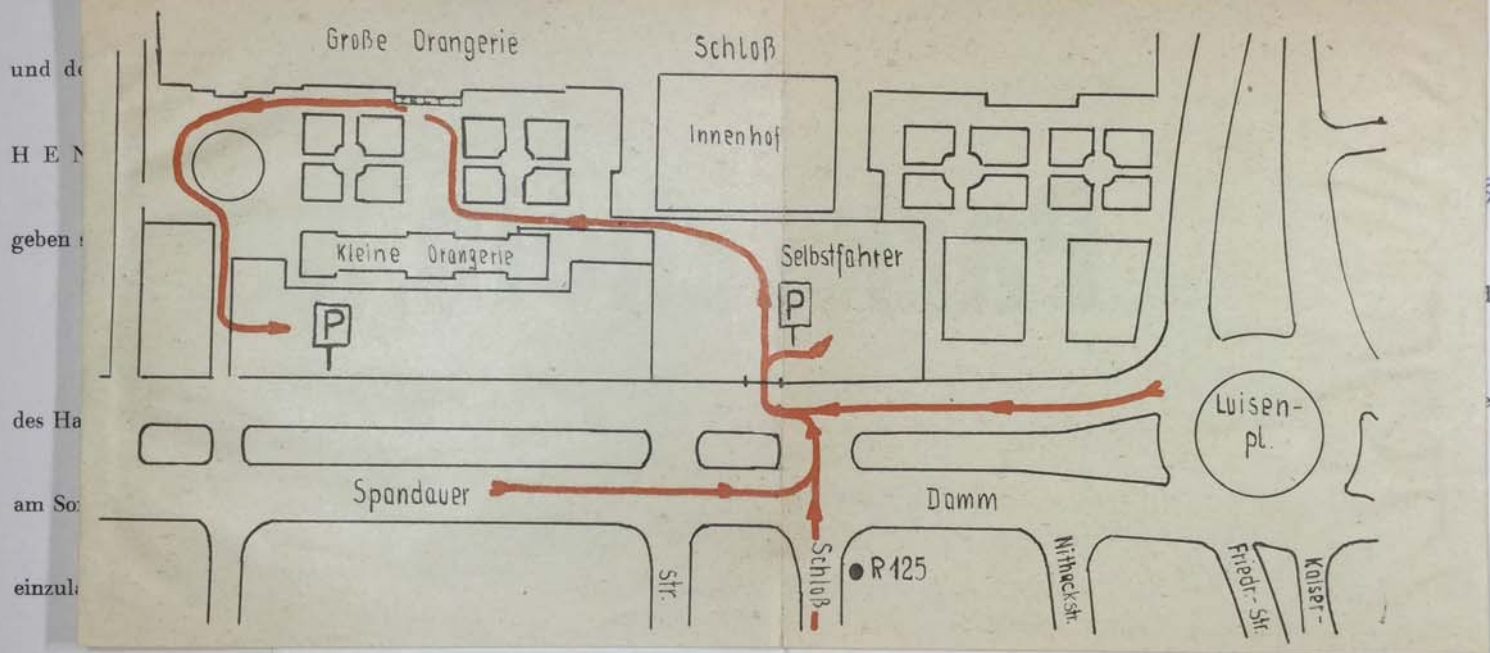


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HENRY H. REICHHOLD

geben sich die Ehre, zur

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des Hauses Berlin NW 21, Hanseatenweg 10,

am Sonnabend, dem 18. Juni 1960, 11 Uhr,

einzuladen.

DER PRÄSIDENT DER AKADEMIE DER KÜN STE

gibt sich die Ehre,

Hr. und Hrs. Alfred H. Barr

zu einem Empfang anlässlich der Einweihung des Akademie-Gebäudes

am Sonnabend, dem 18. Juni 1960, 20 Uhr, in allen Räumen der Akademie,

Berlin NW 21, Hanseatenweg 10, einzuladen.

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MAX TRAPP
Sinfonischer Prolog op. 44

Ansprachen
HANS SCHAROUN
WILLY BRANDT
HENRY H. REICHHOLD

HEINZ TIESSEN
2 Orchesterstücke op. 34a
nach dem Tanzdrama »Salambo«

Ansprache
THEODOR HEUSS

PAUL HINDEMITH
Konzert für Streichorchester
und Blechbläser (1930)


Es spielt das Philharmonische Orchester unter Richard Kraus

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Travel - Dr. Francis Niendorf - Congress Secretariat

Buses 9.15 AM, 14.55

" am 12³⁰, 17³⁰ - 18

I

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GROUP III Director: NICOLAS NABOKOV

Fortschritt in den Künsten: Künstler, Publikum und Mäzenatentum

Progress in the Arts: Patronage, the Public and the Artist

Progrès dans la vie artistique: L'artiste, son public, ses moyens de vivre

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| 1. Der Maler, sein Publikum und der Kunsthandel
The Painter, his Public and the Market
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| 2. Die Probleme des heutigen Theaters
Problems of the Theatre Today
Les problèmes du théâtre d'aujourd'hui | 8 |
| 3. Die Musik in der modernen Gesellschaft
Music in Modern Society
La musique et la société moderne | 10 |
| 4. Allgemeine Diskussion über das Mäzenat der Kunst
General Discussion on the Patronage of the Arts
Discussion générale sur le mécénat des arts | 12 |

GROUP IV Director: MICHAEL POLANYI

Fortschritt der Ideen: Die Intellektuellen und die moralische Leidenschaft

Progress of Ideas: Intellectual and Moral Passions

Progrès dans la vie des idées: Passions intellectuelles et morales

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Au delà du nihilisme | 4 |
| 2. Der revolutionäre Nationalismus
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Le nationalisme révolutionnaire | 6 |
| 3. Die Macht der Religion im Kampf um die Freiheit
The Role of Religion in the Achievement of Freedom
Esprit de religion et esprit de liberté | 11 |
| 4. Die Geschichte und die Welt von heute
History and the Contemporary World
L'histoire et le monde d'aujourd'hui | 13 |

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DONNERSTAG *Nachmittag*THURSDAY *Afternoon*JEUDI *Après-midi*

16. Juni

15.00—17.30

ERÖFFNUNGSSITZUNG

OPENING SESSION

SEANCE D'INAUGURATION

Speakers:

WILLY BRANDT · THEODOR HEUSS · IGNAZIO SILONE

GASTON BERGER · GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER *Gazette*SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA · JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN *India*

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

AUDITORIUM

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17. Juni

10.00—12.30

*1 P.M. Luncheon with N. Nabokov, Cong. H.
Restaurant.*

Kriterien zur Beurteilung der modernen Gesellschaft

GROUP
II

The Reassessment of Modern Society

Nouvelle estimation de la société moderne

Referat, Paper, Rapport:

GEORGES FRIEDMANN *Fr.*

Critique:

C. A. R. CROSLAND *UK*

Salle de Conférence:

K I

Jenseits des Nihilismus

GROUP
IV

Beyond Nihilism

Au delà du nihilisme

Paper:

MICHAEL POLANYI *US*

Critique:

SIDNEY HOOK

Salle de Conférence:

K 2

FREITAG *Nachmittag*FRIDAY *Afternoon*VENDREDI *Après-midi*

17. Juni

15.30—18.00

Erfolge und Mißerfolge der Demokratie

GROUP
I

Success and Failure of Democracy in the World

Succès et échecs de la démocratie dans le monde

Paper:

RAYMOND ARON

Critique:

MICHAEL FREUND *Germany*

Salle de Conférence:

K I

Der Maler, sein Publikum und der Kunsthandel

GROUP
III

The Painter, his Public and the Market

Le peintre, son public et le marché

Panel discussion

Papers:

GEORGES SALLES

WILL GROHMANN

Salle de Conférence:

K 2

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18. Juni

10.00—12.30

SONNABEND Vormittag

SATURDAY Morning

SAMEDI Matin

GROUP
II

Traditionen und die moderne Massengesellschaft
Adaptation of Traditional Society to Modern Mass Society

L'adaptation de la société traditionnelle à la société moderne de masse

Paper:

B. VENKATAPPIAH *India*

Critique:

AYO OGUNSHEYE *Nigeria*

Salle de Conférence:

K 1

does not meet mass society of West.
India
Dehony
BWI

Der revolutionäre Nationalismus

GROUP
IV

Revolutionary Nationalism
Le nationalisme révolutionnaire

Papers:

ALBERT HOURANI *UK*HERBERT LÜTHY *Swiss*

Critiques:

HANS KOHN

WALTHER HOFER *Swiss*

Salle de Conférence:

K 2

SONNABEND Nachmittag

SATURDAY Afternoon

SAMEDI Après-midi

18. Juni

15.30—18.00

GROUP
I

Persönliche Autorität und Demokratie

Personalization of Authority and Democracy

La personnalisation de l'autorité et la démocratie

Paper:

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

Critique:

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER *Senegal*

Salle de Conférence:

Vortragssaal

Der Lebensstil in der modernen Massengesellschaft

GROUP
II

The Possibilities of the Good Life in Modern Mass Society

Le mieux-vivre dans la société moderne de masse

Paper:

BERTRAND DE JOUVENEL *Fr.*

Critique:

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

Salle de Conférence:

K 2

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18. Juni

15.30—18.00

SONNABEND *Nachmittag*SATURDAY *Afternoon*SAMEDI *Après-midi*

Die Probleme des heutigen Theaters

GROUP
III

Problems of the Theatre Today

Les problèmes du théâtre d'aujourd'hui

*Panel discussion**Papers:*

ERIC BENTLEY

FRIEDRICH LUFT *Berlin**Salle de Conférence:*

K 1

MONTAG *Vormittag*MONDAY *Morning*LUNDI *Matin*

20. Juni

10.00 — 12.30

Die Intellektuellen und das Militär im modernen Staat

GROUP
I

Intellectuals and the Military in a Modern State

Intellectuels et militaires dans l'Etat moderne

*Papers:*GERMAN ARCINIEGAS *Colombia*MORROE BERGER *USA*A. K. BROHI *Pakistan**Salle de Conférence:*

K 1

Die Qualität des kulturellen Lebens in der Massengesellschaft

GROUP
II

The Quality of Cultural Life in Mass Society

Le niveau de la vie culturelle dans la société

*Paper:*RICHARD HOGGART *UK**Critique:*EDGAR MORIN *Fr.**Salle de Conférence:*

K 2

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20. Juni

10.00 — 12.30

MONTAG Vormittag

MONDAY Morning

LUNDI Matin

1 London Fleischwaren, Kampfen!

Die Musik in der modernen Gesellschaft

GROUP
III

Music in Modern Society

La musique et la société moderne

Panel discussion

Papers:

VIRGIL THOMSON

H. H. STUCKENSCHMIDT

Salle de Conférence:

Vortragssaal

IO

MONTAG Nachmittag

MONDAY Afternoon

LUNDI Après-midi

U.S. Embassy?

Nicol

20. Juni

15.30 — 18.00

19 Freischütz

Die Eingliederung der Traditionen in die Kultur
der MassengesellschaftGROUP
IIThe Assimilation of Traditional Culture into
the Culture of Mass SocietyL'intégration de la culture traditionnelle dans la culture
de la société de masse

Paper:

DAVIDSON NICOL *Sirriani*

Critique:

DAN JACOBSON *S. Africa*

Salle de Conférence:

K 1

Die Macht der Religion im Kampf um die Freiheit

GROUP
IV

The Role of Religion in the Achievement of Freedom

Esprit de religion et esprit de liberté

Paper:

KATHLEEN BLISS *UK*

Critique:

C. R. HENSMAN *Ceylon*

Salle de Conférence:

K 2

II

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21. Juni

10.00—12.30

DIENSTAG Vormittag

TUESDAY Morning

MARDI Matin

Nationalismus und Kosmopolitismus

GROUP
I

Nationalism and Cosmopolitism

Nationalisme et cosmopolitisme

Paper:

FRANCOIS BONDY *Swiss*

Critique:

GEORGE KENNAN

Salle de Conférence:

K 1

Allgemeine Diskussion über das Mäzenat der Kunst

GROUP
III

General Discussion on the Patronage of the Arts

Discussion générale sur le mécénat des arts

Papers:

RUBY D'ARSHOT & RAYMONDE MOULIN *??*

NARAYANA MENON

ALPHONS SILBERMANN *Austrian*

Salle de Conférence:

Vortragssaal

DIENSTAG Nachmittag

TUESDAY Afternoon

MARDI Après-midi

21. Juni

15.30—18.00

Das Schicksal der Kultur in der Massengesellschaft

GROUP
II

The Fortunes of Culture in Mass Society

Les chances de la culture dans la société de masse

Paper:

IRVING KRISTOL

Critique:

JOHN WEIGHTMAN *UK*

Salle de Conférence:

K 1

Die Geschichte und die Welt von heute

GROUP
IV

History and the Contemporary World

L'histoire et le monde d'aujourd'hui

Paper:

JAMES JOLL *UK*

Critique:

JEANNE HERSCH *Swiss*

Salle de Conférence:

K 2

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22. Juni

10.00 — 12.30

MITTWOCH Vormittag
WEDNESDAY Morning
MERCREDI Matin

SCHLUSS-SITZUNG

CLOSING SESSION

SEANCE DE CLOTURE

Speakers:

Selma de Madariaga · Seth Cudjoe (Ghana)
~~RAYMOND ARON · JOSÉ FIGUERES~~

✓ GEORGE KENNAN ✓ MICHAEL POLANYI *England*

✓ DENIS DE ROUGEMONT ✓ CARLO SCHMID *Germany*

AUDITORIUM

TEILNEHMER · PARTICIPANTS

- 18 Africans (2 VAR, 1 S. Africa)*
29 Asians
9 LA
- ~~Alexandre Adande (Dahomey)~~
 - ~~Cyrille Adoula (Belgian Congo)~~
 - ~~F. N. Sougan Agblemagnon (Togo)~~
 - ~~Syed Ali Ahsan (Pakistan)~~
 - ~~Pedro Vicente Aja (Cuba)~~
 - ~~Victor Alba (Mexico)~~
 - ~~Bengt Alexanderson (Sweden)~~
 - ~~Fritz René Allemann (Switzerland)~~
 - ~~Franz Altheim (Germany)~~
 - ~~Rosihan Anwar (Indonesia)~~
 - ~~Aureliano Sanchez Arango (Cuba)~~
 - ~~German Arciniegas (Colombia)~~
 - ~~Raymond Aron (France)~~
 - ~~Htin Aung (Burma)~~
 - Alfred H. Barr (U.S.A.)
 - Julio Barrenechea (Chile)
 - Rolf Becker (Germany)
 - Daniel Bell (U.S.A.)
 - Bjarni M. Benediktsson (Iceland)
 - Jaime Benitez (Puerto Rico)
 - Eric Bentley (U.S.A.)
 - Gaston Berger (France)
 - Morroe Berger (U.S.A.)
 - Emmanuel Berl (France)
 - Boris Blacher (Germany)
 - Kathleen Bliss (England)
 - Robert Blum (U.S.A.)
 - Enzo Boeri (Italy)
 - François Bondy (Switzerland)
 - Hans Bott (Germany)
 - Vittore Branca (Italy)
 - ~~A. K. Brohi (Pakistan)~~
 - ~~K. A. Busia (Ghana)~~
 - ~~Walter Bussmann (Germany)~~
 - ~~A. A. Buzzati-Traverso (Italy)~~
 - Roger Caillois (France)
 - Gregoire Cassimatis (Greece)
 - Américo Castro (Spain)
 - Nicola Chiaromonte (Italy)
 - C. A. R. Crosland (England)
 - ~~+~~ Seth Cudjoe (Ghana) *Absher at III*
 - ~~Bernard Dadié (Ivory Coast)~~ *and final*
 - Eric de Dampierre (France)
 - ~~Gabriel d'Arboussier (Senegal)~~
 - ~~Edward F. d'Arms (U.S.A.)~~
 - ~~Marion Gräfin Dönhoff (Germany)~~
 - ~~Constantin Doxiadis (Greece)~~
 - ~~Jean Duvignaud (France)~~
 - Pierre Emmanuel (France)
 - ~~Abel Eyinga (Cameroon)~~
 - ~~Gert von Eynern (Germany)~~
 - Franco Ferrarotti (Italy)
 - José Ferrater Mora (Spain)
 - José Figueres (Costa Rica)
 - George Fischer (U.S.A.)
 - Louis Fischer (U.S.A.)
 - Ossip K. Flechtheim (Germany)
 - Julius Fleischmann (U.S.A.)
 - Henning Fonsmark (Denmark)
 - Ernst Fraenkel (Germany)
 - Michael Freund (Germany)
 - Jacques Freymond (Switzerland)
 - Georges Friedmann (France)
 - Otto Heinrich von der Gablentz (Germany)
 - J. Kenneth Galbraith (U.S.A.)
 - Pieter Geyl (Holland)
 - ~~B. Butros Ghali (U.A.R.)~~
 - Fred Goldbeck (France)
 - Helmut Gollwitzer (Germany)
 - Mauricio Gomez Mayorga (Mexico)
 - Lorenzo Gomis (Spain)
 - ~~A. D. Gorwala (India)~~
 - ~~Peter Gradenwitz (Israel)~~
 - Will Grohmann (Germany)
 - Gunnar Gunnarsson (Iceland)
 - Werner Haftmann (Germany)
 - Rudolf Hagelstange (Germany)
 - R. M. Hammacher (Holland)
 - Klaus Harpprecht (Germany)
 - Horst W. Hartwich (Germany)
 - ~~K. Hayashi (Japan)~~
 - Denis Healey (England)

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- Ingemar Hedenius (Sweden)
 C. R. Hensman (Ceylon)
 Jeanne Hersch (Switzerland)
 Hans Herzfeld (Germany)
 Theodor Heuss (Germany)
 Walthor Hofer (Switzerland)
 Raimund von Hofmannsthal (U.S.A.)
 Richard Hoggart (England)
 Hans-Egon Holthusen (Germany)
 Sidney Hook (U.S.A.)
 Albert Hourani (England)
 Cecil Hourani (England)
 Paul Egon Hübinger (Germany)

 Pal Ignotus (Hungary)

 Dan Jacobson (South Africa)
 Hellmut Jaesrich (Germany)
 Frode Jakobsen (Denmark)
 K. A. Jelenski (Poland)
 James Joll (England)
 K. A. B. Jones-Quartey (Ghana)
 Eyjolfur Konrad Jonsson (Iceland)
 Francisco Sionel José (Philippines)
 Bertrand de Jouvenel (France)

 George Kennan (U.S.A.)
 Simon Kiba (Senegal)
 Hans Kohn (U.S.A.)
 Irving Kristol (U.S.A.)

 Leo Labeledz (England)
 Walter Laqueur (England)
 Melvin J. Lasky (U.S.A.)
 Colin Legum (England)
 Haakon Lie (Norway)
 Hans Joachim Lieber (Germany)
 Carl Linfert (Germany)
 Theodor Litt (Germany)
 Richard Lowenthal (England)
 Karl Löwith (Germany)
 McNeil Lowry (U.S.A.)
 Friedrich Luft (Germany)
 Herbert Lüthy (Switzerland)

 Robie Macauley (U.S.A.)
 Roderick MacFarquhar (England)
 Salvador de Madariaga (Spain)
 Ibrahim Madkour (U.A.R.)
- Yawand-Wossen Mangasha (Ethiopia)
 Raul Manglapus (Philippines)
 Robin Marris (England)
 Minoo Masani (India)
 Nicola Matteucci (Italy)
 Maung Maung (Burma)
 Asoka Mehta (India)
 Georg Meistermann (Germany)
 Narayana Menon (India)
 Tibor Meray (Hungary)
 Paolo Milano (Italy)
 Czeslaw Milosz (Poland)
 Joachim Moras (Germany)
 Charles Morazé (France)
 Edgar Morin (France)
 H. A. Murena (Argentina)

 Nicolas Nabokov (U.S.A.)
 Kenichi Nakaya (Japan)
 Ehsan Naraghi (Iran)
 Jayaprakash Narayan (India)
 Eduard Neumann (Germany)
 Charles Harold Nichols (U.S.A.)
 + Davidson Nicol (Sierra Leone)
 Berend von Nottbeck (Germany)

 Victoria Ocampo (Argentina)
 Ayo Ogunshye (Nigeria)
 J. Robert Oppenheimer (U.S.A.)
 Hans Oprecht (Switzerland)
 Karl Otto (Germany)

 Herbert Passin (U.S.A.)
 Rudolf Pechel (Germany)
 André Philip (France)
 William Phillips (U.S.A.)
 Mariano Picon-Salas (Venezuela)
 Joseph Pieper (Germany)
 Michael Polanyi (England)

 Eugene Rabinowitch (U.S.A.)
 Mohammed Tewfik Ramzi (U.A.R.)
 Raja Rao (India)
 Abdul Razaq (Nigeria)
 Sir Herbert Read (England)
 Kurt Reidemeister (Germany)
 Eugene V. Rostow (U.S.A.)
 Denis de Rougemont (Switzerland)
 Josef Rufer (Germany)

Rühle - from E

- Jürgen Rühle (Germany)
 Franz Rupp (Germany)
 Georges Salles (France)
 Luis Alberto Sanchez (Peru)
 E. Saratchandra (Ceylon)
 Leslie Sawhny (India)
 Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (U.S.A.)
 Carlo Schmid (Germany)
 Franz-Josef Schöningh (Germany)
 John Scott (U.S.A.)
 Yoshihiko Seki (Japan)
 Hugh Seton-Watson (England)
 B. R. Shenoy (India)
 Edward Shils (U.S.A.)
 Alphons Silbermann (Australia)
 Ignazio Silone (Italy)
 Sabri Esat Siyavusgil (Turkey)
 Bruno Snell (Germany)
 Kripal Singh Sodhi (India)
 S. Soedjatmoko (Indonesia)
 Stephen Spender (England)
 Manès Sperber (France)
 Altiero Spinelli (Italy)
 Otto Stammer (Germany)
 Leo Steinberg (U.S.A.)
 Shepard Stone (U.S.A.)
 Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (Germany)
 James Johnson Sweeney (U.S.A.)
- Michio Takeyama (Japan)
 Virgil Thomson (U.S.A.)
 Vu Quoc Thuc (South Vietnam)
 Herbert Tingsten (Sweden)
 Friedrich Torberg (Austria)
 E. Reginald Townsend (Liberia)
 Kenneth Tynan (England)

 B. Venkatappiah (India)
 Lionello Venturi (Italy)
 B. G. Verghese (India)

 Magdi Wahba (U.A.R.)
 Heikki Waris (Finland)
 John Weightman (England)
 G. von Westerman (Germany)
 Peter Wiles (England)
 J. Ch. Witsch (Germany)
 Franz Wördemann (Germany)
 John H. Wootten (Australia)
 Peregrine Worsthorpe (England)
 Charles Wyzanski (U.S.A.)

 Yukio Yashiro (Japan)
 Michael Young (England)

 Elemire Zolla (Italy)

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Mrs Mellon - please return to CCAF.

CCF NEWSLETTER

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN, PARIS-8^e FRANCE

NL/45

September 28th, 1961

Invited by "Der Monat", journalists from four continents visit Berlin in crisis

Some 30 editors and writers from four continents gathered in Berlin from September 9th to 14th, at the invitation of the Congress-associated magazine "Der Monat", to make a first-hand study of Berlin in crisis. The primary purpose of the German monthly in extending the invitations was to enable leaders of public opinion from countries often geographically remote from Berlin, but inevitably implicated in the global issues at stake, to examine the human as well as the political realities in the former German capital following the sealing of the East-West border. Members of the group included editors and correspondents of newspapers in Asia, Africa and Latin America, while a number of European writers and public figures also participated.*

The visitors were given a maximum amount of free time to explore Berlin on their own, while, at the same time, meetings were arranged so that they could put questions to leading officials and other experts on the German problem. Mayor Willy Brandt granted a special press conference to the group, and the visitors also had the opportunity to meet with Berlin journalists, to witness the processing of refugees at the Marienfelde transit camp, and to tour the border areas and the East Sector in the company of journalists who had an intimate knowledge of the city.

o o o

As a constant backdrop to the discussions, there was the grim and grotesque reality of the "wall" and, beyond the cement and barbed-wire barriers, the world of "pure 1984", as Malcolm Muggeridge, a member of the group, later described East Berlin in an article for the "New Statesman".

Yet, despite the stark contrasts between the East and West sectors, despite the political division, Berlin had, in a number of significant ways, been one city until August 13th.

* List of participants is given at the end of this "Newsletter".

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2.

In particular, as Egon Bahr, the West Berlin government press officer, explained at a briefing held for the visitors, the East Berliners had enjoyed a considerable share in the cultural life and in the freedom of West Berlin. There were many ways in which this was true. For example, not only did East Berliners have the opportunity to read Western newspapers when they visited the Western sectors (altogether, there had been a total of some 500,000 individual crossings over the East-West sector borders every day, including those made by 60,000 East Berliners who worked in the West), but also, in a period of 11 months, 9.5 million tickets had been distributed to East Berliners to enable them to attend theatrical performances and other cultural events in the West. In general, West Berlin had been the one point of contact between East and West Germans, the one place where those from the East had been able, as it were, to "refuel" themselves spiritually and culturally.

All this came to an abrupt end when the Communists sealed the border on August 13th. East German forces, Mr. Bahr pointed out, carried out on that date a military annexation of East Berlin, in flagrant violation of the special status of the city under the four-power agreements. (Mr. Bahr added that under these agreements the presence of German armed forces was prohibited in the former capital, and he noted that there was not a single member of the West German Army in Berlin).

This military annexation had transformed the line of demarcation between the two parts of one city into the frontier of a State. Moreover, Mr. Bahr said, the East German forces had acted, not as "agents" of the Soviet Union, but under the direct orders of the East German government. The latter, therefore, had carried out a forcible "exercise of sovereignty" in the face of, and against, the Western Allies in Berlin.

What remained of the Western guarantees in Berlin? Mr. Bahr listed three essentials that retained their full validity: guarantee of freedom of access to Berlin from the West, of the maintenance of the Allied garrisons in the city, and of the liberties of the people of West Berlin. If the West were to surrender in Berlin - a city which stood as a pledge of the future reunification of Germany - this would, Mr. Bahr said, result in the discredit of the system of Western defence treaties and would be tantamount to a renunciation of support for German self-determination. The principle of self-determination for the German people, he added, had not only a juridical, but also a moral basis, for one could not condemn the 16 million East Germans to live indefinitely "in a prison".

o o o

To the three "essentials" mentioned by Mr. Bahr - freedom of access, maintenance of the Allied garrisons, defence of the liberties of the West Berliners - Mayor Willy Brandt, who met with the visiting journalists immediately afterwards, added a fourth: maintenance, and reinforcement, of the close relationship between free Berlin and West Germany.

Berlin, he said, must not be considered as an isolated outpost, but as an integral part of the larger juridical and economic unit of the Federal Republic. There would be no confidence in the future of Berlin unless there was confidence in the maintenance of the city's ties with West Germany. If this confidence were sapped, the development of West Berlin which had taken place since the war could not continue, since the investments which had made possible the reconstruction of the city had been based on faith in Berlin's continuing status as a part of free Germany.

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3.

NL/45

In reply to questions on the events of August 13th, the Mayor remarked that too many people had expected drastic Communist action only following the conclusion of a Soviet Peace Treaty with East Germany and had therefore been taken by surprise when Mr. Ulbricht suddenly sealed off the border within the city before such a pact had been signed. In fact, Mr. Brandt said, the East German regime had, on a number of occasions in the past three years, sought Soviet permission for the imposition of serious restrictive measures in Berlin, but the Soviet leaders had always vetoed these plans in the past. West Berlin officials, Mr. Brandt added, had expected some sort of Communist action in the city last month, but they had not anticipated that the steps actually taken would be so severe or that they would be carried out precisely on August 13th.

Since that date, East Germany has lived under a reign of intensified terror - Ulbricht's Germany was "a copy of Stalin's Russia rather than of Khrushchev's". Mr. Brandt said that he would welcome an on-the-spot investigation, by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, of the violations of the rights of man which had been so ruthlessly perpetrated in East Berlin and East Germany. With regard, however, to the establishment of the United Nations headquarters in Berlin, the Mayor thought this was an unrealistic proposal which could probably not get a majority among the members of the U.N. But even if such a project were to be envisaged, he added, it should apply to all of Berlin, and not just to the Western sectors as Soviet Premier Khrushchev seemed to suggest.

Asked about the reaction of the Western powers to the Communist measures of August 13th, the Mayor said that the response of the Allies should not be under-estimated - particularly the visit of American Vice-President Johnson, and the dispatch of a 1,500-man battle group, which, in terms of its value as a token of America's political commitment in Berlin, was worth an army. But the Mayor added that the West had not fully understood the grave psychological impact of the August events upon the German people. Not only did the sealing of the border have deplorable consequences for the lives of the German people, but it had also seemed to signify that the Western powers were unable to maintain certain obligations to which they were committed.

This is the way Mayor Brandt assessed the psychological impact of August 13th upon the different parts of Germany:

- 1) West Berlin was still trying to adapt itself to "a new reality".
- 2) In East Germany, one could at present only raise a series of questions - would the sealing of the border produce profound despair? silent acquiescence? a nationalist recrudescence?
- 3) Although the reaction in West Germany would take longer to observe, a reaction there certainly would be. The Mayor warned that if the Germans came to believe that the Western powers were disengaging themselves from the German problem, and particularly from the commitment to support reunification, a new German nationalism might arise. Mr. Brandt added, however, that he felt the forces of democracy in Germany would be strong enough to thwart such a development.

Finally, the Mayor made an appeal to the people of the under-developed nations of the "third world" to understand that the Communist offensive in Berlin and Germany was an assault upon the right of the Germans to self-determination - a right, he declared, which was just as applicable to the Germans as it was to the peoples of Asia and Africa.

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These questions and many others were later discussed by the visiting journalists, who were joined by several close students of the German problem, in two sessions held at the offices of "Der Monat". The discussions, presided over by Melvin Lasky, co-editor of "Encounter" and founder of "Der Monat", touched on many themes, both central and peripheral to the Berlin crisis, but the main topics can perhaps be defined as follows: the aims of communist strategy in Berlin and Germany, the diplomatic and moral counter-offensives available to the West, the role of public opinion as an element in the struggle over Berlin, and the attitude of the peoples of the "third world".

The most systematic analysis of how the Berlin crisis fits into Soviet global strategy was made by Professor Richard Lowenthal of the Otto Suhr Institute in Berlin. Prof. Lowenthal said that while Soviet power has been on the offensive, and the West on the defensive, in the world at large, the contrary is true in Europe where it is the Soviet empire which is internally unstable and the West which has proven to be stable, with its productivity, its industrial potential and its ability to give a rising living standard to workers under non-Communist regimes. In order to tip the balance of world power definitively in favour of Communism, Prof. Lowenthal said, Mr. Khrushchev needs to win in Europe: that is, he must try to stabilize his European satellites and upset the stability of the West on that continent. The crucial theatre for this attempt was Germany, and the lever for Soviet action there was obviously Berlin. The erection of the "wall" in Berlin was not enough for Khrushchev's purpose: he sought to obtain recognition for his East German satellite and to strip West Berlin of its role as a token of eventual German reunification. Thus, the "Berlin" problem involved, in fact, both the issue of German self-determination and that of the world balance of power.

Speaking in a similar vein, Sebastian Haffner, former Berlin correspondent of the London "Observer", said that August 13th represented, in German eyes, a "major strategic defeat" of the Western powers and that a change, unfavourable to the West, had occurred in the "moral balance of power", in the balance of power as conceived in terms of "fighting morale". Haffner and other speakers warned against the consequences that would result from any major concessions on Germany made by the Western powers in violation of their own commitments - such as the recognition of East Germany or acceptance of East German controls over air traffic to Berlin.

Not only would such concessions reduce West Berlin to the status of an expendable outpost, but they would also have the gravest effect on German morale and opinion and would threaten the Atlantic Alliance. François Bondy, co-editor of "Preuves" magazine, warned further that the present Communist drive for recognition of the existence of "two Germanies" might well prove to be only one phase in a campaign to push ultimately a claim of East Germany as the only legitimate holder of "all-German" sovereignty.

A somewhat more optimistic mood was reflected in the views expressed by Sir William Hayter, former British Ambassador in Moscow, and several others. Sir William felt that while the Western powers should not recognize East Germany in violation of their treaty obligations, they might follow West Germany's own example of a de facto policy with regard to the Pankow regime on certain practical matters. And he thought that, although it was impossible to undo the fait accompli carried out by the Communists in Berlin on August 13th, the West could probably halt Khrushchev's German offensive by firmly stipulating that it would not tolerate transgression of certain crucial principles - such as the freedom of the

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air corridors. Several of the participants shared Sir William's general position, and one, Christopher Mayhew, Labour M.P., expressed the hope that, having sealed the border within Berlin, the Communists might, in fact, consider it less imperative to interfere with the Western accesses to the city.

While the problem of how to meet anticipated Soviet moves received considerable attention, some attempts were made to outline the kind of diplomatic offensive that the West could undertake. G.K. Reddy, the London editor of the "Times of India", deplored the fact that the West had constantly allowed the Communists to take the initiative and, indeed, had permitted Mr. Khrushchev to "create a climate of crisis". One attempt to suggest a diplomatic counter-offensive was put forward by Prof. Lowenthal, who said that the West might offer to open talks with the Russians on a peace treaty with a single unified Germany; this he envisaged as an offer of a general exchange of views that could deal with such problems as frontiers, security, etc. At one point, the possibility of "internationalizing" Berlin through the presence of the United Nations was evoked, but some of the participants felt that such a move was incompatible with the maintenance, felt to be absolutely essential, of Allied forces in the city. To this, Mr. Lasky, while not espousing the cause of "internationalization", noted that it might not be impossible to work out a formula to accommodate both the U.N. and the Western garrisons in Berlin; speaking more generally, he remarked that one should not view the Berlin problem in too rigidly juridical terms and added that West Berlin had been protected through the years, not by technical and formal arrangements, but by "a political and moral will transcending constitutional guarantees."

Whatever the solution to the Berlin problem might be, a number of speakers stressed the role of public opinion in the various countries. In particular, Mr. Misao Obata, editorial writer of the Tokyo "Asahi Shimbun", said that the basic issues at stake - democracy, self-determination, peace, human rights - were of deep concern to the public everywhere. The editors and writers participating in the "Der Monat" discussions, he added, were in a position to influence public opinion which, in turn, was the only force that could make a strong impact on the Soviet leaders.

The state of public opinion in various countries was discussed - with respect, for example, to Britain, where, it was generally agreed, the full nature and gravity of the Soviet offensive were inadequately understood; although David Marquand, leader writer for the Manchester "Guardian", considered that the attitude in Britain had more recently become sterner and less "appeasing" as a result of Mr. Khrushchev's sabre-rattling language in talks with Western diplomats. There was, of course, considerable discussion of the mood in Germany - particularly in reaction to present, or future, lack of firmness on the part of the Western powers. Mr. F. R. Allemann, co-editor of "Der Monat", while stressing the dangers that existed of demoralization in West Germany and of a weakening of the Atlantic Alliance, remarked that it was unlikely the Bonn Republic would leave N.A.T.O. as a result of Western policies in the Berlin situation, because the fear of Communism which had been one of Germany's major motives in joining the Atlantic pact remains at least as strong as it has been in the past.

An important aspect of the discussion dealt with the attitudes of the peoples of the "third world" toward the Berlin crisis. One or two speakers pointed out the differences in perspective between European and Afro-Asian ways of regarding such problems: thus, M. Charles-Henri Favrod, African specialist of the "Gazette de Lausanne", said that many people in the "third world" did not view the issue of "recognition" as did Westerners and often accepted the existence of "two Germanies" in terms of commercial and technical aid agreements, though not necessarily of diplomatic relations. And Mr. Nasim Ahmed, London correspondent of the Karachi paper

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"Dawn", said the Western position on such issues as Berlin would meet with greater support in Africa and Asia if problems like that of Algeria had been solved.

At the same time, several participants stressed the necessary implication of the "third world" in the outcome of the Berlin problem. M. Olympe Quenum, a Parisian teacher and journalist from Dahomey, felt that Europeans underestimated the role and interest of Asians and Africans in the Berlin problem. And Melle. Sita Bella, a writer, from Cameroun, for "La Vie Africaine", noted that no area of the world could be immune to the effects of an outbreak of war over Berlin. Melle. Bella also remarked that the free world possessed an invaluable resource in the fact that the people of East Germany did not support their rulers. To her question as to why the East Germans had not mounted a full-scale revolt against their oppressors, other speakers cited the total suppression of freedom in the Communist countries, as contrasted with the situation in most lands colonized by Western powers, thus rendering extremely difficult the organisation of rebellion.

The final contribution to the discussions - and one which met with applause from the members of the group - was made by Mr. Ahmed, who said that while it might take a long time to solve the political issues at stake in Berlin, the "wall" was above all a human problem and that negotiations should be undertaken to alleviate some of the misery it caused to countless Berliners.

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List of visitors invited by "Der Monat":

Nasim Ahmed, London correspondent of "Dawn", Karachi.
 Victor Alba, Washington correspondent for "Excelsior" of Mexico and other papers.
 Luigi Barzini, M.P., an editor of the "Corriere della Sera" of Milan.
 Sita Bella, from Cameroun, staff writer for "La Vie Africaine", Paris.
 François Bondy, co-editor, "Preuves", Paris
 Robert Conquest, poet and writer, Britain.
 Desmond Donnelly, Labour M.P., Britain.
 Charles-Henri Favrod, African correspondent for "Gazette de Lausanne".
 Kentaro Hayashi, Professor of History, University of Tokyo.
 Sir William Hayter, Warden of New College, Oxford, former British Ambassador in Moscow.
 J.B. Holmgaard, editor, "Information", Copenhagen.
 Ignacio Iglesias, managing editor, "Cuadernos", Paris (Spanish-language magazine).
 Samad Ismail, senior editor, "The Straits Times", Kuala Lumpur.
 L.K. Jakande, editor, "The Service", Lagos.
 Robert Kee, writer, B.B.C. television reporter.
 Simon Kiba, managing editor, "Afrique Nouvelle", Dakar.
 Leo Labeledz, associate editor, "Survey" magazine, London.
 Melvin J. Lasky, co-editor, "Encounter", London.
 Yngve Lundberg, foreign affairs editor, "Stockholms-Tidningen".
 Richard Lowenthal, Professor, Otto Suhr Institute, Berlin.
 David Marquand, leader writer, "The Guardian", Manchester.
 Christopher Mayhew, Labour M.P., Britain.
 Malcolm Muggeridge, writer, former editor of "Punch", Britain.
 Misao Obata, editorial writer, "Asahi Shimbun", Tokyo.
 Olympe Quenum, from Dahomey, teacher and journalist in Paris.
 G.K. Reddy, London editor, "The Times of India".
 Friedrich Torberg, co-editor of "Forum" magazine, Vienna.

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CCF NEWSLETTER

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN, PARIS-8^e FRANCE

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June 27th, 1961.

Dear Friend,

The recent East-West Music Encounter in Tokyo brought together distinguished representatives of different musical traditions in a confrontation described by the French daily "Le Monde" as "probably unprecedented, both as to magnitude and significance, in the history of music."

The Encounter, which inaugurated Tokyo's new Festival Hall, was sponsored by the Congress, the Japanese Society for International Cultural Exchange and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. It was organized by Nicolas Nabokov, composer and Secretary-General of the Congress, with the assistance of Ian Hunter, British musical impresario, who served as coordinator of the Western musical program.

The confrontation took place on two levels: discussions of the music of Occident and Orient by nearly 100 musicologists and composers from 22 countries, and performances by soloists and ensembles from ten countries of East and West. Among those who took part in the discussions were composers Virgil Thomson of the U.S., Boris Blacher of Germany, Dragutin Gostuski of Yugoslavia, Venraj Bhatia of India and Sadao Bekku of Japan. Musicologists included Alain Daniélou of France, Hans Stuckenschmidt of Germany, Kapila Vatsyayan of India and many others.

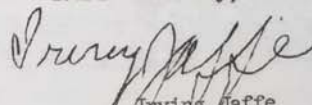
The music of the West as well as that of a number of important Eastern traditions was represented in the performances given by outstanding individuals and ensembles. From the West came the British Royal Ballet, featuring ballerinas Margot Fonteyn and Beryl Gray, the New York Philharmonic, conducted by Leonard Bernstein, the Modern Jazz Quartet, the Gruppo Polifonico Vocale of the Italian Radio, the Ensemble Européen de Musique de Chambre, the Juilliard String Quartet, violinist Isaac Stern, baritone singer Hermann Prey, and others. Among the Asian groups were traditional dancers and musicians from India, Thailand, Japan, and other countries. Two great orchestras of Japan also took part - the Japan Philharmonic and the NHK (Radio) Symphony Orchestra - as well as other Japanese orchestral and choral associations.

As a result of this unprecedented conference and festival the awareness of certain urgent tasks for the future was impressed on most of those who were associated with, or attended, the discussion sessions and performances. These tasks may be summarized as follows:

1. The need for Westerners to promote the study and understanding of the traditional music of Asia.
2. The need to preserve and protect traditional Asian music in its uncorrupted forms; hence, the motion adopted at the end of the conference establishing a committee to study the possibility of creating an International Institute of Comparative Musical Studies. This Institute would serve as a centre for documentation and research by scholars interested in preserving and furthering national musical traditions
3. The necessity to bring about, and maintain, close contact among creative musicians from all over the world. The Tokyo Encounter was a notable step in that direction.

The interest shown by the press in the Encounter, as you will be able to see from the sampling of clippings reproduced on the next page, was most heartening for all those who wish to see the emergence of broad public support for the movement toward reciprocal musical understanding which was significantly advanced by the Tokyo meeting. The full texts of two of the newspaper articles on the Encounter are also attached.

Yours sincerely,



Irving Jaffe
Editor, Congress News Services.

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Christian Science Monitor
Boston, May 27, 1961.

East-West Encounter in Japan

by Eloise Cunningham

Tokyo.

The East-West Music Encounter held in Tokyo recently was probably the most momentous and certainly the most ambitious project in the field of music and dance ever undertaken in Japan.

Several hundred musicians and dancers from ten countries met in Tokyo for a period of three weeks. Their objective was "to promote mutual understanding and interchange between Eastern and Western music."

The music of East and West has developed along different lines; while Europeans have been concerned primarily with counterpoint and harmony, Eastern peoples have concentrated exclusively on rhythm and melody.

Consequently the drummers from India made those of the New York Philharmonic Symphony sound like beginners; and after listening to the chords and harmonies produced by the Philharmonic, an Indian musician confessed that it sounded to him like "noise."

To many others, however, the most exciting musical events of the Encounter were the performances of the New York Philharmonic. Their programs were composed largely of modern works including those of the American composers Harris, Copland, and Ives. Leonard Bernstein proved himself a musical diplomat by including a piece by Toshio Mayuzumi, a Japanese composer, and then turning his orchestra over to a talented young Japanese musician, Seiji Ozawa, to conduct the work. He also charmed the audience by speaking to it in understandable Japanese.

Other outstanding events from the West were the performance by the Royal Ballet with Margot Fonteyn, England's leading ballerina, in "Giselle", and concerts given by the Juilliard String Quartet and Isaac Stern, violinist. The Vocal Polyphonic Group from Italy sang Gregorian chants and contrapuntal works of the Renaissance with great clarity and beauty of tone, delighting the many Japanese choir members in the audience.

Modern music employing the advanced idioms of today by such composers as Messiaen, Boulez, and Stockhausen were presented by the Ensemble Européen, an international group of musicians from Paris.

The most ancient music and dances came from the East. The two Dagar Brothers from North India sang in the elegant and highly developed style which can be traced back to religious songs of the second century B.C.

The Japanese imperial court orchestra and dancers gave a special performance at the music hall of the palace. Their art was introduced at least 1,000 years ago from Korea, China, and India, at a time when the art music of Europe was still in infancy.

The most exotic events were the Kathakali dances performed by a group of young men and boys from a remote village on the southwest coast of India. They enacted stories taken from Hindu religious epics of the fifth century B.C., wearing bulky costumes of brilliant colors and tall, gold headdresses which made them appear enormous.

Their heavy, masklike make-up symbolized the type of character they portrayed: green for a noble role, red a passionate one, and black denoting an evil being.

One of the ancient tales they enacted rivaled in nobility and in primitive cruelty some of the stories in the Old Testament. It told of a king who tried to dissuade his son from his loyalty to the omnipresent Hindu god Vishnu. Pointing to a pillar he asked, "Is your God inside this too?" The son replied, "My God is everywhere." Then the king in anger broke the pillar, but suddenly Vishnu himself appeared in the terrible form of half man, half lion. He killed the atheistic king, blessed the son, and disappeared.

Some relationship could be seen between the Kathakali dances and those of the Khon dances performed by the Royal Thai group. Both used stylized gestures to interpret the same ancient Hindu stories. But the Thai dancers wore grotesque masks covering the entire head, and employed acrobatics in their movements. Chinese influence was evident in the instruments of the orchestra and in the music, the melodies sounding remarkably Chinese.

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The Japanese Noh plays, dance-dramas of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were in strong contrast to the dances of India and Thailand. The Noh was very slow and elegant and so restrained that the actor merely suggested an emotion. Deep grief, for instance, he indicated by slightly inclining his head and raising one hand toward his eyes.

The actor, who is always a man, wore a stylized mask covering his face and a costume of exquisite brocade. Assisted by a unison chorus of men, he sang the text in a style resembling the ancient chant of Buddhist priests and was accompanied by small drums and a flute.

"The Feathered Robe", a Noh play presented during the Encounter, told the story of the heavenly maiden from the moon who came to earth and lost her robe without which she was unable to return. A fisherman found her robe but refused to return it until after she had performed the sacred dances of heaven. Then regaining her feathered robe - in the words of the poem - "she soars away, and now is lost amid the mists of heaven."

Other events at the Encounter were traditional temple dances of South India, Kabuki plays of Japan, concerts by singers from Europe, and the Modern Jazz Quartet from the United States. A conference lasting one week was also held concurrently by 90 delegates from 22 countries, and papers were read on a wide variety of topics concerned with music of East and West.

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Translation from Le Monde
Paris, May 10, 1961.The East-West Music Encounter

by Claude Rostand

Tokyo.

In Tokyo, a conference and a festival of music brought together, under the title East-West Music Encounter, nearly a hundred composers, musicologists, and music critics from thirty Asian and Western nations, in addition to soloists, orchestras, and dance ensembles from the world over whose performances served to illustrate the positions taken and the problems raised in the course of the discussions.

This confrontation, probably unprecedented, both as to magnitude and significance, in the history of music, was organized by Mr. Nicolas Nabokov, with the collaboration of Mr. Katsujiro Bando and made possible by the support of the cultural exchange service of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Japanese and American private contributions and the governments of the various countries represented. The cost of an enterprise on such an exceptional scale was probably not far from a million dollars. It also should be mentioned that, with the exception of Yugoslavia which sent a very interesting delegation, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, although invited, refused to participate in the Festival. The absence of the Poles was particularly regretted since they would have certainly had much to say about these musical questions.

But, one might ask, what was the purpose of such a display? At a time when the aesthetics and the language of music are undergoing an evolution, and indeed, profound and violent upheavals; at a time when a new way of hearing is being called for, it is surely useful to take stock of all the ways of hearing, of all musical aesthetics, and of all techniques.

For this conference-festival was not devoted solely to the study of contemporary music, but to all music, to that of Stravinsky and Messiaen as much as to that of the Middle Ages and to the music dating back two thousand years which is still played today at the Imperial Japanese Court, and in Teheran, Bombay, or Bali. Nor was it simply a question of comparing techniques - even though certain comparisons did arise, notably between certain sound arrangements of the Japanese *no*, developed six centuries ago, and some recent serial works such as the "Marteau sans Maître" of Pierre Boulez. Above all, the purpose of the festival was to bring about a confrontation of musical sensibilities which, neither in time nor in space, are as far apart as one might think, so that the sources from which spring mankind's eternal need of music might be brought closer together.

From this point of view, the inaugural session gave us at the outset, in brief form, a sort of prefiguration of these ideas: the introductory speeches were framed by two concerts, one of "gagaku" played by the Imperial Court ensemble, and the other of the music for double brass ensembles written by Giovanni Gabrielli for the feast days of the basilica of Saint Mark in Venice. These two decorative and hieratic styles were not without a certain allure in the setting of the new Festival Hall, inaugurated on this occasion, which was designed by a Japanese architect obviously inspired by Le Corbusier.

For a week thereafter there followed a succession of papers, demonstrations and discussions, all designed to illuminate the differences and the points of contact existing between the musical notions of the East and the West.

Among the performances which constituted the festival proper, especially noteworthy were those given by the Royal Ballet of London, the Symphonic and Philharmonic Orchestra of Japan, the New York Philharmonic under Leonard Bernstein, the Coro Polifonico of the Italian Radio, the Juilliard Quartet, and the Modern Jazz Quartet, plus soloists such as Margot Fonteyn, Isaac Stern and Hermann Prey. But for those of us who came from the West, the greatest success went to the Indian, Japanese, and Thai ensembles which, whether in music or dance or theatre, illustrated, in incomparable fashion, the overwhelming musical wealth of these civilizations, a wealth already borrowed from by such Western composers as Debussy, Bartok and Messiaen and in which other Westerners might still find inspiration. But these musical treasures must be protected against the marked danger of invasion by the worst tendencies in Western music, which has already resulted in a sort of "music-hallization" of traditional art.

These brief remarks on the East-West Music Encounter in Tokyo are sufficient to show the absolutely unique interest of this enterprise produced with such success under the guidance of Nicolas Nabokov.

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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
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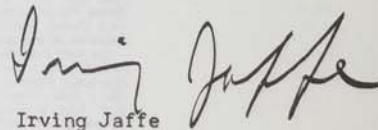
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July 17th, 1961.

Dear Friend,

We are sending you the enclosed article from the London "Observer" as a document of considerable human as well as political interest. In it you will find the letter which Oleg Lenchevsky, a devoted and highly respected Soviet technician, sent to Premier Khrushchev announcing his decision to seek political asylum in England. As Edward Crankshaw points out in his remarks prefacing the text of the letter, Mr. Lenchevsky, by virtue of his background, career and family circumstances, "is the last person, one would have said, to turn against his Government". Why Mr. Lenchevsky did take what he himself describes as his "acutely painful decision" is eloquently explained in his letter.

Yours sincerely,


Irving Jaffe

Editor, Congress News Services.

Note: Enclosed text not for publication without permission of the "Observer".

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THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 1961

One man's reasons for leaving Russia

'Tolerance the only way to
salvation for humanity'

By EDWARD CRANKSHAW

WHEN a citizen of this country, or any other country of what is called the Free World, becomes deeply dissatisfied with the way things are done, he emigrates. He takes his wife and family with him or he goes on ahead until he has built up a new life in a foreign country, then sends for them.

For Soviet citizens, for the citizens of all countries under Communist rule, there are no such simplicities. We know this, but we do not often feel it. Yet only by feeling it can we appreciate the immense gulf between our two systems.

During past years much has been written in this paper and elsewhere about the very great amelioration of life in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin. All this is true. But it should never blind us to the fundamental and absolute difference between the Soviet system and our own. One is closed, the other open.

We print to-day a letter written by a Soviet citizen who has lately sought sanctuary in the West—leaving behind a sick wife and two daughters. It brings home more than most things the reality of this difference.

Oleg Lenchevsky is the last person, one would have said, to turn against his Government. Serious, modest, unassuming, intensely patriotic and until now a member of the Communist Party, he is the very type of loyal Soviet citizen, his career entirely bound up with the welfare of his country.

Higher training

Born in 1915, he was the son of a Moscow doctor, who was killed four years later in the Civil War while working as a Red Army medical officer. To support her family, his mother went to work as a dentist at a lumber-camp. He was intelligent and gifted above the ordinary, by his own efforts achieved a good education, and in 1937 married a wife of impeccable antecedents, a seamstress, daughter of a poor peasant.

His higher training took him far away from politics and into the highly practical and utilitarian realm of the water-supply engineer. From purely practical work he graduated into scientific research, and while supporting his family he studied to such good effect that three years ago he was chosen to take part, as a member of the Soviet Governmental Delegation, in a Unesco project to study the irrigation of arid zones in Persia.

On April 6 of this year he came to Britain on a Unesco fellowship for special study in his own particular field—saline water conversion. Later he was to have visited France and the Netherlands. But after a month in England he decided that he could not go home.

Self-ostracism

He was not attracted to the bright lights of London. He has seen many things in Britain which he does not like, and which he thinks are done better in the Soviet Union. But there was one fact which overwhelmed him and made everything else of little account: in Britain there is still freedom of thought and speech. For a long time, as a dutiful Party member, he had found himself sickened by the necessity of suppressing the truth and conniving at lies, to conceal all doubts, all reservations about any aspect of the system, not only from colleagues and acquaintances, but also from those

closest to him. But he had never experienced anything else, and, when he came to this country, what had been merely oppressive suddenly became stifling and intolerable. He decided that he could not go back.

Knowing full well what he was doing, that he was leaving his wife and family in jeopardy, that he was sacrificing a good and useful and honourable career, that he was cutting himself off from the country and the people he passionately loved, he was nevertheless driven to take the plunge. On May 4 of this year he applied for asylum to the British Government. On May 26 it was granted. On May 26 he addressed his letter to Mr. Khrushchev, and sent it by registered post to the Soviet Embassy, together with certain material for his employers, to be forwarded to Moscow.

Barren meeting

The Soviet Embassy was worried. The British Foreign Office was asked if a meeting could be arranged between Mr. Lenchevsky and Soviet officials. The Foreign Office said it would ask Mr. Lenchevsky whether he would agree to such a meeting. Mr. Lenchevsky was willing.

The meeting took place in Whitehall in the presence of a senior Foreign Office official on June 7. On the Soviet side were Mr. Filimonov, Counsellor at the Embassy, and another official. The meeting opened genially, with handshakes all round; but it was barren. The Soviet officials were cool and correct in their attitude. Mr. Filimonov began by showing concern: what had Mr. Lenchevsky been doing? Everyone was worried: his wife in particular was worried.

Mr. Lenchevsky replied that his letter to the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Soldatov, covering his letter to Mr. Khrushchev explained everything. The Russians showed surprise: they had received no letter. Mr. Lenchevsky showed surprise: he produced the Post Office receipt, signed for Mr. Soldatov. He suggested he should read a copy of the letter to them. This was not well received, but he did so, through to the end.

Family warning

No attempt was made to argue about the letter. Instead, time and time again, the Russians urged Mr. Lenchevsky to think twice, to think about his family. Mr. Lenchevsky said he had thought about them, and his mind was made up. One of the officials brought up the old story of ingratitude: how could a true patriot on whom the State had

(Continued on Page 6, col. 6)

Why Lenchevsky left Russia

Letter to Mr. Khrushchev

(Continued from page 1)

spent so much in the way of education consider abandoning his country. What ingratitude!

They warned him again and again to think about his family. Mr. Lenchevsky might have said that in Western countries a man who decided to emigrate can send freely for his family and need have no qualms for their safety. But he did not. They parted, this time without handshakes, and that was that.

Is it all? The Soviet Embassy in London refused to forward Mr. Lenchevsky's letter to Mr. Khrushchev, saying that he had more than 10,000 letters a day and could not conceivably attend to them. Now we publish that letter, which speaks, modestly enough, without heroics and sensationalism, for itself. In his deep distress, Mr. Lenchevsky has not forgotten his obligations. He has tried to smooth the way for his successor. He is sending home the fruits of his professional labours. He proposes to send his family return tickets, if they are allowed to visit him, in case they decide not to stay. He is determined, as a good Russian, to do his country no harm.

'Irregularities'

Will all this have any effect? Will Mr. Lenchevsky's family be allowed to come to England—to stay or return as they decide? Is this so very much to ask?

Mr. Lenchevsky's letter to Mr. Khrushchev begins:—

London, May 4, 1961

"Profoundly respected Nikita Sergeevich!

"For the last month I have been living in England on a U.S.S.R.-Unesco fellowship. Here I have been able to acquire scientific and technical information relative to my speciality—saline water conversion—and also first-hand knowledge of the life of many people in this country.

"Many things I have seen have strengthened my conviction of the merits of socialism as a social system and made me realise keenly once again the significance of our Revolution for the progress of ordinary people.

"Other things, however, have forced me to the conclusion that there are a number of very fundamental irregularities in the home and foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under your leadership which I cannot bring myself to accept.

"I am unable any longer to continue to subscribe to the doctrine of a merciless and irreconcilable class and anti-religious struggle, carried to holocaustic lengths, which forms a foundation-stone of Communist teaching, both theoretical and political.

No alternative

"I am possessed by the conviction that every kind of intolerance towards any kind of person, be it even for the sake of the loftiest ideals, is nothing but a tremendous anachronism in our atomic and space age, which has come upon us so suddenly—an anachronism which can only be explained by the existence of a certain time-gap between human thinking and reality.

"I am profoundly convinced, Nikita Sergeevich, that only the greatest tolerance towards all heterodox individuals, including even those whose thought is hostile, is the only means of salvation for humanity from mass fratricide and degeneration—both physical and moral—and that no alternative exists in our age.

"As a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union I must follow the Party statute which calls for unanimous support for the moral-political course of the Central Committee without hesitation and without criticism. On the other hand, the same statute demands that every Party member should be absolutely honest and sincere before the Party.

"Being unable to combine both these requirements, and desirous of remaining really honest and sincere before my Party colleagues, as well as before you, I find myself compelled to leave the ranks of the Party.

My family

"Because the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are inseparable, my leaving the Party stipulates the necessity for me of abandoning my Motherland and asking the Government of the United Kingdom for political asylum, regardless of the gravity of this step for me.

"This acutely painful decision, which is nevertheless for me the only possible decision, I have now taken with a sense of complete responsibility and strictly as an individual.

"Nikita Sergeevich!

"In Moscow, in Flat No. 81, 36 Frunzenskaya Naberezhnaya, my family still lives. It consists of my wife, Valentina Petrovna, and my two daughters—Anne, aged 23, and Mary, aged 16. Both these I educated in the sense of uncon-

ditional support and approval of everything done by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the Soviet Government during all the time we lived together, up to the moment of our parting.

"I entreat you not to inflict any penalty upon them, even the least one, because they are absolutely innocent. My other relatives and acquaintances are also absolutely innocent in this connection.

"I entreat you also to allow my family to leave the Soviet Union for England, so that we may meet here and mutually discuss our future in a proper manner.

"While I am earning sufficient money to pay for their return tickets, I ask you to give the relevant Soviet authority the necessary instructions not to put any obstacles in the way of our correspondence or to prevent them receiving material aid quite indispensable to them: my wife is an invalid, following the loss of one of her kidneys; Mary suffers from rheumatoid-carditis, which makes it impossible for her to work and study simultaneously; while Anne, a laboratory assistant, brings home not more than 43 roubles per month.

Forgive me!

"The scientific and professional material acquired in this country is now being worked on by me, and, upon completion, a report will be sent home, supplemented by some literature additional to that contained in the parcel of books already sent.

"In a letter to the Unesco authorities in Paris I have requested them to grant the remaining two-thirds of my stipend to another Soviet candidate, in order that he may visit scientific research institutions in the Netherlands and France without delay.

"I wish to say, Nikita Sergeevich, that during all my future life and activity I shall never commit any action against the interest and well-being of my people. I have for you very great respect, as a person who sincerely loves our people and strives in such an energetic manner to achieve a better life for them, as well as for the populations of the rest of the world, but, alas, by the use of completely non-contemporary conceptions and methods, as it seems to me.

"I believe, Nikita Sergeevich, that in the course of time you will agree with me on many points!

"Forgive me!

"O. Lenchevsky."



Oleg Lenchevsky

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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN, PARIS-8^e FRANCE

NL/43

August 19th, 1961.

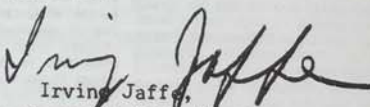
Dear Friend,

You will find attached two articles which, we believe, are of particular interest at the present moment of severe tension in Berlin.

The article by Goronwy Rees, reproduced from "The Sunday Times" of London, traces the origins of the four-power status of Berlin and also effectively highlights what the survival of West Berlin, over the years, has meant in terms of human freedom.

In the second article, the distinguished journalist Sebastian Haffner, for years the Berlin correspondent of the London "Observer", surveys the issues involved in the Berlin crisis following the blocking of the escape route to East German refugees. The interview with Mr. Haffner was conducted by "Forum Service", a Congress-affiliated feature service which publishes background and analytical articles on current cultural and political problems.

Yours sincerely,


Irving Jaffe,
Editor, Congress News Services.

Note: The article from "The Sunday Times" is not for publication without permission of that newspaper.

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THE SUNDAY TIMES AUGUST 13, 1961

Behind the wordy warfare about a German peace settlement lies one fundamental factor—the status of the Four-Power occupation of the German capital. How did it arise, this

Berlin 'Absurdity'?

By GORONWY REES,

who was on the staff of the Political Adviser (Lord Strang) to the British C.-in-C. in Germany in 1945.

TODAY it has become a commonplace to describe the status of Berlin as a kind of historical anachronism, which no rational person could reasonably wish to justify. Mr. Khrushchev's word for it is "an anomaly," and in using it he shows a good deal more self-restraint than some others. Mr. Emery Reves, for instance, writing recently in THE SUNDAY TIMES, says that "the arrangement made over Berlin is about the worst that can be imagined from the point of view of the Western Allied Powers. How it happened is still a mystery." According to Lord Boothby, the Western Allies "agreed to a zonal system in Germany, the authors of which, although apparently unknown, should be certified as insane, if they are still alive."

* * *

IT is part of the case against the "absurdity" of the Berlin settlement that somehow its origins are shrouded in mystery, the work of faceless and nameless individuals who can no longer be identified. In fact, nothing could be less mysterious. The origin of the proposal to make Berlin an *enclave* under Three Power (later Four Power), control within the Soviet zone of occupation is to be found in the Ministerial Committee set up by Mr. Churchill in 1943 to consider post-war problems. It was presided over by Mr. Attlee, and had Sir James Grigg and the late Mr. Ernest Bevin among its most active members; and it had the assistance of an official Post-Hostilities Planning Committee, which prepared detailed plans for its consideration. Among these was the plan for the Three-Power occupation of Germany, including the Three-Power occupation of Berlin.

The Committee's plan was submitted to, and accepted by, the State Department, and approved by the Foreign Ministers in Moscow in 1943. At that meeting, the Foreign Ministers also proposed the establishment of an inter-Allied body, the European Advisory Commission, whose task was to draw up plans for the post-war treatment of Germany and her allies. It held its first session in December, 1943, and consisted of Mr. Winant, the United States Ambassador in London, Mr. Gusev, the Soviet Ambassador, and Sir William (now Lord) Strang, of the British Foreign Office. Whatever one may think of these gentlemen it would seem capricious to describe them as either unknown or certifiably insane.

* * *

BETWEEN May and September, 1944, the Commission discussed the post-war occupation of Germany, and its members were able to agree, and to send to their Governments for approval, a plan which was substantially based on the proposals put forward by Mr. Attlee's Committee. The protocols drawn up by the European Advisory Commission were signed on September 12. The approval of the British Government was given on December 15. American approval was delayed until February 1, 1945; Soviet approval followed on February 6. Thus at the Yalta conference in February, 1945, it was only necessary for the Allied statesmen to confirm an agreement which was already in fact in force.

Thus, though inter-Allied relationships were changing significantly under the pressure of events, the Commission's proposals were accepted without serious modification, except that now they had to provide for a French zone of occupation and a French sector in Berlin. In principle and in structure they remained the same; and indeed what is most remarkable about the Allied plan for the occupation of Germany and Berlin is that it remained substantially unchanged from the time when it originated in Mr. Attlee's Committee to the moment when it was finally put into effect by General Order of the Commanders-in-Chief in Germany.

During that period the attitudes and policies of the Allied Powers to the post-war treatment of Germany, and to each other, had undergone many changes. Throughout all these shifts and changes the European Advisory Commission's proposals, as if they had a charmed life which protected them against all the vicissitudes of politics, maintained themselves as providing the only plan on which the Allies could agree. The reason is that the E.A.C. proposals met, as no other plan could, the conditions of the problem which faced the Allies. First, it allocated them zones of occupation which were roughly equal in size and population. Secondly, it prevented the capital of Germany from becoming an exclusively Soviet interest. Thirdly, the Soviet Union was willing to agree to it and to implement it. It

has been suggested that at Yalta the Allies, pressed by the urgent problems of completing the defeat of Germany, and the further problems of defeating Japan, accepted the Commission's proposals without due consideration, and thus offered Stalin the opportunity, which he eagerly seized, of exploiting them to his advantage. The truth is rather that the proposals, and the alternatives to them, had been so exhaustively considered (*ad nauseam*, as Lord Strang has said) that it seemed there was no other plan which would offer a basis for the continued collaboration of the Allied Powers.

Yet, so far as Berlin was concerned, the plan had what seems today to be an obvious and fatal weakness, in that it made no provision for freedom of access between Berlin and the Western zones of occupation, and today indeed this weakness may even seem to have sown the seeds of a future world war. It has been suggested that this again was the result of an inexcusable oversight on the part of the Commission or of the statesmen who approved its plan at Yalta.

* * *

In fact, Mr. Winant had raised the question with the State Department in 1944 and had been instructed not to press for guaranteed rights of access; and when the time came to apply the plan it was again decided that it would be a mistake for the Allies to ask for guarantees, on the ground, first, that this would imply a restriction on the general freedom of communications between the zones of occupation and Berlin, which was assumed in the plan, and secondly, that if the Russians intended to interfere with communications they would do so whether they had given guarantees or not. And in the event this proved to be true; the Russians did guarantee communications and they did interfere with them.

It quickly became apparent that the assumptions on which the E.A.C. plan was based were false, in particular the overriding assumption that Four-Power collaboration would continue in peace as it had in war. What is

remarkable is that the one feature of the settlement which has been most exposed to criticism, that is, the establishment of Berlin as an *enclave* under Four-Power control one hundred miles within the Soviet zone of occupation, is precisely the feature which has endured the longest. Fifteen years after the settlement, it is in Berlin, and only in Berlin, that the Four Powers preserve and exercise the rights which they acquired by the defeat of Germany, and it is these rights which Mr. Khrushchev now wishes to abrogate.

The survival, like some vestigial remains of a prehistoric era, of the post-war arrangements in Berlin has had one paradoxical effect which no one could have foreseen at the time, least of all the authors of the Berlin settlement; in this respect at least, they laboured better than they knew. For their survival has preserved an island of freedom behind the Iron Curtain in which over two million men and women continue to exercise their natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and it has also given to four million refugees from the German Democratic Republic the opportunity of recovering the same rights in West Germany.

Moreover, the survival of the Berlin settlement has given to the inhabitants of Berlin a further privilege which confers on them a unique status and a peculiar dignity in the circumstances of today. For each day and every day they exercise an effective choice between the values of Western civilisation and those which are represented, in their most degraded form, by the German Democratic Republic.

* * *

A settlement which, in the face of all probability, has for fifteen years conferred these benefits on over six million men and women behind the Iron Curtain is not one which can be lightly dismissed as an absurdity or an "anomaly"; or if it is, one might be inclined to think that this is the kind of absurdity of which we could do with a great deal more. If the status of Berlin is now to be modified by negotiation, the object of Western diplomacy must in fact be to preserve the "absurdity" of its position and to persuade Mr. Khrushchev that this one element in the situation is not negotiable, whatever else may be.

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1.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON BERLIN

Interview with Sebastian Haffner

Berlin

Q. Why is Mr. Khrushchev putting the pressure on Berlin just now? How does this fit into the pattern of post-Stalin Soviet foreign policy?

A. There is not, in my view, one pattern of post-Stalin Soviet foreign policy. There was a sharp break in 1957. During the four years of "collective leadership" and the succession crisis in Moscow, 1953-57, Soviet foreign policy was unaggressive. Since Mr. Khrushchev's achievement of total power, which coincided with the Soviet rocket successes, it has become aggressive again. Berlin is not the only example.

Mr. Khrushchev wants to make territorial conquests without war, like Hitler in 1938. Berlin seems to lend itself to such an attempt: it is geographically isolated and therefore hard to defend. It can be attacked by proxy, through the East German Government. The Western powers might be manoeuvred into the position of having to fire the first shot to break a blockade. Cornered, they might lack the nerve to act decisively. All this is tempting to a shrewd aggressor.

Alternatively, he may hope to use Berlin as a point of blackmail. If, in order to buy a reprieve in Berlin, the Western Powers agree to stop German rearmament and recognise German partition as is advocated by Mr. Walter Lippmann and the British left-wing press, they would destroy their alliance with Germany and lay the basis for a future super-Rapallo. In the first case, Khrushchev would conquer a European capital without having to fire a shot. In the second case he would, also without a shot, destroy Nato and reverse the alignment of the most important country in Europe. No wonder he is trying.

2. Q. Why is Ulbricht so anxious to press the Berlin question now?

A. Ulbricht would not need any reasons of his own, for he is in any case an instrument of Soviet policy. But in this case he has such reasons: the reduction and ultimate conquest of Berlin would redeem his political and economic failure at home and restore his prestige. Meanwhile, by sealing off his own East Berlin from West Berlin he is trying to at least close the escape hole for his population. Four million people - one quarter of the East German population - have left East Germany since 1945, over two and a half million of them since 1949, the year Herr Ulbricht's state was established. The outflow has never ceased and reached a new intensity just before the Berlin border was closed. Now that East Germany has extended its death zone of barbed wire and machine gun towers along the frontier with West Germany through Berlin as well, few refugees will be able to get through. Hitherto, most have escaped via Berlin. The never-ending population haemorrhage has made ultimate economic collapse in East Germany a certainty. In attacking Berlin Herr Ulbricht acts like a losing gambler who stakes everything on one desperate throw.

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Reasons for Backwardness

3. Q. Why has it been impossible over the last ten years - while West Germany has boomed and prospered - for the East German regime to establish viable conditions?

A. There are four different answers:

- (i) Soviet exploitation
- (ii) Wasteful planning
- (iii) Mismanagement
- (iv) Popular political discontent.

(i) Up to 1953, the Soviets extracted huge reparations from East Germany and maintained conditions of real misery (while West Germany received Marshall aid). Since 1954, official reparations have ceased, but even now the Soviet Union takes invisible reparations through imposing arbitrary and unfavourable terms of trade, which the Ulbricht Government accepts and conceals from its people.

(ii) East Germany planning aims, not at raising individual living standards (which have the lowest priority) but at creating an economic basis for permanent German division by duplicating West German heavy industries. It is even setting up a power basis of its own on the wildly uneconomical foundation of soft coal processing. Resources which could have given the East Germans a standard of living comparable to that of their West German compatriots are thus being squandered on economically buttressing the partition of Germany and the colonisation of its Eastern part by the Soviet Union.

(iii) The replacement of the old industrial owners and managers by a new and inexperienced class of Party-trained managers has lowered management standards. Purely political Party interference at every level prevents things from settling down. An example is the fast and brutal collectivisation of East German agriculture in 1960, which has set back agricultural production and resulted in serious food shortages this year.

(iv) The fact that the East German Government has never held free elections and is generally regarded as the instrument of a hostile foreign colonial power creates a general mood of depression and sullenness in East Germany which affects working morale at every level. It was also responsible for the constant population outflow and hence the increasing labour shortage. The resulting economic malaise in turn increases political discontent.

4. Q. Is a new uprising like that of June 17, 1953, likely to occur in East Germany? What form could discontent and opposition take?

A. In normal times a new uprising would seem unlikely, because the experiences of 1953, as well as the example of Hungary, deter it. It might be different in a situation of acute crisis, especially of threatening war. A despairing population asked to go to war on behalf of its own oppressors might not calculate chances. Forms of resistance to totalitarian or foreign rule are always unpredictable. So far flight has been the chief act of resistance. If Ulbricht should succeed in making flight impossible by closing the safety valve, as he has now done, the danger of more forcible forms of resistance developing in East Germany would obviously rise.

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3.

Unknown Factor

An unknowable factor is the East German army. It is not based on national service - clearly Ulbricht could not trust his people with arms - but even the present army of volunteers and semi-volunteers is not trusted by the Soviets. Its armaments are kept carefully inferior to those of the Soviet troops in East Germany. But even its inferior weapons might, in certain circumstances, suffice for a military coup.

5. Q. What is your opinion of the various recent plans for Berlin (e.g. a land corridor in return for recognition of East Germany, exchanging Berlin for Thuringia, stationing U.N. troops, or the U.N. itself, in Berlin)?

A. I have not yet seen any plan which would genuinely improve the present situation in Berlin. Most would demonstrably worsen it. Recognition of the present East Germany, i.e. of German division and East German colonisation, would undermine the alliance between Germany and the West: this would be too high a price for a land corridor to Berlin, desirable though this in itself would be. No German province is the equivalent of the capital city of Germany. The U.N., itself under attack by Soviet policy, has an uncertain future and cannot provide the physical security now guaranteed to Berlin by the sovereign presence of the three Western powers.

In my opinion there is no Berlin question but only a German question. The division of Germany certainly creates a dangerous tension, but in Berlin complete peace has reigned as long as the Soviet Union did not arbitrarily disturb it, as it did through the blockade, through Ulbricht's closing of the border, and through threats of using further unspecified means. While the division of Germany lasts - nobody who has witnessed the rapid recovery of German power can believe that it will last for ever - the present status and position of Berlin (with the border between the East and West halves reopened), though necessarily unsatisfactory, is the best possible one and should be maintained.

6. Q. What kind of compromise, if any, is conceivable?

A. I see only two conceivable compromises:

(i) The Soviets concede German reunification under a freely elected Government. The West concedes the release of this unified Germany from Nato. Germany concedes the renunciation of its former Eastern provinces.

(ii) The Soviets concede free elections in East Germany. The West concedes neutrality on the Austrian model. Germany concedes recognition of this second neutral German State.

I am not hopeful that either of these two conceivable compromises would at present be acceptable to any of the parties concerned. However, the world has lived with the unsettled German question for sixteen years now and can afford to go on living with it till time and circumstances produce their own solution.

7. Q. What does West Berlin represent to the East Germans? Has there been any change in basic attitudes since the blockade?

West Berlin has represented to the East Germans what the window in his cell represents to a prisoner, certainly no substitute for freedom, but enough to drive him to despair - or desperation - if

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it is to be walled up, as it has just been. There has been no change in this attitude. It is in general worth remarking that the East German opposition to the status of a Soviet colony has hardened, not weakened over the years. The new East German generation is more anti-communist than the middle-aged one which lived through Hitler and the war, and it is especially the young who have now been leaving East Germany.

8. Q. If Mr. Khrushchev did sign a peace treaty with East Germany in the coming months, what consequences do you foresee for Berlin? How serious is the danger of war over Berlin?

A. Berlin does not belong to East Germany, and obviously the Allied access rights through and over East Germany to Berlin cannot be affected by a still unpublished treaty. If Mr. Khrushchev is sufficiently convinced of Western firmness, I think it likely that he will quietly insert a clause preventing Ulbricht from interfering with Allied rights and thus causing trouble. Failing such a clause, I still foresee no immediate danger to German communications with Berlin. These are technically controlled by East German officials even now. They are not seriously disturbed, because if they were West Germany would break off interzonal trade. The East German economy still vitally depends on this trade. Recent moves to get independent of it could only take effect in several years' time, if then. Difficulties might arise in the matter of Allied Berlin traffic. This is free from controls and subject only to identification checks by Soviet officers. If East German officials replace the Soviet officers, the Allies can either accept them as "Soviet Agents" or fall back on a 'garrison airlift', a minor operation. If the East Germans should stop Allied land transport by force or shoot down Allies planes, these would be arbitrary acts of war, inviting a swift reaction. An incident of this kind would probably result in the de facto establishment of better and safer communications with Berlin than now exist. It might also quite possibly result in the overthrow of the Ulbricht regime from within. It would undoubtedly give the world some anxious and exciting days. I do not believe it would lead to war. Khrushchev knows as well as any Western statesman that world war is suicide.

Sebastian Haffner

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CCF NEWSLETTER

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN, PARIS-8^e FRANCE

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Paris, September 6th, 1961.

Dear Friend,

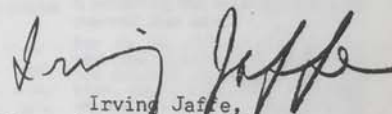
You will find enclosed a recent article reproduced from "The Times Literary Supplement" which gives a detailed appraisal of the work of Italian novelist Ignazio Silone.

We think this piece will be of interest to you - particularly the discussion of the manner in which Sr. Silone's novels, though rooted in the concrete realities of particular lives at given times and places, are nevertheless permeated by a continuing concern for basic moral issues whose significance has not been exhausted by the political problems of any one epoch.

In an interview with Kenneth Allsop to be published in a forthcoming issue of "Encounter", Sr. Silone himself, after mentioning his break with the Communist Party in the 1920's, said: "Now I consider myself to be a Socialist without a party and a Christian without a church. I still feel bound to the ethics and idealism of each but I can no longer have any part of what the State has made of Socialism and the Church has made of Christianity." He adds that, since Italy, though a Catholic country, has no Catholic novelist as such, he is "...one of the very few Italian writers, perhaps the only one, whose characters are preoccupied with moral and religious problems - the revolutionary in my books is the man who has turned to politics out of a religious need."

One of the founding members of the Congress, Sr. Silone is President of the Italian Association for Cultural Freedom and co-editor of the review "Tempo Presente".

Yours sincerely,



Irving Jaffe,
Editor, Congress News Services

Note: The article from "The Times Literary Supplement" is not for publication without the permission of that paper.

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THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT FRIDAY AUGUST 18 1961

MORALIST WITH A CAUSE

ASKED to name two living Italian novelists, the general reader in this country would very likely give Moravia as his popular and Silone as his more serious choice; thus very likely surprising his opposite number, the Italian general reader—at least with the name of Silone. For about Ignazio Silone Italians tend to feel rather as some of us do—or used to do—about Charles Morgan and the French: just what is all this foreign fuss about? And it is curious that we, of all people, so apolitical a nation, in the matter of political theory so ingenuous, untried and simply so uninterested, should for so long and in such numbers (*Fontamara*, after all, was one of the early and best-loved Penguins) have admired a writer political in his blood and bones, for whom politics and morality are, in the broadest sense, fused and indistinguishable; that is, can be discussed and judged only in the same terms. We have no one in this country who writes with his spirit now; no one who feels with his passion the struggles of twenty or thirty years back, not as dead battles but as moral attitudes that still apply. It is rather as if Orwell were still alive or Stephen Spender still wanted to be read for his political beliefs.

Signor Silone is often accused of dealing with what no longer matters or even exists: the *New Statesman*, on his latest novel, wrote of "the sadness of a writer deprived of his cause". But this is narrowing and particularizing a struggle that was never concerned exclusively with pre-war conditions. To Silone the fascist-antifascist struggle is one of attitude, a matter of morality, of the heart and soul; and these remain, even since the war dissolved official fascism. The search for honesty, truth, loyalty, and all the plain—above all, the *truthful*—virtues, is not, after all, confined to a decade or two. Because Signor Silone has made no effort to adapt himself to the resurgent postwar literary scene in Italy—one of great liveliness and technical innovation, in which a kind of cinematic or even snapshot realism is mainly cultivated—because his methods remain as they were, because in fact he is thoroughly unfashionable, he tends to seem dated in outlook as well, and people behave, so far as he is concerned, as if a cast of mind were just a matter of fashion, a laboriously built-up, lived-through, system of thought, something that could quite suddenly become invalid.

True, Signor Silone's great novels were his fighting ones; his most crucial and personal writing was done in the days of exile and danger. Nothing since the war has equalled *Fontamara* or *Bread and Wine*, which were part of the fight against a visible dragon, with all the vigour and glory which that implied. But his attitudes are not changed or

invalidated by the present world. While it stays sodden with evil, he has not lost his cause, because in the deepest and most humane sense he is a moralist, and every person, every action, every event, is judged morally. Not that the judgment is stated and explicit: it simply colours what happens. Signor Silone seldom lays down the law, even through the mouths of his characters, but what he says is unmistakable and its moral flavour, even when he deals with the simplest people, is accurate to the point of subtlety. He gives examples, almost parables, he illustrates and (though people seem to forget it nowadays) he laughs: as Mr. H. E. Bates wrote before the war, "Silone has rightly realized that one of the greatest weapons of the propagandist is ridicule". Because of his extreme personal integrity he is a kind of litmus paper: you can test things on him.

And, with his old weapon of irony, after the war and the official triumph of what he stood for Signor Silone was readier than anyone to point out the absurdity of political narrowness, to maintain the importance of things in themselves, of values without strings attached. In the ideological stampede of postwar Italy, when politics became a matter of everyday life and everyone was forced into intensified spiritual reappraisals or, at least, external changes of policy and expression, the oddest somersaults were turned in the name of a new morality. Signor Silone's morality, of course, is not new: just as his themes are not old-fashioned now. "You talk like that because you don't know any better", the carabinieri in *A Handful of Blackberries* tells a peasant who once gave a piece of bread to an enemy who, since then, has miraculously turned into an ally, thus turning the peasant into a hero. The peasant protests that it wasn't heroic, the man was just hungry, and "he too was a mother's son", that was all. "I tell you, things have been changing in the meantime", says the carabinieri, as if the status of motherhood and hunger has altered as well. "The way of deciding whether an action is good or evil has changed too." "What has changed?" says the bewildered peasant. "Good and evil?"

Good and evil: Signor Silone's contrasts are plain, but not simple, for no one of his characters is a personification of either. He is never abstract; his satire takes definite places and individual people, recognizable historical events, particular occasions. Prince Torlonia in person, named, and ridiculed for an inflated pedigree, is a recurrent villain, the ogre from his own childhood. References to Mussolini are so thinly veiled that we see him physically, chin, girth and all, while the crowd chants "Chay-doo, Chay-doo"—a simple reversal of syllables

that just serves to show the idiocy of such outbursts of hysterical enthusiasm.

Often one finds scraps of autobiography in his fiction, incidents fascinating in their importance to him, memories like those of the earthquake that destroyed most of his family; so that his novels seem almost extended autobiography, a single panoramic view of his life and progress. Everything is personal and solid; there is nothing Kafkaesque about him, little symbolism, no generalized problems or hypothetical tyrannies; none of Pavese's obliqueness in commenting on his world; and this is what makes him, among so much else, an outstandingly useful social historian. One of the peasant narrators of *Fontamara*, for instance, talks of the men who suddenly swoop on the village, and they are no sinister, unidentifiable villains:

We knew these men in black shirts [he says]. They had come at night, otherwise they wouldn't have had the pluck. Most of them stank of wine, and if you looked them in the eyes they didn't like it, but looked away. They were poor folk, too, but a special kind of poor folk: landless, not brought up to any trade, or knowing too many trades, which is the same thing. They were the type that dislike hard work, and live from one week to the next, from hand to mouth, always having to find new dodges to earn their daily bread. Too weak and servile to rebel against the authorities and the rich, they preferred cringing to them in return for the privilege of robbing and oppressing other poor folk. . . . They have always been at the disposal of anyone who gives orders, and they always will be. But recruiting them into a special army, giving them a special uniform and special arms, is something new and peculiar to the last few years. Such are the so-called Fascists:

to Signor Silone, named and known enemies, analysed and recognizable.

About people and events he contrives to seem extraordinarily right and intuitive, rather as some people do in relation to those immediately around them, because he is quite undeflected by abstractions, and keeps an unusually sound balance between theory and theorizing. Theory matters, of course, rather in the way that health matters to an athlete. It is something that must constantly be renewed, kept alive.

For me [he says] writing has not been, and never could be, except in a few favoured moments of grace, a serene aesthetic enjoyment, but rather the painful and lonely continuation of a struggle. As for the difficulties and imperfections of self-expression with which I sometimes have to wrestle, they arise, not from lack of observation of the rules of good writing, but rather from a conscience which, while struggling to heal certain hidden and perhaps incurable wounds, continues obstinately to demand that its integrity be respected. For to be sincere is obviously not enough, if one wants to be truthful.

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The Fox and the Camellias, Signor Silone's latest novel to appear in English, is very characteristic of him in spite of a few innovations. Characteristically it is political, and the politics are all bound up with family life, affections and loyalties. A man's politics, it shows, are to be found not so much in what he says as in the sort of man he is. Is he the sort of man to trust? Is he, above all, "honest"?—that generalized word that to this writer means so much, so much more than just truthful, or even than just well-meaning or sincere. If you knock his soul with misfortune, will it ring true? All this is implied in Signor Silone's characteristically plain style which has the kind of functional qualities we appreciate in this country rather more than his own countrymen do. It has the satisfactory combination of theory and action that he has always shown: that is, it deals with people who work hard with their hands, but look outside their daily round as well. There is no division, in fact, between politics and daily life, just as there are no professional intellectuals, no inactive theorists. One has a feeling of the earth, of a house that is lived in, jobs that are done, a community; short though the book is, and with little direct description, one is involved in its physical atmosphere. It has Signor Silone's tremendous tough irony, and his dry charm.

The innovations, by comparison, are few. It is set in Switzerland, while the rest of Signor Silone's novels are set in the Abruzzi, and its hero, though a farmer, is a fairly prosperous landowner, not one of the peasant *cafoni* he usually deals with. It is short and spare, where he used to be diffuse, and it uses a good deal of direct symbolism in the imagery of the fox who steals from the hen-coop, and the fascist spy who steals the daughter's love, the father's secrets, and the whole family's peace of mind. In spite of its brevity, and the simple construction that makes it almost a long-short story, it is in a direct line with the early, most explicitly political novels; and like them it humanizes politics by seeing them in directly human terms.

IGNAZIO SILONE: *The Fox and the Camellias*. Translated by Eric Mosbacher. 160pp. Cape. 13s. 6d.

Yes, Signor Silone's themes are the same as they were thirty years ago, when he wrote what was the most exact satire on the dictatorships of the day, *Fontamara*. Because now, as they were then, they are still the main themes of human life—man's destiny, man's self-respect and dignity, his feelings for others, his aspirations—always expressed in the plainest and least pretentious characters, in the plainest and least pretentious form: modestly, undidactically. "Can any man possess the truth?" Pietro asks in *The Seed Beneath the Snow*.

We may claim to own a vineyard, a house or a suit of clothes, but who can say: I possess the truth; it belongs to me? Yes, priests claim its possession, I know, and since they consider themselves its legal owners they feel themselves empowered, by Roman law, to put it up for sale and dispose of it as they will. But I think, Faustina, that truth is still beyond our grasp; we can't see the wood for the trees. And yet truth may possess me. What is sure is that I love truth and whenever a tiny segment of it is revealed to me I try to cherish and serve it, although I'm not always successful.

The reality behind appearances: this has always been Signor Silone's goal, but he has pursued it with few of the external aids of realism. His writing can be vivid enough, but by present Italian standards it is formal. His dialogues are often longwinded, he has no tape-recorder aptitude for catching talk in all its confusion and freshness; nor is he particularly "frank". And in all the long compromise that is the spiritual history of postwar Italy, in the gradual disillusion and now, in the sort of retrospective embarrassment which so many feel at yesterday's lost enthusiasms, he has not lost a shred of his integrity.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, his own countrymen underrate him: or so it appears to outsiders. For to them he came into being only at the end of the war, his best work, at the time of its greatest impact, being banned while he lived in Swiss exile. The reasons for his comparative lack of appreciation at home are complex, some obvious, some obscure. Obviously he returned to Italy—that is, he began existing there at all—at what was, from the point of view of prestige, exactly the wrong moment, artistically and psychologically. After two decades of suppression people were ready for every sort of artistic outburst, and among the literary fireworks Signor Silone's plainness

seemed flat, and even his previous triumphs disappointingly dated. In the world of ideas he appeared repetitive, living on the past: the mood of the Liberation was not, emphatically not, the mood of *Bread and Wine*. And at the fall of a dictatorship returning exiles are not, however much they may deserve to be, the best-loved members of the community. Many Italian exiles returned expecting to find a simple welcome and a single national mood of remorse and shame for what had happened: instead they found an extraordinary tangled mixture of attitudes, thorny, truculent, apologetic, high-spirited, hopeful, and always with the feeling that far too much had been experienced in the immediate past for any exile to understand it. Perhaps it is only now that Signor Silone begins to "belong", not just in the Italian literary scene but in Italy at all.

Quite apart from exile, though, he is too untypical ever to appeal widely in Italy—except perhaps years ahead, as a safe dead classic. A countryman in an urban nation—urbanized in spirit, even if not everywhere in fact; a passionate seeker for truth in a nation where lying is the most venial sin of all, and a kind of spiritual *trompe l'oeil* is a necessary part of one's social equipment; a man who has always been right in a nation where almost everyone was wrong for twenty years, or conformed in wrongdoing—the discrepancies are endless. Of course, Signor Silone himself has, like so many, pointed out the discrepancy between the outer and the inner Italian.

There is a sadness [one of his characters says], a subtle sadness that's not to be mistaken for the more ordinary kind that is the result of remorse, disillusionment or suffering; there is an intimate sadness which comes to chosen souls simply from the consciousness of man's fate. . . . This sort of sadness has always prevailed among intelligent Italians, but most of them, to evade suicide or madness, have taken to every known means of escape: they feign exaggerated gaiety, awkwardness, a passion for women, for food, for their country, and, above all, for fine-sounding words; they become, as chance may have it, policemen, monks, terrorists, war heroes. I think, Maria Vincenza, that there has never been a race of men so fundamentally desolate and desperate as these gay Italians.

Fine-sounding words are what Signor Silone diagnoses as the main Italian escape-hatch. Himself, he has none; no big words, no escape-hatches, above all no wish to escape.

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American Seminar of the

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

865 West End Avenue, New York 25, New York

AC 2-2501

September 14, 1961

Dear Friend:

Two weeks ago Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin wrote to Denis de Rougemont, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, urging that the Congress bring to the attention of world opinion the gravity with which its members regard the violation of the right of people "to leave a State where there is no freedom and where they do not wish to live."

The Congress sent an immediate reply, signed by members of its International Advisory Council. The signers were:

Raymond Aron (France)	J. Robert Oppenheimer (U.S.)
Jorge Luis Borges (Argentina)	Michael Polanyi (Britain)
Victor Raul Haya de la Torre	Eugene V. Rostow (U.S.)
(Peru)	Denis de Rougemont (Switzer.)
Sidney Hook (U.S.A.)	Luis-Alberto Sanchez (Peru)
Frode Jakobsen, M.P. (Denmark)	Eduardo Santos (Colombia)
W. Arthur Lewis (West Indies)	Yoshihiko Seki (Japan)
Salvador de Madariaga (Spain)	Hugh Seton-Watson (Britain)
Raul Manglapus (Philippines)	Edward Shils (U.S.)
Mino Masani, M.P. (India)	Ignazio Silone (Italy)
Maung Maung (Burma)	Stephen Spender (Britain)
Asoka Mehta, M.P. (India)	Manos Sperber (France)
Ezekiel Mphahlele (Nigeria)	Michio Takeyama (Japan)
Jayaprakash Narayan (India)	Erico Verissimo (Brazil)
Davidson Nicol (Sierra Leone)	A. K. Brohi (Pakistan)
Victoria Ocampo (Argentina)	

The Congress now feels that other individuals sympathetic to its aims would wish to add their signatures for forwarding to Mayor Brandt. The statement sent by the Congress is enclosed. If you would like to add your name, please sign and return the enclosed card.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanne Wacker
 Jeanne Wacker
 Executive Director

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SIGNATURES IN SUPPORT OF STATEMENT

(to be forwarded to Mayor Willy Brandt)

Even in a world which has become hardened to the spectacle of inhumanity, the news and pictures from Berlin have shocked men and women everywhere. Oppression and discontent exist on many continents, and the tragedy of exile is a fate suffered by many peoples and races. Yet the events on the frontiers of your city profoundly trouble the conscience of the world. It is one thing for a social order to force its citizens by the millions to seek asylum elsewhere. It is still more reprehensible to cut off their escape by means of walls and barbed wire across city streets, to threaten them at the point of bayonets, to shoot at them in flight as if they were runaway slaves.

This is not a matter of politics or ideology or of social philosophy. It is a matter of the most elementary respect for a human right which all the nations of the civilized world are on record as having recognized. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, states this right unequivocally in Clause 13, para. 2 : "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own...."

We know with what emotion you and your fellow-Berliners have, over the years, watched so many of your countrymen abandon their homes their livelihoods and, often, their families, in the East, in order to establish a new and more humane existence elsewhere. You have often explained to us how mixed the motives have been. The refugees have not always been running from persecution and hunger; sometimes the motivation was a mixture of fear and hope and confusion. But this fact surely demonstrates that what is involved is a human right, transcending all narrowly political and economic considerations. Human beings, no less than nations, have a right to self-determination. Men and women want a share in determining where and how they should work, and what they may believe; how their children should be brought up and what their lives should be like; and who their rulers and public representatives shall be. We shall not cease to insist that the pretensions of all governments and all powers be measured against this right of all human beings to a life of freedom and dignity.

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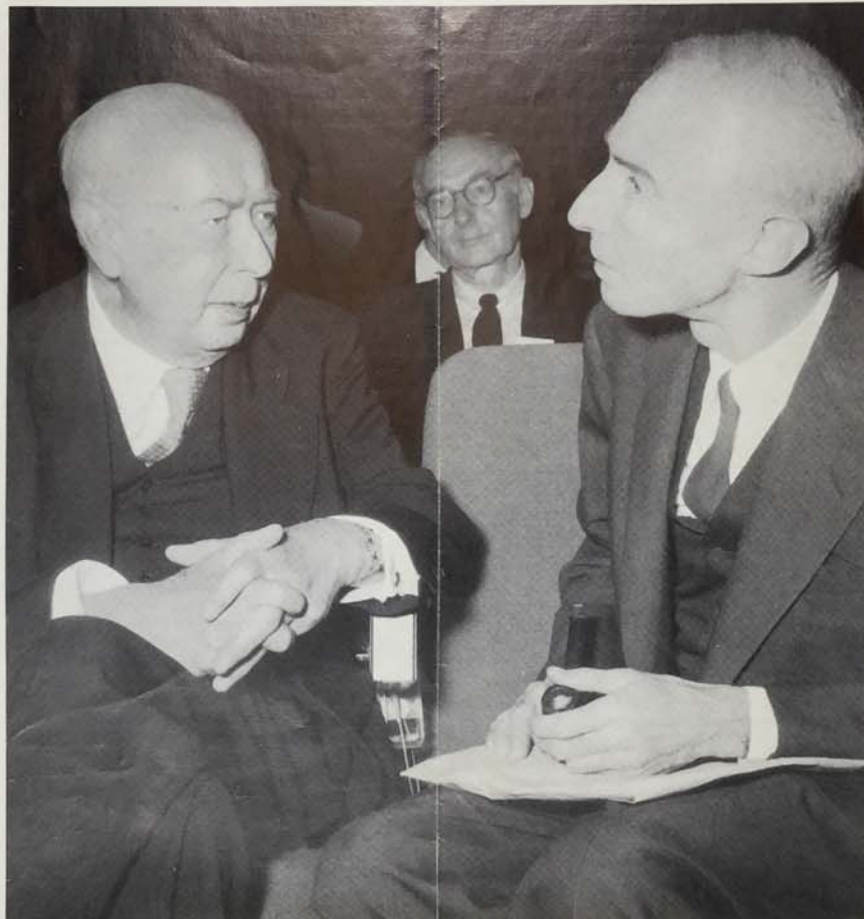
News

JUNE-JULY

FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

1961

In der Berliner Kongreßhalle fand in der Zeit vom 16. bis zum 22. Juni 1960 der „Kongreß für kulturelle Freiheit“ statt. Auf dieser Tagung, die den Charakter eines zehnjährigen Jubiläums trug, trafen sich Teilnehmer aus allen Teilen der freien Welt, vornehmlich intellektuelle, Schriftsteller, Maler und Musiker, Politiker, Philosophen und Physiker, Historiker, Psychologen und Soziologen. Das generelle Thema dieses Kongresses hieß: „Fortschritt im Zeichen der Freiheit“. In einzelnen Gruppen wurde, neben anderem, über „politischen Fortschritt“, über Autorität und Demokratie, über Nationalismus und Kosmopolitismus diskutiert, dann über „sozialen Fortschritt“, über Tradition und die moderne Massengesellschaft, über den „Fortschritt in den Künsten“, über Maler, Publikum und Kunsthandel, Probleme des modernen Theaters und die Musik in der modernen Gesellschaft und über den „Fortschritt der Ideen“, über Jenseits des Nihilismus und über die Macht der Religionen im Kampf um die Freiheit. Neben der Kritik an den totalitären Systemen stand als heftigstes Element westliche Selbstkritik. Kern der Gespräche war immer wieder der Grundsatz, daß geistige Freiheit erlischt, wo politische und wirtschaftliche Freiheit nicht gegeben sind. Vertreter dieser These waren auch Altbundespräsident Professor Theodor Heuss (links) und der weltbekannte Atomphysiker Oppenheimer (rechts).



FROM THE WEST: Leonard Bernstein Conducting New York Philharmonic

others.

Traditional Dancers, Musicians

Asian performers included traditional dancers and musicians from India, Thailand, Japan and other countries. A number of Japanese choral and orchestral groups—including the Japan Philharmonic and the NHK (Radio) Symphony—also took part in the festival.

One of the conclusions which emerged most strongly from the Encounter was that of the need to help preserve the music of traditional Asian cultures from corruption as the result of invasion by

both Eastern and Western music have reached a high degree of development simultaneously". This choice was particularly felicitous in that Tokyo's magnificent new Festival Hall had just been completed and was able to accommodate the Music Encounter as its inaugural event.

The Encounter was organised by composer Nicolas Nabokov, who is the Secretary General of the Congress, with the collaboration of Mr. Katsujiro Bando, of the Japanese Society for International Cultural Exchange, and Ian Hunter, the British musical impresario, who coordinated the Western program.

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1961

Asia and West Meet in Unique Music Encounter in Tokyo

Cultural cooperation between Asia and the West in the field of music was significantly advanced by a unique confrontation of different musical traditions which took place in Tokyo from April 17 to May 6.

The East-West Music Encounter—sponsored by the Congress, the Japanese Society for International Cultural Exchange and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government—was, in the words of the French daily *Le Monde*, "probably unprecedented, both as to magnitude and significance, in the history of music".

The singularity of the event lay in its bringing together nearly 100 leading musicologists and composers from 22 countries to discuss the musical traditions of Orient and Occident and, at the same time, outstanding soloists and ensembles from ten countries to perform works belonging to the highly divergent musical cultures under study.

To mention only a few of the participants in the discussions, there were composers Virgil Thomson of the U.S., Boris Blacher



FROM THE WEST: Leonard Bernstein Conducting New York Philharmonic

of Germany, Dragutin Gostuski of Yugoslavia, Vanraj Bhatia of India and Sadao Bekku of Japan, while the musicologists included Alain Daniélou of France, H. H. Stuckenschmidt of Germany, Kapila Vatsyayan of India and many others.

« Eternal Need of Music »

The radical differences between the musical notions of the various traditions were, of course, carefully examined by the scholars and composers who took part in these talks. But beyond these differences, as one participant noted, "the purpose of the festival was to bring about a confrontation of musical sensibilities which, neither in time nor in space, are as far apart as one might think, so that the sources from which spring mankind's eternal need of music might be brought closer together".

On hand to provide concrete illustration of the music of the West, both old and new, were such soloists as violinist Isaac Stern and singer Hermann Prey and a wide variety of ensembles including the British Royal Ballet, featuring Margot Fonteyn and Beryl Gray, the New York Philharmonic, conducted by Leonard Bernstein, the Modern Jazz Quartet, the Gruppo Polifonico Vocale of the Italian Radio, the Ensemble Européen de Musique de Chambre, the Juilliard String Quartet and many others.

Traditional Dancers, Musicians

Asian performers included traditional dancers and musicians from India, Thailand, Japan and other countries. A number of Japanese choral and orchestral groups—including the Japan Philharmonic and the NHK (Radio) Symphony—also took part in the festival.

One of the conclusions which emerged most strongly from the Encounter was that of the need to help preserve the music of traditional Asian cultures from corruption as the result of invasion by



FROM ASIA: Thai Dancers

the worst forms of Western music. With this in mind, the conference adopted a resolution setting up a committee to study the possibility of creating an Institute of Comparative Musical Studies, which would provide documentation and research facilities for scholars intent upon preserving and furthering national musical traditions.

And, more generally, it was felt by those who took part in the Encounter that the Tokyo meeting should be followed up by similar confrontations so as to enable creative musicians from all over the world to maintain close contact.

The choice of Tokyo as the site of the Encounter was determined by the fact that, as the organisers expressed it, "Japan is the only country in the world where both Eastern and Western music have reached a high degree of development simultaneously". This choice was particularly felicitous in that Tokyo's magnificent new Festival Hall had just been completed and was able to accommodate the Music Encounter as its inaugural event.

The Encounter was organised by composer Nicolas Nabokov, who is the Secretary General of the Congress, with the collaboration of Mr. Katsujiro Bando, of the Japanese Society for International Cultural Exchange, and Ian Hunter, the British musical impresario, who coordinated the Western program.

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Among the Press Comments on the Music Encounter

We had occasional insights, sometimes superficial, sometimes profound, into the workshop of those who are strangers to us, and even into their souls. At these moments, understanding flashed like light.

What separates us has become, relatively speaking, less important than what brings us closer together. It appears certain that a great undertaking has commenced, one which unites mankind. The aspirations of the pioneers in comparative musicology like Curt Sachs and Erich Moritz von Hornbostel—who had to fight against the mockery of their colleagues in Berlin—these aspirations still exist and are now calling forth new efforts on an even wider scale.

H.H. Stuckenschmidt,
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

The East-West Music Encounter held in Tokyo recently was probably the most momentous and certainly the most ambitious project in the field of music and dance ever undertaken in Japan.

Elaine Cunningham,
The Christian Science Monitor, Boston.

Tokyo has rarely seen anything to equal it, this group of Indian dancers and musicians who participated in the East-West Music Encounter... a breath-taking, fantastic evening, an evening of matchless artistry, of devotion to a tradition, the

Intellectuals Meet In Madrid

A number of leading intellectuals of Europe and America recently met in Madrid, under the auspices of the Spanish Association for European Cooperation, to discuss social and economic problems of Europe today, particularly as seen from Spain.

Several friends of the Congress took part in the discussions; they included Jean Bloch-Michel, Altiero Spinello and Edgar Morin.

J. L. Aranguren, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Madrid, chaired the three day-long debates.

Among the Spanish participants were Pedro Lain Entralgo of the Spanish Academy, former Rector of the University of Madrid, Julian Marías, Lorenzo Gomis, José Luis Cano, Dionisio Ridruejo and Tierno Galván.

Also attending were the noted French journalist Georges Siffert, Prof. Frits Stern of Columbia University and Prof. David Landes of the University of California.

results of which are too little known and too rarely seen by either Western or Westernised audiences.

Stuart Griffin,
Mainichi Daily News, Tokyo.

Let us say at the outset that we left the conference without having come to "understand" the music of Japan, India and the other Oriental peoples. Such was not, in any case, the aim of the Encounter. But we did acquire the conviction that there exists an extremely ancient, an enormous musical universe which is unrelated to our own musical history... We came to understand, at least, the reasons which make Oriental music seem incommunicable to us—and we attained this understanding thanks to the explanations of specialists such as Alain Daniélou, the French musicologist who has devoted his life to studying Asian music and particularly the music of India.

Massimo Mila,
L'Espresso, Rome.

The object of the festival is to illustrate as far as possible the subject-matter of the conference, and it was therefore of special interest to see later in the same hall a fine group of Indian and Siamese dancers. The Indians, in a program chosen by Kapila Vatsyayan, gave outstanding performances of the southern Indian style of dancing performed by the great exponent of Bharatnatyam, T. Balasaraswati, and of the equally southern style of male dancing, Kattakali, by the distinguished troupe of Kerala under the leadership of T.T. Raman Kalyan.

Siam was represented by the Dancers of the Imperial Court, who performed a story from the Ramayana to the accompaniment of a Siamese gamelan orchestra with great brilliance.

The Times, London.

Both the discussions and the musical performances at the festival maintained a high level of quality. The audiences at the performances were invariably as interested and enthusiastic as they were large. The capacity of the public to appreciate, and its sensitivity to the music of our time, were revelations for the Western visitors who had the privilege of enjoying the traditional courtesy and hospitality of Japan.

Enzo Valenti Ferro,
Buenos Aires Musical.

A confrontation, probably unprecedented, both as to magnitude and significance, in the history of music... But, one might ask, what was the purpose of such a display? At a time when the esthetics and the language of music are undergoing an evolution, and indeed, profound and violent upheavals; at a time when a new way of hearing is being called for, it is surely useful to take stock of all the ways of hearing, of all musical esthetics, and of all techniques.

Claude Rostand,
Le Monde, Paris.

The New York Philharmonic gave the audience a magnificent presentation of its performance, worthy of the world's top-ranking orchestra.

Motoo Otaguro,
Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo.

Mochtar Lubis Released



Mochtar Lubis, friend of the Congress and well-known Indonesian editor, was recently released after four years and four months of house arrest in Djakarta.

Detained in December 1956 without official explanation and without trial, Mr. Lubis was editor of the Djakarta daily *Indonesia Raya*, which had launched a campaign of criticism against corruption and mismanagement in government. The paper itself was banned two years later.

Following a brief visit to Europe after his release, Mr. Lubis has returned to Indonesia to resume his writing and book-publishing activities. The author of two published novels dealing with the Indonesian independence fight, Mr. Lubis expects to have a third novel come out in the autumn.

NEWS IN BRIEF

● Jacques Maritain, an Honorary President of the Congress, has received this year's Grand Prize for Literature awarded by the Académie Française. The prize was given in recognition of M. Maritain's work as a whole.

● Mercer Cook, who directed the Congress African Program, has been appointed American Ambassador to the Niger Republic.

● A new Arabic-language Forum Service, called "Adwa", has been established on a regular weekly basis and sends background and analytical articles on cultural and political questions to papers throughout the Arab world as well as to Arabic publications in the Americas.

● The Pakistan Committee has published a small volume entitled *Islam in the Soviet Union* by Walter Kolarz. The brochure, a chapter in a forthcoming book by Mr. Kolarz, examines Soviet policy with regard to Islam and the Moslem minorities in the U.S.S.R. since 1917... The Argentine Association has published, in its "Freedom Library", a discussion by French writer Louis de Villefosse on The Intellectual Left in France Between the Two Revolutions of the Twentieth Century.

● K.A. Jelenaki, of the Congress Secretariat, is the editor of an anthology of articles, poems and fiction which appeared in *Po Prostu*, the Polish student newspaper which was such an important vehicle for revisionist opinion at the time of the "Little October" revolution of 1956.

● The Malayan poet T. Wignesan has been travelling under Congress auspices in Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia to collect material for what will be the first anthology of Malayan poetry.



Camus Exhibition Among Events at French Cercles Culturels

The above picture was taken at an exhibition sponsored by the Cercle Culturel in Lyons (and later viewed in Grenoble and St. Etienne) showing photographs, books and manuscripts which illustrate the life and work of Albert Camus. Jean Negroni, of the French Théâtre National Populaire and a former pupil of Camus, spoke a few words in memory of the great French writer. (The quotation from Camus shown in the photo reads: "To know tenderness... and be obliged one day to remember it.")

Also in Lyons, the young film producer Raymond Bellour, together with a number of local personalities, engaged in a lively debate before an overflow audience on the films of the Spanish surrealist Luis Bunuel, who lives in exile in Mexico; and Michel Mohrt, of the Gallimard publishing house, lectured on the great changes in the publishing business since 1930, owing largely to increased contact among publishers and the rise of the literary agent.

In both Lyons and Grenoble, *Preuves* co-editor François Bondy discussed the Eichmann trial, which he attended as a correspondent for the Swiss radio, and also in Grenoble Edouard Sablier, Middle East correspondent for *Le Monde*, analysed the situation in Cyprus two years after independence. Meanwhile, in St. Etienne, Michel Soulié, former Minister of Information, spoke on the great French historian Marc Bloch, who died at the hands of the Nazis, and literary critic Alain Bosquet discussed the avant-garde novel in France since 1945.

"Mardi" Topics: European Unity, France, Rumania

Three discussions of exceptional interest wound up this season's "Mardis de Preuves" meetings in Paris.

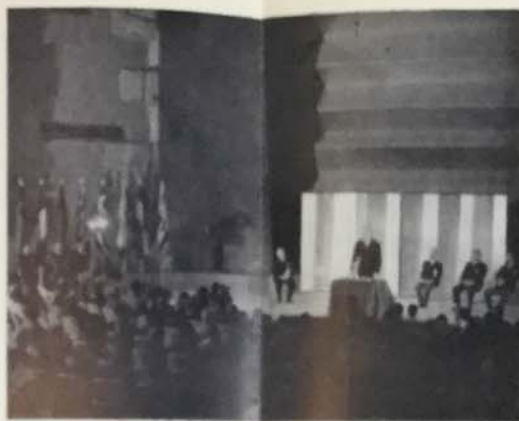
A debate on the future of the Common Market was opened by Maurice Faure, a former Minister who had been France's chief negotiator on European integration. Other participants included André Thiéry of the Economic Affairs Ministry, Pierre Uri, who contributed significantly to the development of the Common Market, and two men currently associated with the European Economic Community, Jacques Mallet and François Fontaine.

Two weeks later, Prof. Georges Vedel, one of France's leading authorities on constitutional law, led off a debate on whether a Presidential system of government, patterned on the American model but with suitable modifications taking account of French conditions, was "the last chance for democracy in France". Prof. Vedel,

supported by Paul Coste-Floret, a former Minister who had participated in the drafting of the constitution of the Fourth Republic, contended that Presidential government was the best available method for achieving stable and efficient government as well as ensuring a maximum of popular participation in public affairs. The noted political philosopher Bertrand de Jouvenel felt, however, that French conditions, notably the absence of a vital political life at the local levels, militated against the chances for successful operation of Presidential government.

The "Mardi" season ended with a discussion of Rumania today by two well-known writers in exile, Petru Dumitriu and Virgil Ierunca. Mr. Dimitriu, Rumania's leading novelist, unable to reconcile the demands of the regime with his conscience as an artist, left Rumania last year; subsequently, the members of his family in Rumania have been arrested.

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GLIMPSES OF THE EAST-WEST MUSIC ENCOUNTER IN TOKYO

PICTURED AT TOP CENTRE is *Nikolai Nabokov* opening the Music Encounter. To the stage at left is *Shiroshi Sumiki*, the *Vice-Governor of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government* who was also *Vice-President of the Committee for the Encounter*. At the right are, from left to right, the *Chairman of the Japanese Music Union* and the *Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs*.



AT LEFT. Upper photo, *Margot Fonteyn* of the *British Royal Ballet*. Centre, the *orchestra of Japanese Imperial Household* playing *Gagaku* music at the opening session. Below, the *Ensemble Européen de Musique de Chambre*, directed by *Bruno Maderna*.

AT RIGHT. At the top, the famous *Indian Sarod player*, *Ali Akbar Khan*, and his accompanists. Centre, the *Modern Jazz Quartet*. Below, the *Indian Kuttakali dancers from Kerala*.



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Congress Portrait

Salvador de Madariaga



"On the threshold of the tribute we are paying to-day to a man we admire and love, I would like to inscribe a statement which will, I know, strike a chord in many of those assembled here and which, in any case, sums up rather proudly the destiny and vocation of our friend Salvador de Madariaga. It was Nietzsche who, eighty years ago, offered this statement to the free spirit: 'Thou shalt choose exile so as to be able to speak the truth. No doubt it is not certain that one always chooses to go into exile. But one certainly chooses to remain in exile and to live in it, and in order to accept so harsh a course no thing less than love of truth and freedom is required.'"

Nothing can define Salvador de Madariaga more aptly than these noble words which were spoken by Albert Camus in 1956 on the occasion of a public tribute paid to the eminent Spanish writer. Madariaga was born on July 23, 1888, in La Coruna (Galicia). He manifested his international personality at a very early age, in 1900, when he entered Chapin College in Paris. Six years later he enrolled at the National School of Mines and the illustrious Polytechnic Institute of Paris.

In 1911, after taking his degree in engineering, he was appointed to an important post in a Spanish railway company. However, in 1916, he decided to follow his literary bent. Having settled in London, where he had married in 1912, he published, in 1920, his first study, *Shelley and Caldera*, in which he examined the influence of the classical Spanish writers on English literature. His deep knowledge of English and French literature and social and political life is reflected in his *Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards*, which he wrote simultaneously in three languages in 1929. His historical and biographical works, including *The Life of Columbus*, *Hernan Cortes*, *Bolívar*, *An Historical View of India*, constitute a monumental work and are a major contribution to modern historiography.

Despite his universal mind, he has never forgotten that he is a Spaniard and that he has duties as such. His ideas, which

are the fruit of serene and exhaustive observation, are reflected in his most political and most widely discussed work, the major historical study entitled *Spain*, which appeared in 1931 and which has constantly been republished, with new chapters, in several languages. But Madariaga has not limited himself to serving his country with his pen. During the period of the Republic, he was Minister of Education and Spanish delegate to the League of Nations. Hating violence as a form of political expression, he remained outside the conflict that ravaged Spain in 1936, although he supported the legitimacy of the Republic that was being attacked. An enemy of all dictatorships and all totalitarian systems, he has been a voluntary exile since 1939, and though he supported the Allied cause during World War II and exalted the heroism of the Soviet people, he vigorously denounced the seizure of Prague, and later, the brutal repression of the Hungarian revolution, the subjugation of Tibet by the new Chinese imperialism and Communist infiltration of Cuba.

Madariaga, an honorary president of the Congress along with Karl Jaspers, Jayaprakash Narayan, Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr, Theodor Heuss, and Leopold Senghor, has not ceased to fight for freedom in the world and, more concretely, in Spain. Owing to his universal prestige and independence of mind and to his exemplary stand above Spanish parties and political factions, Madariaga is at present the figure in the best position to reconcile Spaniards and to promote the incorporation of his country, with civil peace and freedom, into the edifice of the moral and political unity of the threatened West.

Camus justly spoke of the human value of Madariaga. Another Nobel Prize winner, Saint-John Perse, has recently testified to his admiration for Madariaga in a telegram which he has sent to the Congress for Cultural Freedom on the occasion of the Spanish writer's 75th birthday: "With particularly deep feeling for the man and the friend who is so far from his homeland, I warmly join those who are honoring themselves today by exalting in Salvador de Madariaga, who transcends the vicissitudes of contemporary society, the proud and noble figure of the great Spanish exile, exemplary representative of the highest traditions of the humanism and liberalism in the heart of universal man. Signed, Alexis Leger - Saint John Perse."

The Congress for Cultural Freedom is an independent world-wide association of scholars, writers, scientists, and artists. Its purpose is the defence of intellectual liberties against all encroachment on the creative and critical spirit of man.

The following periodicals are published by the Congress:

- PREUVES**
Published monthly in France
- ENCOUNTER**
Published monthly in England
- FORUM**
Published monthly in Austria
- CUADERNOS**
Published monthly in France, in Spanish
- SURVEY**
Published quarterly in England
- THE CHINA QUARTERLY**
Published in England

The following periodicals are associated with the Congress or its National Committees:

- QUEST**
Published quarterly in India
- QUADRANT**
Published quarterly in Australia
- SCIENCE AND FREEDOM BULLETIN**
Published several times a year in England
- TEMPO PRESENTE**
Published monthly in Italy
- DER MONAT**
Published monthly in Germany
- PERSPEKTIV**
Published monthly in Denmark
- EXAMEN**
Published monthly in Mexico
- CADERNOS BRASILEIROS**
Published quarterly in Brazil
- FREEDOM-JIYU**
Published monthly in Japan
- COMMENT**
Published quarterly in the Philippines
- CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM**

104, boulevard Haussmann, Paris (8^e)
Directeur-Gérant: Robert Ferrand

Imp. 232, rue de Charenton, Paris

THE CONGRESS AROUND THE WORLD

Exhibition in Calcutta

A recent exhibition of work by Indian painter Nirode Mazumdar, sponsored by the Calcutta Centre of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, has been greeted by critics as a unique art event.

The painter exhibited fifteen canvases based on a story from the ancient Indian epic "Mahabharata" and inspired by the notions of time and eternity. These works were accompanied by over 50 free renderings which Mr. Mazumdar made of paintings, drawings and sculptures from different epochs and countries and which he treated according to his own imaginative reaction, to illustrate his theme.

The *Hindustan Standard* commented: "This attempt to present universal art of all ages according to the painter's own response is undoubtedly unique in art history."

Meanwhile, in New Delhi, the Congress Asian Office gave a reception for Victor Raul Haya de la Torre at which the founder of the Peruvian Apra party, one of Latin America's most distinguished democratic political leaders, spoke on "Problems of Latin America".

Italian Groups Protest

The Italian Association and several affiliated local groups have protested over legal proceedings instituted against two African intellectuals who lectured under their auspices.

The Africans (from Senegal and Somalia), when speaking in the town of Vittorio Veneto on problems of the new African states, were so violently attacked by neo-Fascists that police had to intervene. But the African lecturers themselves were arrested, detained for a few hours, released, and later formally charged with having committed an "outrage to the nation".

The Italian Association and affiliated groups demanded that the Africans be guaranteed full freedom of expression.

Argentine Campaign

The Argentine Association for Cultural Freedom recently launched a fund-raising campaign to help purchase tractors in exchange for the liberation of prisoners held by Fidel Castro following the recent abortive invasion of Cuba.

The move has been supported by all of Argentina's democratic political parties and has inspired the creation of similar campaigns in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and Colombia.

Events Commemorating Tagore Centenary

Friends and associates of the Congress in India and elsewhere have taken an active part in commemorations of the centenary of the birth of the great Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore.

Although the anniversary year is 1961, as early as last November the Congress' Orient-Occident Cultural Exchange Centre sponsored, in conjunction with the Indian Ambassador to France, a performance of Tagore's play "Chitra" in French translation at U.N.E.S.C.O. House in Paris. The event took place within the framework of the U.N.E.S.C.O. General Conference, then underway.

This year, in India, various symposia on Tagore have been held or are being planned; one interesting meeting took place in Chandannagar, where a local cultural group sponsored a discussion by leading intellectuals of "The Social Philosophy of Gandhi, Tagore and M. N. Roy".

Meanwhile, the work and thought of Tagore have also been discussed in magazines affiliated with the Congress. A special Tagore number has been issued by Quest, the monthly published by the Indian Committee. This issue contains selections from Tagore's writings; articles on Tagore's poetry and aesthetic philosophy, on his work in the graphic arts, and on his place in the Bengal of his time; and discussions of Bengali culture in general. Included in the issue is an article written by the late Sudhindranath Datta, who at

the time of his death last year had become one of the most distinguished writers in the Bengali language, after Tagore himself.

The magazine *Cadernos Brasileiros*, published by the Brazilian Association for Cultural Freedom, has issued a number containing a series of four articles on Tagore.

And in Paris, Bengali poet Buddhadeva Bose, editor of the poetry review *Kavita*, has lectured on Tagore at the Sorbonne as part of a centenary ceremony sponsored by the Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Mr. Bose has been touring various capitals in Europe and the Middle East under Congress auspices and lecturing on Bengali literature.

Writers in Pakistan

The responsibility of the writer to society, and the inseparably related question of his responsibility to his own creative vision, were discussed at a seminar held early in June under the auspices of the Congress and the Pakistan P.E.N.

The participants included some of the country's most eminent writers and scholars — "the leading intellectuals of Pakistan", as the *Dacca Morning News* observed. Their discussion of many of the fundamental aspects of "The Writer and his Social Responsibility" was closely followed by the press, which carried editorial comment on the problems involved as well as news accounts of the proceedings.

Seminar in Norway

Norwegian and Danish writers and intellectuals met in Gram, Norway in May, under the auspices of the Congress and the Norwegian magazine *Minerva*, to discuss "Baroque Art and our Time".

Among those who took part in the four-day seminar were Danish poet Jorgen Sonne, Prof. Lundung of the University of Aarhus, Prof. Aabjorn Aarnes of the University of Oslo, Per Löning, theologian and member of the Norwegian Parliament, Mrs. Astrid Hjertnes Anderson, Norwegian poetess, and Leif Ostby, Oslo museum director.

French poet Pierre Emmanuel and Jorgen Schleimann, Congress Scandinavian Secretary, represented the Congress at the conference.

Previous Scandinavian meetings held under Congress auspices have included a seminar in Copenhagen on "The Writer and the Welfare State" and a meeting in Helsinki on "The Writer in Relation to Himself and his Public".

Heinz Brandt Case

German writers Wolfgang Leonhard and Carola Stern have addressed a press conference in Bonn, under the auspices of the Congress Cologne Group, concerning the case of Heinz Brandt, the West German trade-union leader who disappeared in Berlin on June 16, apparently kidnapped by East German agents.

Both Mr. Leonhard and Miss Stern have long been friends of Brandt, who fled East Germany in 1958 and at the time of his disappearance was an editor of the West German metal-workers weekly *Metall*. Subsequent to his disappearance, East German authorities said he was an "espionage agent" and that he had been arrested in Potsdam—a particularly cynical allegation since the East zone was the last place that Brandt would have gone voluntarily.

The Bonn press conference was carried over a national network and was reported in leading papers, including the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Die Welt* and *Die Zeit*.

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On Cuba and the Congress

Following a recent controversy in the English magazine *Time and Tide*—a controversy touched off by a vehement and irresponsible attack in that periodical against both Theodore Draper's *Encounter* article entitled "Castro's Cuba" and the position of the Congress with respect to Cuban developments—Denis de Rougemont, Chairman of the Congress Executive Committee, has written the following letter to the editor of *Time and Tide*:

In view of the recent discussions in your columns—and one particularly conspiratorial view of current events which has woven the Congress for Cultural Freedom into the centre of an hallucination—I should like to state the following facts, in the belief that they may be of interest to your readers.

The record of the Congress in Cuba itself, both before and after the Castro revolution, is clear. Early in 1954, a group of eminent Cuban intellectuals founded a Cuban Committee for Cultural Freedom. This Committee, like others in Latin America and elsewhere, was affiliated with the Congress. Among its founding members were: Jorge Manach, Levi Marrero, Anita Arroyo, and Luis A. Baralt, men and women known for their dedication to the restoration of intellectual freedom in Cuba. Throughout the ensuing years, the Committee was the object of consistent and increasing harassment by the Batista dictatorship. Finally, in January, 1958, owing to the almost total suppression of freedom of speech and assembly, the Cuban Committee was forced to disband. Even earlier, in May, 1957, the permanent secretary of the Committee, the writer and university teacher Dr. Mario Llerena, had been driven into exile, first to Mexico and then to New York. There, Dr. Llerena became the first propagandist and principal fund-raiser in the United States for Castro's 26th of July Movement.

Statement on Fall of Batista

On January 25th, 1959—i.e., three weeks after the collapse of Batista's government—the Executive Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, meeting in Paris, issued the following statement: "The Congress declares its greatest satisfaction at the fall of the Batista regime and expresses its sincere hope that the Cuban people will establish the Rule of Law and begin the construction of a free democratic society." The signers of this statement include among others Ignazio Silone, Michael Polanyi, Stephen Spender, Manès

Sperber, Raymond Aron, Luis-Alberto Sanchez, Jorge Manach, and myself. At the same time, the International Secretariat of the Congress sent a telegram to Fidel Castro and Manuel Urrutia, saluting their triumph as a victory for democratic freedom and human rights.

Three months later, Jorge Manach was elected President of the newly-reconstituted Cuban Committee for Cultural Freedom. On that occasion, the Committee made the following statement: "We, the undersigned writers, professors, and journalists, wish to express our great joy at the fall of tyranny and the return of liberty to our country... our sympathy and support go out to the revolutionary forces which, in this decisive hour, are fighting for final victory, so that freedom of expression, as well as all other rights and all dignity, shall be restored to the people of Cuba." Among the many names affixed to this statement was that of Dr. Raul Roca, first Vice-President of the Cuban Committee for Cultural Freedom and later to become Foreign Minister in the government of Fidel Castro.

Disbanded Once Again

Today, however, the Cuban Committee has once again been forced to disband. With the gradual suppression of cultural freedoms, of university autonomy, of freedom of the press, and of individual rights, the majority of the members, despite their previous firm and enthusiastic support of the revolution have been forced either into silence or into exile—some, like Mario Llerena, for the second time.

The Western hemisphere is therefore not, as has been alleged, "home territory", an area in which argument about United States economic and political hegemony, as well as about the policy to be adopted towards right-wing dictators, is "taboo" for associates of our organisation and writers in our publications. The contrary is true.

Through its affiliated committees and its publications, the intellectuals of the hispanic world, often representing divergent political opinions, have relentlessly fought the right-wing dictatorships of Peron, Trujillo, Franco, and, as demonstrated above, Batista. The Spanish-language magazine *Cuadernos*, edited by Julian Gorkin and Ignacio Iqlesias, has, since its inception in 1953, been primarily concerned with questions of social justice, agrarian and economic reform, and civil liberties in Spain and in Latin America—a concern which has won for it a large audience on that continent and an official ban in Spain. Among *Cuadernos* contributors are



Jorge Manach

It is with profound sorrow that we announce the death of Jorge Manach, one of Cuba's most distinguished intellectuals and statesmen and a member of the Council of Honour of Cuadernos magazine.

Sr. Manach, who had been President of the Cuban Committee for Cultural Freedom until its dissolution last year, was at the time of his death living in exile in Puerto Rico where he had a University chair in philosophy.

A former Foreign Minister of Cuba, Sr. Manach had also been professor of philosophy at the University of Havana and was the author of the definitive biography of José Martí.

Haya de la Torre, Alfonso Reyes, Salvador de Madariaga, German Arciniegas, and Romulo Betancourt, men whose devotion to democratic ideals has implied neither "conformism" nor "chauvinism".

While the Congress could not condone the intervention of the United States or of any other government in the internal affairs of another country, neither can it remain indifferent to the suppression of basic freedoms wherever and under whatever form it may occur, whether in Hungary, Spain, Tibet, or whether it be in the guise of Apartheid, McCarthyism, or Castroism. The Congress for Cultural Freedom abides by its charter, which it believes to be as valid today as it was when it was first adopted in 1950, and which holds "that there can be no stable world as long as mankind, with regard to freedom, remains divided into 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The defence of existing freedoms, the re-conquest of lost freedoms, and the creation of new freedoms are parts of the same struggle".

Denis de Rougemont.

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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

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GENERAL CONFERENCE

June 16 - 22, 1960

SITUATION OF DEMOCRACY

The Western Political Institutions
in the World of the XXth Century

by RAYMOND ARON

STUDY GROUP I

"POLITICAL PROGRESS"

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SITUATION OF DEMOCRACY

The Western Political Institutions
in the World of the XXth Century

by Raymond ARON

Fifteen years after the Armistice of 1918, Hitler was Chancellor of the Reich, Mussolini Prime Minister of a fascist Italy and the Central and Eastern European countries, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, had suspended the functioning of representative institutions and were being governed by authoritarian or despotic methods of one kind or another. At the time, democracy was degenerating into fascism (if one agrees to apply this name to the purely authoritarian or single-party regimes which were rising up against communism and parliamentary government), and the more or less illusory communist menace was being pointed up to justify this recourse to violence.

What is the picture at the present time, fifteen years after the unconditional surrender of the Third Reich? The European countries which, after the first war, had preserved constitutional regimes based on a multi-party system, retained them after the second. These regimes have become far more stable and are more widely accepted than they were in the 1930's. Austria and Germany have, at least in appearance, joined the group of democracies which we shall call stabilized democracies.

Among the European countries, France and Italy belong to a second category. The former has, except during the German occupation, continually safeguarded its representative and liberal institutions, but it has not succeeded in either winning the population as a whole over to the regime or in ensuring the latter against a kind of permanent instability. As for Italy, it has the largest Communist party in Western Europe; and the very existence of a large number of militants and other citizens who act and vote in accordance with the orders of a party that aims at destroying constitutional pluralism makes it impossible to regard the regime as being definitely established.

An analysis of Europe alone would give an incomplete picture. After 1945, the Americans and the British attempted, consciously or not, to spread democratic institutions throughout Asia and Africa, just as the victors of World War II tried to do in Central and Eastern Europe. In which countries have the institutions stood the test? Is their success assured in India? What is the significance of "guided democracy" in Indonesia and of the military-dominated regimes in Pakistan, Burma and Thailand?

Apart from the old European states and the new states in Asia and Africa, the United States, Australia and New Zealand are in the category of stabilized democracies and most of the South American states in a category closer to that of France and Italy than that of Great Britain or Switzerland. With the exception of Uruguay, the Central and South American states seem to oscillate between the two extremes of unstable democracy and stable despotism.

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We shall first attempt to define the conditions of democratic stabilization in order to perceive, by means of comparison, what is lacking in the countries which thus far have not achieved this stabilization.

I

A democracy may be called stabilized when it is legitimate and normally efficient. A regime is legitimate if the vast majority of those it governs regard it as such. The less a constitution is challenged, the more legitimate it is. It is the disappearance or scarcity of revolutionaries that sanctions the legitimacy of a democratic (or, as I prefer to call it, constitutional-pluralistic) regime. As for efficiency, it lies in the stability of governments and the consistency of majorities. It does not exclude error (the diplomacy of English democracy was not superior to that of French democracy between the two wars), but it does exclude inability to choose. Democracy involves orderly competition among parties and candidates for office. It is efficient, in our sense of the word, when legal competition gives rise, in actual fact, to a majority, a government, a popular will, when the law of the majority brings forth an executive who is capable of acting and opponents who are resolved or resigned not to paralyse the action of their momentarily fortunate rivals.

The connections between legitimacy and efficiency are many and manifest. Legitimacy, that is, general or all but general acceptance of constitutional rules by parties and citizens, gives governments the force they derive from popular adhesion. The governors have more self-confidence; they are more ready to make major decisions when they feel no doubt about their authority, when they feel that the entire nation is behind them. Not that the entire nation approves of them, but that it unanimously recognizes their right to decide. Furthermore, the absence or weakness of revolutionary parties increases the chances of there being a government majority insofar as it reduces the number of systematic opponents, of those who will not support any government because they are hostile to the regime itself.

Nevertheless, the two terms are not indissociable. A legitimate democracy may be inefficient if, for example, the various parties and individuals, though all - or almost all - in favour of the constitution, are unable to organize or to work together in such a way that a government can endure and apply a policy. French democracy never achieved this kind of efficiency, not even at the beginning of the present century, at a time when it had almost eliminated left-wing and right-wing revolutionaries. On the other hand, a democratic regime, even though it be resisted by a strong extremist opposition, accords its governors both time and authority, since the threat of revolution leads the defenders of the regime to unite.

Which countries have achieved this "democratic stabilization"? According to the sociologist S.M. Lipset, they are the following: Australia, Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States, that is

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among the great powers Great Britain and the United States, the only two English-speaking countries, and, among the small nations Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and the white Dominions, plus the unique case of Switzerland. Between the wars, Czechoslovakia was relatively stable: it functioned with parties that were rigid, but which reached lasting agreements. Since the war, there has been in Finland an important revolutionary party and, at the same time, precarious coalitions, but, despite the proximity of the Soviet Union, the country has manifested an unusual and admirable capacity for democratic resistance. Except for the United States and the white Dominions, it is only in Europe that we find stabilized democracies of the kind found in Great Britain and Sweden.

It is easy to distinguish the characteristics common to the countries in which democracy is stabilized. They are all (with the exception of Ireland) developed countries (the word "developed" is to be understood in the sense implied in the opposite of "underdeveloped", that is, modern, industrialized, with a high per capita income, a high coefficient of urbanization, a low percentage of illiteracy). As these various criteria go together, sociologists add nothing by listing them separately. They are all implied when we say that democratic stabilization seems, for the time being, to have been achieved only in developed or modernized countries.

However, modernization does not automatically entail democratic stabilization; nor is the latter incompatible with earlier phases of growth. The United States has practiced democracy since the end of the XVIIIth century, and Switzerland was democratic long before the machine age. Development and wealth favour the functioning of democracy, but the conditions necessary to this functioning can appear in another social context and do not necessarily appear in a context of development.

What are the traits that, at the present time, characterize what we call democracy? As I see it, there are three such traits: the choice of governors and the exercise of authority in conformity with a constitution, free competition among parties and individuals in election to office, and respect for personal, intellectual and public freedoms on the part of the temporary winners in such competition. These three features exist simultaneously in stabilized democracies, and they are logically related to each other, but they are separable. The party in power does not always fully respect the freedom to criticize. There are many intermediate stages between outright suppression of all opposition and absolute equality among rival parties to use the press and the radio.

If, sociologically speaking, such is the reality of democracy, what determines, in the abstract, its functioning or non-functioning? Let us first consider the question with respect to the political regime itself. Democracy requires that there emerge from competition a majority, a government and a popular will. A regime can be paralysed if the political class is unable to establish coherent parties, if none of the leaders succeed in obtaining a majority and if they cannot manage to govern together, if the rules of the game (constitution, electoral law) aggravate group quarrels, etc. Whatever the society's degree of development, the functioning of a democracy depends upon political conditions which are all related to the basic problem of modern democracies; that of arriving at a common decision after the clash of opposed groups.

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The strictly political conditions are all the more likely to be fulfilled if the neutralized army does not engage in politics, if the bulk of the population is relatively satisfied with its lot and counts on progressive reforms to improve it, if the extremist parties and grandiose ideologies have lost their power of attraction and if the problems to be solved and the measures to be taken do not encounter irreducible opposition from important minorities. When the army threatens to substitute force for law, the constitutional process is impossible. When the masses feel they are being unjustly treated by the government, it is difficult for the latter to expose itself regularly to popular elections. If the extremist parties win millions of adherents, the regime loses part of its legitimacy. When governments have to choose between incompatible policies and when important minorities are ready to fight rather than yield to the law of the majority, the regime is imperilled. The United States was confronted with this problem at the time of the Civil War, and France has been faced with it in connection with Algeria.

What relationship is there between these favourable circumstances, on the one hand, and development (or modernization) on the other? Neutralization of the army was achieved in the English-speaking countries before the rise of industrial society. As a rule, the latter favours such neutralization; insofar as government becomes a matter of regulating complex institutions and work in common, army leaders hesitate to arrest the constitutional process and exercise, themselves, the functions of government. But the case of France, to which we shall come back, reminds us that there are exceptions. A society in the forefront of development, like that of the United States, inevitably gives its army leaders (who do not at all threaten democracy) a greater influence owing to the country's widening responsibilities on the world scene.

In like manner, a developed society can, most often, satisfy the people's demands or at least allow it to hope that reforms will be introduced and that justice will prevail. Consequently, the situation of extremists, both of the left and right, is weakened. Once the economy has entered the phase of cumulative growth, there is no longer - in normal times - a need to make decisions that seem to involve mortal danger for one group or another.

It is therefore easy, by means of analysis, to account for the concomitance of development and democratic stabilization. But this same analysis makes it possible for us to understand the reasons why actual determination is not involved and to know the causes of the exceptions.

In all countries, even those which are developed, passionate discussion can take place, whether because a serious decision regarding external policy must be made or because an economic depression upsets domestic order. Such discussions have taken place in all developed countries in the XXth century. The United States was more deeply affected by the 1930 depression than most European countries. Great Britain was deeply split as to the attitude to be adopted toward Hitler and, more recently, Nasser. In neither case did the national crisis become a constitutional one. Public opinion tried to solve the problems confronting the nation as a result of the depression and of the existence of the Third Reich. It did not feel that in order to

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solve these problems a constitutional reform was first necessary. In Germany, the Weimar Republic was swept away as a result of the joint pressure of the depression and the demands of the nationalists. In France, every national crisis automatically becomes a constitutional one. Even the developed countries have to deal, in the domestic or foreign sphere, with serious problems of a kind that arouse passionate debate. In order for a regime to be considered a stabilized democracy, it is not sufficient for its electoral and parliamentary procedure to seem legitimate and efficient in normal times. Legitimacy and efficiency must be able to resist crises.

In other words, although - if we are to judge from the experience of the present century - development makes for democratic stabilization, it can happen that the strictly political conditions of democracy do not correspond to the progress of industrialization and urbanization or that they fall so far behind that the regime is unable to resist the first crisis that occurs. The examples of Germany, Italy and France will enable us to define and understand the limits of the correlation between development and democracy.

II

In Europe, the democratic regimes have been exposed to attacks from three kinds of opponents: traditionalists, who defend the power of the king or the aristocracy against a drab bourgeois or parliamentary government; right-wing revolutionaries, whether fascists or nationalists, who draw their inspiration from traditional ideologies and borrow their methods from the extreme left; and socialists or communists who denounce the camouflaging of class society and the domination of capitalists at the expense of the working class in democratic institutions.

The Weimar Republic was almost constantly under attack by such reactionary, violent or utopian opponents. It succumbed when the opponents combined and made it impossible for any constitutional government to function and when the gravity of the economic crisis and the impatience with which the nationalists made their demands finally devalorized parliamentary procedures. Any democratic regime would succumb in like manner to the conjunction of so many enemies and unfavourable circumstances.

But such conjunction has become highly unlikely. The three families of opponents are, at least temporarily, disqualified. The traditionalists have understood that, in our time, a parliamentary regime is less unreceptive to their values than is a fascist regime. The traditional order is gradually tending to withdraw into the greyness of a past that is over and done with. The right-wing revolutionaries have been judged at the bar of history, which they are the last to have a right to challenge. As for the communists, they were compromised by their alliance with the national enemy, with the experience of the nearby Soviet zone. Consequently, in the Federal Republic, the democratic regime became legitimate all by itself, not because it was introduced and imposed by the victors, but because no other kind of legitimacy was available.

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Has this, so to speak, residual legitimacy been gradually transformed into a recognized and consciously affirmed legitimacy? Although we lack the perspective to reply with certainty, it seems to me that it is taking shape. The Germans are discovering little by little that this plain and unglamorous regime is the one that corresponds essentially to their desires in present-day industrial society. Nevertheless, there are two circumstances that prevent us from answering categorically: the role played by a single man and the almost total absence of national ambition. To what extent will the Christian Democratic Party remain united? To what extent will universal suffrage designate a party to exercise power when Chancellor Adenauer is no longer there? Above all - and this question is far more poignant than the first - will the Federal Republic resign itself to the split? Will national unity be maintained intact when the Republic sets itself other objectives than that of regaining its place in the western world? Let us not forget that it is in the sphere of foreign policy that negotiation and compromise, which are characteristic of a democratic regime, are less readily followed by positive achievement. In one sense, Western Germany has, as a result of circumstances, neutralized not only the army, but diplomacy as well. The case of France and that of Italy are different. In these two countries, millions of citizens vote communist. In Italy, a socialist party is closely tied up with the communist party. The dissidence of a large percentage of the electorate (20 to 25% in France, 30 to 35% in Italy if one includes the Nenni Socialists) creates the permanent danger of a paralysis of the regime, for the "constitutionally" elected representatives are incapable of constituting a government majority that is both sufficiently large and sufficiently coherent.

Until now, this danger has been warded off in Italy owing to the unity - which has been maintained, despite everything - of the Christian Democratic Party. Whether it had an absolute majority or needed allies, it constituted the nucleus of a governmental coalition; it prevented recurrent governmental crises and the anxious seeking of new combinations. Conflicts within the coalition took place among groups within the Christian Democratic Party. They were less public, less flaunted, than conflicts between groups in the French Assembly.

Despite this relative success of the democratic restoration, there is no certainty as to the future. So long as one third of the electorate votes for parties which do not accept the rules of the game, which remain, as it were, outside the regime, the Christian Democratic Party is the only one that will prevent the chaos that characterized the Fourth French Republic. But the tension within the Christian Democratic Party often gives rise to a fear, perhaps an illusory one, of a split. In quite another connection, the forming of a governmental majority around a party that is regarded as an instrument of the Church has, in the long run, serious disadvantages.

It is the events of French history that reveal the greatest continuity, both in their confusion and their seeming paradox. In the XXth century, as in the XIXth, France has seemed incapable of finding rest and order in a unanimously accepted regime. Since 1930, she has been involved in the old cycle of regimes, constantly threatened because of the absence of legitimacy and efficiency. A more or less large percentage of the voters and of members of parlia-

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ment are openly hostile to the regime; the constitutional parties never manage to discipline their competition in such a way as to form lasting governments. In France, lack of legitimacy and lack of efficiency condition each other; the more systematic opponents the regime has, the more heterogeneous becomes the government majority. In 1956, the only possible majority in parliament included Antoine Pinay and Guy Mollet, the Independents and the Socialists.

This analysis, a classical analysis, is not false, but I think it superficial. French-style democracy, which has been based since 1847 on the supremacy of the Assembly, has regularly entailed a governmental instability that was only imperfectly offset, in moments of crisis, by the role played by outstanding individuals, for example, Clemenceau and Poincaré. This instability did not prevent, between 1880 and 1914, exceptional achievements outside the domestic sphere: the broadening of the empire, the establishing of a great alliance against Germany, the winning of World War I. If this victory was too costly and, in the end, fruitless, the fault did not lie, at least directly, with the regime. It was the military leaders who were chiefly responsible.

From 1930 onward, the cause of the crisis was the conjunction of the regime's endemic instability and the national problems that were almost insoluble owing to the insufficiency of the country's resources. How to stand up to the Third Reich, which was impatient to destroy the territorial order resulting from the Versailles Treaty? What position to take after the defeat of the army in 1940? How to maintain or transform the empire after 1945? The weakness of the government paralysed action, but the disputes within the political class and the split in public opinion reflected a deep uncertainty. Could the nation achieve the objectives which it set for itself or which circumstances imposed upon it? The Fourth Republic collapsed because it was unable either to keep or to give up the empire. Were Frenchmen ready for decolonialization in the English manner? Did an imperial policy have any chance of succeeding?

The events that have taken place since May 1958 confirm this interpretation. General de Gaulle has also been carrying out an ambiguous policy in Algeria, refusing both to negotiate with the FLN and to adopt the thesis of integration. He, too, is trying to keep Algeria French, while making concessions to the Moslems. Because the regime of the Fourth Republic was a bad one and the various governments led a precarious existence, Frenchmen finally came to believe that once they had a strong state they would easily achieve their ends. They kept saying that it was in Paris that empires rose or fell. Everyone and everything was held responsible - anti-European nationalism, the Americans, liberal-minded Frenchmen, the Tunisians, the Moroccans, the Algerians. The brief history of the Fifth Republic suggests a less distorted image of reality.

We thus perceive the complex significance of the Fifth Republic. It is an additional episode in France's tumultuous history. Threatened with civil war, confronted with the disintegration of the civil authorities and the virtual revolt of the army, Frenchmen almost unanimously hailed a saviour, as they have so often done since 1789. The people's way of life and the state's way of administering were thereby modified as little as possible. On the other hand, the new constitution, in

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both theory and practice, is the very opposite of that of the preceding republic; it carefully defines and limits the prerogatives of parliament. In the Fifth Republic, the executive branch is so predominant as to seem authoritarian.

However, the early stages of the new regime do not yet warrant our pre-judging the future. The constitution divides the executive power between the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister. Owing to the personalities of the two men, it is the former who at present makes decisions regarding important matters and the latter who defends these decisions in the Assembly. As the constitution grants the President of the Republic the right to dissolve the legislature and as the Assembly majority, which was elected by claiming kinship with General de Gaulle, is afraid of being disavowed by him in the next elections, the chief of state has, in actual fact, almost unlimited authority. A regime which, on paper, is parliamentary functions as a presidential regime, or, if one prefers, as a personal regime operating on a legal basis and with a parliamentary front.

What, finally, are the lessons suggested by the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Republic? According to some people, the events of May 13, 1958 illustrate the permanent danger of the army's invading politics, even in a traditionally democratic country. According to others, however, the army offers a non-totalitarian solution in the event of a constitutional crisis. When a regime is paralysed or a nation is confronted by an apparently insoluble crisis, the army and an acclaimed leader make it possible to unite the people and, regardless of temporary dictatorship, to modify institutions. According to still others, a democracy cannot engage in a colonial war, with the result that in order to maintain its sovereignty in Algeria, France has had to adopt a semi-authoritarian constitution. There is an element of truth in all these interpretations, and the non-ideological dictatorship of a charismatic leader will perhaps be taken as a model outside of Europe.

As concerns France, it is correct to say that the crisis has not yet been resolved and, at the same time, that the likelihood of finding a moderate solution is better than it was a year ago. So long as the Algerian war continues and the regime depends upon a single man, there is no certainty that the conflicting factions will respect constitutional rules. In other words, democratic legitimacy is not firmly established. Furthermore, the constitution lends itself to divergent interpretations: nobody knows what constitutional practice will actually be under a President of the Republic other than General de Gaulle. Despite this uncertainty, the probability is that a few years hence, when the crisis of de-colonization has been resolved, France will have a more stable democratic regime than it had in the past century. However, democratic legitimacy may continue to be challenged by part of the electorate, and passionate disputes may be kept alive by the clash of conflicting interpretations of the national idea.

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III

The contrast between stable and unstable democracies cannot be explained by any one determining factor, for example, the degree of modernization or the per capita income. In view of the fact that the immediate causes of stability are the capacity shown by the politicians to discipline competition and the adhesion of the voters to the constitutional parties, there are many circumstances - some of them of historical origin, others an expression of the present structure - that can incline the political class to anarchy and make the masses accessible to the temptations of extremists.

Democratic legitimacy requires the allegiance of the conservative right and socialist left to democratic procedures. Conservatives in England have long utilized and virtually monopolized these procedures. In France, on the other hand, revolutionary events have led conservatives to regard the republic and the parliament as enemies. Successes or failures in the international sphere strengthen or weaken democracy, since the regime is regarded, rightly or wrongly, as being responsible for the national destiny. Furthermore, the nature of national ambitions is not without consequences: post-war France, like pre-war Germany, has had ambitions that a party regime cannot satisfy.

Similarly, the rallying of the socialist left is a function of both past and present. Economic progress and a rise in the standard of living obviously favour this rallying; they do not guarantee it. The workers may retain a revolutionary attitude, although the circumstances that once underlay it have long since disappeared. Discontented persons, of all classes, may go over to a revolutionary party when it is strong. The lower classes of the various nations are not equally inclined to opposition, disputes and factions, owing to a national psychology that may be of historical origin, though it may also be due to natural dispositions (however equivocal the expression).

Moreover, democratic stability is not necessarily an unmixed blessing. It is, of course, a good thing that constitutional rules cease to be challenged and that popular elections and parliamentary discussions produce a stable government. But, at times, ideological or national debates subside along with the constitutional debate. Democracy is no longer threatened, but it no longer has great powers; it no longer sets itself great objectives. It is doomed to moderation, but it is subject to a kind of mediocrity. If there are only two parties, each of them must have an eye to the "unaffiliated" voters, those not committed to either party, right-wing Labourites who may go over to the Conservatives, or left-wing Conservatives who may go over to the Labour Party. The two parties come to resemble each other increasingly and no longer arouse strong feelings in the general public. When, by accident, a decision is made that arouses politicians (the Suez expedition), the delicate mechanism of this supremely civilized policy seems to be in danger of jamming.

Is this the future of industrial societies? Must politics be reduced to what it is, a secondary activity which is the business mainly of professionals? Will administration be essentially the

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same, whatever the party in power? Will most of the old controversies be emptied of their ideological content and reduced to their technical elements?

I do not pretend to give a categorical answer to this question. Let us merely observe that a less rigid party organization and more ideological or passionate discussion also help to maintain a kind of political vitality, a vitality that may prove to be important for democratic processes.

These processes are perhaps threatened by a more subtle danger, one that a comparison of stable and unstable democracies alone is not sufficient to reveal, to wit, the gradual reduction of the role of free competition in the mechanisms of the economy. Relationships have often been established between market competition and competition between parties for the votes of the citizens. The two institutions seem akin in style, in the behaviour of the persons involved and in the ideas that inspire them or that are used to justify them. Furthermore, it has often been wondered to what extent elimination of the market would entail elimination of constitutional competition.

In practice, the traditionally democratic states, such as those of Great Britain and the United States, have been able to intervene to a considerable degree in the economic sphere without in the least endangering the stability of their political institutions. Partial planning and partial state ownership of property have strengthened rather than weakened democracy by helping to win the working class over to the regime.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that an entirely bureaucratic management of the economy may, in the long run, make competition between parties and the clash of ideas seem anachronistic. Perhaps the non-European countries which are becoming industrialized in the XXth century will have difficulty in borrowing from democratic institutions precisely because the latter are contemporary with and akin to economic liberalism and are capable of surviving the latter when they are already rooted, but they are not capable of taking root where they do not carry on a tradition in a century in which administration, organization and planning are universal passwords.

IV

After World War I, an attempt was made to spread the democratic regimes of Western Europe, where they were born, to Central and Eastern Europe. After World War II, the countries which had achieved independence, in the zone not dominated by the Soviet Union, also attempted to introduce representative institutions. With few exceptions, these attempts resulted in unstable democracies or unstable despotisms rather than stabilized democracies.

The new Asian states - India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia, Korea, Vietnam - might perhaps be compared to the South American rather than to the European states. The attempts to introduce democracy into South America go back more than a century. In no South American country has democracy achieved the stability of the Anglo-American type; it has

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oscillated, everywhere on the Continent, between a constitutional practice which has always been provisional, and military dictatorships which have rarely been less precarious. The only distinction that has been introduced by the sociologists is that between countries in which democracies and despotisms, equally unstable, alternate, and countries in which despotisms follow one another without any liberal interlude. Perhaps the South American countries are in the process of leaving this tumultuous past behind. In Uruguay, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, democracy is still of the Latin rather than the Anglo-American type. But it is tending to grow stronger. The generals are less inclined to disrupt the constitutional process by force; politicians and voters are more inclined to respect their own rules.

Why have the South American countries not succeeded in eliminating military coups d'état and despotisms? The difficulty lies not in answering a question of this sort, but in distinguishing among possible and very plausible answers. The fact is that none of the South American countries display the characteristics of "development" or modernization (urbanization, industrialization, reduction of the number of illiterates, etc.). At the same time, however, many of these countries were racially heterogeneous, and all of them, including those that were racially homogeneous, had a social structure which was marked by extreme inequality. The upper class, most often composed of the great landed proprietors, was separated from the masses by an abyss, even where the latter were of European origin.

Although these circumstances as such are unfavourable to the establishment of a democratic regime, they do not yet explain the peculiar nature of instability in South America, that is, the shift of power back and forth from civilians to military men, the frequency of coups d'état, the interference of the army in politics.

Similar - at least superficially similar - phenomena in the Near East and in Asia bring this old problem to the fore again: why have South American armies played such a role in politics?

Let us first recall the commonplace idea which we set forth earlier in the present article: these countries had neither the social structure nor the classes which elsewhere created and maintained democratic institutions. In addition, however, experience seems to prove that the upper class lacked, in most cases, a feeling and respect for the representative, electoral and parliamentary mechanisms that constitute the expression of democracy. Candidates for office and factions did not feel morally obliged to abide by the results of popular elections.

At times, as in Argentina, the upper bourgeoisie made an effort to imitate London and Paris and to practice parliamentary government. But their achievements were weak and were at the mercy of the armed forces, because this type of government was not congruous with the national life, did not interest the masses and did not represent the nation as a whole. The upper class, separated from the people, was hostile or indifferent to the regular functioning of a constitution, or, if by chance it was favourable, it was incapable of imposing it upon the recalcitrant factions and the army.

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These facts - racial and social heterogeneity of the political corps, governing class without a democratic tradition - created a context that favoured interference by the army. In order to explain such interference, three other causes should be added. The armies never or rarely were called upon to fight "national wars" outside their own borders; they did not feel that a coup d'état would be a fatal blow to the unity of the army or the unity of the army and people. The army did not recognize the necessity of its own political neutralization in the interest of national defense.

The second and more important cause is that the South American armies were politically divided because the various factions in the army represented groups which, in a democratic regime, would have expressed themselves in parties. I once asked the editor of a Brazilian newspaper, "Why are South American revolutions led by officers?" "Because," he replied, "our officers are the equivalent of your intellectuals." A witticism, to be sure, but a significant one. The officers came from the middle classes or the upper level of the lower classes, as well as from the upper class. They attended schools where they received a modern training. Some of them broke with their environment and had the kind of impatient desire for political and economic progress usually attributed to European intellectuals. Hostile to parliamentary systems that were either anarchic or monopolized by the upper bourgeoisie, they tended to support despotic regimes, some of which were essentially conservative and others authoritarian and socially progressive.

Power was usually embodied in a single man. Insofar as democracy involved a de-personalizing of authority, it ran counter to the bent or need of these societies. After all, the merging of power with the man who exercises it and the choice of this man on the basis of his being backed by the army, are perhaps the characteristic traits of a regime that stands midway between the monarchy of the past, which was destroyed by the repercussions of the French Revolution, and democratic legitimacy, which has not yet asserted itself.

At the present time, coups d'état and military despotisms seem to be on the decline. In Mexico, Brazil and Chile, the generals, conscious of the fact that when the masses participate in democratic procedures, intervention by the armed forces is dangerous, manifestly desire to ensure respect for the constitution. Even if this tendency to respect the constitution becomes increasingly general - which is far from the case - it is to be feared that South American democracy will be of the French or Latin and not the Anglo-American type (despite the frequency of presidential constitutions).

The Latin type of democracy is the kind that is weakened by the defection of a communist or quasi-communist left and an authoritarian or reactionary right. Such defection manifestly characterizes the situation in all of South America, which is confronted with major economic and social difficulties. In countries that have gone beyond the phase of military coups d'état, the following phase will be that of a cold war between moderates and extremists (of both left and right) and not that of constitutional stabilization.

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In the Arab countries of the Near East, the role of military men such as Nasser and Kassem can, it seems to me, be explained by what we called, in connection with Germany, residual legitimacy. The Islamic countries do not have a political society in the Western European sense of the term. They have been governed, in our time, by functionaries (army officers, civil servants) and by the privileged class (pashas, great landed proprietors). In Syria, Iraq and Egypt, religious and social heterogeneity was such that the parties were not national parties; they represented neither a class nor the citizens of the different groups sharing a conception of the state; they inevitably represented a national or religious group, and, by virtue of their opposition to other groups, they tended to dissolve the unity of the state, which was more or less artificial (as judged by western standards). Consequently, there remained only two possibilities: either the traditional regime or a regime progressive in its aspirations but established by officers in accordance with revolutionary methods.

In Saudi Arabia, the regime (which is being increasingly threatened) is still traditional; created by the leader of a puritanical religious sect by the old methods of sword and fire, it is maintained and run by the son of the founder. In Jordan, the king is the grandson of the Emir Hussein, descendant of the Prophet. There, too, the political tradition of Islam is being continued. In Syria, Iraq and Egypt, on the other hand, the crisis ended with the reign of revolutionary officers through elimination of the other possible formulae. In Syria, a party democracy degenerated into a succession of coups d'état and unstable despotisms. In Iraq, the Husseinite monarchy had linked its fate to that of a strong-man, Noury Said, who was faithful to the English alliance to the very end, and who genuinely wanted his country to be modernized but who did not reckon with the social and national sentiments of the masses. In Egypt, the regime of Farouk, the pashas and the pseudo-parliament, was overthrown by a military plot that brought to the fore Colonel Nasser. As a traditional regime and a party regime are out of the question, the enemy - virtual or current - of the regime of the revolutionary officers is now the Communist party.

The military despotisms in the Near East appear to the observer at the meeting point of a tradition and a present-day necessity. They are partly characteristic of the Islamic past - power lies with those who wield the sword - and partly adapted to the current situation. They fill the void left by the collapse of the traditional powers. They mark the coming to power of men who received a western training and are impatient to renovate their country; these men, who are animated by an intense nationalism, are hostile to communism and indifferent to democratic processes, which, be it added, are made possible by the context.

The military regimes which were recently set up in Pakistan and Burma are not quite of the South American or the Near Eastern type. There was no coup d'état, in the strict sense of the term. The state authority had escheated; a military leader assumed power because someone had to exercise it. The military leaders had had a western (British) training; they did not share the ideology of the South American armies. They took over the state on the basis of an almost opposite ideology. The state was to be impartial; as long as it was run by the army, it was to be neutral with respect to parties and classes.

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The army was the supreme recourse against the anarchy of a democratic regime, against the corruption and disputes of the professional politicians. It did not symbolize the sword against the law, but order and authority against partisan disintegration. It obviously remains to be seen to what extent the generals can or will conclude, in the near future, an experiment which they regard at present as a temporary expedient.

At the beginning, a military dictatorship needs to restore just authority and respect for law. If it continues, may it too not degenerate in turn?

V

Max Weber distinguished three chief types of power: the traditional, the rational and the charismatic. The king reigns in the name of the past; the functionary applies standards; the dictator derives his authority from the acclamations which welcome him or which he provokes. The first is based on custom, the second on reason, the third on the impulse of faith or devotion. All modern regimes contain elements borrowed from these three types of legitimate government; they differ in the way they combine them.

Most stabilized democracies are also those which have integrated the charismatic element into the regular functioning of their institutions. The American voter feels that he is voting directly for a man; the English voter knows the prime minister for whom he votes indirectly. Each party cries up its leader and utilizes the classical publicity devices to heighten his glamour and popularity.

One of the chief weaknesses of the "Republic of the Deputies" in France was the almost total anonymity of the central authority. The heads of the executive branch, that is, the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, were elected by the members of parliament. The electors did not know the man whom they were choosing as the highest executive. The Republic was so afraid of great men that it was forced, from time to time, to have recourse to saviours. In the absence of monarchy, France wavered between parliamentary democracy, in which the temporary holders of power disappeared behind the institutions, and regimes of highly personal authority - Napoleon I, Napoleon III, Marshal Pétain, General de Gaulle. The mode whereby the president is elected in the Fifth Republic constitutes an attempt to integrate the charismatic element into the normal functioning of institutions. It is still too early to know whether the attempt will succeed.

Perhaps the success, at least the relative success, of democracy in India, owes a great deal to the role played by Mr. Nehru. The economic and social circumstances which, according to experience, make for democracy, do not exist in that country of four hundred million persons, in which more than a dozen languages are spoken, the majority of the population is illiterate and the standard of living is low. If, despite the poverty of the people and the heterogeneity of the political corps, a party regime has lasted, this is due to the fact that the British-trained political class was relatively coherent and that the

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Congress Party had no rival. There was no substitute for the reign of the Congress Party. But the authority that the Prime Minister has exercised, thanks to his popularity, upon his party and upon parliament, has also been a favourable factor, a guarantee against the anarchic dispersion of factions and individuals.

Is the increase in the number of military despotisms to be explained by the heightening of the charismatic element at the expense of the traditional element and the element of rational machinery? It seems to me that this question can, in a sense, be answered in the affirmative. Insofar as neither the masses nor the political classes believe in institutions as such, they tend to believe in leaders, heroes or saviours. The readiness of France to follow a Bonaparte or a de Gaulle is the counterpart of lack of faith in democratic procedures. When tradition has collapsed and a constitution has not imposed itself, all that remains to run the state is a man or men designated by circumstances or an idea.

French?
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Who are the holders of power upon whom the devotion or resignation of a people centres? They belong, in the last analysis, to three social categories: the military officers, the intellectuals and the professional politicians. In order for the last-named to be acclaimed, it is necessary that democratic institutions function in orderly fashion. The popularity of a Macmillan is the climax of a parliamentary career, the consecration of success. In countries other than the stable democracies, there are also heroes who are endowed with charisma. In our age, the heroes are those who have guided the fight for independence (Nehru, Bourguiba) or who have rendered historic services to the nation (de Gaulle). When leaders have not been chosen by events, there remain only two points of reference - the sword and the idea. He who commands the armed forces assumes power and then tries to win acclaim (Peron). He who acts in the name of a doctrine has the prestige that originally was attached to the ideas. The revolutionary leader is a leader of men and, at the same time, an interpreter of ideas. I am not trying to indicate, in what follows, all the more or less charismatic types of leader. There are others as well which depend upon the individual country and the circumstances that have given a particular individual personal authority over millions of men. We are trying to suggest, once again, the complex relations, both of kinship and opposition, between military men and intellectuals.

The difference between these two types of men is generally regarded in the West as being self-evident. It is generally assumed that the intellectual is radical and the military officer is conservative, that the former challenges the reality which he desires to subject to the mind's judgement and the latter subscribes to the primacy of the values of action and scorns what too often seems to him to be ratiocination. Even in Europe this conventional image is a caricature, although military officers are, as a body, often conservative in outlook and the left-wing intellectuals tend to be hostile to the sword (in France particularly, there subsists, since the Dreyfus affair, a latent clash between university and army).

Outside Europe, relations between the two social categories have, as we have indicated, a quite different aspect. Part of the officers' corps is of the same petty bourgeois background as many intellectuals. The education dispensed by the military academies is not

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essentially different from that received in civilian institutions of higher learning. Outside Europe, officers and intellectuals both have a tendency - although the function of the former is to fight and that of the latter to teach, write and think - to criticize the social environment and to desire its modernization. Furthermore, both groups (outside Europe) readily accept authoritarian methods in order to achieve reforms. As for the ideologies to which they adhere, these do not seem to be determined by the professions of the two groups, but rather by a number of circumstances which vary from country to country.

In the 1930's, there was much talk of the young Japanese officers who came from the country and who were fiercely nationalistic, vaguely socialistic and hostile to plutocracy and parliament. At present, there is talk of French army "captains" who are in favour of ideas of integration, have a severe attitude toward the wealthy colonists and are opposed to the "parliamentarians", whom they hold responsible for every possible disappointment. Armies succeed less and less in maintaining neutrality, which was formerly considered normal, in conflicts which are essentially political. When certain conflicting parties are tied up with foreign powers, the army cannot be above or stand apart from internal conflict. In a revolutionary period, the military framework in the revolutionary parties tends to merge with the ideological framework. Inevitably, the military officers become politically-minded and the intellectuals seek means of force.

Neutralization of the army in stabilized democracies accentuates the, so to speak, insular originality of the Anglo-American democracies in a world undergoing revolutionary transformations. Between the Anglo-American democracies, in which the army is in the service of the state and is subordinated to democratic law, and the Soviet regime, in which the army is in the service of a state that professes ideological orthodoxy, the rest of the world is experiencing the many forms of rivalry and cooperation between intellectual and officer.

VI

Democracy as a historical idea has been linked with two other ideas: on the one hand, the idea of liberalism and, on the other, that of nationalism or - quite the contrary - cosmopolitanism.

In Western Europe and North America, democracy is now regarded as implying liberalism, security for the individual, intellectual and political liberties and the rule of law. Perhaps liberalism can, in certain countries, at times be safeguarded by sacrificing the "party regime". In the Soviet-dominated zones, the regimes claim to be democratic, that is, to be an expression of the will of the people. They retain nothing, or almost nothing, of liberalism. Hence, the tendency at the present time is to stress freedom and the rule of law even more than competition among parties. This competition seems a means rather than an end. An authoritarian regime which is embodied in a man and not subject to decisions of the electorate can be accepted as necessary provided that it does not become totalitarian and that it retains the possibility of a future return to full democracy.

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17.

In XXth-century Europe, the democratic idea has developed at the same time as the national idea. It was after the failure of democratic nationalism that the Bismarckian type of nationalism prevailed in Germany. How do matters stand in the middle of the XXth century, after two world wars and the rise of National Socialist and Soviet totalitarianism?

We noted above that it is difficult to reconcile a party regime with certain external political ambitions. In order to upset the territorial status that had been established at Versailles, Germany had to substitute the Nazi regime for the Weimar Republic. In our time, a democracy is less and less capable of an aggressive or imperialistic diplomacy.

In addition to this very general remark, it should be observed that party regimes are exposed to the dangers that "internationals" create for any state. A party that aspires to the exercise of power within the framework of a given state, should, by definition, be national and be devoted solely to the nation's welfare. Every Communist party is a member of an international and is more concerned with the interests of that international than with the interests of the country within which it operates. In order to succeed, other parties tend to seek allies abroad and to define themselves, in like manner, with relation to a supranational force or ideal. Moreover, when the transition from one regime to another involves a radical change in the very conception of existence and values, it is not surprising for the individual to feel more closely linked with the party that embodies his hopes than the land of his birth.

In this connection, one might wonder whether a continental or cultural patriotism is not in the process of gradually transcending national patriotism. Do not those Germans, Frenchmen or Italians who call themselves European feel a "continental patriotism"? Or is it a matter of an illusion, a dream? Are those persons who call themselves "Atlantic" really thinking of a land that has the dimensions of the Atlantic community?

What would be the nature of parties in organizations which are still far from having given definite proof of vitality? Would there be liberal or socialist parties composed indifferently of Frenchmen, Germans and Italians? The same problem that we mentioned in connection with the non-Western zones of civilization would appear on this level: when the political corps is not homogeneous, the parties may dissolve the national unity because they represent, not groups which are present throughout the territory, but regions which are more or less tempted by autonomy.

If there existed a six-nation parliament, the European political corps would immediately be torn apart in the event that the parties were German, French, Italian, etc. Solidarity of workers, socialists or liberal voters, a solidarity transcending ancient borders, would give rise to "European parties" and would maintain the coherence of the political corps of Europe.

It is not possible in the case of Europe or the new states to formulate a dogmatic reply. But the question itself illustrates the problem that lies at the heart of modern democracies: under what circumstances are party quarrels compatible with national unity and the forging of a common will? We are more aware at the present time of the circumstances that make for democratic stability, but the democratic regimes imply, by their nature, a wager that is never definitely won.

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1. Art as an instrument of national prestige:
 - its corrupting, embittering and distorting effects at the great biennials (Davis Cup matches cleaner)

2. Speculation on its art market now a big business
 - divorcing collecting from a love of art
 - stock market attitude.

3. The function of an esoteric art in democratic society
 - how to defend it against political philistinism
 - how to justify it in terms of social responsibility.

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établir les côtés d'une fenêtre - établir les pièces of a plan
"Mouvement Art Sacré"
les mains de S. Sulpice - who poss. de sacred art
(Couturier) ansis. Roucampsete

que signifie "en taille doree" ?
graveur

KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Internationale Tagung

PROGRAMM

ERÖFFNUNGSSITZUNG

Donnerstag, 16. Juni, 15:30

I.

Radio Symphonie-Orchester Berlin, Dirigent: Antal Dorati

Drittes Brandenburgisches Konzert in G-Dur (J. S. Bach)

Allegro Moderato/Allegro

II.

Begrüßungsworte und Vorsitz: IGNAZIO SILONE

Es sprechen:

Der Regierende Bürgermeister WILLY BRANDT

GASTON BERGER, Membre de l'Institut

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, Mitglied der Nationalversammlung, Mali

Professor ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Altbundespräsident Professor THEODOR HEUSS

AUDITORIUM KONGRESSHALLE BERLIN

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que signifie "en taille d'œuvre" ?
provenance
établir les côtes d'un
fermeture - établis des pièces
of a plan
"Mouvement Art Sacré" (Couturier) assis. Pouchampsete
les œuvres de S. Sulpice - mais pas de
sacred art

KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

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Allegro Moderato/Allegro

II.

Begrüßungsworte und Vorsitz: IGNAZIO SILONE

Es sprechen:

Der Regierende Bürgermeister WILLY BRANDT

GASTON BERGER, Membre de l'Institut

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, Mitglied der Nationalversammlung, Mali

Professor ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Altbundespräsident Professor THEODOR HEUSS

AUDITORIUM KONGRESSHALLE BERLIN

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que signifie "en taille douce" ?
 gravure
 le point - d'un style plus propre

établir la cote d'un
 livre - établir the pieces
 of a plan
 "Mouvement Art Sacré"

les maîtres de S. Sulpice - who poss. de
 sacred art
 (Couturier) artist. Roubaix etc

S O C I A L P R O G R A M
 =====

Thursday, 16th June

18:30 Press reception given by the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Restaurant of Congress-Hall (for participants, wives and invited guests).

Friday, 17th June

19:00 Public meeting in front of town-hall on the occasion of the anniversary of the East German uprising (speakers: Bürgermeister Willy Brandt and Herr v. Hassell, Ministerpresident of Schleswig-Holstein.

Participants and wives (if they wish to attend) will be collected from the Congress-Hall in buses at 18:30 (tickets will be issued in advance).

Saturday, 18th June

11:00 Official opening of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin NW 21, Hanseatenweg 10, for all participants and wives (special invitations in Congress folders).

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Saturday, 18th June contd.

- 19:00 50 free tickets will be available for a performance of the "Masked Ball" at the Städtische Oper, Kantstraße. (Tickets obtainable from Miss Ukert, Information Desk, Congress-Hall)
- 20:00 Reception at the Akademie der Künste for all participants and wives (special invitations in Congress folders).
-

Sunday, 19th June

- 11:00 Meeting at the Akademie der Künste. Any Participants and their wives who are interested can obtain the program on request at the Information Desk in the Congress Hall.
- 14:00 Excursion for all participants and their wives as guests of the City of Berlin including a sight-seeing tour of East- and West-Berlin and a boat-trip on the ship S.S. Ernst Reuter (some local personalities will also participate). Refreshments will be served on board.
- Departure from all Hotels by special buses at 14:00 hrs. Return to Hotels at approx. 19:00.

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Sunday, 19th June contd.

All persons wishing to participate in this excursion are requested to complete the attached form and hand it to the Information Desk not later than Friday, the 17th of June at 15:00 hrs. Those participating are advised to lunch early on that day.

Evening free

Monday, 20th June

19:00 50 free tickets will be available for a performance of "Der Freischütz" at the Städtische Oper, Kantstraße. (Tickets obtainable from information desk at Congress-Hall.)

Tuesday, 21st June

20:00 Reception given by the Mayor of Berlin in the Orangerie of the Charlottenburg Palace. All participants and wives are invited. Invitation cards will be issued. Participants are requested to make their own way there by taxi. Taxis will also be available at the Palace for the return journey.

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CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN PARIS (8^e) TÉLÉPHONE: EUROPE 55-15 CABLE: CULTURCONGRES-PARIS

Thursday 16th

PRÉSIDENTS D'HONNEUR :

Theodor HEUSS
Karl JASPERS
Salvador de MADARIAGA
Jacques MARITAIN
Jayaprakash NARAYAN
Reinhold NIEBUHR

PRÉSIDENT DU COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF :

Denis de ROUGEMONT

SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL :

Nicolas NABOKOV

Dear Mr Barr

Will you keep your
luncheon free also on Monday 20th
at 1 o'clock. Mr Julius Fleischmann
and Nicolas Nabokov are having
a few friends at the Rempinsky
hotel -

Yours sincerely

Nadya d'Arshof

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MELVIN J. LASKY
M. MINDLIN

KEMPINSKI BERLIN



Telefonische Mitteilung

960

Block C

ETENHAUS

at Chief
invite
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schen Einheit
9 Uhr,
höneberg.
enneberg

Anfahrt und Zugang
nur Bodensche Straße

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Dahlem

RESIDENCE
GARYSTR. 78
76 09 66

PARISH HOUSE
GARYSTR. 80
76 34 59

DR. ARTHUR R. SIEBENS
PASTOR
AMERICAN COMMUNITY CHURCH IN BERLIN

*George & Margaret
G.R.S.*

TEL: 76 12 25

Es sind Sitzplätze vorgesehen

M.J.L.: When I asked (a little rhetorically) what we would be finding in Berlin in these days of renewed international tension - what kind of "atmosphere"? what state of "morale"? - Brandt laughed.

W.B.: I know that you are only putting a rhetorical question. But I find that outsiders always seem to suffer from a kind of melodramatic jitters which we in Berlin just don't recognize. Even in the days of the Blockade and Air-lift, people coming to our city were always surprised by the calm, the high morale, and the lack of nervousness which our much-loved Ernst Reuter represented so well. In the ten years since we have lived through all kinds of 'incidents' and 'crises'. But it has never upset the two million

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*Sorry to miss you!
A.R.S.*

DR. ARTHUR R. SIEBENS
PASTOR
AMERICAN COMMUNITY CHURCH IN BERLIN

RESIDENCE
GARYSTR. 78
76 09 66

PARISH HOUSE
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12 30 at informant's desk

Miss Wilbur Armistead

* 76-0959
74-6550

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Dr Barr may I please see you
for a few moments today or
tomorrow at your convenience?
If you will specify time and place
I will meet you. Thank you very
much. William Amistead
Special Services
Crafts Director
Berlin Command
19 June 1940- WV-

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Mr. and Mrs. Barr:

Mr. Allan Lightner, Assistant Chief of Mission (U.S.), and Mrs. Lightner invite you to a buffet supper tonight following the ceremony.

Miquelstrasse, 66
Dahlem
Tel: 76 12 25

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~~Private~~ 761109
Private
Dr. Reidemister
Dahlem
Arminalien
23
Mr. Barr
Charlottenburger
Schloss

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Hermann J. Abs
Krouberg/Haums
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Block C

DER SENAT UND DAS ABGEORDNETENHAUS
VON BERLIN

bitten um Ihre Teilnahme

an der Kundgebung aus Anlaß des Tages der Deutschen Einheit
am Freitag, dem 17. Juni 1960, 19 Uhr,
auf dem Rudolph-Wilde-Platz, vor dem Rathaus Schöneberg.

Willy Brandt

Willy Henneberg

Es sind Sitzplätze vorgesehen

Anfahrt und Zugang
nur Badensche Straße

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„Festliches Vorspiel“ von Walter Noack
mit Intonierung des Liedes: „Freiheit, die ich meine“.

Eintreffen des durch einen Vertreter der deutschen Jugend überbrachten Mahn-
feuers aus der Bundesrepublik und Entzündung einer Pylone.

Ansprachen:
Kai-Uwe von Hassel, Ministerpräsident des Landes Schleswig-Holstein
Willy Brandt, Regierender Bürgermeister von Berlin

Die Kundgebung klingt mit dem Deutschlandlied (3. Strophe) und dem Läuten
der Freiheitsglocke aus.

Es spielt das Musikkorps der Schutzpolizei; Leitung: Heinz Winkel

Dauer etwa 50 Minuten

Im Anschluß an die Kundgebung hat das Kuratorium Unteilbares Deutschland zu
einem Fackelmarsch zum Kreuzberg aufgerufen.

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Dorothea von Stetten
Bonn - Im Tannenbusch 14

June 15, 60

Dear Mrs Barr -

So sorry! No good news. I
searched the car myself, talked
to the driver, called the hotel
again. All in vain. Don't have
still a tiny hope that the bag
is somewhere in your luggage.

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If there is anything else
I can do for you please
feel free to let me know.
I remember the day with you
& Mr. Bar with great pleasure.
Kind regards to you both

Love
Annette

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Persönliche

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Aufgen. am	<i>17/5/60</i>	um	<i>16⁰⁰ hrs</i>	Uhr durch	<i>PO</i>
<i>Baronine v. Stetter phoned The plastic bag has not been found.</i>					

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MANAGING EDITOR: M. MINDLIN

FS/235

IMMEDIATE
RELEASE

Week of June 4, 1960

AN INTERVIEW with WILLY BRANDT of BERLIN

"You Will Find Life in Our Half-city as Peaceful and as Paradoxical,
as Normal and as Interesting, as Full of Sunlight and Shadows
as Any Other Place in this Topsy-Turvy Planet of Ours.."

By MELVIN J. LASKY

BERLIN

When I returned to Germany the other day to talk with Willy Brandt, the by-now world-famous Lord Mayor of Berlin, I saw him first in Bonn, the capital of the West-German Republic. The German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, was going to make a statement to the Bundestag on the exciting events of the week before - the breakdown of the Summit meeting, the wild-toned Paris press conference of Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet leader's dramatic political retreat in his speech in East-Berlin which so disappointed Walter Ulbricht... The two most prominent and powerful German political figures - the old Rhineland Chancellor, still shrewd and vigorous in his 80's, and the young Berlin socialist, a dynamic and up-and-coming European personality, still in his 40's - conferred with each other, and then later could be seen on the black parliamentary dais: Adenauer in the centre as Head of the Government, Brandt to the left as an outstanding local leader who had once served temporarily as President of the country. That day the newspapers were full of the discussion of Brandt's dramatic proposals suggesting a new "bipartisan foreign policy" which could unite the Christian Democratic government and the Socialist Opposition. One sharp-eyed correspondent observed that "Willy Brandt, the Social Democrat Mayor of Berlin, is now the only serious rival of Adenauer in popular esteem in Germany, and appears as the predestined successor..."

We flew together to Berlin the next evening, through one of the three air corridors which had been put to such historic use by the Allied air-lift in 1948-49 and which even today can only be used by planes of the three Western allies ("Pan-American", "Air France" and "British European Airways" - the German "Lufthansa" does not fly to Berlin).

* * * *

M.J.L.: When I asked (a little rhetorically) what we would be finding in Berlin in these days of renewed international tension - what kind of "atmosphere"? what state of "morale"? - Brandt laughed.

W.B.: I know that you are only putting a rhetorical question. But I find that outsiders always seem to suffer from a kind of melodramatic jitters which we in Berlin just don't recognize. Even in the days of the Blockade and Air-lift, people coming to our city were always surprised by the calm, the high morale, and the lack of nervousness which our much-loved Ernst Reuter represented so well. In the ten years since we have lived through all kinds of 'incidents' and 'crises'. But it has never upset the two million

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Berliners - they have gone on with the job of reconstructing the ruined city, solving such social and economic problems as unemployment and refugees, and maintaining their hope that one day soon their 'island' will become part of the 'Mainland'... And today we are rather proud of the place! There's still a lot of rubble around, but don't you agree that some of the new architecture is breath-taking? I've been told by Indian and Japanese and American architects that the Hansaviertel community is one of the most remarkable achievements in modern city planning... No, I think that whoever comes to visit West-Berlin will find life in our half-city as peaceful and as paradoxical, as normal and as interesting, as full of sunlight and shadows as any other place in this topsy-turvy planet of ours..."

M.J.L.: But then what of East Berlin, the other "half-city"?

W.B. : "Well, we are still tragically divided - but what should never be overlooked is how much of a unity the old Gross-stadt of Berlin still remains! There are no barriers within the city itself, and tens of thousands of people move freely across the so-called city borders every day - some to work, others to do some shopping or sight-seeing, most (probably) to visit friends and relatives. The trolleys and subways go back and forth, and although we still cannot telephone from West-Berlin to East-Berlin - unless you book a long-distance call via Frankfurt-am-Main! - it is this human bond which keeps this city and this people together..."

M.J.L.: Do you yourself go "back and forth"? I've noted that there are big Communist placards on Unter-den-Linden and on the Stalin-Allee which attack you, and only the other day Mr. Khrushchev said some very uncomplimentary things about you in his speech in East-Berlin...

W.B. : "Yes, but last year he sent me a cordial invitation to meet and talk with him in his Soviet Embassy in East-Berlin. Name-calling comes and goes, but the need to negotiate the unity of the city of Berlin and the unity of our nation remains. I myself have visited East-Berlin in recent times and plan to go again soon. The last visit was to a gathering, a purely religious one, in the ancient Marienkirche. Next time I want to see my socialist friends over there, because as you know we still have a half-dozen officially registered Social-Democratic party offices. This is surely one of the paradoxes of political life around here! Our party was legally permitted by the Soviet authorities fifteen years ago, and although we were subsequently disallowed in the Eastern Zone and our offices closed in Leipzig and Magdeburg, etc., we still go on in East Berlin. In fact some of our East Berlin friends even commute to Bonn and serve as Members of Parliament..."

Of course, much that we do is calculated to relieve the plight of our East Berlin citizens. We give them a favourable rate of exchange with which to exchange the 'poorer' East-Mark for the more 'prosperous' West-Mark; we encourage them in many ways to visit our theatres, cinemas, and museums. Still, I think it would be wrong for visitors to get the impression when they see both sectors of Berlin that our pride in our Higher Living-Standard has made us arrogant or patronizing. We are filled with great sadness, and even some shame, that our city which was once one of the four or five great metropolitan centres of the modern world should now be cut so cruelly into two parts by so artificial a dividing line..."

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M.J.L.: What then are the realistic hopes for re-unification when Berlin remains one of the dramatic stages of the Cold War?

W.B. : "First, let me say something about the so-called 'Cold War'. I myself don't like the term and never use it. It is vague, inaccurate, and confusing. It is full of irrelevant emotional connotations, and has become in its Eastern and Western usage a propaganda slogan. Of course, it once had a clear meaning - that was when Walter Lippmann, the American analyst, coined it. And for a while I suppose it served as a descriptive term - to describe the world-political tensions in a period characterized by the absence of an ordered peace and the absence of military conflicts. But today it seems to mean a kind of 'ideological war-mongering', whatever that may mean... No, I think that if there is a usable term for our situation, and in fact for the dynamics of politics everywhere in the world today, it is rather the struggle for the self-determination of peoples. This is what is happening in Asia and in Africa. Peoples and new nations are coming to determine their own fate. Colonialism is coming to an end. What a grotesque irony that colonialism should continue to exist in the heart of Europe! What we demand from our Soviet neighbour is only what Lenin and Stalin and Khrushchev have been preaching throughout the twentieth century - "self-determination". One man, one vote - one free man, one free vote. In that way we would be able to shape our own destiny in our own way: to build a new German democracy, to participate constructively in European affairs as a nation and not merely as a rump-state, to cooperate in a progressive and enlightened way with all neighbours in East and West..."

M.J.L.: Would you say that this is a policy of "peaceful coexistence"?

W.B. : "Before one can coexist one must first exist. I want to help re-establish the existence of a unified city of Berlin in a unified Germany - and both in peace and freedom... I don't want a dangerous 'competitive coexistence' between two Berlins and two Germanies, each vying with the other for strength and prestige and recognition. When I think of 'coexistence' I would much prefer it be cooperative rather than competitive. The world has become a pretty small place, and all peoples and cultures can benefit from each other's talents and advantages. A new world order based on the principles of Cooperative Coexistence might begin here, close to us, with a constructive arrangement in Europe but it would also include a programme of cooperation between Europe and America and the Afro-Asian world. But it must be founded on the abandonment of colonialism! The old Western imperial powers have been recognizing the 'wind of change' - when will the Soviet power be persuaded that it cannot maintain a colonial regime here against all the logic of morality, history, and peace? Walter Ulbricht, who came with the Soviet Army to Berlin in 1945, is the real Communist boss of the so-called German Democratic Republic - which is neither German nor democratic nor a republic."

M.J.L.: Did you find in your recent round-the-world travels a real interest and understanding of the Berlin problem, or was it considered a far-away and irrelevant quarrel?

W.B. : "The trouble is that it was often presented in the past as a quarrel between Russians and Germans. Or between Capitalists and Communists. Or as an incident in the European cold war... But, as I have been arguing, it is really part of the world-wide struggle to end foreign colonial rule and enable each people to determine its own political destiny. Put that way, "Berlin" is something very relevant indeed in Asia and Africa. In Rangoon I had a good talk with U Nu and in New Delhi with Pandit Nehru. And a few weeks ago I was invited by the Indian Prime Minister to London to have a private lunch with him during the Commonwealth Conference. I must confess that I am much indebted to these wise and experienced leaders of Asian liberation movements... All in all, I would say that there is a growing understanding everywhere of the true nature of our difficulties..."

W.J.L.: Do you expect these difficulties to increase in the next period, or are you hopeful of some significant progress towards a sound solution?

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W.B. : "Well, I was not exactly elected by the Berliners to be a prophet. But I did say after the melodramatic 'Ultimatum' of November 1958 that after the six months were up Berlin would still be a city situated along the green banks of the River Spree. And so it is... Things from time to time over the next year or two may get a little worse before they get a little better. But I see no real danger of war..."

M.J.L.: And meanwhile in Berlin life will go on - normally, abnormally?

W.B. : "No, not abnormally - normally! How silly, superficial, and ignorant is the talk one hears sometimes about the 'abnormal' situation of West-Berlin! To anyone who knows anything about the kind of unnatural life that is lived between the Spree River and the Yellow Sea, what we have in West-Berlin must be the most normal thing in ten thousand miles... I only wish for the time when we could disappear from the black front-page headlines of the world press. Our people don't care to go on forever being the 'heroic Berliners'. This is a hard-working and freedom-loving population. Berliners want to go about their business, live in peace, speak their minds openly, travel around normally, and be spared harassment, pressure, and propaganda. We have a valuable and thriving industrial set-up in Berlin, our factories being under varying forms of public planning and private management, and we want to keep on arranging our developing economy along these moderate, sensible, enlightened 'mixed' lines. We have many serious and popular newspapers, and we want our citizens to keep on having their choice of a press which is free to criticize and to dissent. We have two great universities, and the tens of thousands of young persons who are studying there get no dogmas pumped into them but receive a liberal and scientific training according to their own talents and personalities. Last but not least, the Berliners like to be in touch with the outside world - we want no 'iron curtains' - and we are glad when the outside world comes to us..."

M.J.L.: Have the recent headlines had the effect of discouraging outsiders from visiting you in Berlin?

W.B. : "Not at all. Quite the contrary... We have been having more visitors than ever. Our hotels are filling up, and our boulevards are beginning to swarm with tourists. Only in cheap novelettes is the fiction maintained of Berlin as some dangerous, precarious frontier-post... Things begin to be almost too normal. Some now come to Berlin to go swimming and boating on the Wannsee, others to sit around in Kurfuerstendamm cafés or to look at the Rembrandts and Dürers in the Museum, and a few even to go to East Berlin to see the Brecht plays... Only a distorted ideologized mind can see in any of these signs of 'espionage' or 'provocation'. The only 'spying' I am interested in is for the outsider to come to Berlin and take a simple, honest, straightforward look around. The only 'provocation' that is being done is the provoking of a little thought about the important problem of a divided city in a divided nation in a divided world..."

You know, I once received a remarkable present from Africa - sent to me by Albert Schweitzer. It was two huge elephant tusks. Maybe Dr. Schweitzer meant it as a sign that occasionally in Berlin we have to show our teeth. But maybe, too, that we must have elephantine patience and confidence in our own survival..."

* * * *

(Melvin J. Lasky is the editor of the British monthly "Encounter" and the founder of the important Berlin monthly "Der Monat")

Please send us two press cuttings of this article

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Note to all Participants

There will be a daily shuttle service between the Hotels where participants are staying and the Congress-Hall at the following times:

Opening Session, 16 June, 15:00

Departure:	Hotel Berlin	14:30 (makes 2 rides)
"	Hotel Steinplatz	14:30
"	Hotel Savoy	14:35
"	Hotel Kempinski	14:40
"	Hotel Plaza	14:30
"	Parkhotel	14:40
"	Hotel Hilton	14:50

Daily schedule for Working Sessions on 17, 18, 20 and 21 June:

Morning

Departure:	Hotel Berlin	09:15 (makes 2 rides)
	Hotel Steinplatz	09:00
	Hotel Savoy	09:10
	Hotel Kempinski	09:15
	Hotel Plaza	09:00
	Parkhotel	09:10
	Hotel Hilton	09:20

<i>Afternoon:</i>	Hotel Berlin	14:45 (makes 2 rides)
	Hotel Steinplatz	14:45
	Hotel Savoy	14:50
	Hotel Kempinski	14:55
	Hotel Plaza	14:45
	Parkhotel	14:55
	Hotel Hilton	15:10

Departure from Congresshall to Hotels after working sessions:

Morning: 12:30

Afternoon: 17:30 / 18:00

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Closing Session, 22 June, 10:00

Departure: Hotel Berlin 09:15 (makes 2 rides)
 Hotel Steinplatz 09:00
 Hotel Savoy 09:10
 Hotel Kempinski 09:15
 Hotel Plaza 09:00
 Parkhotel 09:10
 Hotel Hilton 09:20

Departure from Congress-Hall after Closing Session:

12:30

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Postscheckkonto: 388 93 Berlin
Telegrammadr.: Reisedienst Berlin
Telex: 011 752

Ihr Zeichen

-

Ihre Nachricht vom

10. 5. 1960

Unser Zeichen

K 2184/Kt/Sch

Tag

30. Mai 1960

Sehr geehrter Herr Barr!

Wir bestätigen dankend den Empfang Ihres obenerwähnten Schreibens, das uns zuständigkeithalber zur Bearbeitung übergeben wurde.

Als Anlage überreichen wir Ihnen "Antragskarten auf Einreise in die Deutsche Demokratische Republik" sowie unsere "Allgemeinen Hinweise", woraus Sie bitte die erforderlichen Bedingungen für eine Reise in unser Land entnehmen wollen.

Mit separater Post erhalten Sie ferner ein Exemplar unseres Fahrtroutenprogramms sowie weiteres Informations- und Prospektmaterial. Bitte, geben Sie uns rechtzeitig, entsprechend den "Allgemeinen Hinweisen", unter Angabe des genauen Termins bekannt, für welche Reiseroute Sie sich entschieden haben. Wir werden Ihnen dann auch die Kosten für den Gesamtaufenthalt mitteilen. Gleichzeitig möchten wir darauf hinweisen, daß Zimmerreservierungen und sonstige Arrangements für Touristenreisen in die DDR nur vom Deutschen Reisebüro vorgenommen werden.

Während Ihres Aufenthaltes in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik steht Ihnen ein Reiseleiter des Deutschen Reisebüros zur Verfügung.


Ihrer geschätzten Rückäußerung sehen wir mit Interesse entgegen und verbleiben

mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

DEUTSCHES REISEBÜRO
Zentrale Leitung

Anlagen

Heinecke
Direktor


Hamacher
Abt.-Ltr.

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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GENERAL INFORMATION

The DEUTSCHE REISEBÜRO of the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC is the central authority responsible of tourist traffic in the GDR.

DEUTSCHES REISEBÜRO, Zentrale Leitung, Berlin N 4 ,
Friedrichstrasse 110/ 112,
Tel.: 42 54 26
Cable: Reisedienst, Berlin,
Telex: Reisedienst, Berlin 011 752

V I S A S

Our Passport and Visa Section must receive 4 application forms together with 4 passport-photographs 6 weeks prior to scheduled arrival.

Visa handling fee US\$ 3.- per person. Please send a traveller's cheque by return of the application forms. No refund will be made in case permission will not be granted.

As soon as permission is granted by the authorized offices our Passport and Visa section will send to your home-address the so-called promissory note. Together with this note and your valid passport you will be able to obtain the final entry and exit visa upon entry on territory of the GDR at the frontier post. There GM/GFB 15.- will be charged per person. You can either pay in Sterling, U.S. dollars or Swiss Francs.

FINANCIAL INFORMATION

The present exchange rates of the DEUTSCHE NOTENBANK are (27th July, 1959):

1000 ffrs.	= 8,30	GM/DN	or	GM/GFB
1 P. Sterling	= 11,65	GM/DN	or	GM/GFB
1 US\$	= 4,18	GM/DN	or	GM/GFB
100 sfrs.	= 96,20	GM/DN	or	GM/GFB
100 hfl.	= 109,75	GM/DN	or	GM/GFB

Foreign money and money of the Federal German Republic may be brought freely into the German Democratic Republic, provided the amount carried, including travellers' cheques, letters of credit, etc. is declared at the time of entry.

Money of the Federal German Republic will be exchanged at par.

P E T R O L

Foreign motorists can obtain coupons enabling them to purchase petrol at reduced prices at the Bureaux de Change at all frontier posts and the branches of the Deutsche Reisebüro named below:

Berlin W 8, Charlottenstrasse 45,	Dresden, Hauptbahnhof, Ostbau,
Leipzig C 1, Markt 4,	Leipzig C 1, Hauptbahnhof, Osthalle,
Erfurt, Am Anger 19/20,	Magdeburg, Karl Marx- Strasse 232 a,
Rostock, Stalinstrasse 67,	Stralsund, Neuer Markt 5

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- 2 -

You need an International Driving Licence.

Petrol (66 octane)	white	per litre	GM/GFB	-.41
Petrol (72 octane)	red	per litre	GM/GFB	-.45
Dies l Fuel (spec. weight 0,877)		per litre	GM/GFB	-.36
Motor-Oil		per litre	GM/GFB	1.51

ROAD TOLLS :

up to 8 seats	200 km	GM/GFB	5.-
	201 km - 300 km	GM/GFB	15.-
	301 km - 400 km	GM/GFB	20.-
	401 km - 500 km	GM/GFB	25.-
each seat more up to	200 km	GM/GFB	1.-
each seat more from 201 km up to	500 km	GM/GFB	2.--

SPEED LIMITS

in built-up areas) cars 50 km per hr.
in open areas) cars 90 km per hr.

on the Autobahn) 100 km per hr.

Foreign visitors who wish to arrange insurance cover against third-party risks, personal injury and damage to their car and luggage, while in the German Democratic Republic contact the Deutsche Reisebüro .

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

Visitors entering the German Democratic Republic may bring with them duty-free and without import licence a normal amount of personal luggage and food intended for their own use. Articles of value, such as typewriters, cameras, motor-cars, will be entered by the Customs authorities at the time of entry on the certificate provided for this purpose.

When leaving the German Democratic Republic, visitors may take with them, without an export licence, articles purchased as gifts or souvenirs, provided these have been paid for with currency obtained either by exchange or by the sale of Fair goods to the Foreign Trade organisations of the GDR.

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JOSEPH WULF

BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG, den 15.VI.1960
GIESEBRECHTSTR. 12, IV
TELEFON: 32 42 47

Author of:

"The Third Reich and the Jews"
Berlin 1955, Amsterdam 1956, Paris 1959
Barcelona 1960
"The Third Reich and its Servants"
Berlin 1956
"The Third Reich and its Thinkers"
Berlin 1959 (those with Leon Poliakov)
"Life, Fight and Death in the Warsaw Ghetto"
Bonn 1958
"Raoul Wallenberg", Berlin 1958, Oslo 1959

Mr. Alfred H. Barr

Congress for Cultural Freedom
B e r l i n
Kongresshalle

Dear Sir,

I am just preparing a publication on Adolf Eichmann, recently arrested in Israel on the charge of being the organiser of the so-called "Final solution of the Jewish question" during the Second World War.

In trying to get a census of the points of view of representative intellectuals I turn also to you asking your co-operation by answering the following questions:

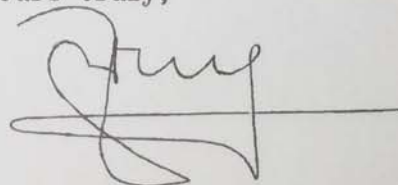
- 1.) Do you believe an Israel Court entitled to start proceedings against Adolf Eichmann?
- 2.) Why? If not: Why not?

I should be most thankful to have, if possible, your detailed and, also, if possible, typed answer. May I, moreover, ask you for some personal data:

When and where born? Profession?
Positions held? Publications?

I trust you will favour me with answering my request and am, dear Sir, with my best thanks for your trouble

yours truly,



did not answer

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cc: Marga

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Date 10 May 1960

To:

Re:

From: Ministerium für Auswertige Angelegenheiten
East Berlin,
Germany

Gentlemen:

My wife and I plan to be in Germany this summer and would greatly appreciate it if permission could be granted to visit Dresden for one day only, leaving East Berlin the evening of June 22nd and returning the evening of June 23rd. We should like to make the trip to see the collections in the Dresden municipal collections. Our interest is professional -- I am a museum official, my wife an art historian.

May I ask if you would be kind enough to reply to the above address. Should you not be able to write earlier, a copy should be sent after the 2nd of June to me directly in care of American Express, West Berlin.

Believe me, the privilege of visiting Dresden would be immensely valuable to Mrs. Barr and myself. We hope that you may feel it possible to grant the necessary permission.

Very truly yours,

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

AHB:ma

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THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

CONGRES POUR LA LIBERTE DE LA CULTURE

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

Date _____

To: _____ Re: _____

From: _____

President & Chairman
Secretary
Treasurer
Executive Director
General Secretary
Member of Council
Member of Executive
Member of Administrative
Member of Finance
Member of Publicity
Member of Liaison
Member of Correspondence

EAST GERMANY

Dr. Füssler, Museumdirektor
Dr. Wichmann, Kustos

Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig
"International Ausstellung "Schach im Wandel der Seiten"
Postfach 504, Anschritt: Leipzig Cl
Bankkonto: DNLeipzig

wrote 3/5/60 re chess show

Should be responsible for the forthcoming Conference to be held in Leipzig in 1961. The program and a preliminary report will be sent to you by the end of the month.

In the event of a change of date, you will be informed in time.

From the 1st to the 15th June

Should you wish to attend the conference, you are requested to inform us as soon as possible. If you cannot attend, we would be glad to have a representative from your city.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom will be held in Leipzig from the 1st to the 15th June 1961. Your hotel room and breakfast for the period of the Congress. If you are accompanied by your wife, we will always be able to provide for the use of a double room.

To enable you to feel free to take your work with you, you will receive 100 DM per day for the duration of the Congress to cover the costs. Local transport and other costs covered. This will be paid out by the Congress Secretariat in the Congress Hotel.

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CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN PARIS (8^e) TÉLÉPHONE : EUROPE 55-15 CABLE : CULTURCONGRES-PARIS

PRÉSIDENTS D'HONNEUR :

Theodor HEUSS
Karl JASPERS
Salvador de MADARIAGA
Jacques MARITAIN
Jayaprakash NARAYAN
Reinhold NIEBUHR

PRÉSIDENT DU COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF :

Denis de ROUGEMONT

SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL :

Nicolas NABOKOV

16th May, 1960

Mr. Alfred H. BARR
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Hotel accommodation for the forthcoming Conference in Berlin has now been arranged and a ~~single~~/double room with bath has been reserved for you

in the Hotel KEMPINSKI, Kurfuerstendamm 27, Berlin 15
Tel. 91 06 91

from the 15th to the 23rd June

Should your date of arrival change for some reason, you are requested to inform us as soon as possible. If such changes occur at the last moment, we suggest that you send a relevant cable to the hotel as well.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom will automatically pay your hotel room and breakfast for the period of the Conference. If you are accompanied by your wife, no extra charge will be made for the use of a double room.

To enable you to feel free to take your meals wherever you wish, you will receive DM 30.- per day for the period of the Conference to cover the meals, local transport, and other extra expenses. This will be paid out by the Conference accountant in the Congress Hall.

.../

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CONGRES POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

2.

The hotel will be instructed to submit to you at the end of your stay a bill for all extras (telephone, laundry, drinks, etc.)

All other administrative details as well as the official programme will be made available to you in Berlin.

On arrival at the airport, please look out for Congress reception staff wearing a Congress armband. They are there to assist you and to direct you to your hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Marion Bieber
Marion Bieber

P.S.

You are requested to ensure that you have a German visa should you require one.

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CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

SECRETARIAT INTERNATIONAL

104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN PARIS (8^e) TÉLÉPHONE : EUROPE 55-15 CABLE : CULTURCONGRÈS-PARIS

Paris, April 11, 1960

Mr. Alfred H. BARR, Jr.
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barr,

As you have kindly accepted our invitation to participate in the General Conference of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Berlin, 16th to 22nd June, 1960, we would like to inform you that your local Air France representative has been instructed by the Paris Office of Air France to contact you by letter or in person in order to make your travel reservations. Air France has been authorised to issue you with a round - trip air ticket (tourist class) :

New York - Berlin - New York

If for some reason you are unable to travel by Air France, the representative can issue a ticket by any other airline. If you wish to take a route other than the direct one, or wish to travel first class or are accompanied, the Air France representative will of course accept your reservations, but the extra cost involved, i.e. over and above the direct round-trip (tourist) fare for one person, will be payable by you directly to Air France.

You are advised to make your firm reservation through to Berlin as soon as the Air France representative has contacted you, as the number of planes flying into Berlin is limited and most participants will wish to arrive on the same day, i.e. June 15th. If you plan to leave Berlin immediately after the Conference, i.e. June 23rd, you are also advised to make a firm reservation for similar reasons.

.../

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CONGRES POUR LA LIBERTE DE LA CULTURE

2.

If by any chance the Air France representative has not been in touch with you within 14 days of the date of this letter, you are requested to inform us of this fact without delay, so that the necessary enquiries can be made. We would appreciate it very much if you would not make your reservations through an agent other than the Air France representative, as this would complicate administrative arrangements and eventual reimbursement for travel expenses.

x Should you be coming to Berlin accompanied, and have not yet informed us of this fact, we would ask you to do so without delay. We would also like you to let us know if you plan to arrive in Berlin before June 15th, or intend to stay on after June 23rd, so that the necessary adjustment in hotel reservations can be made. If we do not hear from you within the next two weeks, we will assume that you are travelling alone and will reserve a single room for you from 15th to 23rd June inclusive. Any period spent in Berlin outside these dates will be at your own expense. The name and address of your hotel will be sent to you in due course.

We look forward to the pleasure of welcoming you in Berlin.

Yours sincerely,

pl. Marion Bieber

Frede Dubois

A double room will be reserved for you
and we will let you know later the name
of the hotel -

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SECRETARIAT INTERNATIONAL

104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN PARIS (8^e) TÉLÉPHONE : EUROPE 55-15 CABLE : CULTURCONGRÈS-PARIS

25th January, 1960.

Mr. Alfred H. Barr
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
United States of America.

Dear Mr. Barr,

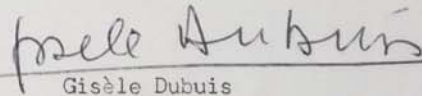
For the preparation of the General Conference in Berlin (16 - 22 June 1960), in which you have kindly agreed to participate, we would like to ask you to complete the enclosed form and to return it to us, here in Paris, together with a recent photograph, as soon as possible.

We are planning to organise a small exhibition of books of the participants of the Conference, as well as our own publications, in the entrance of the Congress Hall in Berlin. Should you wish to have any of your own works displayed on this occasion, we would like to ask you to send a copy of each of these directly to our Berlin representative whose address is :

Frau Sigrid Kellner
Kongress fuer Kulturelle Freiheit
Schorlemer Allee 28
Berlin-Dahlem

It would be appreciated if these could arrive there not later than June 1st.

Sincerely yours,


Gisèle Dubuis

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Books published:

Author: Cubism and Abstract Art, 1936; What is Modern Painting?, ~~1943~~

Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art, 1946; 20th Century Italian Art (with Editor of

5 Problems

DIF

1. Money - Picasso 6%
2. Space - 23
3. Procedures - ~~Yves?~~ (little) 500
4. ~~Power~~ - Artists - academic X abstract - modern
5. ~~Quality~~

4 Power - downy: purchases was or show

5 Quality - Architecture X automobile and Significance of the work of art 1 out of 10

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series/Folder:
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Books published:

Author: Cubism and Abstract Art, 1936; ~~What is Modern Painting?, 1943;~~
 Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art, 1946; 20th Century Italian Art (with
 Editor,
 J. T. Soby), 1949; Matisse: His Art and His Public, 1951; Masters of

Dire

- Five Museum concerned

- The MoMA

1929 (1) collectors

12 plan - photography kniper
- film

- Architecture (incl
houses + city plan)
- Arts & design
- Theater (Cult. Freedom)

How it works

1 Collections (contemporary)

50 years of American art } 2 Exhibitions in NY
 C. Family of Art } U.S.
 C. New American Painting } - prints
 - loans to galleries } 3 Books, 9 languages
 } (modernism Japan and
 the U.S.S.R.)

10000 copies

4. Educational Center
 1. Experimental School
 - and museum
 2. Research center
 library

5. Publications
 3. Exhibitions + apparatus

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series/Folder:
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Books published:

Author: Cubism and Abstract Art, 1936; ~~What is Modern Painting?, 1943;~~
Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art, 1946; 20th Century Italian Art (with
Editor,
J. T. Soby), 1949; Matisse: His Art and His Public, 1951; Masters of
Modern Art, 1954; ~~Editor~~ of 32 museum exhibition catalogs.

Director or organizer of some 85 exhibitions for The Museum of Modern Art.

Dear Mr. Nabokov:

I am delighted to write you that so far
as I can arrange I shall be able to come to Berlin to
the International Conference of the Congress for Cultural
Freedom June 15th to June 22nd.

I have to be in Bonn earlier in June, but
I am not quite sure just when.

I enclose the form sent me by Miss Dibdin
and, as she requests, shall send a few books of mine earlier
to arrive well before June 1st. I do expect to be accompanied
by my wife.

Would you let me know what arrangements
should be made about expenses. Should I make plane reservations
here? If so, I fear I must act quickly.

I shall read the preparatory literature on the
Conference with care. Would you let me know what other preparations
I should make.

Needless to say, I look forward with very great
interest to the occasion -- and with real pleasure to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Director of the Museum Collections

Mr. Nicolas Nabokov
La Sociéte Générale
Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture
104 Boulevard Malesherbes
Paris 8, France

ASB:na

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Hand
CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE 8 April 1960

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL
Paris, 10^e Document 1960
Dear Mr. Nabokov:

I am delighted to write you that so far as I can foresee I shall be able to come to Berlin to the International Conference of the Congress for Cultural Freedom June 16th to June 22nd.

I have to be in Bonn earlier in June, but I am not quite sure just when.

I enclose the form sent me by Miss Dubuis and, as she requests, shall send a few books to Frau Kellner to arrive well before June 1st. I do expect to be accompanied by my wife.

Would you let me know what arrangements should be made about expenses. Should I make plane reservations here? If so, I fear I must act quickly.

I shall read the preparatory literature on the Conference with care. Would you let me know what other preparations I should make.

Needless to say, I look forward with very great interest to the occasion -- and with real pleasure to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Alfred H. Barr, Jr.
Director of the Museum Collections

Mr. Nicolas Nabokov
Le Secrétaire Général
Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture
104 Boulevard Haussmann
Paris 8, France

AHB:ma

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March

CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN, PARIS VIII^e - EUROPE 55-15

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL

Paris, 10th December 1959

Mr. Alfred H. Barr, jr.
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barr:

I have just received your letter of November 30th and am delighted with the idea that it may be possible to have you among us at our International Conference in Berlin.

There is no deadline for a "yes"; you can let us know any time whether you can come or not. But then we would ask you to let us know whether you will be accompanied by your wife or whether you will be coming alone.

I would only like to add that I do sincerely hope that your fund-raising program will not prevent you from coming and that it will be so successful that by June of next year you will feel free to spend a week with us in Berlin.

There is no problem of language involved, for there will be simultaneous translation into three languages and most of the participants will speak English anyway.

Mr. H. ...
Secretary General
Congress for Cultural Freedom
104, Boulevard Haussmann
Paris 8, France

With my best regards, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Nicolas Nabokov

Nicolas Nabokov

NN/umg

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CONGRES POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

30 November 1959

104, BOULEVARD HAUSMANN PARIS (8^e) TELEPHONE : EUROPE 14-13 CABLE : CULTUNOMOREE-VERS

MEMBERSHIP PROGRAMME

Chairman: 1959
Hon. Officer
Secretary: M. MATHIAS
English Secretary
Executive Secretary
General Secretary

PROGRAMME DU COMITÉ DIRECTEUR

Chairman: 1959
Hon. Officer
Secretary: M. MATHIAS
English Secretary
Executive Secretary
General Secretary

Dear Mr. Nabokov:

21st October, 1959.

I am deeply honored by your invitation to participate in Study Group III of the Congress for Cultural Freedom to take place in Berlin June 16-22nd, 1960. I should think it a privilege to do so, but it is difficult for me to give you a definite answer at this moment. Our Museum has just launched a fund raising program for many millions and I cannot foresee the problems which may arise for the summer. May I ask you if you must have an immediate answer? If not, what would your deadline be for a final yes or no?

Believe me, I want very much to accept your invitation.

In regard to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, I should like to invite you to our 1st General Conference. This will be held in Berlin from the 18th to the 22nd of June, 1960. As you will see from the enclosed documents, the purpose of the program (provisionally entitled "Progress in Freedom -- A Discussion of Ideas" Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Society) is to turn our thoughts to the future. There have been many discussions of the past and its controversies, and they have been

Mr. Nicolas Nabokov, Secretary General, Congress for Cultural Freedom, 104, Boulevard Haussmann, Paris 8, France.

P. S. A question: my conversational French and German are quite limited. Do you think this would seriously handicap my usefulness in such a conference?

We are holding our conference in Berlin on the invitation of Mayor Willy Brandt, who has generously offered us

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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN PARIS (8^e) TÉLÉPHONE : EUROPE 55-15 CABLE : CULTURCONGRES-PARIS

PRÉSIDENTS D'HONNEUR :

Theodor HEUSS
Karl JASPERS
Salvador de MADARIAGA
Jacques MARITAIN
Jayaprakash NARAYAN
Reinhold NIEBUHR

PRÉSIDENT DU COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF :

Denis de ROUEMONT

SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL :

Nicolas NABOKOV

21st October, 1959.

Mr. Alfred H. Barr,
Museum of Modern Art,
11 West 53rd Street,
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
United States of America.

Dear Mr. Barr,

On behalf of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, I should like to invite you to participate in its 2nd General Conference. This will be held in Berlin from the 16th to the 22nd of June, 1960. As you will see from the enclosed documents, the purpose of the program (provisionally entitled "Progress in Freedom -- A Discussion of Human Ideals in Modern Society") is to turn our thoughts to the future. There have been many discussions of the past and its controversies, and they have been valuable, but we think that it is time to search for new paths, using the problems and possibilities inherent in modern society as our point of departure.

In order to make it possible to have a maximum of discussion, the entire conference is being divided into four STUDY GROUPS, which are described in the accompanying provisional program.

Being in charge of Study Group III, I extend to you my personal invitation to participate in this group. In the course of the next few months you will be receiving the materials specifically prepared for that discussion.

We are holding our conference in Berlin on the invitation of Mayor Willy Brandt, who has generously offered us

.../...

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CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE

Page 2.

the facilities we need and the use of the magnificent new Kongresshalle, which has been the site of many international conferences. Another reason for this choice is that the 2nd General Conference coincides with the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Berlin, June 1950.

We would very much appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience whether we may count on your presence or not.

Thanks to the distinguished guests who have promised their attendance and the importance of the problems to be dealt with, we are expecting this conference to be a major event in the intellectual world.

The Congress will, of course, take care of the cost of your transportation to and from Berlin, and you will be its guest during your stay in Berlin.

Sincerely yours,



Nicolas Nabokov
Secretary General

Encl.: