

Asian 3rd Force Possible, China No Puppet: Lattimore

"Co-existence is not a matter of the United States and the Soviet Union alone, as is so often assumed. If co-existence were dependent on a confrontation of two powers without buffers, it would hardly be possible. But in the world-political spectrum, a gradation between the extremes can be found . . . as is demonstrated by India's emergence as a conciliatory force." Thus Dr. Owen Lattimore concluded his analysis of China, Russia and Asiatic politics on an optimistic note. Lattimore, author of several works on Chinese History and one-time advisor on Chinese affairs to the Department of State, addressed a large audience in Usen Commons last Monday. The lecture was the first of a series sponsored by the Student Council.

Is China a Puppet

Lattimore began by posing the question: Is Communist China a puppet state controlled by Russia, or does it formulate its own policy? He cited the differing answers of Generals Marshall and McArthur in 1951, and the view predominant in Great Britain. The British see China as an ally of Russia, committed to the same theory and with overlapping interests, but point out that differences do exist, and may lead to the emergence of changes in policy. They are critical of the U.S. embargo. "My own view is close to the British theory", Lattimore pointed out. The U.S. Department of State, he explained formerly selected its experts on the basis of experience and training in a particular region. Today however, experts are selected on the basis of specialization in Communist ideology. Lattimore felt inclined "to give more weight to opinions backed up by a knowledge of a country's area, people and history rather than a communist theory." In support of this judgement he cited the many changes in Soviet definitions of the term since 1917. "China, too, may evolve its

own brand of "Communism", he added.

The "old" State Department theory, that the Chinese Revolution was greatly facilitated by Chiang's corrupt policies and the subsequent alienation of the Chinese people, is now considered "soft". Present orthodoxy states that Chinese "subversion" was abetted by the "stupid" policies of the Department. "This climate of opinion affects the expert", Lattimore continued. "Ordinarily, an expert is merely expected to know more; to be more nearly right more often. Today, he must be infallible. Debate ceases, and opinion turns to flagellation of heretics."

China Reappraised

Lattimore then briefly outlined his theory of the "inner frontier" of China: China's frontier is twice the length of the U.S.-Canadian border. The only Sino-Russian contact area is Manchuria; the remainder of the frontier is inhabited by mongol and turkish minorities of non-Chinese character. Most Westerners picture China from the coast looking inland. A different perspective evolves if China is viewed from Central Asia. Formosa now appears as the last remnant of foreign control of China from the sea, and between China and Russia lies a huge area weak in communications, without industry, and in-

habited by minorities, Lattimore stated. He sketched a brief history of foreign privileges in China, pointing out that exploitation resulted in a "drainage economy": Chinese raw materials were moved to the coast for export while foreign imports undercut native products. Railway routes were dictated by foreign interests (these included American and Russian), facilitating transport to coastal ports rather than development of Chinese communications. Foreign control of China, once nearly total, declined after World War I. "Today, both Russia and China wish to develop and link the vast domestic markets of their realm", Lattimore continued.

Old slaves, new slavery

However, this is not easy: The reorientation of the economy requires regimentation, hardship, and suffering. He pointed out that slave-labor is not a new concept to the Chinese and will meet with little resentment. He reminded his listeners that the Burma Road was constructed by Chiang with forced labor. In addition, he conjectured the American embargo "gives aid and comfort to the Chinese rulers; it provides them with a perfect alibi for inflicting hardship upon the people." The embargo cuts ocean-bound Chinese trade. This forces the Chinese to concentrate on trade-relations with Russia. The only complete rail link between the two countries runs through Manchuria, which results in a "lopsided" relationship. Two new railroads are being constructed, but the need for cheap water-transport will remain. Russia, he stated, has a western trade-margin while China has an eastern: Japan, India, perhaps the United States at some future date. This factor pulls the two nations apart, while other factors tend to join their interests.

Whither China?

China's position in the communist orbit is unique, Lattimore continued. *Continued On Page Two*

Soviet Switch...

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A Key to Disagreements

Fischer suggested a difference in time schedules as the key to disagreements which have appeared in the areas of industrial and agricultural production. He speculated that the tendency since the death of Stalin has been to view the major internal problems facing Russia in fairly long range terms. Difficulties in food production and industrial development were seen as being overcome over a period of many years, years in which some sort of international stability might be maintained. He did not believe that the drive for consumer goods production involved any switch from heavy goods, but saw an expectation that both could be achieved, that the gratifications of the more moderate policy would induce the people to work harder. The hope was that standards of living could be gradually raised, even while heavy goods production was also being increased.

Problems More Acute

For some reason the "board" of leaders which discusses such problems has apparently altered this program. The causes for the change are difficult to ascertain. They may, Fischer thought, be chiefly internal - the failure of the Malenkov policy to increase production. Or they may lie in recent international developments. At any rate the time schedule seems to be changed; Soviet leaders now seem to view their difficulties as much more urgent. For example the agricultural situation is seen as far more critical because its solution is required in one or two years, instead of in ten or twenty.

As a final note of more interest than significance Fischer pointed out that the electricity job to which Malenkov had been assigned was the same as that which Trotsky received as the first step on his way down, and out.

Policies, Not Men

Dr. Marcuse's view coincided most closely with the second hypothesis of Fischer. He viewed the tensions in the Kremlin as not between individuals, but between policies. Malenkov was committed, he thought, to a policy which was termed the "liquidating of over-commitment." This involved a kind of catching up on the problems which had accumulated during

World War II and the tense years of cold war which followed. The emphasis on consumer goods production was a part of this policy at home. "Co-existence" was its international manifestation.

These policies, Marcuse believes, are considered by the rulers of Russia to have failed. The basis for this opinion is found clearly stated in the speech which Foreign Minister Molotov delivered on the day of Malenkov's resignation. This speech emphasized three American "aggressive" policies, 1) the formation of a Southeast Asian anti-Communist bloc (SEATO), 2) the program for German rearmament and admission to NATO, and 3) the decision to uphold Chiang's rule on Formosa.

These policies have convinced the Russians, Marcuse believes, that the policy of co-existence, and of emphasizing consumer goods production, are impractical at this time. The new leaders can therefore be expected to be tougher in the international sphere, and to reintroduce the traditional Stalinist emphasis on heavy industry. **Internal Factions**

Marcuse believes that these decisions were reached through discussion among a small group of top officials. Various blocs and combinations of interests are represented in this discussion. At the present time, he believes the Communist Party is the most powerful single group in the Soviet Union. But Marcuse looks more to policy differences than to factional politics as the key to the recent switch.

He rejected the view, which Fischer had also considered improbable, that there is a necessary dynamic movement toward one man rule, that ultimately the power which Stalin had held must again fall upon a single figure. Committee rule is possible, Dr. Marcuse said, and can produce a stable and strong government.

—Michael Walzer

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Glamor Boy

The informer has become a prominent factor in American life since the hersey hunts were instituted; for the first time in Western history he has become respectable. Massachusetts celebrated "Philbrick day" not too long ago. Louis Budenz is a Professor at a respected University, Hollywood and Radio have glamorized the career of Matt ("I was a Communist for the FBI") Cvetic. The informer is distinguished by a super-human memory: A multitude of names and dates are neatly cross-indexed and filed away in his brain. His accusing finger commands more respect than factual evidence; each drop of a name is rewarded in dollars and cents by the busy committeemen. Informing has become the highest ideal of civic duty and patriotism.

Last week, one of these new supermen revealed himself to the world in all his splendor. Harvey Matusow, a 28-year-old product of New York's East Side, joined the AYD in 1946. A year later he became a CP member. For three years, he made his living off the party. He worked in a Communist book shop and in a "subversive" summer camp. In 1950, he began reporting on party activities to the FBI. Discovered and expelled in 1951, he decided to become an expert on Communist corruption of youth. He became a star witness at House Un-American Activities hearings, testifying against 180 persons by name. At the trial of thirteen second-string Communist leaders in New York City he was a paid government witness. He advised McCarthy on his investigation of "dangerous" books in Overseas libraries. He told of immoral activities at Camp Unity. He uncovered red plots against the Boy Scouts: he called up the Yankees 14 times, using different voices to get Yogi Berra off a television program featuring a leftist actor. The *New York Times* ("All the news that's fit to print") paid him \$300 for a sworn affidavit stating that Communists had fomented the 1949 student strikes in New York. He testified against teachers. He sold copy to Hearst and the *American Mercury*, and was photographed kissing his mother.

Then, last week, Matusow uncovered the greatest plot of all: He had lied. An affidavit signed by Matusow was filed in Federal Court in support of a motion for retrial of the thirteen Communists he had helped too convict. It stated that he had testified falsely, and that Roy Cohn, then an Assistant United States Attorney, had helped him to fabricate his testimony. The following day, a publishing company produced Matusow at a press conference. He has written a book "False Witness," slated for publication in March. He confessed that he had become an informer because he was tempted by "the type of glamor enjoyed by the professional ex-Communist." Now he was telling the truth to "right some of the wrongs" he had committed. Did he believe the Communist Party constituted a conspiracy? He had "found no conspiracy in the Communist Party," Matusow replied.

What is one to say to these sordid revelations? They confirm what many of us have long suspected about the professional informer. It will be said now that Harvey Matusow is not a reliable witness, but none said this when he was testifying against Communists. We may hope against hope that the impact of this case will lead to a revision of current practices, but the strange gyrations of Rep. Walter, chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, typify the reaction in official quarters. With deadly logic, Walter claimed that Matusow had been "planted" by Communists to discredit the Department of Justice and the practice of using former Communists as witnesses. The *New York Times* piously sounded warnings, but failed to mention its 1949 purchase of Matusow's affidavit. Will Roy Cohen be brought to trial? It is most unlikely. Matusow, however, stands a good chance of being tried for perjury, unless he knows too much about his distinguished colleagues and official benefactors. We are grateful to Harvey Matusow for affording us a glimpse behind the scenes in Washington. The blinds will be lowered quickly, but that one glimpse was sufficient. Matusow is an exceptional informer only to the degree that he seems to have a conscience of sorts. The others are still for sale to the highest bidder, and Uncle Sam is the richest man in the world.

—D.M.M.

Lerner's Impressions of the Far East: Asian Students Leaders of Tomorrow

Last Thursday, Dr. Max Lerner told a well-dressed, well-fed, seemingly unconcerned Soc. Sci. 2 class about the 50,000 students struggling at the University of Calcutta. In Calcutta, he said, the students have so little money that they go without food and proper living facilities in order to pay for their four years of education. When the time comes for their final comprehensive examinations, Lerner said, most of them are in such a weakened condition that they collapse in the examination room and fail to complete their courses.

Emotionless Audience

There was no laughter in the audience at the picture presented of thousands of students collapsing, but there was no other reaction. The audience continued to pay little attention, take a few notes, and occasionally "collapse" into sleep caused by habitual disinterest rather than hunger. It was as if nothing had been said.

Justice Interview

In an interview with the *Justice* later that day, Lerner elaborated on the life of the Asian student. He said that the activities the Asian Student Unions were "intensely political" and that students in general were tremendously absorbed in the problems of their nations. He felt that "the Asian university students of today will be the leaders of the Asian governments of tomorrow."

Lerner seemed to think that the "problems of Asia are compassible through an understanding of the Asian intellectuals" of which the students are a part. The masses follow this group, and assume their viewpoints.

Indian Students Socialists

The viewpoint of the University of Calcutta student is largely socialist and anti-Nehru, he continued. Their curriculum is much like that of the English University system and most of the courses are given in English. At Bangkok University professors complained to Lerner that the intellectual level of the students was

very low, that many of them had little secondary school preparation and that they were unused to reading assignments of any length. The new Indonesian government has attempted to broaden educational opportunity by abolishing Dutch as a requirement in the high schools (thus allowing students who speak only Indonesian to attend a secondary school.) This attempt, however, has not been very successful since most college texts are still printed in Dutch and English and students who have not learned these languages fail to maintain themselves academically in the university. Although the state has established scholarships for students from the peasant classes, it is mostly the very wealthy who attend the university.

Communist Pamphleteering

Asia has been flooded with Chinese Communist pamphlet literature, very cheap and easily accessible, whereas there is practically no American literature around, he stated. Fortunately there is a new program planned in which Asians will be able to purchase American works with their own currency, which should alleviate the situation somewhat.

Lerner was very much impressed with the possibilities which Government service in Asia offer the American student of today. He thought that there was also much room for American teachers in the universities. "Only dedicated

liberals can achieve anything in Asia; we must make a determined effort to see that liberal young people are not discouraged from entering the Foreign Service because of the assaults of McCarthyites against government officials," he said.

In conclusion, Lerner was asked if he hadn't found a tremendous contrast between his Soc. Sci. 2 audience and the Asian students of whom he had been speaking. Dr. Lerner said: "I certainly did . . . I assumed that they would get the point of my report . . ."

— J. T. Borodovko

LATTIMORE . . .

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ued. China is so huge that it has changed the center of gravity of the communist world—"It now lies somewhere between Moscow and Peiping." A satellite, by definition, can't change an orbit. China is an ally of Russia. A split would lead to dislocation, and conflict is strenuously avoided. In this alliance, Russia has the advantage of greater technological development, China its huge population of over 500 million. The Chinese Communists, moreover, are veterans of world revolution; in the communist hierarchy they have seniority over many Russian leaders. China, Lattimore said, is at a stage comparable to Russia in the days of the New Economic Policy (1921-24). Will the tempo of communist buildup be determined by Chinese or Russian demands? Who is to bear the brunt of the burden? What will be the ratio between Chinese and non-communist Asian development? These are the questions which will determine the future of Sino-Russian relations. In addition, Lattimore pointed out, the Chinese are undoubtedly studying the experiences of Russian planners: Will they imitate or innovate (—and so "deviate"), and will this be a source of conflict?

"Third Force" Theory

Lattimore then concluded his exposition with his theory of a "third force." The evening ended with a question-period, during which Lattimore stressed the importance of the coming Colombo conference, voiced the opinion that the question of China's admission to the U.N. should be decided by China's neighbors, and called for American support of democratic forces in Asia. Only once did Lattimore become impassioned: While discussing the need for American understanding of Asian aspirations and ideas. "We must find out what the Asians think and stop telling them what to think," he stated emphatically.

—Dan Morgenstern

Brandeis - Hobart In First Debate

On Sunday morning, February 13 Brandeis played host to the Varsity debate team of New York's Hobart College. The topic debated was the national topic — Resolved: that the United States should grant diplomatic recognition to Red China. This was the first debate for the newly-formed Brandeis inter-collegiate debate team. Representing the affirmative were Harvey Pressman '58 and David Ball '58; the negative

Varied Drama Series Planned

The start of the second semester marks the beginning of a new series of dramatic productions on the Brandeis stage. The first of these, a reading of *Oedipus Rex*, will be sponsored by the Drama Club. The cast includes David Cort as Oedipus, Louis Chiarmonte as the Priest, Mellen Pierce as Terseis, Herb Lewis as Creon, Jack Handler as the Messenger, and Miriam Richman as Jocasta. The role of the Herdsman is as yet uncast; anyone interested in trying out for the part should contact Haskell Barkin, the production's director. The reading will be presented on the evenings of March 11 and 12 in Nathan Seifer Hall.

The Drama Club will also sponsor a production of George Bernard Shaw's *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*. This play, which was produced on Broadway five years ago, is one of Shaw's lesser-known works. The casting for the Brandeis production has not yet been completed; many of the smaller male roles are still unassigned, and anyone interested in trying out for them should contact the director, David Cort.

The Theatre Workshop will offer *Edmund Keene*, an adaptation of the Dumas story by John Matthews, in May. This production is as yet only in the planning stage, and no casting announcements have been made.

Gayle Rubinstein '57 and Lenny Markowitz '56. Hobart affirmative speakers were Ken Frankel and Joel Leber; negative, Philip Mandell and Al Brunell.

The meet, which was not judged, took the form of two simultaneous debates. Considering the difference in experience between the two teams, the Brandeis four fared very well. The points they made were clear, concise, more practical, and presented in a more related manner. Their lack of experience however, was noticeable in their delivery; the Hobart team featured the polished speaking necessary to a winning debate team.

SPEAC Events: Peace Forum, NAACP Talk

On Tuesday, Feb. 15, Herbert Hill, national secretary of the NAACP, will speak at Brandeis on "The Supreme Court Decision — Conflict and Progress in Desegregation." The talk, which will be sponsored by SPEAC, will be given at 8:00 P.M. in Schwartz lounge.

Hill travels widely for the NAACP, investigating instances

of discrimination in labor. He has written several articles on the subject, among them "Seven Negroes at the Ballot Box," which was distributed nationally. He has also completed a series for the Voice of America entitled "The Communist Party — Enemy of Negro Equality," and is the co-author of the forthcoming book "Citizens' Guide to Desegregation," which interprets the changing legal status of the Negro in America.

Next Tuesday, February 22,

SPEAC and the American Friends Service Committee will co-sponsor a colloquy "Is Peace Possible? New Answers to an Old Question." Participants will be Milton Mayer, social scientist, author, and lecturer for the American Friends Service Committee; Morris Rubin, editor of *The Progressive Magazine*; and Arno J. Mayer, Instructor of Politics at Brandeis, who will act as moderator. The event will take place at 6 P.M. in Nathan Seifer Hall. An admission of \$7.75 will be asked of non-Brandeisians.