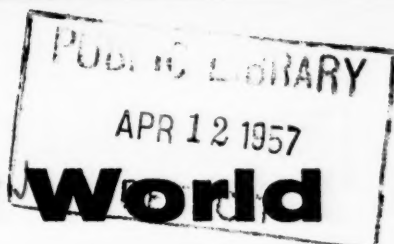


SOCIAL SCIENCES

APRIL, 1957

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New World

REVIEW

SCIENCE IN THE USSR

J. D. Bernal

Nuclear Weapons — or Mankind's Survival

Holland Roberts

Art and Soviet Life

Ralph Parker

In a Chinese Courtroom

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Art and Soviet Life
Ralph Parker 4

Science in the USSR
J. D. Bernal 9

Nuclear Weapons—or Man-
kind's Survival
Holland Roberts 18

Dr. Du Bois and Ghana 26

In A Chinese Courtroom
Jules Chomé 27

Education of Joseph Alsop 33

A Communication
Albert Kahn 35

BOOK REVIEWS

Russia Leaves the War
—George Kennan 36

Russia Without Stalin
—Ernest Crankshaw 37

Martyrs in China
—Rev. Jean Monsterlett 38

Four Years In A Red Hell
—Rev. Harold W. Rigney 38

Jewish Life Anthology 38

JESSICA SMITH, Editor
FREDERICK V. FIELD, For Eastern Editor
MURRAY YOUNG, Managing Editor

10

ESLANDA ROBESON
Editorial Consultants on Negro and
Colonial Questions
and UN Correspondents

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209

EVERY READER PLEASE TAKE NOTE!

At this writing we have received
\$2,161 toward our special Survival Fund
of \$10,000 dollars; 368 readers have
so far responded to our appeal.

This takes us only about one fourth
of the way toward our goal. Yet we felt
that this was sufficient indication of
the desire of our readers for the maga-
zine to go on, to go ahead with our
plans for moving, (note new address
below) necessitated by the sale of the
building where our office was located.

The process of moving has neces-
sarily held up much of our current
work. Until we are able to send our
acknowledgements, we hope our con-
tributors will accept a general expres-
sion of deepest gratitude for their help
through this column.

If all the rest of our readers will send
something, large or small, the \$10,000
fund will be completed. Will you save
us the expense of a follow-up appeal
at this time, by using the blank below?

We urge every single reader who
has not already done so to respond at
once. With the extra expenses of mov-
ing to meet at once, and with the dif-
ficult summer period ahead, we must
complete the fund within the next
three months.

Please fill out and mail today

NEW WORLD REVIEW

7th Floor,

34 West 15th Street, N. Y. 11. N. Y.

I enclose..... for the NWR
survival fund.

I pledge..... monthly for the
fund.

NAME

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MOVING DAY!

WE HAVE had to put this issue to bed in the process of finding and renting new quarters, packing many thousands of books and periodicals and research files, with partitions and bookshelves falling all around us, incessant hammering in our ears.

For this reason, we have had to omit our usual foreign relations review and comment. But we believe this is more than compensated by the important article by Prof. Holland Roberts on the menace to mankind of nuclear weapons, which we are publishing along with the leading article by the distinguished British scientist, J. D. Bernal.

Since our last issue was published, the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, previously ratified by the House, has been ratified by the Senate, adding a new link to the chain of U.S. military commitments around the world, and the United States has become a member of the Military Committee under the Baghdad Pact.

We have expressed ourselves vigorously in previous issues on the dangers of new war inherent in the new Middle Eastern policy, heightened by the manning of U.S. strategic bases with atomic weapons. Yet while the massive public opposition did not succeed in blocking passage of the Middle East resolution, we believe that the existence of that opposition will stay the hands of those circles who would otherwise use it to promote new military adventures.

We believe that the best answer to the whole policy of military pacts

and proposed military intervention is unremitting struggle for disarmament.

Five-power disarmament talks are now under way in London, where representatives of the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, France and Canada are meeting as members of the UN Disarmament Subcommittee. On the eve of the talks, the press reported:

Authoritative sources said the United States delegation headed by Harold E. Stassen, President Eisenhower's special disarmament representative, hoped that by adopting flexibility on details it could stimulate an agreement with the Soviet Union on the first step toward arms cuts. (*New York Times*, March 18)

Deeply disquieting is the decision reached by President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Macmillan at Bermuda, that the United States will supply Britain certain guided missiles for atomic warheads, and that "continued nuclear testing is required, certainly for the present." Their March 24 communique does, however, indicate an awareness of worldwide concern about increased radiation from continued testing, and urges "self-imposed restraint."

"Restraint" is no solution.

Thus it is clear that the focus of public pressure must continue to be for the immediate ending of nuclear weapons tests as well as for agreement among the powers on at least the first step towards arms reduction. To insure that we may continue to do our part in this, we invite our readers' attention to the column on the left.

Art and Soviet Life

A Report on the Artists' Congress

by **RALPH PARKER**

ONE OF THE last acts of the delegates to the USSR Artists' Congress was, in secret ballot, to vote Boris Iohanson off the board of administration. Now this was rather hard on Iohanson who besides being Alexander Gerasimov's successor as president of the Academy had been mainly instrumental in making the arrangements for the Congress. An amiable, mild-mannered man, he had delivered the main report at the Congress without, it seemed, causing offense in any section of the 560 delegates present. Why then did he make such a poor showing in the ballot—and with him many other personalities who had come to the fore during the interregnum between the disgrace of the Gerasimov clique and this Congress?

The answer probably lies in a phrase used by Plastov, one of the most gifted of Gerasimov's "victims." "It is said," he remarked, "that during a cancer operation care must be taken not to leave the smallest trace of the malignant growth." The implications in all their harshness were not lost on the delegates. Not only were the "Big Four," Alexander Gerasimov, Toidze, Manizer and Nabaldian, swept

out of office but with them many of those, including the sculptor Toms-ky, who in the view of the delegates were compromised by close association with them. The voting, in short, was a measure of the Congress's determination to make a clean break with the methods by which Soviet art had been "administered" in the recent past.

On the other hand, it would be utterly wrong to read into the results of the Congress a rejection of past methods of creation. This was no revolt against the principles of socialist realism. Those the Congress reaffirmed without revision.

The Congress brought together in Moscow delegates of some 70 artists' unions with a total membership of over 6,000. Thirty nationalities were represented, including over 300 Russians, 22 Georgians, 55 Jews, one Mongol. Four out of 10 were Party members, a proportion of one out of 10 were women. Most of the delegates were between 40 and 60 years old. Seventy of them had been awarded Stalin prizes in the past. Some of them came from countries like Armenia whose artistic tradition dates back nearly two thousand years, others, like the delegates from Kazakhstan, from lands where easel painting was unknown before 1917. There was a painter who specializes in recording the life of a small peo-

RALPH PARKER, NWR correspondent in Moscow, formerly represented the "New York Times" in the Soviet capital where he has lived for 16 years.

ple dwelling within the Arctic Circle, others whose contribution to Soviet art takes the forms of great historical panels on the events of the Second World War.

During the twelve months that had passed since the 20th Party Congress the entire Soviet art world had been in a state of lively animation. At times the pendulum swung close to nihilism—to a denial of the value of almost everything created during the previous 25 years under the banner of socialist realism, of the very principle of Party guidance; at others it seemed to have swung back to the dogmatic ideas and authoritarian habits of the past. But when the Congress opened in the Kremlin at the end of February the pendulum seemed to have come to rest.

The general mood was reflected clearly in statements made by leading delegates on the eve of the Congress. The Georgian artist Kutateladze wrote: "Real criticism has nothing in common with nihilism. We have made many mistakes but we have not in the least turned away from our main principle of painting subject pictures that are full of ideas. . . . The real trouble about much of our work is its photographism, something that has its origin in the artist's approach to his subject. The artist is in a hurry, he uses a camera instead of a pencil or a brush. . . ."

To a group of Ukrainian artists one of the main weaknesses of contemporary Soviet art lay in its denial of specific national styles, "too often condemned as bourgeois nationalism" they added. From Armenia came a thoughtful statement. "We do not quarrel about the aim of the

artist which is to serve the people and participate in the building of a Communist society. But each artist has his own path and though some have tried, no one has the right to impose on the artist a universal and absolute recipe. . . . Our art today is no longer directed towards an illiterate or insensitive spectator but to a cultivated, educated person with high aesthetic demands. The contemporary spectator no longer tolerates oversimplified, feelingless, imitative work. . . . A wrong conception of realism has effected all our work including sculpture, poster-art, applied art. Taste has been spoiled, philistinism has been encouraged. . . . One can detect no difference of style between the work of students from Leningrad, Kiev or Erevan. . . . Each republic needs to work out its own plastic language." And, in conclusion, the Armenians touched on a subject that was to find many an echo at the Congress: "Many Armenian painters have turned back to easel painting because of the limited opportunities given for frescoes and monumental work in public places. . . . Art ought to go where the masses can see it. Art ought to be commissioned not for museums and exhibition halls but for public gardens, cinemas, hotels, hospitals. . . ."

"We need more foreign contacts," one painter wrote on the eve of the Congress, "We delight in the success of the revolutionary Mexican graphic artists, of the Italian neo-realists, of the young realist school in England. I was at the Biennale (exhibition in Venice) and I was overjoyed to see the popularity of Renato Guttuso, Messina, and others."

In his key-note speech Boris

Iohanson referred to many of the points raised by these statements coming from all over the USSR. He was unsparing in his criticism of much recent work. "The public and the artists themselves have become more and more disillusioned with the intolerably hackneyed decorative compositions and statues. The majority of this work does not express the truth of life . . . but merely represents the showy, artificially brightened shell of life. . . . It is wrong in general to substitute the conception of theme for the conception of content. They are different things. The theme is something outside the artist. One and the same theme may be revealed in a very deep and very shallow manner. Content is a theme revealed and filled with thought by the artist, passed through his creative prism. If this prism is pale and lifeless, no theme will save it. . . . It is necessary to fight primarily for lofty content in works of art whatever theme they may be devoted to. . . ." For Iohanson too the worst fault of contemporary Soviet painting was its illustrativeness, its photographic realism.

Iohanson appealed for a more tolerant and patient attitude on the part of the Soviet art world towards foreign artists who while holding progressive views in general did not accept the tenets of socialist realism. "The days have gone forever when some artists and art critics thought it a quite simple matter to ignore such difficult and perplexing phenomena, to excommunicate these artists from the holy orthodox church, to clamp all sorts of derogatory and disdainful labels upon them. But one must convince not by curses but by creation. . . . We pay

tribute to those many painters in Italy, France, England and the USA who in their work are refusing to run away from life. . . ."

It was however the speech delivered by Shepilov, secretary of the Central Committee, which most fully responded to the mood of the Congress. Making his first public appearance since he took over ideological work in the Party, Shepilov was at pains to point out that Party guidance did not mean Party dictation. Calling for an art of "profound living truth, of lofty humaneness imbued with advanced ideas and warmed by the tender human heart" he reminded his listeners that the method of socialist realism called for the "truthful, historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development." On the other hand, the artist is not a photographer, he is summoned to see the sum and substance of phenomena behind the exterior. "The most precious trait of the method of socialist realism," said Shepilov, "is that it pinpoints the artist's attention on life, on people, on our reality in its development, in the struggle between the new and the old, in all its complexity and manysidedness . . . it calls on the artist to be not simply an eyewitness but a participant in the struggle. . . ."

In a key passage that was greeted with stormy applause, Shepilov said: "Socialist realism is incompatible with dogmatism. Within the framework of socialist realism there can and should flourish different creative styles, a multiplicity of form, a variety of individuality, provided that in all his individuality the artist serves by his works the great ideals of emancipation, the erection of a

truly humane and harmonious order, assists the aesthetic education of the people and contributes real values and not cheap imitations to the spiritual riches of society."

The future course of Soviet art will depend on what interpretation the new leadership in the Artists' Union places on those words. Shepilov himself warned them against interpreting him too narrowly. Some art scholars, he said, were prone to oversimplify the question of the bonds between art and politics. "We do not want to prescribe to the artists what themes they 'should' and 'should not' take. . . . It would be better to say that art workers must first of all be *helped*. By help I mean less moralizing tutelage. Did not Gorky say that one must be very wise before one can give even cautious advice? . . . The Artists' Union must build all its work, to a greater extent than hitherto, upon democratic principles, upon the foundation of the widest activity of the artists themselves, upon the basis of collective wisdom and collective leadership."

Shepilov's speech gave a fillip to those speakers who followed him. "There is much talk these days," said Plastov, "about our youth showing an unhealthy interest in formalism. Nonsense! Our youth is healthy in the main; if there is restlessness it is our own fault." "Many young artists are showing an interest in abstract art," said the Ukrainian woman painter Yablonskaya, "but that is because they have no real education in the tradition of realism. If we are to fight properly against abstract art we must fight against naturalism."

Criticism sharpened against the

Ministry of Culture (the minister himself, Nikolai Mikhailov, was listened to in dead silence until he reached a passage in which he outlined reforms in his ministry's work), against commercial organizations that stood between the worker in the field of applied art and the public, against such magazines as *Ogon-yok*, which in the opinion of most delegates were debasing popular taste. Nikolai Akimov, the stage-director and artist, one of the most ebullient innovators in the Soviet art world, declared that the red banner of Soviet art had been replaced by a drab grey one. There was a moving appeal from the octogenarian sculptor Konenkov for less intrigue and jealousy among artists (he referred to the "true comradeship" that had existed between some great Russian painters of his youth), while Akimov won sympathetic applause with these words; "We must make a very bold experiment in psychology: we must learn to love not only our own work but the most talented work of others, even if they are not like our own. We want an art that is varied. I think that the artist who foams at the mouth in defense of his own method and calls for it to be made obligatory for all, has no idea how boring it would be for him if his efforts were successful. Incidentally, that was tried in the art of theatrical production."

One striking feature of the proceedings was the passion with which many delegates spoke of the tastelessness of the Soviet environment. "Our everyday surroundings" said Johanson, "are deprived of all connections with art. Nobody takes any trouble about interior decoration. Even our parks and public gardens leave much

to be desired. The shops are full of tasteless ornaments and ugly jewelry." "We must take steps to protect the public from an avalanche of vulgarity" declared a Ukrainian painter. A Moscow artist protested against the furnishing of Soviet hotels and even of such important places as Moscow airport.

These are the reflections of artists who feel a deep responsibility for their duty to society. They are men and women who wish to break away from the tyranny of the exhibition hall and the museum, from the constrictions of the trading organizations, and bring their art to the public where it can best appreciate it.

Many practical measures were announced. On the eve of the Congress the Ministry of Culture announced decentralization measures which apply to art the principles of measures being taken in the economic and administrative fields by the Soviet

government. Henceforth there will be no obstacles to the republics and other national areas developing plastic styles in accordance with their national traditions. A stricter control on organizations producing applied art for mass consumption was also promised.

The main thing, however, that delegates took away with them from the Congress was a sense of greatly increased freedom—freedom from dictation by narrow cliques obsessed with the tenets of a single style, and from critics who, wrongly, thought they had the support of the Party in demanding strict conformity to that style. They have reaffirmed their loyalty to a general set of principles which require the artist to look hard and perspicaciously at Soviet reality and to be at one with his people in their forward march. And now, in Iohanson's last words to them, nothing else remains for them to do but go and work.

USSR URGES WIDER CULTURAL EXCHANGE

AT A MEETING of the USSR Supreme Soviet on February 9, Minister of Culture of the Soviet Union, N. A. Mikhailov, reported on the development of cultural relations with other countries. While he was able to report on vastly increased cultural exchange with many countries during the past year he cited difficulties that had been placed in the way of such interchange by the U.S. and British governments. Expressing regret at this situation, he stressed the desire of the Soviet Union to develop international cultural cooperation in every way. "The government of the Soviet Union," he said, "will continue to regard it as its high duty to assist various associations of the creative intelligentsia—writers, artists, composers, musicians, film workers, architects and teachers—to maintain and develop their ties with the corresponding cultural and public organizations of all countries."

Indicating Soviet interest in American art was a recent meeting of Soviet artists and art critics at the Academy of Arts, where Mr. Alexander Zamoshkin of the Academy reported on his impressions of American art and art museums during his visit to this country in 1956, and showed slides of the work of contemporary American artists.

SCIENCE IN THE USSR

by J. D. BERNAL

We feel privileged to publish this article especially written for us by the distinguished British scientist J. D. Bernal. World famous in his own field of crystallography, Professor Bernal has written widely on many aspects of science. His important book, Science in History, a study of the development of science through the ages, published in 1954 in England, has just been published in the Soviet Union. A professor at Birkbeck College, London University, Bernal is also an Honorary Professor of Moscow University.

We feel that this article and the one on Soviet technical education by J. G. Crowther in our March issue will provide the reader with the necessary background to understand not only the extent of Soviet technical and scientific training but also the purpose and spirit behind this great achievement.

ONE OF THE aspects of the Soviet Union in recent years that has most impressed the outside world has been the extent of the development in scientific and technical education, and hardly less so their achievements in scientific research. This has come as rather a shock to official circles in the United States and Britain, but not to those who have studied the development in the Soviet Union for the last twenty years or more and have followed the process by which the strength of the USSR in these fields has been slowly and carefully built up. Indeed the idea of using science to the full is implicit in Marxist theory and it was actively taken up by Lenin the moment that it was possible to recover

from the immediate effects of the civil war. What we are seeing now is the logical outcome of a long period of preparation—one which started with very small beginnings and has built up a formidable edifice of teaching and research.

My main object in this article is to give the general picture of what this means both for the peoples of the Soviet Union and the outside world. But before doing so I must say something about the structure of the educational and research system in the Soviet Union, because of its differences from those which prevail elsewhere and because the nature of the scientific and technical achievements there can only be understood from a knowledge of this framework. Details of this can be found now in a number of publications available in English, notably in the De Witt report, *Soviet Professional Manpower—Its Education, Training and Supply*, and in *The Soviet Academy of Sciences*, A. Vucnich, Stanford, Cal., 1956. These accounts, though very biased and somewhat out of date, are at any rate sufficiently factual to show the formal background and something of the scale. What they fail to do, however, is to convey anything of the spirit of the work that is being undertaken.

The object both of research and teaching in the sciences and technologies in the Soviet Union is one

of increasing the welfare of the people by providing the latest and ever-improving technical utilization of natural resources. This calls insistently for more and more science as time goes on and as the equipment of a modern industrial state becomes more and more shot through with scientific method. At the present time when the questions that are most at the center of the field are those of new atomic sources of energy and the revolution in production implied by automation, the demand for scientists and technologists is greater than ever. It is not only a demand for fully trained people. It is also one which requires that all members of the population of the country should have sufficient acquaintance with the sciences to be able to understand and work efficiently in industries and enterprises increasingly based on science.

Foundation Laid in Schools

The foundation of all science and technology is being laid in the schools. There, for many years, the whole of Soviet youth has been given an education in which science and mathematics play a relatively larger part than they do in most capitalist countries. Further, this education is not as specialized, apart from a relatively small proportion of children who go to technical schools at the age of 14; there is a ten-year education from 7 to 17 which will be universal in the country by 1960. This at present holds in all the large towns. It was told at the University of Moscow that the reason why their output of scientific graduates had shown so little wastage in recent years—something like 90 per cent go

right through—is because of the steady improvement in the schools. This improvement implies a great effort to provide science teachers in these schools and therefore means a corresponding development of normal schools for teachers. As this will have to meet the demands which are now coming for universal secondary education, it has required, at any rate in the last two or three years, the using up of the main output of many of the universities for science teachers. The problem of supply of teachers is nevertheless less acute in the Soviet Union than in other countries because of the relatively privileged position both in pay and in status of teachers. The important point is that here there is no short cut; any attempt to get a large number of scientists at the expense of teaching is likely to lead, as it has in the United States, to recurrent crises. Secondary school teaching itself is undergoing fairly rapid change at the moment chiefly in the direction of becoming less academic and involving, especially in the later years, some experience in the school of industrial practices, such as the use of tools for the urban students and of agricultural machines and agricultural science for the rural ones.

Higher education in the Soviet Union begins at the age of 17. This is the age of entry into one or other of the 725 higher educational establishments. Only 34 of these are universities in the older or academic sense, but these are even more academic than in other countries as they contain, for instance, no technical or medical faculties. There are some 300 engineering higher educational establishments, 100 agricultural and

25 medical. In all these the period of study is from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ years so it is not until they are 23 that Soviet students pass on to actual work in industry or research.

Many prominent delegations from different countries have visited Soviet universities and colleges in the last two or three years and all certified, which corresponds to my own experience, the thoroughness and excellence of the teaching, particularly the staff-student ratio of one to ten which is about the same as the best practiced elsewhere. Although the universities, on account of their higher prestige, are able to attract the most brilliant students, the standards in all are very high. The first two or three years work is not so very different in various institutes, that is, it consists of a basic science, naturally with a more physical bias in the engineering sections and a biological bias in the medical and cultural ones. It is only in the last two years that specialization took place and this is, however, very thorough. Such subjects as mining, oil engineering, chemical engineering, etc., are taught in separate institutes which attempt to combine a certain amount of practical experience, gradually building up to a last six months to a year spent in work on a research project. In the universities the last year is really a research year in which a dissertation dealing with some specific research topic is presented at the final examination.

It is, however, the scale of the effort in Soviet higher education that has created the greatest interest abroad. There are at present some two million students in these institutes of higher education and the graduation level is 750,000, of which

some 70,000 are engineers. In total numbers this is not so very different from college graduation in the United States, though it is much greater than that in Great Britain. The difference lies in the fact that some 65 per cent of the graduates are in scientific and technical subjects, as against about 10 per cent in the United States. Even this is not reckoned to be sufficient and the numbers are increasing and will reach some kind of level figure at the end of the Five Year Plan after this one, that is somewhere about 1965.

My own experience of Soviet higher education is limited to the universities, particularly to Moscow University of which I have become an Honorary Professor, although I have some knowledge of Leningrad and Tbilisi Universities. Moscow University is effectively a national university; all the brilliant and ambitious students from all over the Union seek to go there and the number of Moscow born students is limited to half. There is very strong competition to enter, in fact only those with gold medals from the schools can get in without a competitive examination. The syllabuses of the subjects which I know about are extremely thorough and comprehensive and if there is any criticism of them it is that the students have to work too hard in their five-year course. The hours of lectures and demonstrations amount to 36 a week for the first three years and are only cut down to 30 in the fourth, the last year being essentially a research year. This situation is, I believe, now being remedied with the object of giving the students more time for reading and outside activities. Never-

theless, to judge from my own discussions with them, they seem to manage very well. The University is largely residential. There are big playing fields and a great many student activities were going on. I have found the students extremely keen in their work as well as having wide interests. They consider themselves the pioneers of the new socialist world and look forward to work after graduation, very often in the remote districts where new cities and new scientific establishments are being built up.

Soviet Scientific Research

It is in the field of scientific research, however, that there is the greatest difference between the Soviet Union and other countries. The prestige of scientific research is very high. The opportunity of research is most sought after and only a relatively small proportion, about 10 per cent, of the students can go on in that direction. Research is combined with studies for higher degrees. After normal graduation the student spends three years as an *aspirant* with a certain limited amount of tuition after which he has to present a thesis, approximately equivalent to our Ph.D. thesis in Britain. At this stage he becomes what is called a *candidate* for a doctor's degree. The number, however, who proceed to a doctor's degree is relatively small and the rewards correspondingly great. Most can immediately become professors. Teaching and productive work are not exclusive occupations, because a large number of people in industry actually teach in technical schools, and incidentally draw double salaries for doing so. University and normal school gradu-

ates at present take up largely teaching posts while those at the other higher educational establishments go into industry, agriculture, medicine or administration.

Research in the Soviet Union is carried on under three types of auspices. Some research—and I think very good research—is carried out, as in other countries, in the universities themselves; nevertheless the universities are not the main source, as they are in Britain or in the U.S.A., of what we would call pure or fundamental research. This is the charge of the Institute of the Academy of Sciences. The more applied types of research are carried out in other scientific institutes belonging to the various ministries such as those of electrical power, heavy engineering, agriculture, health, etc. My own experience is limited very largely to the Academy research institutes, although those of the ministries I have seen are of almost equivalent status, differing only by dealing with practical as well as theoretical problems.

The Academy of Sciences has grown out of the old Imperial Academy started by Peter the Great. Even at the outset the objects of this Academy were the searching out and best utilization of Russian natural resources. However, the Academy, in the course of time, as in the case of academies elsewhere, including the National Academy of Sciences started by Benjamin Franklin, had lapsed into being largely an honorific society. The brilliant work that was done by some of the academicians was not as such, but rather in their other capacities as professors or heads of independent institutions. From the time of the Revo-

lution onwards, however, the policy has been to concentrate most fundamental research in the Academy institutes which build up their own laboratories. These are to be found not only in the great cities of Moscow and Leningrad but scattered over the most remote parts of the Union such as Yakutia, one of the coldest regions of the world, which contains a branch of the Academy of its own. There are in addition Academies belonging to the different Union Republics and these also maintain research institutes but are co-ordinated by the Union Academy.

The Academy is kept small; there are 151 Academicians and 325 Corresponding Academicians. If these were counted it would be about the same size as the Royal Society. However, in addition they have working with them, 1,200 doctors of science and some 10,000 scientific assistants with a total staff, including technicians, of some 77,000. The Academy is effectively organized under a Presiding Committee in eight major sections—physical and mathematical; chemical; geology and geography; biological; technical; history and philosophy; economy and law; literature and language. The committees of these sections are in effect the directing bodies because the Presiding Committee can only concern itself with major issues of policy leaving detailed administration to the separate subject faculties. The Academy comes directly under the Council of Ministers and is not responsible to any particular ministry, whereas the universities are under the directorship of the Ministry of Higher Education. It is considered to be one of the major factors in the development of State policy. Acad-

emicians have very great personal prestige and are consulted on questions other than those of the running of their own establishments.

The Role of Planning

The special feature that distinguishes the work of the All-Union Academy from that of corresponding bodies in capitalist countries, is that it is continually carrying on scientific work on a planned basis and that this plan is related to the economic needs of the country. This has often been represented as a subjection of pure to applied science but it is far from being the case. All the people concerned in making the plan are scientists of very high standing, who know perfectly well that applied science cannot exist unless it is being continually fed by a rapidly advancing fundamental science. In fact fundamental science is very well supported, even in apparently remote branches such as astronomy or pure mathematics. The scope and range of the Academy's Institutes are only now being fully realized abroad. They enjoy a practically unlimited financial support, that is, the finances are adjusted to the scientific needs rather than laid down as a framework within which the scientists must work. This, for instance, has been shown in the case of the large nuclear accelerators and nuclear piles and power stations, all of which are under the direct control of the Academy.

The plans of the Academy are related to the Five-Year Plans but they also consider every year what the particular directives should be in the light of internal scientific developments and the need of the country. As an example one may take the

latest plan put forward in January of this year. A continuing priority is being given in the field of physics, particularly to nuclear physics including the theory of fundamental particles, plasma physics which is important in relation to the production of thermo-nuclear power and radio spectroscopy. Special emphasis is also laid on semiconductors, especially in their applications to the substitution of valves by transistors, and in the use of thermo-electricity for refrigeration and power generation. Another application of this branch of physics is towards the development of current rectification for the long distance power lines now being built up and extended from the old Russian centers right across Siberia. The economic achievement of this depends on working with continuous current of a million volts tension. As an example of cooperative work the Academy's plans in relation to automation involve the working together of pure mathematicians, brain physiologists and electronic computing engineers in order to pool their knowledge in the first place for providing more rational automation. In reverse, the study of the performance of the machine should provide a greater understanding of the mechanism of nerve and brain processes. One result that is being sought is a further development in cybernetics which will permit not only the normal kind of control of automation but the design of machines capable of learning and thus of improving their performance.

This short list of research highlights by no means exhausts the program. There is also immense planned development in the more traditional fields of chemistry and biology and

particular emphasis on those fields in which new basic ideas have been gained, such as the study of the problems of origins. Whether it is the study of the origin of the stars, planets and earth, or that of life and even of human society, these themes require the cooperation of scientists of large numbers of separate disciplines. One of the major functions of the Academy is this practical provision for the unity of science in action. This purpose is achieved only in part through the Plans but quite as much by means of conferences on specific topics in which the latest results are reported together with the formation of resolutions for further work, an aspect which our more passive type of conferences does not usually consider but which in the USSR has real meaning because the resolutions can be put into action through the Academy organizations. Such conferences are not limited to workers in the Academy but include those administering research departments in universities.

The link between the Academy and the universities is very close. Practically all Academicians hold Professorships in the universities and this enables them to channel their best students into academic institutes; in turn these students, while at the research institutes, also take posts as junior lecturers in the universities. So, effectively, there is one reasonably coordinated fundamental research program in the country. Objection has been raised to the idea of the planning of science at all, and it is true that in the past, particularly six or seven years ago, the development of science was impeded through unwise interference. However, in the last few years this has

for all practical purposes ceased. All those who were relieved of their academic functions are back again, for instance my old friend Professor Kapitza, who because he would not take part in nuclear weapon development was suspended from the headship of his Institute of Physical Problems for three years. He has for the last two been restored to it and is now working with even larger resources than before on fundamental research in low temperatures and magnetism.

Cooperation for Human Welfare

I managed, in the course of my last two visits to the Soviet Union, to get more personally in touch with the scientific workers than I had on previous visits, not only with the senior workers whom I have known for many years but also with the research students and the undergraduates. I found that here was an enormously live enterprise. The students and research workers all feel that they are part, indeed a key part, of the building up of the economy of the country and pushing it forward into new fields. The problems of even ten years ago, where there seemed to be some feeling of inferiority and a corresponding exaggeration of old Russian scientific achievements, have completely vanished.

They realize, from their contacts abroad—for more have gone abroad in recent years than ever before—and also from the visits of foreign scientists to them, that they have nothing to worry about in relation to other countries. But the feeling is not one of rivalry, even successful rivalry—it is much more

one of cooperation and keenness to work in a common enterprise of science for human welfare all over the world. Recent events which have in the political sphere brought back something of the cold war atmosphere will not, I think, change this attitude. The scientists will realize that circumstances are now more difficult but their objectives remain the same.

I have felt for many years that it is in this great educational and scientific effort that lies the major promise, not only for the success of the economy of the Soviet Union itself, for that is now assured, but for the peace and well-being of the world. To put it at its lowest level, the degree of scientific education and research which exists in the USSR today and the far higher planned increase, which no one now doubts will be realized, sets a standard to all modern countries, whether industrialized or not, of what is required of them in the future. We owe it to the pioneers of the Soviet Union that they realized before others that a modern world could not exist, let alone grow, without a full development and application of science. Already over a tenth of the population have some direct experience of scientific work and it is clear that in a future highly automatized industry, the average worker will have to have a considerable scientific experience, enough at least to apply scientific methods to his work. Henceforth all countries will need to develop modern automatized industries and services which will need a proportional development of science. There will consequently grow up in all countries a very large body of men and women brought up in this com-

mon discipline of science. It is in these people that the hope of the world's future largely lies. I realize fully that that hope is still a distant one.

The strains and difficulties of the present world situation are too great and as long as the inequality between industrial and underdeveloped countries not only persists but gets worse these strains will increase. This inequality, however, cannot be maintained indefinitely now that the peoples of the underdeveloped countries are so fully aware of it. Science and industry must be equally spread all over the world.

Sharing Scientific Knowledge

Here another feature of Soviet science is now becoming apparent and that is its capacity for export, not only of its products but also its methods of organization. This is most clearly seen in the case of China where, largely owing to the experiences of the Soviet Union, it has been possible to build up in less than ten years an organization of scientific teaching and research which is already turning out more scientists than Britain and will in the course of the next few decades reach the quantity and standard of the USSR itself.

The general idea is that of employing natural resources without neglecting the development of fundamental ideas so that science in China can become genuinely independent and play its part in world science.

Although new China represents the closest copy of the Soviet system of scientific research and teaching, the same trend is quite apparent in

India as indeed in many other countries of Asia and the Middle East. The day is past when "know-how" in technical or scientific matters is limited to the citizens of the United States and other Western European countries. Thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, the knowledge of geological prospecting, of oil drilling, of the making of the basic chemicals and metals of modern civilization, are now being made available in a quite different way from that which ruled in the last few decades. Then it was a matter of sending foreign experts to operate mines, factories and services in such countries and even that on a very small scale in relation to the needs of the country.

The Soviet method of setting up these factories and services abroad is a matter of taking technicians from the country concerned and letting them work for a year or two in a corresponding factory in the USSR. When the new plant is ready to go out they then go out with it and take over directly once the construction and maintenance men have gone home or have been transferred to other jobs in the country. Not only factories but also a large technical university is being set up in India today by Soviet scientists and technologists. There is no reason why such enterprises should not be undertaken by nationals of other countries.

If only a great country like the United States were to break away from its predilections for military investments in other countries or from the mere commercial exploitation of oil and other national resources, the American contribution to raising the technical

level of all the underdeveloped countries could also be great and lasting.

But this change can only occur properly in conditions of peace. As long as the technicians of the different countries are considered as concealed military rivals there can be no fruitful cooperation in leveling up the industrial capacities of the world.

Peace for Science— Science for Peace

The pursuit of a policy of peace is essential to the development of world science. If we could abolish or even reduce in a small degree the amount of effort spent on military science and spend it instead on raising the cultural and technical level in the underdeveloped countries, the transformation which has been going on so slowly as to be almost imperceptible in the last fifty years could be speeded up to become a conscious effort which would generate its own momentum. The experience of the Soviet Union and China shows that you do not have to wait a generation. Young men and women who have been brought up in illiterate or even primitive communities can, it has been proved over and over again, if given an education, appreciate the latest developments in science and technique and even contribute creatively to them.

In such an atmosphere the strains which now divide civilization will disappear. They will disappear all the faster because the main reason for their existence has been the belief in the scarcity of natural resources and consequently in a need for the so-called advanced countries

to secure their share first and to hold off and keep down the others. The development of atomic energy and of automation promise, if properly applied all over the world, a level of productivity in which all needs will be so well supplied that there will be absolutely nothing to fight for. The availability of resources would be universal; all could benefit and all could contribute to the building of science—the science which alone can make these resources freely available.

An atmosphere of peace, therefore, is the essential pre-requisite to a prosperous world; consequently we are faced with breaking this vicious circle in which an insistence on military preparedness and defense diminishes the use of science and increases the sense of strain that is used to justify it. We must accept the realization that it will be more difficult now than it was a year ago to secure this relaxation. Nevertheless, it must be secured as it is really the only alternative to the ultimate consequence of military preparedness—actual war itself—and we know from the development of the hydrogen bomb that such a war would mean the effective extinction of the human race. We are prepared to say that this will not happen, but we are not prepared to draw the necessary conclusion, that is, that we must find some means of living together without war. It is a concept of a world without war that would, if it were clearly realized, rouse such creative enthusiasm in all the countries of the world, as much in the Soviet Union as in the United States, that the causes of war themselves could at last be made to vanish.

Nuclear Weapons— or Mankind's Survival

by HOLLAND ROBERTS

"Man has mounted science and is now run away with. I firmly believe that before many centuries more, science will be the master of man. The engine he will have invented will be beyond his strength to control. Some day science may even have the existence of mankind in its power, and the human race commit suicide by blowing up the world."

HENRY ADAMS—1862

IT IS LESS than one century later. It is eleven years after Hiroshima. For a decade we have been taught to live with death, teetering precariously on the brink. In Churchill's sulphurous phrase, we are "peering over the rim of Hell." But it is such a Hell as neither Dante, nor Milton, nor even the Old Testament prophets foresaw. The realities of science have outrun man's social controls and are soaring out of control beyond the reaches of our imagination.

It is the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that carries on the cover of every issue the face of a clock with the two hands close together, minutes from midnight. It is the scientists, whose work has brought us to the edge of extinction, who warn us ever more insistently that we are inexorably moving closer to all-pervading annihilation with every passing day and with every new megaton of H-bombs added to the murderous arsenal now set to blow up the world.

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Few among us are willing to give serious attention to the fatal mushroom clouds that hang over the earth. The calamity that has overtaken us is too vast. We cannot believe it. Our senses are overcome by what we have done and are doing every day to bring about our own destruction, and we turn away to the little worries and embrace the brief happiness we have. And with every passing moment we are increasing our capacity to destroy all life upon the earth. There is no known limit to the size of the hydrogen bomb—nor to the power of other weapons capable of extinguishing the human race. We are, as James P. Warburg points out, sleepwalking into World War III, and world's end.

The time to awaken is long past, but it is still possible to end our hypnosis. If enough of us act together, we can set up safeguards to prevent us from wandering unintentionally into the bottomless chasm of world war, and we can protect humanity from leaders in high places who boast when they lead the countless millions to the brink. How much time we have left to act, no one knows, but it is short. The momentum with which we are traveling can quickly take us beyond the point of last recall. Millions of Americans and Western Europeans now have a real or fancied stake in preparing for World War III that immobilizes

thought and action. Caught up in production for war, the contradiction of earning their daily bread by building machines to destroy themselves and their families grips them remorselessly. They have a vested interest in mass murder and mass suicide.

What are the dangers? How can we overcome them?

We may think about the growing dangers in four different ways: First, there are the hazards of producing for war; second, there is the rising danger of testing weapons; third, there is the danger of small wars; and finally there is the over-riding danger of World War III.

All those who have read the novel, *The Accident*, by Dexter Masters, the story of the eight days it took a man to die at Los Alamos, recognize the risks of building factories and research centers devoted to turning out nuclear fuels. The daily danger of accident threatens not only the workers within the plants and the neighboring population but all people everywhere, who suffer when the earth and the air and the water are polluted with one of the most deadly poisons known to man—Strontium-90. How great this danger is and how many people have already been injured no one knows, or if the facts are known to a few, they are hidden from the public by curtains of government secrecy.

Why Nuclear Tests Should End

There is a similar shroud of government secrecy around the effects of the testing of nuclear weapons, but here important facts have broken through to the public. The great debate between President Eisenhower

and Governor Stevenson in the presidential campaign in the fall of 1956 was a dramatic warning to the people of the world. Adlai Stevenson has since told us in the February 7 issue of *Look* magazine why he thinks it was vital to us to challenge testing in this campaign:

... there are at least three imperative reasons why we must take the lead in establishing a world policy of halting further explosions of superbombs:

1. The survival of mankind may well depend upon it.
2. It would increase our national security.
3. It would strengthen our position in the cold war.

Everyone who reads the press or listens to the radio is aware of some of the dangers from radiation fall-out that occurs whenever a nuclear weapon is exploded. The "accident" to the Japanese fishing ship, *The Lucky Dragon*, which was contaminated by the United States hydrogen bomb tests at Bikini, dramatized the risk to the whole world. Thousands of tons of tuna were poisoned. All of the crew were injured and one so far has died. The damage done to the Marshall Islanders, whose homes were in the testing area, has been hidden from us, and their protest to the United Nations against the destruction of their homes and livelihood ignored. There is also the real but unmeasured damage done to people everywhere by the fall-out which has drifted around the world, and whose concentration of Strontium-90 is steadily increasing in the fields where our good crops are grown and in the pastures where the cattle graze, whose milk we drink.

Scientists everywhere agree that in addition to the injury caused by radiation from atomic dust as an im-

mediate result of nuclear explosions, there is the long-term exposure from the slow fall-out coming down from higher altitudes for many years. The effect of this exposure on the reproductive organs is certain. Harmful mutations are produced that have lasting effects for many generations.

Prof. H. J. Muller, Nobel Laureate and distinguished professor of Zoology at Indiana University, reported to the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D. C., "The overwhelming majority of mutations (99 per cent) are harmful, causing some functional impairment." In his paper presented at the UN Conference on the Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva he advised the audience that "man's own reproductive material is his most invaluable, irretrievable possession. It is already subject to an amount of variation which . . . borders on the excessive."

Prof. Phillip Morrison, nuclear physicist of Cornell University, who helped make the first A-bomb, warns of the hazards of spreading huge amounts of radioactive material by H-bomb tests. While actual long-range effects are unknown, he says "The fate even of the unborn may be formed to disaster by the occasional genetic damage done by unsensed rays."

Prof. Mogens Westergaard of the Genetics Department of the University of Copenhagen warns us in the November, 1955, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* of "our responsibility to pass on to our descendants, without injury, the genes and chromosomes which we received from our ancestors. We should treat them not as our own property but as the property of our species and our

descendants. . . . Ever bigger nuclear test explosions . . . would mean a continued exposure of a large part of the world's population to incalculable genetic risks." Every future mother and father, everyone interested in the birth of healthy babies in the generations to come, has a stake in ending the testing of nuclear weapons.

The Deadly Strontium-90

A more immediate danger to our own generation is the effect of Strontium-90, the extraordinary yellowish, metallic element which resembles calcium and is a bone seeker. When it is deposited in our bones, its radiation destroys the blood-producing marrow, causing leukemia and often cancer of the bone. It remains radioactive for years and once in our bones remains there to injure us for the rest of our lifetime. Dr. W. F. Libby, Commissioner of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, pointed out to the National Academy of Sciences May 2, 1956, in his report on "Radioactive Strontium Fall-out" that this dangerous element has been found in the waters of the Mississippi, in alfalfa fields of Wisconsin and Iowa, in soil in various sections of the country, and is increasing in milk all over the world.

Dr. Ralph Lapp, well known authority on nuclear energy, notes that "Fragments of bomb debris from the Pacific tests are now turning up in the bones of people all over the world." The effect on growing children, who are almost certain to absorb more radioactive Strontium into their bodies than adults, is causing concern not alone to scientists but to physicians and parents. As Pare Lor-

entz pointed out in the January 1957 issue of *McCall's* magazine:

Radioactivity is poisoning our children. . . . It is not a question of whether we have polluted the earth; it is a question of how much we have polluted it. . . . If any disagreements arise, they are over the degree of our danger. How much of this stuff has already been absorbed by plants, ingested by animals, and given to human beings in food and milk? How much have we inhaled?

No one knows. But there are urgent voices calling for a halt to the poisoning of the earth until we measure the danger as the Scientific Committee of the United Nations hopes to do.

To what extent radiation shortens human life is not definitely known. Professor Linus Pauling, noted chemist at the California Institute of Technology and Nobel Laureate, estimates that the people adjacent to the Nevada testing ground have already had their lives shortened three months. The body as a whole is damaged by radiation. Dr. Herman J. Muller indicates that "no one particular ailment is induced; they (people) are simply made a trifle more susceptible to all causes of death, much as if they had been aged by a few days." There is no way to undo the damage—no medication has any known effect.

All "Small" Wars Hold Threat of World War

All of us have lived through the danger of small wars: Korea, Indochina, Egypt and Hungary. We know that the civil war in Korea grew larger and hotter, threatened to spread into China and to engulf the entire world in flames. Threats were made to use the atomic bomb and the very earth was scorched with

napalm. The bitterness of the conflict threatened to disrupt the United Nations. In Indochina, the struggle for the people and the land at Dien-bienphu started atomic bombers on their way and only a last minute counter command enabled us to draw back from the gulf. The current battle for control of the oil of the Middle East has startled the world. It took all the forces of the United Nations, the pressure of the United States, a strong warning from the Soviet Union, to hold this "small" war within bounds and halt the killing. Now the Eisenhower Doctrine with its threats of U.S. armed intervention in the Middle East, brings atomic weapons to American bases in the area.

The great guns are being wheeled and floated into place, deadly navies and armies maneuver, the aviators on thousands of airfields around the world are waiting for the signal to take off with their loads of A- and H-bombs and the generals and statesmen are debating under what conditions to give the signals. "Little" wars not only kill and injure the participants. They threaten to engulf us all in a new world war.

What World War III would be like even the scientists and generals can only dimly conceive. Almost 40 million people were killed and wounded in the first world war, twice as many in the second, and great areas of destruction still remain as silent reminders that the fury of modern war rises in great leaps as man's inventiveness increases.

U.S. Air Force Secretary Harold E. Talbot said on November 12, 1954, that atomic weapons "can lay waste an entire continent—men, women, children, even the beasts and the

vegetation. They can abolish in a single night, not only a nation, but a whole civilization."

Prof. Linus Pauling in urging the outlawing of war warned in Los Angeles that "for two or three billion dollars enough cobalt bombs could be made to kill everybody—animals too—in the United States, simply by detonating them off the western coast and allowing the winds to carry the products of detonation across the country." Not a single enemy bomber or missile need cross the borders of our country—yet every living creature would be dead. Lt. General M. Gavin, Army Chief of Research, testified before the Senate in the summer of 1956 that casualties in Europe and Asia would be "several hundred million deaths . . . depending upon which way the wind blew. If the wind blew to the southwest, they would be mostly in the USSR," but would extend into Japan and perhaps the Philippines. "If the wind blew the other way, they would extend well back up into western Europe," devastating both "enemies" and "allies."

From labor's viewpoint Walter Reuther, AFL-CIO Vice President, sees clearly that "the question of peace transcends every other question that we face as a free people. . . . War no longer confronts us with the alternative of victory or defeat. Peace is now a question of survival."

The destruction of the world which the leaders of the nations have so carefully planned at great cost would be carried out with A- and H-bombs carried by fast bombers, and by missiles armed with nuclear war heads. Articles in the *Wall Street Journal* and the press generally report a crash program in the

manufacture and testing of the ICBM, Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, with a range of 5,000 miles capable of striking within five miles of a target city, and the IRBM, the Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile, with a range of 1500 miles. Reports indicate that the USSR has a comparable program which may be equal to or even in advance of the U.S.

Modern submarines are also being equipped to launch missiles with a range of several hundred miles, and bombs can, of course be carried to the target area in a variety of ways.

Will Deterrence Deter?

Will these weapons of total destruction be used? It is frequently said that the prospect of all-inclusive death will hold leaders in check and so prevent their use. This argument has now gained the status of national policy in the U.S. and western Europe. It has been refuted by many leading atomic scientists and military leaders, including the eighteen Nobel prize winners who issued the following declaration on July 15, 1955:

We think it is a delusion if Governments believe they can avoid war for a long time through the fear of these weapons. Fear and tension have often engendered wars. . . . In extreme danger no nation will deny itself the use of any weapons that scientific technology can produce.

Yet the President and the Congress have committed our nation to a program based on the thesis that the worse the terror, the better the chances for peace.

The policy of deterrence—peace by mutual terror—is open to attack on four specific counts:

1. *The advocates of preventive war may come to power in our own or other nations.*

In a feature article urging the use of tactical atomic weapons in the February, 1955, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Col. George R. Reinhardt and Lt. Col. William R. Kintner write:

We are confronted by a paradox: general nuclear war, apparently signals unutterable destruction. Failure to resist the onward surge of Communism, *by war itself if need be*, invokes no less dire fate to free society." (italics added.)

On November 15, 1954 Sen. William Knowland told the U.S. Senate, "coexistence and atomic stalemate will result in ultimate Communist victory. . . . Time is running out, and I would remind the Senate that in this day and age of the airplane and atomic weapon, time is not necessarily on the side of the free world."

Men such as these can make the decision for all humanity.

2. *There can be no guarantee against insanity in high places.*

It may be symbolic that in 1949 the Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, fled from the hospital in his pajamas crying that the Russians were after him, and ended a suicide.

Dr. David R. Inglis, Senior Physicist at Argonne National Laboratory urges the nations to "limit armaments in order to guard against the grave danger of a break down of deterrence *through irrational behavior*. . . . The likelihood of devastating nuclear war is unfortunately very real." (italics added)

Would Hitler have used the H-bomb when he was cornered in the bunkers of Berlin?

3. *There is the grave danger of triggering war by accident.*

As *Iron Age* notes, sun spots may be mistaken by sky watchers for on-coming Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles on a radar screen and the decision made to launch a counter attack. "Half the world could be destroyed before it was discovered that it was all a mistake." We live in the age of push button warfare, and the touch of a man's forefinger can mean life or death for sleeping millions.

In addition, as has been reported in the press, missiles have already gone astray. If one should go over the boundaries into a foreign country by accident and devastate a great city, who can guarantee there would not be immediate retaliation and world conflagration?

4. *Criminals can steal atomic weapons and use them for their purposes.*

Prof. Pitirim A. Sorokin of the Department of Sociology at Harvard (Emeritus) has predicted that this will happen. Thefts and accidental losses of nuclear materials have already been reported in the press. If nuclear weapons exist, criminals can steal and use them.

In the light of these terrible dangers, we must ask what are the obstacles blocking disarmament and driving us toward destruction? Who gains by keeping the cold war and the mounting arms race alive? Economic interests play the decisive role through control of governments. The arms business in the United States is now forty times larger than it was during the 1930's when Senator Nye conducted his famous investigation of the munitions trust. It is the largest and most profitable business in the world.

President Eisenhower has just pre-

sented to Congress the largest peacetime budget for war in history—about 50 billion dollars. Fifty-nine cents of every dollar is directly for war—at least seventy-six cents if we add the cost of past wars.

The President who places this burden upon the backs of the people is well aware of its meaning. In eloquent words in April 1953 he said: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed."

Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, has repeatedly warned the public that the arms race may bring on a depression. In *U.S. News and World Report* for February 8, 1957, he protests against the 50 billion dollars "non-productive armaments" "spending taken out of our 400 billion dollar gross U.S. economy—one out of every eight working men in the United States "producing something that is only good for war and rapidly becomes obsolete and worthless. . . . You can't eat them; you can't use them; they don't help living at all except to protect our lives in the meantime."

What can be done to stop this wanton waste of life and resources?

The Key to Peace

That there is an answer to the world's dilemma, leading statesmen, generals, scientists and philosophers are agreed. President Eisenhower has said repeatedly in various ways, "I firmly believe that the future of civilization is absolutely dependent upon finding some way of resolving international differences without war."

Dr. Albert Einstein joined Ber-

trand Russell and 130 leading scientists from twenty countries including the Soviet Union in urging the governments to renounce war as a means of settling international disputes.

How can these agreements in principle become effective through an effective program of disarmament? The fundamental answer was worked out at the Great Power Conference at Geneva in 1955. Peace can come only through negotiations at the highest levels. What is needed is another, even several five-power conferences to iron out the disagreements. Major attention should be centered on making a start through some dramatic step toward disarmament taken in full view of the entire world. The Federation of Atomic Scientists and many important scientific groups and leaders have urged that the ban on nuclear weapon tests be such a first step. The Soviet Union has made several such proposals, the latest in a resolution submitted to the UN General Assembly in January 1957. India has frequently called for an ending of tests. Sweden has asked for a moratorium on test explosions. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. proposed to the General Assembly in January 1957 that "all future production of fissionable materials shall be used for stockpiles exclusively for non-weapon purposes under international supervision" and that when such agreement is reached "all nuclear test explosions be limited and ultimately eliminated."

This condition has unfortunately been extended further by the Eisenhower-Macmillan Bermuda agreement that "continued nuclear testing is required . . . for the present" and that its banning must depend on "an

effective agreement for comprehensive disarmament."

The present stalemate in disarmament could be broken if the United States were to join the major world movement for *immediate* discontinuance of atomic tests. At present there is no known way of hiding super bomb explosions any more than we can hide an earthquake. As the Federation of Atomic Scientists suggests "a UN monitoring agency with access to specific detection sites or monitoring aircraft over international waters is all that is needed" to detect any H-bomb test anywhere in the world. The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* has advocated the ending of tests on long-range missiles as another important first step which could halt the armaments' drive, and provide a breathing space for negotiation leading to the ending of the arms race. Here, too, violations can readily be detected through observation on radar screens set up at a few places on each continent.

This, then, is where the beginning should be made. Agreement on the ending of tests would open the way to agreement on other aspects of disarmament. International security, as Einstein emphasized, is "linked solely to an agreement between this country and Russia." The peace proposals publicly made by the United States and the USSR are very close to each other. Now every effort should be made to close the gap. Agreement on ending of nuclear tests, implementation of other measures where the positions of both sides are similar or close together, would immediately bring an improvement in the whole international climate and make possible the peaceful solution of many other problems.

It is time to reverse our stand and instead of concentrating on military blocs and nuclear weapons bases, make some new major moves in working out a new bi-partisan foreign policy aimed at agreement with the socialist countries to trade freely, cooperate fully and disarm.

If these things are done, everything else will follow: a world-inclusive United Nations, the creation of a united, demilitarized Germany, the unification of Korea and Indochina, the maintenance of an unarmed Japan in accordance with the U.S.-approved Japanese constitution and the peaceful division of the oil of the Middle East in the interests of the peoples of the Arab states and Israel and the great powers.

In such a changed climate the United States, as well as the other powers, would be free to use science and our great productive capacity for a war on poverty. As Bertrand Russell has suggested, with our automatic factories and engineering know-how "China, India and Africa could all be raised to a standard of living that would equal that of the most prosperous countries. . . . If we would, we could make life splendid and beautiful. . . . The brotherhood of man is an old idea, and it has been propounded by very many wise men. Now it is the alternative to death."

The people are grasping this central fact of our generation. To heighten their consciousness of the necessity and the beauty of peace and direct it into a rising national movement should be the objective of everyone who loves life.

Let us begin with a mighty demand for the ending of all nuclear weapons tests!

DR. DU BOIS AND GHANA

THE CEREMONIES marking the establishment of the African country of Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) were held on March 6 with representation from 57 countries to welcome this new, independent member of the British Commonwealth.

The United States was officially represented by Vice-President Nixon with a large group of other important Americans also in attendance. There were, however, two Americans missing from the celebrations whose absence should be of special interest to the readers of our magazine.

Many months before the March 6 celebration, Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois received from the Chairman of Ghana's Independence Celebration the following message:

"It is our fervent hope that in the beginning of his goth year the Father of Pan-Africanism will be with us in our Year I."

On March 8 Dr. Du Bois received this cablegram from the Prime Minister of Ghana:

"On this historic occasion to which you have contributed so much our thoughts go out to you and wife. Deeply regret your absence despite my personal intervention. Your absence is our country's loss."

The denial of a passport to Dr. Du Bois, even after the personal intervention of the Prime Minister, casts a most revealing light on our present loudly proclaimed policies towards colonial peoples, for there is no living American whose name

is so closely associated throughout the world with the great movement of the colonial peoples for their liberation than that of Dr. Du Bois.

The first Pan-African Congress which met in Paris in 1919 was called and organized by Dr. Du Bois. From this Congress Dr. Du Bois went directly to the newly-organized League of Nations to place the plight of the African people before this body. In the following thirty-five years the succeeding Pan-African Congresses were held in many countries; it was never, of course, allowed to meet on African soil. In 1945 the Congress met in Manchester, England, with Dr. Du Bois presiding. It was at this session that the present Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, was elected Co-secretary of the Congress. Kwame Nkrumah returned to Africa after this Congress and the rest is history.

Dr. Du Bois' many distinguished books on the Negro in America, Africa and other countries have long since become classics for us all, and guides and inspiration to a whole generation of younger Negroes throughout the World. For many years Co-Chairman of "The Council on African Affairs," he served as a consultant when Trusteeships were set up at the founding convention of the United Nations Organization in San Francisco.

The present administration in refusing Dr. Du Bois a passport to be the guest of honor at an event with which his great career both as a leader of the Negro people and as a distinguished American citizen is so intimately a part, demonstrates once more to the colonial people everywhere the blatant insincerity of our proclaimed "friendly" policies.

In a Chinese Courtroom

by JULES CHOME

Last year a group of Western lawyers from France, England, Italy, Belgium and Germany visited China at the invitation of the Chinese Political Science and Law Association and traveled widely in the country.

M. Jules Chomé of the Brussels Appeal Court has recorded two trials he observed during his visit.

The first case—a divorce—demonstrates procedure in purely domestic matters and at the same time indicates the great changes in the status of women in the New China.

The second case involving criminal and counter-revolutionary activity illustrates the approach under the new Chinese legal system to crimes of a social character.

A Divorce Case Before the Nan Yuen County Court

The hearings of the Court of Nan Yuen village, with a jurisdiction over a district of approximately 120,000 inhabitants, took place in an enormous hall, in the middle of an inner court surrounded with one-story buildings. In these buildings were situated the office of the presiding judge, the office of the clerk of the court, reconciliation chambers, jury rooms, etc.

A divorce case was on the causerlist for the day.

There was a fairly large public audience present, mostly composed, it appeared, of friends and acquaintances of the parties to the case.

The two parties were a man of twenty-five, and his wife of nine-

teen, who had already taken their places on the seats facing the dais reserved for the judges.

The Clerk of the Court then proceeded to take his place, after he had filed three copies of the pleadings for the use of the judges, including the written grounds of complaint drawn up by a judge on the complaint of the plaintiff husband, the interim order, etc.

The judges then made their entrance. The presiding judge was a professional magistrate, and was assisted by two People's Judges (as is the case each time a Chinese court sits as a court of first instance). In all courts sitting as appeal courts the cases are heard by professional judges.

One of the People's Judges was a woman, the local leader of the Women's Democratic Federation. The second was the director of the village saw-mill.

The presiding judge standing, proceeded to name the three members of the Bench, and asked the parties to the case if they challenged any of them (in all Chinese courts I had the impression that this preliminary invitation to challenge the bench was considered as something considerably more than a simple formality).

The presiding judge then ex-

plained to the parties their legal rights, and gave a brief account of the case. The couple had been married in 1954, had lived harmoniously for some months, and then began to quarrel. Originally it had been the husband who had first asked for divorce, claiming that his wife displayed too much independence. But once his wife had agreed to the divorce, he had changed his mind. He now claimed that they had been living on amicable terms again, but that his wife now wanted to go and live with her sister.

His wife, from being the respondent in the divorce, had now become the plaintiff. She complained that he ill-treated her, beat her, forced her to live with her parents-in-law, and allowed her to be ill-treated by her father-in-law. She refused to listen to any talk of reconciliation.

Giving evidence before the Court, she declared in tears that she no longer loved her husband, he had treated her too badly. She explained with considerable passion that she had been seventeen when she married, deeply in love with her husband, but that was too young to marry. From the time of her marriage, her husband had prevented her attending night school. He had deliberately overburdened her with work to prevent her studying. And if none the less she managed to attend a class, he beat her when she returned. Quite recently her husband had beaten her, and his parents had joined in. Her father-in-law, moreover, often beat her on his own when her husband was away at work, and when she complained to her husband, on his return home, instead of taking her part, he beat her in his turn.

Her father-in-law would admit no claim of hers to study. "For three hundred years," he declared, "neither I nor my ancestors have heard of a woman claiming the right to study. Your place is at home, and as long as I have anything to say you are not going to night school."

She made what was practically a full speech for the prosecution, neatly leading on the judges, beyond the merits of her own case, to a general judgment on the conflict between the two generations, between old and new China, where the woman is the equal of the man and no longer the servant of her husband and her husband's parents.

As for the husband, there was not much he could say. He contented himself by affirming that he did not want any divorce, and that he still loved his wife.

The second of the People's Judges pointed out to him that if he truly wanted a reconciliation, he should begin by admitting his faults and being sorry for them. It was quite unwarrantable in particular, that he had first brought accusations against his wife, and now was forced to admit that there was no foundation for any of his reproaches.

The husband then admitted that his father had behaved badly to his wife, and had struck her, but he denied that he had ever beaten her. He had quarrelled with his wife, but he had never lifted a hand to her.

For nearly two hours the presiding judge called alternatively upon the husband and wife to speak. The three judges were obviously making patient efforts to comprehend all the human aspects of the problem, in order to come at the real causes of the disunity, the degree to which the

couple's love for each other had been injured, and what opportunities of reconciliation still existed.

It was only after the couple had expressed themselves as freely and completely as they wished that the presiding judge addressed them in a last attempt to bring about a reconciliation. There was one basic reason for their disunity, he declared; it was the father-in-law and his old-fashioned mentality. There were no serious complaints that separated the couple themselves. Their love had been strong and living two years ago; surely it could not have disappeared so completely that today they were obliged to divorce, he asked. He requested them to think it over carefully once more, and advised them in future to live apart from their parents-in-law.

But the wife refused in tears. She had neither father nor mother, she cried sobbing, nor anyone to protect her, and she begged the Court to give her her liberty.

This last attempt of the Court to reconcile the couple having failed, there was no alternative left but to deliver judgment.

The judges consequently retired to consider their judgment.

As they took a long time to reach their decision, we had no time to await the verdict, and had to leave. We learned, however, the next day, that the Court had refused to grant a divorce, but that in the findings preceding the judgement, the judges had stressed that if the husband continued to insist that they live with his parents, and refused his wife her legitimate freedom to study, she could renew her demand, without further formality or expense, and the divorce would then be granted.

A Case of Counter-Revolutionary Activity—Peking High Court

The Court sat on a raised dais. On both sides of the dais, but on the same level as the accused, were tables reserved for the prosecutor and counsel for the defense, Maitre Ma Lu Chen, fresh from the Peking Institute of Legal and Political Sciences, who had been designated for the defense by the Court.

After the prisoner had been invited to challenge, if he wished, any of the three judges, the presiding judge explained to him his legal rights, and pointed out in particular that he could demand the right to bring witnesses if he thought it would be useful. In that event, the case would be adjourned.

The presiding judge then read the bill of indictment.

The accused was a peasant forty-six years old. In 1942, when he was a gendarme in the service of the Japanese, he had assassinated a man in order to assist his superior officer to take that man's wife. Later, as a gendarme in the service of the occupying power, he had arrested a certain Tien, a member of the People's Army, of whom nothing more was heard after his arrest.

The accused, invited to defend himself, repeated the admissions he had made to the Parquet in the course of the preliminary inquiry. He admitted having joined the gendarmerie in 1942 in the service of the occupying Japanese. He pleaded in defense his necessitous condition.

The man for whom he had agreed to commit this crime was his superior officer. This man had already asked him once to kill the husband of the woman he desired, and he had at first

refused. Then, on the insistence of his chief, he had agreed to do it. He went with his superior officer to a tea-house. There he met his victim, who was a rickshaw man. The accused took the rickshaw, and directed the man to take him to the country. Once there, and beside a river, he had shot the man dead with his revolver. The body had been buried. Although the matter came to the ears of the Japanese authorities, they did nothing about it.

Some months after the crime, his superior officer had married the widow of the victim.

The crime would have remained unpunished, if a certain Hiang, a colleague of the accused, who had been approached by the superior officer first, had not decided to give information against him at the end of the year 1955.

The accused pleaded in defense that he had benefited in no way from this crime, that he had done it to please his superior officer, and that he had been afraid to refuse.

In so far as the second case was concerned, the accused declared that he had been sent, with another policeman, to a village to effect the arrest of a bandit who was preying on the peasants. He had genuinely thought he was dealing with a criminal, and had no idea that a member of the People's Army was involved. Moreover, he declared, it was not he himself who arrested this man, but his colleague. He had simply guarded an exit of the house.

The presiding judge then asked the prosecutor if he wished to cross-examine the accused. The answer was no, and the presiding judge then asked the counsel for the defense if he had any question to put.

Counsel for the defense asked three questions.

Q.—Had the accused known the rickshaw man before he killed him?

A.—No.

Q.—Who was his direct superior?

A.—The instigator of the crime.

Q.—Why had he in particular been called upon to arrest Tien?

A.—It was simply chance that it was he who had been sent to arrest a criminal.

The prosecuting counsel then made the closing speech for the prosecution. In the name of the State and the Chinese people, he declared, he wished to draw the attention of the Court to the social gravity of these crimes, which had indisputably occurred and had not been denied. The accused, not content with putting himself at the disposal of the enemy, had abused the authority with which he had been improperly invested, to commit, not simply a murder, but an assassination which had been premeditated and carried out according to a meticulously prepared plan.

"He is completely responsible for this crime," the prosecutor declared.

As for the second charge, the prosecutor pointed out that he had arrested a member of the People's Army, who had disappeared after the arrest. There was every presumption that he had been turned over to the enemy, but proof was lacking. However that might be, this arrest had done harm to the activities of the People's Army, and constituted a counter-revolutionary act.

"The accused," said the prosecutor, "had not been honest. He had first denied everything, and had only finally admitted the facts when confronted with the informer and his

former chief, the instigator and beneficiary of the crime."

The defense was then called on.

The defending counsel analyzed the evidence, and attempted to enlist the understanding of the Court for the position in which the accused had found himself when he committed these crimes.

"Who decided on the crime? Not he. He was simply a private in the gendarmerie. The instigator was an officer. He was all-powerful at that period. The accused feared to refuse him. He did not know his victim; he received no reward for his crime. He was only a more or less passive instrument of the assassination and the principal author of the crime was the officer, who in a way might be described as commanding him to do it."

In the second case, the defense stressed that the accused did no more than guard a door. "Nothing gave him any reason to believe he was dealing not with a criminal, but with a soldier of the People's Army.

"The accused, moreover," said the defense, "had been a gendarme for only six months, and the two acts with which he was charged had both taken place in that short period. They were in addition committed on the orders of his superiors.

"The accused subsequently lived for six years in a district occupied by the Kuomintang, before the Liberation, and during the whole of this time, and since the Liberation, he had not committed a single blameworthy act. That, he hoped, would earn him the leniency of the Court, in virtue of Article 14.4 of the law on treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities."

This article of the law allowed for considerable extenuating circum-

stances in the case of those who committed, before the Liberation, crimes covered by this law, but who freely and of their own accord had broken off every connection with counter-revolutionary organizations.

The prosecutor demanded the right of reply.

He protested with vehemence that Article 14.4 was not applicable to this type of offense. He invoked a decision of a higher court in a Southern province which determined that these provisions only applied to cases of treason of counter-revolutionary activity as such; and could not be invoked to cover crimes of common law perpetrated during the commission of treasonable or counter-revolutionary acts.

Referring to this case, he described it as an act of "counter-revolutionary despotism," an abuse of authority conferred on him by the enemy, and such an act should be punished with exemplary severity.

Counsel for the defense made the closing speech.

He asked the Court not to accept the court decision cited by the prosecutor. "This decision," he said, "added to the clear and formal text of the law a distinction which is not contained in it. The conditions for the application of Article 14.4 are indisputably fulfilled, since the accused left the gendarmerie and the service of the Japanese of his own free will and had lived many years in territory governed by the Kuomintang without committing the slightest counter-revolutionary act."

The presiding judge then asked the accused if he had anything to add in his defense. He likewise asked the public if anyone had anything to say on the subject. The wife of the

accused was heard. She spoke of her children, but knew nothing about the facts under discussion. A neighbor had nothing to say, and demanded loudly that he be allowed to leave.

The Court then retired to consider the verdict.

The hearing was resumed an hour later, when the presiding judge read the verdict standing before the accused and the public, who all remained standing while it was read.

This verdict, naming the accused and giving an account of the crimes with which he had been charged, surveyed and analyzed the facts of the case. The Court accepted the argument put forward by the defense, and rejected the restrictive interpretation of Art. 14-4. After stressing the gravity of the crimes in a long statement, it admitted considerable extenuating circumstances for the accused. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

The presiding judge, in closing the session, informed the accused that he, as well as the prosecution, had five days in which to appeal.

We were also present at other trials, in particular the pleadings in a case of industrial sabotage before the Nanking High Court, an appeal from a death sentence before the Criminal Division of the Shanghai

Appeal Court (the accused, a commander in the Kuomintang Army, who had landed secretly in China from Formosa in 1955 and carried on spying and counter-revolutionary activities, had his sentence reduced to eight years' imprisonment).

Wherever we went we had the impression of a justice dispensed with calm, dignity and deep humanity.

Unquestionably it was a matter of regret that the barristers acting in criminal cases had each time been briefed only a few days before the public hearing. I had the impression that this was a temporary difficulty owing to the present shortage of lawyers. The Chinese bar, I understood, is in the process of reorganization. I was told that a series of regulations dealing with the legal profession has just been enacted.

However that may be, the lawyers I saw and heard plead were fully briefed, despite the little time they had at their disposal to prepare the case. They disputed on obviously equal terms with Public Prosecutor, and defended their clients not only with considerably energy, but also, in all the cases where I was present, with remarkable success.

—Reprinted from *Law in the Service of Peace, International Association of Democratic Lawyers' Review*, June, 1956.

WARSAW EXHIBIT OF U.S. SCIENTIFIC BOOKS

AN EXHIBITION of American scientific and technical books and periodicals is being held this spring in Warsaw, at the Polish Academy of Sciences. It will comprise more than 1,000 American titles, with emphasis on the applied sciences. After the exhibit, the books on display will be sold to Polish libraries, universities and other institutions.

Arrangements were made for the exhibit by two representatives of *Ars Polona*, Poland's central commercial agency for the export and import of published materials, who visited this country during the winter, bringing with them examples of Polish publications.

The Education of Joseph Alsop

WE HAVE previously quoted the comments on Soviet foreign policy by Joseph Alsop of the *New York Herald Tribune*, as a result of his conversations with Nikolai Khrushchev and others during his recent trip to the USSR. Equally significant were his comments on Soviet internal developments. He described his trip as "the most interesting and awakening political experience this reporter can remember for a long time." (*N.Y. Herald Tribune*, Jan. go.) He mentioned "the charm and vitality of the people, wonderfully retained despite the harshness of their lives," the "intensity of most Russians' interest in the arts and the things of the mind." His greatest surprise was that the Soviet Union "has now been raised to the level of a high technical society." Because education on a wide scale has been essential for this, he found that the people "now include a very large educated element who know about and hanker for broader horizons."

Mr. Alsop's lack of understanding that broader horizons for the human being is a basic aim of socialism leads him to explain this as a sort of accidental by-product. Yet his admission that the present Soviet leaders recognize the demand of the people "for more independence of judgment, more freedom of decision, more flexibility and more open communication at all levels of managerial apparatus" marks an important advance in the reporter's own education.

Journeying outside of Moscow, Mr. Alsop was tremendously impressed by the new type of men risen from the ranks he found in charge of the big industrial enterprises. Of Vassiliev, director of a Ball Bearing factory in Kuibyshev, he wrote (Feb. 6), "You cannot talk very long with Aleksandr Nikolaievich without concluding that he is an exceedingly able man." Sandrilaigo, a mine director in Western Siberia, he described as "big, calm and self-possessed." Seeking to find out the role of the Communist Party in the vast enterprises he was seeing, *The Herald Tribune* reporter seemed mystified at the explanation given by Popov, First Secretary of the Communist Party in Koustenay, who told him:

"The mine manager is a member of the

collective. In this respect, our strength lies in working as one collective body. The collective effort of our people, in which the leading role is played by the Communist Party, is the real force that permits us to cope with our great tasks. People can solve any problems if they are well led.

"Therefore the Communist Party never loses its close connection with the masses. Party members equally work together in such industrial enterprises as you have mentioned. So they help all people to solve problems, and so the rule is followed that the decisions taken by the collective body of the people must be fulfilled by all means." (Feb. 13)

In Akmolinsk, Alsop met Lepeoka and Strukhov, sons of dirt farmers, graduates of higher agricultural schools, and now in charge of the vast project of plowing up virgin lands:

"Both were pretty impressive fellows, who seemed to know their business thoroughly, describing in loving detail their plowing, harvesting and crop rotation systems, which in fact closely resemble the system based on our big industrial wheat farms in the Dakotas. . . .

"The program is in fact an enormous gamble with the climate. Yet both Strukhov and Lepeoka seemed confident they would win the gamble. One must hope they will win. For the people I met on the state farm I visited by ski plane, and the tractorists and other workers from collective farms I have run into here at Akmolinsk, were all fine, tough, courageous human beings and the human tragedy will be appalling if the gamble goes wrong." (Feb. 15)

From Novosibirsk, the correspondent wrote a glowing column recommending tourism in Western Siberia—provided one is willing to put up with somewhat limited plumbing facilities, is equipped against the cold with a coonskin coat, and has a digestive apparatus capable of handling the lavish food and drink hospitably provided. With this equipment, plus a reasonable intellectual curiosity, any traveller is almost guaranteed to enjoy a Siberian journey, because:

"For one thing, this is an exuberantly growing region, and the mere process of growth, however strange and hostile the system which promotes it, is still both fascinating and exciting to observe.

"For another thing, the people you meet are mostly very good people indeed. The Russians of Western Siberia are wonderfully welcoming, showing not the slightest trace of fear of contact with strangers, and the iron system they live under does not present most of them from being vital, resilient and generous hearted fellows." (Feb. 22)

Summing up his impressions after leaving the USSR, Alsop wrote from Paris:

"The real story is one of growth and even of a kind of creativeness. The Soviet leaders began with a backward nation largely populated by an illiterate peasantry. In under thirty years—for the first five-year plan only began in 1928—they have created out of almost nothing a strong, technically progressive managerial class. They have matched their new managers with a second new class of millions of skilled workers. And they have continuously multiplied their country's national product." (March 4)

Remarking that the sacrifices by which all this has been achieved could not be

overlooked, he added that the achievement also should not be overlooked, and is "visibly producing changes in Soviet society." While the police persist, "terror belongs to the past" and while the level of life "is still low by our standards," it is also "quite certainly and rather conspicuously improving." On March 6, he wrote of the intellectual ferment he found, and concluded that there is "more freedom today in the Soviet Union," that its leaders recognize there can be no return to "Stalin style discipline."

While this appears to the writer as a "dilemma," he feels that it "... quite probably—one is tempted to say almost certainly—means that in fits and starts, with many retreats as well as advances, this strange Soviet society will go on evolving as it has been evolving in the last four years."

In the final article of the series (March 11) Mr. Alsop indicates the belief that in the "race" with the Soviet Union, the West should recognize that the latter is leading from strength in both internal and foreign policies, and banking on weaknesses and divisions in the West rather than war to "win the race." He concludes that "... only bold, realistic and imaginative Western leadership will find satisfactory answers."

VARIETY REPORTS

THE leading American theatrical weekly, *Variety*, in its issue for March 27, has an interesting article based on a discussion with Irving R. Levine, NBC's correspondent in Russia, who is presently in the U.S. on a holiday. Written in *Variety's* own very special language, we present a few excerpts:

"The ballet, of course, is the pinnacle of everything. The favorite terpsichorean exponents get bobbysox ovations usually identified in the Western orbit only with some currently hot diskery artist or band. The Russian accent is on cultural, musical and folk song, dance and music."

"Cabaret, dansapation, night life, films, and the like are not curbed, per se, as 'decadent' but in light of the general character of the national thinking these are more or less automatically retarded."

"There is no jamming of Voice of America music—just the English-language programs—and Ella Fitzgerald, Rosemary Clooney, Louis Armstrong, Les Paul and Mary Ford and Benny Goodman are the faves (with youngsters)."

"Russians read the western publications—*Life*, *Time*, British dailies, the *N. Y. Times*, even *Variety*" in the libraries when they are to be found, but even Levine confesses he has difficulties translating for the Russian readers certain of *Variety's* "slanguage" idioms.

A Communication

TO THE EDITORS:

Since criticisms of every dimension and variety seem to be the fashion of the hour, will you permit me to make one?

As one who has long enjoyed reading your magazine, and as a writer myself, I found your editorial note on Shirley Graham's review of *The Stalin Era* not only gratuitous but somewhat objectionable. I assure you I do not say this simply because of my wholehearted agreement with Anna Louise Strong's and Shirley Graham's viewpoint; nor merely because I cannot claim to be one of those erstwhile Sovietophiles who now consider it the height of style to take grave exception to everything in the Soviet Union, from plumbing to the polbureau, and cry *mea culpa* over the sins of the Russians, while the debris of their own misadventures in the United States mount on every side. I say it because, whereas it seems eminently fitting for the radio networks painstakingly to disassociate themselves from the political opinions occasionally expressed on their programs by radical speakers, it appears to me peculiarly inappropriate for the editors of a magazine like *New World Review* to exercise a similar sort of circumspection.

You may not have intended the apologetic flavor of your comment that it is a "sign

of the times" that you now present "more varied opinions" than in the past, or the condescension inherent in your pronouncement that your "differences" with the author and reviewer of *The Stalin Era* are "of course, friendly." But I really don't understand how you could consider it sound editorial policy, respectful either to your contributors or readers, to publish such an appendage to a review.

If the editors of the magazine want varying comments on subjects with which book reviews deal, such comments can appear in other articles. No one will be hastened to perdition if you fail to attach editorial postscripts to the heels of reviews with which you disagree. After all, as you yourself point out, you are now publishing "more varied opinions." And wouldn't it be a salubrious "sign of the times" if such "varied opinions" were presented without the editors feeling the compulsion to hurry into print with their disagreements?

I don't doubt that Miss Graham was told in advance of your intention to run an editorial note to her review, and that, being the sort of tolerant person she is, she agreed to it. However, that makes it no more palatable, in my opinion, nor lessens the impertinence to her.

ALBERT KAHN

LONGFELLOW HONORED

THE 150th anniversary of the birth of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was celebrated on February 27 in a Moscow meeting called by a group of Soviet cultural societies. The principal speaker was Konstantin Simonov, famous writer, who in the course of his address said, "Longfellow's name calls to mind first of all a profoundly poetic, noble image of the wise and just Indian chief, Hiawatha, whom we all remember from childhood. . . . The legendary Hiawatha with his pipe of peace, who arose before us in the poem based upon Indian folklore, has become one of our favorite heroes."

"The works of Longfellow," Simonov continued, "are imbued with an ardent love for people, whatever the color of their skin—the Indians, Negroes, all peoples of the world."

Book Reviews

A DIPLOMAT'S ACCOUNT

RUSSIA LEAVES THE WAR, by George F. Kennan. (Vol. I of Soviet-American Relations, 1917-20). Princeton University Press, 1956. 544 pages. \$7.50.

THIS book, by the author of the "containment policy," covers the period from the November Revolution of 1917 to the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March, 1918. Documented with a plethora of cablegrams, notes, diaries, personal and official memos etc., it throws more in the way of fascinating sidelights on American policy toward Russia in these early, decisive days than real illumination. And it tells little of the reality of what was going on in Russia.

The first thing revealed by the book is the immense ignorance of Russia and the Russian Revolution on the part of American officials both on the spot and back in Washington, the confusions and cross purposes at which they worked, becoming ever more confounded against the vacillations of the Wilsonian policies.

Yet Kennan at the same time seeks to defend the very officials whose ineptness and absolute unfitness for their jobs, as in the case of Ambassador Francis, the whole book demonstrates beyond contradiction. Rather, he lays the "muddy complexity" of the initial stages of American-Soviet relations to "the infinite possibilities for misunderstanding, confusion, intrigue and malevolent exploitation that are always present when inexperienced people, whose status is unclarified, are permitted to dabble in transactions between governments."

In this he is of course developing his own recently announced thesis that foreign affairs should be "the exclusive concern of an elite with very little meaningful or direct responsibility to the citizenry" (As pointed out by Prof. William A. Williams in his review of the book in *The Nation*, Sept. 15, 1956)

The "muddy complexity" was certainly in part due to the activities of Edgar Sisson and the series of forged documents (Of their spuriousness Kennan has no doubt) purporting to prove that the Bolshevik leaders were taking orders from the German government, which Sisson got the State Department to publish as authentic.

But far more was it due to the many attempts of U.S. officials to strangle the world's first socialist state at its birth, to assist those groups seeking to overthrow the Soviet Government and dismember Russia, all of which are passed over lightly in the author's attempts to ascribe all American policies of that period solely to the patriotic attempt to keep Russia in the war against Germany.

And while Kennan persistently attempts to depict the role of Col. Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia in an unfavorable light, the discerning reader will conclude that the whole course of American-Soviet relations would have been quite different, had his advice on the necessity of recognizing the Soviet Government and negotiating honestly with its leaders been heeded. It was Colonel Robins rather than U.S. officials, who really expressed the interests of the American people.

In attempting to prove his thesis that the Soviet Government never seriously considered continuing in the war against Germany, Mr. Kennan fails to make through use of available sources on the question of the sincerity of Soviet efforts to determine whether or not the United States was willing to provide the necessary aid to enable Russia to stay in the war. Kennan does show, however unwittingly, that then as now, the United States concept of negotiations was based on demanding capitulation in advance of offering terms.

The most revealing statement is the one with which Mr. Kennan ends his book. We cannot improve on the commentary on this in the above-mentioned *Nation* review by Professor Williams:

But even Kennan, in the last analysis, cannot get around the fact that it was Wilson and Lansing—not Lenin and Trotsky—who refused to consider the idea of some working agreement. It becomes necessary, indeed, to end the

book on just this note: "Once again, as so often in the course of these rapidly moving events, Washington—troubled, hesitant, and ill-informed—had spoken, reluctantly, into the past." Some perceptive scholar may well find that summing up an equally fitting conclusion for a study of American policy during the years when Kennan exercised his influence. . . .

And, it may be added, during the Dulles years.

J. S.

CRANKSHAW ON THE USSR

RUSSIA WITHOUT STALIN, by Ernest Crankshaw. *The Viking Press, New York*, 1956. 264 pages. \$3.75.

DESPITE all its confusion and contradictions, this is a rewarding and informative book—providing the reader is able to sift foreign colony gossip from its many illuminating glimpses of Soviet life. Its great virtue is that the author does not let his anti-Communist approach stand in the way of sympathetic understanding and honest reporting of many Soviet aims and accomplishments. Mr. Crankshaw, having been in Moscow in the war and early postwar years, returned again in 1955, and started writing the book before the Twentieth Congress, which took place before he completed it. He found many of the trends which have assumed a more pronounced character since Khrushchev's revelations, already in progress. He believes the changes set in motion by the Congress to be irreversible, whatever ups and downs they may take, and of particular importance for prospects of world peace. His knowledge of the Russian people and the Russian language give him a more informed and realistic approach than that of most Western observers, although sometimes leading him into too facile historical parallels.

No single dark side of Soviet life escapes treatment by the author. Failure to mention these in this brief review does not indicate any intention to gloss them over. We would merely point out that the shortcomings and inefficiencies he writes about are a matter of deep concern to the Soviet leaders themselves. He takes it for granted that the present system in the Soviet Union is there to stay, and that while Commu-

nism means different things to different Russians—

. . . to the men and women who want to do things, who have ideals and are ready to make sacrifices for them, it is the giver of life: it stands for science and enlightenment and progress in a country that believes in science and enlightenment and progress, as far as its best elements are concerned, no less absolutely and fervently than their Western cousins once believed in these things only fifty years ago.

Among the "very real achievements" of the Soviet Union, Mr. Crankshaw notes that it is "more literate, more healthy, more developed in every way than the old Tsarist empire. Its industrial achievements are stupendous, its cultural achievements, in spite of the regimentation of the mind, very much to be admired." (Elsewhere, he says he has stressed the element of change and confusion in the USSR "partly to offset the popular Western impression of a people regimented out of their souls.")

Watching Soviet children playing blissfully in the autumn sunshine in Kiev, he remarks, "I found myself thinking for the first time that they had a chance of a better life." In his introduction, the following paragraph occurs:

. . . the Soviet Union not only is recovering from the paralysis that crept over so many aspects of Soviet life during Stalin's last years, but is also making its weight felt in the world at large with a new subtlety and confidence and in a manner that calls for a more alert and flexible response on the part of the West than the statesmen of the West seem able to command.

Good advice, which we wish the men in Washington would take to heart.

J. S.

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"DO UNTO OTHERS"

MARTYRS IN CHINA, by the Rev. Jean Monsterlett. *H. Regnery Co., Chicago.* 1956. \$3.75.

FOUR YEARS IN A RED HELL, by the Rev. Harold W. Rigney. *H. Regnery Co., Chicago.* 1956. \$3.00.

THESE two books were written by Catholic priests who served as missionaries in China. They are astonishing documents, but not for the reasons their perpetrators clearly intended. The book by the Rev. Monsterlett is a translation from the French and attempts to give an account involving a wide variety of religious personages (always Catholic of course) and the effect of the establishment of the People's government upon them. The other book is a purely personal account by the Rev. Rigney of four years spent in Chinese prisons.

What is truly astonishing in both books is their complete failure to understand the struggles of the Chinese people among whom, as missionaries, they labored. The reader can only conclude from reading these books that in so far as these Catholic missionaries were concerned the historic effort of the Chinese people to build for themselves a new and more human way of life out of the chaos left by the collapse of the Manchu dynasty has not the slightest significance. We are given story after story of persecution, cruelty and "brain-washing" until the uninformed reader must come to the only possible conclusion: the massive struggle of the Chinese people to correct two thousand years of poverty and suffering merely resolves itself into a fiendish plot to persecute Catholic missionaries and their Chinese converts.

Addressed, one assumes, chiefly to members of the Catholic faith, it is hard to believe that the common human fellowship that Catholics share with all other decent people will not make clear to them the biased nature of these perfervid books which mention not once the long suffering of the Chinese people at the hands of their own ruling class nor the indignities brutally forced upon them during the last hundred years by Western imperialism.

The Rev. Rigney's account is hysterically concentrated on his own story to a degree astounding for a man whose life is dedicated to the care and shepherding of others. In-

deed it is impossible not to relate a story Rigney gives near the conclusion of his book.

Garlic, which supplied a welcome variety to the monotony of prison fare, was on occasion sold to the prisoners. Reverend Rigney tells how on one occasion he bought a pound of it which by the closest calculation he planned to have last him for a period of 35 to 40 days. Long after his fellow prisoners had finished their much smaller supply he was able to spice each meal by a small section of garlic:

"Often I noticed envious glances from cell-mates who were evidently garlic starved. 'This is once,' I thought, 'when I can get one over on the cell-mates. I have suffered much at their hands; now they are suffering from me.'" I calmly and cold-bloodedly ate my garlic, about six bulblets a day for about a month and a half.

"What an imperialist I still was after almost four years of re-education!"

Thus, according to the good father, does the spirit of Christ triumph.

Some day we shall be allowed to read the story of a priest who, out of his humanity and love of the Chinese people and his recognition of their long history of suffering and misery, shared even the last of his buds of garlic with his brothers. That should be a book worth reading.

M. Y.

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