

SEPTEMBER, 1959

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New World

REVIEW

**"MIR I DRUZHBA" —
Peace and Friendship**

Soviet Geriatrics
Archie Johnstone

Vienna Youth Festival
Sally Kent

Report from Egypt
Tabitha Petran

Wheat Harvest in China
Anna Louise Strong

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*Editorial Consultants on Negro and
Colonial Questions*

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SPECIAL NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Readers, dear, dear readers—how
many of you pay attention to a heading
like the above, and note what we write
below it each month?

In our last issue—the July issue—we
announced that we were skipping the
August issue as a necessary economy to
help us through the summer months,
and that all subscribers would receive
an extra issue later to make up the full
12 for the year.

Yet how many of you have written to
ask what happened to the August issue!
We are gratified that you miss us when
we don't appear—but we would be even
more grateful if you would take notice
of our special notices—

Particularly since that column also
appealed urgently for help to make up
a special sustaining fund of \$5,000 for
the summer period. We are grateful for
those who have contributed the \$3,000
that has already come in—but we must
have that additional \$2,000 during this
coming month. We've done our part in
skipping an issue—that was not easy,
with all the material that has meantime
accumulated.

Now please do your part so we shall
be able to continue publishing and
bring you new and exciting material in
the months to come on the great new
turn in world affairs signalized by the
Eisenhower-Khrushchev meetings.

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"Mir I Druzhba"— Peace and Friendship

by JESSICA SMITH

WHATEVER the immediate concrete results of the exchange of visits between Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and First Secretary of the Communist Party and President Eisenhower, the very fact of its taking place marks a new and promising turn in American-Soviet relations.

With the hopes of the people of both countries and the whole world centered upon them, both leaders will be bound to make a supreme effort to justify these hopes—hopes for an end of the cold war and its dreadful threat of mutual atomic annihilation, hopes for enduring peace.

Both these leaders of the world's two foremost powers have everything to gain and nothing to lose by an agreement to live in peace, work out their differences through continued talks and negotiations no matter how long and difficult the task may be, and compete in the only struggle that is worth while for any nation on this earth—that of bringing greater abundance, greater freedoms and greater happiness to their peoples.

This can lead to the triumph of the principle of settling problems through talks, increased mutual understanding and negotiations and not by war. All the efforts of all who yearn for peace must now be concentrated on helping to insure the success and continuance of this method.

It can be said that this develop-

ment is a deferred consummation of the Geneva Summit talks of 1955 which at the time seemed to carry the guarantee that the great powers would not have recourse to atomic war. Hoped for concrete agreements on important issues did not materialize, following the conference. In many areas the world situation grew more tense, the danger of war more imminent. But along with these negative trends, there was, as a direct result of the Summit meeting, the concrete development of the US-USSR cultural interchange agreement of 1958, bringing these two peoples closer together, showing how much they have to give to each other, broadening the base for peace.

The visits to the Soviet Union of many leading Americans who became convinced that the Soviet leaders and people sincerely desire peace, the visit to this country of Anastas Mikoyan, Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, whose reception showed what wide circles of the American people desire friendly relations and trade with the USSR, helped pave the way. So did the opening of exhibits of each country in the other's capital, and the visit to this country of Soviet Deputy Premier Frol R. Kozlov. While the exchange of visits seems already to have been under discussion before Vice President Nixon's history-making trip to the Soviet Union, surely Nixon's warm reception there had an effect in creating a favorable atmosphere for it.

This is what the majority of the

people of America have wanted, as demonstrated in public opinion polls. It was urged by the delegation of nine governors who recently visited the Soviet Union. It is hailed by a majority in Congress, although a few of the worst reactionaries in both parties put in futile protests. It is warmly welcomed in Britain and other U.S.-allied countries, despite sour notes from Paris and Bonn. It has caused relief and joy among the majority of the leaders and people of the world, with dissenting voices only from such people as the discredited old dictator on Taiwan.

The Presidents' Announcement

The exchange of visits was announced simultaneously in Washington and Moscow on August 3. In his statement to a special press conference, President Eisenhower made a special point of his own initiative in making the arrangements:

For some time back I suggested to the State Department that I believed in the effort to melt a little bit of the ice that seems to freeze our relationships between—with the Soviets, that possibly a visit such as I now have proposed would be useful. And we studied this thing and in early July I initiated the correspondence that finally brought about an agreement.

As significant as the fact that Mr. Nixon has taken up the question of improving American-Soviet relations as a strong election asset, is the fact that the President himself is now seeking full credit for these developments, long desired by Mr. Khrushchev, but avoided by the Administration during the Dulles era. A series of dispatches from Washington have reported that the President looks upon the visit of Premier Khrushchev as "the crowning effort

of his two-term struggle for world peace" and that he is now ready for the long-shunned Summit conference, to follow the exchange of visits.

The official joint announcement said Mr. Khrushchev would visit Washington in September for two or three days and spend ten days or so traveling in the rest of the country, while President Eisenhower would visit Moscow later this fall and spend some days in travel. Both visits would provide the opportunity for "informal talks," and "an exchange of views about problems of mutual interest." The announcement concluded:

Both governments express the hope that the forthcoming visits will help create better understanding between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and will promote the cause of peace.

Khrushchev Press Conference

At a press conference on August 5, Mr. Khrushchev declared he would come to the United States in mid-September. He stressed that there would be unofficial conversations, not negotiations, but that the important thing is to find "a common language and a common understanding of the questions we are to settle." He repeated his views that heads of government should meet more often for the sake of greater mutual understanding which in turn would help in the achievement of such decisions "as would be of advantage to both sides," and aimed at insuring peace—from which all peoples would stand to gain.

Mr. Khrushchev cited the fruitful results of the visit to the USSR of British Prime Minister Macmillan, which led to the conclusion of

a new trade agreement of benefit both to Britain and the Soviet Union.

Stressing the "immense importance" of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, he declared that realistic opportunities exist for basing these relations on the principle of peace and friendship:

There are no territorial disputes between our two countries, nor any insoluble contradictions, nor any issues that could prevent the creation of a climate of confidence and mutual understanding.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet and American peoples fought together against a common enemy during the years of World War II.

We are always prepared to do everything in our power to insure that relations between our two countries are based on the sound foundations of peace and friendly cooperation. A betterment of Soviet-American relations will not fail to help improve relations with other countries and scatter the grim clouds in other areas of the world.

Naturally, we want to be friends not only with the United States, but with the United States' friends as well. At the same time, we want the United States to have good relations not only with us but with our friends as well.

In answer to a three-point question from an American correspondent, Mr. Khrushchev indicated that just as it was natural that President Eisenhower should confer with his allies, some exchange of views with the countries of the Socialist camp would probably take place before the visit to the United States; that the meeting of President Eisenhower could not substitute for a Summit conference and that there could be no change in the status of Berlin while the talks were in progress.

Asked by a Bonn correspondent his opinion of Chancellor Adenau-

er's statement to the effect that the visit by Khrushchev should convince him of U.S. power, the Soviet Premier said it struck a jarring note. Everyone knows that America is rich and strong, he said, but he felt President Eisenhower extended the invitation not to demonstrate strength but to have talks in reasonable, friendly language in the interests of peace.

Replying to a French correspondent who asked whether the interests of France might not differ, Khrushchev said that questions concerning a third country could not be considered, and that surely France too was interested in questions of peace, the main question that concerns all countries. As to whether the meeting could affect French plans to stage nuclear weapons tests in the Sahara and the Paris-Bonn axis in general, Khrushchev replied "it is now high time to ban tests and not to plan them."

Khrushchev chided an American correspondent who asked whether the Soviet Union intended to show President Eisenhower a rocket site, declaring this would mean discussions not about peace but on preparations for war. He himself, he said, was going to the United States in the interests of peace and had no wish to visit places where rockets were concentrated and if such a proposal were offered to President Eisenhower he would undoubtedly regard it as an attempt to intimidate him, which could not be allowed. He told the correspondent:

In the olden times there was a custom of leaving weapons in the ante-chamber before starting talks. . . . And you would like us to invite a guest and show him how rockets are made! This is impermissible. . . . I intend to go to the

United States with a pure heart and an open soul in order to put an end to the "cold war" and achieve mutual understanding, in order to help insure peace throughout the world.

Nixon in Russia

However out of character with his previous behavior and attitudes, it is a measure of the political astuteness of the Vice President and his recognition of the desires of the American people, that he should have chosen to make this trip and comport himself in such a way as to promote his Presidential aspirations. In view of all Nixon's past anti-Soviet expressions, nothing could have been a stronger demonstration of the desire of the Soviet Union for better relations with the United States than the reception he received. This was expressed in the blunt but friendly basis on which Khrushchev put their discussions, beginning with the now famous "kitchen exchange," in the fact that the Soviet leaders and people greeted him with such warmth, that he had the opportunity of visiting formerly "closed" cities in Siberia, of meeting Soviet people of all kinds, of expressing his views freely to them by means of meetings, public discussions, press, radio and T-V. Naturally there were sharp answers when Nixon made statements that were felt to distort Soviet realities and policies, but he was given full credit by officials and press for all the constructive things he said.

Not the least of the useful aspects of the visit was the fact that the Vice President was accompanied by some hundred leading correspondents from newspapers all over the United States, including even such people as Hearst's rabid Westbrook

Pegler. The *New York Times* alone had a battery of several top-flight men on the job. The Soviet Government lived up to its agreement that dispatches would be uncensored. All this led to an extraordinary coverage of the trip and many aspects of Soviet life learned along the way. However scurrilous and negative some of the dispatches, the over-all effect was profoundly positive. The trip was an educational experience of priceless value for most of these correspondents. It is difficult to see how the lies and anti-Soviet shibboleths which have filled so much of the press in the past, can ever again be put over on the American people.

Here are some of the impressions the Vice President gave to the vast Soviet radio and television audience:

While my visit was brief, I did have a chance, in addition to visiting this great capital city of Moscow, to see the beauty and culture of Leningrad, whose brave people won the admiration of the world by their heroic defense of their city during the war; to savor the inspiring pioneer spirit of Novosibirsk; to witness first hand the thriving productivity of the Urals. I was greatly impressed by the efficient modern equipment of your factories; your magnificent ballets in Leningrad and Novosibirsk; by the competitive drive for progress on every side.

But most of all I was impressed by your people. . . . First, their capacity for hard work, their vitality; their intense desire to improve their lot. . . .

There was another feature about the Soviet people which I noticed that may surprise you and that is in how many respects you are like the Americans. We are similar in our love of humor—we laugh at the same jokes. The people of your frontier East have much the same spirit of what was our frontier West. . . .

We are both a hospitable, friendly people. When we meet each other we tend to like each other, as so many of

our soldiers who met during the last war can attest.

Above all, the American people and the Soviet people are as one in their desire for peace, and our desire for peace is not because either of us is weak. On the contrary, each of us is strong and respects the strength the other possesses. This means that if we are to have peace it must be a just peace based on mutual respect rather than the peace of surrender or dictation by either side.

The Vice President praised Mr. Khrushchev as a leader, saying he can go down in history as one of the greatest leaders the Soviet people has ever produced if he devotes "his immense energies and talents to building a better life for his own people,"—but rather gratuitously warning him against the promotion of communization of countries outside the Soviet Union. Some aspects of the speech were less positive. Mr. Nixon insisted that U.S. military bases abroad which Mr. Khrushchev had brought up repeatedly in their talks as a main cause of tension, were for self-defense alone, at the same time recalling that Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party had enunciated a policy of achieving objectives by peaceful means. The logic of this, which Mr. Nixon failed to follow through, could only mean that the United States can no longer, if indeed it ever could, adduce the justification of self defense, and that the bases should therefore be abandoned.

Mr. Nixon ended with thanks for the warm friendship and boundless hospitality he had been shown everywhere in the Soviet Union, and a pledge "that in the years to come I shall devote my best efforts to the cause of peace with justice for all the peoples of the world."

In Poland, too, whatever significance Nixon may have attributed to his warm welcome by its "captive" people, he must have been convinced of the importance that country attaches to its strong ties with the Soviet Union. He saw the Ghetto, grim memorial to the Nazi slaughter of the Jews, and heard from Poland's leaders their intention to hold on to its regained territories against all West German threats. Seeing at first hand so many reminders of what the Soviet Union and Poland and their people suffered from German aggression, it is hard to believe that the lesson of what West German rearmament means to them today was not sharply impressed upon Mr. Nixon.

On Mr. Nixon's return to this country, describing at the airport the warm reception he had received in both the USSR and Poland, he declared: "All of these demonstrations of friendship we remember and they will stay with us the rest of our lives."

After such words, surely the cold war for which Mr. Nixon and those who back him have previously stood will be more difficult to pursue. It will be harder to think in terms of atomic annihilation of a people whose children's soft arms have embraced him and smothered him with flowers.

Mir i Druzhba—favorite slogan of the Soviet people—were two of the Russian words Nixon learned and used frequently on his trip. May he remember their English equivalent—Peace and Friendship—as well, and keep saying them and meaning them and acting upon them the rest of his life.

(Continued on page 41)

The Two Exhibitions

by MURRAY YOUNG

OVER a million Americans saw the Soviet exhibition at the New York Coliseum by the time it closed on August 10. The American exhibition in Moscow which opened July 25 and will close on September 5 is expected to have even more visitors.

Both exhibitions were opened by important officials. First Deputy Premier Frol R. Kozlov flew to New York to open the Soviet exhibition here. Vice President Richard M. Nixon flew to Moscow to open our exhibition in Sokolniki Park.

President Eisenhower came from Washington to visit the Soviet exhibition on the day before it was opened to the public and was conducted through the Coliseum by Mr. Kozlov. A picture he admired for its vigorous painting now hangs in a prominent place in the White House—a gift to him from the officials of the exhibition.

Premier Khrushchev visited the American exhibition before its opening and had his now famous "kitchen summit talk" with Mr. Nixon. Portions of this discussion were widely broadcast via television.

The two exhibitions were an outstanding result of the Cultural Exchange Program which since the signing of the agreement by the USA and the USSR in January 1958 has made possible important contacts in many fields between the two countries.

Because these exhibitions proposed to display the technical de-

velopment and the ways of living of the two countries they had the broadest possible appeal and both the American and the Soviet people crowded to see each other's accomplishments and way of life.

In New York what seemed particularly to please visitors was their opportunity to talk to the English-speaking guides. Here at last were genuine Russians, intelligent, friendly, products of a socialist society, able and eager to answer your questions. And what questions the guides were bombarded with!

"What kind of job do you have at home?"

"How much is your salary?"

"Do you have a car—how much did it cost?"

"What do you think of American girls?"

"Are you a Communist?"

"Can you change your job when you want to?"

The questions were endless and the answers were given with rare patience by the young men and women whose purpose it was, after all, to explain specific exhibits their education had prepared them for.

In actual fact not all of their time was devoted to the type of question listed above. Trained and articulate, they spent a large part of their time clarifying points about the highly complicated displays. For the exhibition was in its main sections on a very high technical level, demonstrating with great clarity the remarkable progress the Soviet Union

has made in the peaceful use of atomic power, automation, telemechanics, etc. Even for those not able to grasp fully all the complexities of the instruments and working models on display, it was clear that the three full-scale Sputniks that greeted the visitor on his entrance were not chance products of a narrowly directed effort, but part and parcel of a total technology, vast and dynamic.

Soviet housing, public health, education, were the object of much attention and of much questioning. ("Do you mean that college education is free—that you are paid to go?"). The automobiles, radios, television sets, refrigerators, washing machines on display were closely noted and compared with ours. There was disappointment that none of the handsomely illustrated books could be bought nor that any of the fine food could be tasted. The textiles, furs, china, handicraft and clothing displayed were eagerly inspected and the fashion show held twice each day proved to be one of the most popular features of the whole exhibit.

A fine head of Walt Whitman in white marble in the section devoted to painting and sculpture welcomed the visitor to a selection of Soviet art work during the past four decades, and in the section featuring the theater a generous selection of outstanding stage-sets gave some idea of the range and richness of Soviet theater life.

Every visitor found something that interested him particularly and few visitors could have gone away without a new impression of the power and vitality of this enormous country whose future is linked so closely

with the future of our own country.

The American exhibition in Moscow, housed in specially constructed pavilions that demonstrate various features of advanced building techniques and various new building materials, seems to have stressed consumer goods rather than technological advances. This emphasis came in for a good deal of criticism, both American and Soviet. A correspondent in the *New York Times* for July 25, complained: "It is a puzzling, sometimes even confusing, carnival of color and sound with no unifying themes." It was this lack of a unifying theme that above everything else caused the chief disappointment, even bewilderment, among the spectators.

Whatever faults the exhibition may have had, it was nevertheless the object of apparently boundless curiosity on the part of the Russians who flocked to inspect the strange looking aluminum and plastic buildings in Sokolniki Park in great numbers; drank Pepsi-Cola, asked questions of the electric brains, watched the fashion-show with its rock and roll dance numbers, and wandered through the much discussed "typical" ranch-type American house which, complete with its furniture, occupied a prominent part of the exhibition.

And the seventy-five Russian-speaking guides we sent to Moscow were probably kept as busy as their English-speaking counterparts here answering the wide-ranging questions put to them by the curious Soviet visitors.

Mr. Nixon's discussion with Premier Khrushchev at the opening of the exhibition proved to have been, when seen on television, lively and

generally good-tempered. As a matter of fact, Mr. Nixon's high-speed visit to the four major cities seems to have been determinedly good-tempered all the way. As reported by the 100 reporters who followed each move of the Nixon entourage, the whole excursion sounded very familiar: a typical whirlwind American political campaign of calculated goodwill, vague statements of friendship, patting of heads, kissing of babies, and cheering throngs. Indeed the general assumption seems to have been that Mr. Nixon's trip was in fact the opening gun in his race for the Presidency next year—the first time a candidate for president of the United States has ever started his election campaign in Moscow!

However this may be and whatever the shortcomings and inadequacies in either exhibition, the fact remains that a real "people to people" exchange, unprecedented in American-Soviet relations, did take place this summer.

The *New York Herald-Tribune* (June 30) in an editorial on the opening of the Soviet exhibition voiced an opinion that has not seriously been questioned in any quarter:

Scoffers and cynics exist everywhere. But only a fool would try to laugh off either the U.S. or the USSR exhibitions. Both represent the product of dynamic, imaginative, resourceful civilizations, however much they may differ in detail or in emphasis. The similarities, indeed, are more striking at times than the contrasts.

As for the inevitable charges of "propaganda" the *New Yorker* magazine for July 11 had these sensible words to say to its readers:

The Soviet Exhibition, which opened at the Coliseum last week . . . is, in a word, terrific, and we recommend it highly. Like the Russian Pavilion at the World's Fair here twenty years ago, it's a great show; it makes you stand and gawk, as shows should. On the day of our visit, at least a third of the Sargasso Sea of people we paddled through seemed to be Lions' Club members, in town for their annual convention. The Lions appeared every bit as impressed with the exhibition as we were, and we wondered if, back home in Asheville, Bangor, and Cheyenne, they wouldn't have a pretty hard time describing what they'd seen without being accused of going soft on the Commies. We wondered, too, if the rather silly stories that most of the local papers ran in connection with the opening of the exhibition weren't based on a fear that we supposedly hard-bitten New Yorkers would go soft in the same way. For whatever reason, the stories managed to patronize both us and the Russians by saying, in effect, "Look out! Don't be too suggestible! All these exhibits may strike poor innocent you as absolutely wonderful, but they don't fool us for a moment. No matter how grand and shiny they are, we have something grander and shinier, or if we don't have, it's because we couldn't be bothered turning out such things. In any event, it makes no difference how wonderful they are, because the ordinary Russian doesn't have them." As if the Russians, having been invited to put on an exhibition of "Achievements in Science, Technology, and Culture," were not expected to put their best foot forward! And as if we weren't expected to be doing precisely the same thing at our exhibition in Moscow!

There is no doubt that the Soviet exhibition was a great revelation to the Americans who visited it. This was evident in the seriousness with which the guides were questioned. Heckling there was of course, but provocative attitudes were so opposed to the atmosphere of purposeful enquiry that hecklers were re-

garded by the other visitors with impatience.

Here, at last, face to face with Soviet citizens, it was possible to find answers to questions. Here in a brilliantly organized display was the evidence of how far the Soviet people had traveled since 1917. If they still had far to go before they caught up with us in consumer goods, housing, etc., they nevertheless had made tremendous strides, starting as they had with a backward economy and having known the horrible devastation of the war years.

Above all, here in the complicated instruments and the intricate working models of the technology which had produced Sputnik, was the assurance to the Soviet people that in a world of peace the future would be rich and abundant.

Premier Khrushchev in his speech

at the opening of the American exhibition in Moscow said:

... we stand for peaceful coexistence and competition in peaceful endeavor. The peoples will lose nothing in such a competition. On the contrary, if the arms race is stopped and the huge military appropriations turned to the development of a peace economy, the people will benefit by it and their standards of living will improve.

Mr. Kozlov said in his speech opening the Soviet exhibition:

There is no need to conceal that we have different social systems, and that our views on many international issues often do not coincide. But we do live on one planet and, therefore, no one from any "other world" will resolve the questions of our inter-relationships for us. The affairs of the Earth should be solved by people who live on the Earth.

Most visitors to the exhibition would have agreed with him.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY HONORED IN MOSCOW

VALENTIN KATAYEV, whose comedy about Soviet life, "Squaring the Circle," had a Broadway run in the thirties, and whose novels, "The Embezzlers," "Time Forward," and "The Lonely White Sail," are well known to American readers, was a guest here recently of the head of the Soviet Exhibition.

In a press interview, Mr. Katayev, who is editor of the magazine, "Youth," with a circulation of 400,000, spoke of the interest of Soviet readers in American writers. He described a meeting held in Moscow recently to mark Ernest Hemingway's sixtieth birthday. Mr. Katayev, as well as other Soviet writers, spoke at the meeting, praising Hemingway's work for its love of freedom and its deep humanity. There have been many editions of Hemingway published in the Soviet Union and there is shortly to be issued a new two-volume collected edition.

Carl Sandburg, in Moscow for the opening of the American exhibition in Sokolniki Park, addressed the meeting as also did Edward Steichen, the famous photographer whose "Family of Man" photographic exhibit was a highlight of the exhibition. At the end of his speech, Mr. Steichen said in Russian, "Here's a big American thanks for your warm welcome and splendid, beautiful understanding of Hemingway."

The movie version of Hemingway's "The Old Man and the Sea" was shown at the meeting.

"The Young Are Always Beautiful"

by SALLY KENT

A LONG way from New York, in the sad-gay, battered city of Vienna, are gathered some seventeen thousand young people for the Seventh World Festival of Youth; and while the *Paris Tribune* noted on the day following the opening of the Festival that only 30,000 people attended the ceremonies at the stadium, that the stadium was surrounded with cordons of police, that there was little applause and that the splinter delegation from the United States had come to blows with the Secretary of the International Committee, those who were actually there received a considerably different impression. At the jam-packed stadium we saw few policemen ("No policemen" reads the first line of my notes), heard tumultuous applause throughout the six-hour ceremony; and two Americans at least noted with pride that the United States delegation, though simple and lacking in visual splendor, was orderly and, most important, there.

But that is to put one of the last delegations first. First on the program were the hundreds of scamp-ering children with their bunches

of flowers—such a touching sight that people were blowing their noses and dabbing their eyes. They were followed by a stunning parade of motor-cyclists with streaming banners; and then, in alphabetical order, came trooping by the youth of almost all the world, little Albania first, followed by Algeria with its flags carried horizontally and furled. "That is because Algeria is not free," we thought. But we were wrong. It was because the Austrian Government would not permit the delegation to fly its flag. Consequently, none of the other delegations would unfurl theirs.

A: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia. B: Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria—and suddenly the air heavily perfumed from a fountain of attar of roses, the long, dark braids of the Bulgarian girls who were carrying it twisted with flowers. Burma, dressed in pure white. C for Chile, Cyprus, Costa Rica, Canada, Colombia, Cuba and the Caribbean. C, of course, for China, a huge delegation carrying parasols and cherry blossoms, pale blue silk banners and enormous bunches of balloons bearing baskets of flowers up into the sky and releasing Festival emblems to float down upon our heads. China with marvelous hundred-foot long dragons writhing and undulating gaping-jawed in their pursuit of ever elusive balloons. D for Denmark and the Deutsche Demokratische Republik; and then West Germany,

SALLY KENT is already well known to our readers through her warm article in our December, 1959, issue describing her visit to the USSR with her husband, Rockwell Kent, in the autumn of 1958. This article is the result of the Kents' visit to the Youth Festival in Vienna, where Mr. Kent was on the international jury chosen to make awards for cultural activities.

a one-legged youngster in the ranks and a peace ship sailing by carrying flags of all the nations.

Still the baskets of flowers are dangling in the air, and to fly away among them clouds of doves are suddenly released. Ecuador; Finland in scarlet and blue; a great delegation from France; the Greeks in starched petticoats, with pom-poms on their shoes; bagpipes from Great Britain; Guadalupe, Guatemala, Guinea, Guiana, and two delegates all the way from poverty-stricken Haiti. Hungary; then five countries beginning with I, from the East and West and North. And then Japan: "Never Again Hiroshima," "Forbid the H-bombs." The instruments change from one land to another, the costumes from delicate silks to linen and leather and wool. Next comes Korea, Land of the Morning Calm, its ethereally beautiful girls lovely as they come toward you in flowing silks in graduated pastel hues, lovely as they recede, their fans widespread across their backs. Music of the orsi, of tambourines and the go-mum-go.

On and on and on, through L and M and N and P. The music changes to drums and the color of skins to black for the representatives of Senegal, Ghana, Gambia, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar, South Africa and Sierra Leone. Two of the doves have become separated from their flocks and return to sit on top of the cage from which they were released. Now Rumania and all the countries beginning with S—a special ovation for Spain, Czechoslovakia, somehow strayed from the C's, fresh, healthy and wonderfully happy with their puppets, balloons and band. Togo and Tunis, followed by the USSR

with a sensational burst of rockets releasing flags attached to little parachutes. For the U.S.A. a specially encouraging round of applause and a chant of "U.S.A! U.S.A.!" "Why," innocently asked a Stanford-educated Swedish girl sitting next to me, "why, since America is supposed to be the cultural leader of the West, don't they send over a great and colorful delegation like the Soviet Union?" "All Communist propaganda," commented an American observer. *Friendship and Peace!* chanted thousands of voices, and the mute voice of *Coca-Cola Immer Gut* on signs around the stadium answered perhaps louder than words.

The light is failing as the last delegations file by: Venezuela; the delegates of Vietnam waving their hats and dancing; and finally the host delegation, Austria, very gay with its band and be-ribboned Maypole. Four hours have passed, the seats are getting hard, but there is more to come: a Czechoslovakian gymnastic group, 12,000 strong; Austrian traditional dances; the Chinese dragons, lighted now in the darkness, still chasing their glowing balloons; dances of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the Middle East, the colors of the costumes taking on a new brilliance against the lighted green of the field. The audience, which has been tired, wide awake again and spellbound. Ready at last for fireworks. And fireworks there were—enough to wake up all Vienna: to tell the Viennese what they would not read next morning in their newspapers, for the entire press is united in a conspiracy of silence, publicly proclaimed, about the Festival, a silence that has been rigidly maintained, though Vienna

in all its long and glorious cultural history can never have been able to offer at one time such a feast of the arts as this.

But what the people see and feel they know: *Fried und Freundschaft! Peace and Friendship*: not just an overworked slogan but the heart of this great gathering, the moving cry of all the world's youth. As I write, pigeons are flying in and out of the windows of the abandoned *Theater an der Wien* across the street—original scene of Mozart's operas. From the third story of another, ruined, building trees are reaching toward the light. And in this Vienna, at the Raimund theater, from far-away China, we have seen the Peking Opera and Circus Artists' Troupe—such tremendous art as was alone worth coming all the way from America to see. Another night we saw the Korean opera, so breathtak-

ingly beautiful, much of the music so hauntingly sad ("We are a suffering people," said a Korean) that clapping seemed a crude tribute, until the final, riotously brilliant harvest dance brought the audience to its feet in shattering applause.

To this broken and divided city has come the positive vision of a future without war. To a divided world the young are speaking in every language of art and in the universal language of the heart. Looking at her drawn face in the mirror and bemoaning her appearance, an exhausted Committee member (they have worked fantastically hard in the face of great difficulties) said to me: "Never mind. It is the young who are always beautiful. Too many people have been killed. It is time for the East and West, the North and South"—and she pattered her fingers across the table—"to walk together in peace."

SEAN O'CASEY ON PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

THESE WORDS WERE WRITTEN BY SEAN O'CASEY for the Stockholm meeting of the World Council of Peace last May:

"Take a blessing from my heart to every thing done, all things said, to end the damned cold war and its evil offspring, the threat of atomic conflict tearing to poisoned pieces the fair and fruitful earth, the home in which we all live, move and have our being.

"It must be, if we are to make of life what we can, and what we all desire it all to be, that we do not come close to one another with a threatening fist, but with the right hand of friendship held out for all to grasp; come closer to help, and not to hurt. We can arrange to live and work together if we are not afraid to meet, to talk, and softly settle the problems that irritate, trouble but should never dismay us; for this is, to me, the one way left to come into a world of peace and cooperative effort for the great good of all.

"'Come let us reason together, said the Lord of Hosts,' and the hosts of men are saying the same thing now. We cannot settle problems in a brotherly way with gunpeal and slogan cry: mornings and evenings full of the wings of the dove—that is what we need, that is what we long for, that is all we ask. Peace is the pearl of great price that all men seek today. We must find it, and when found, it must never be lost, but rest safely over the heart of every man, African, Asian, American and European."

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Why Be Old at 90?

A Report on Soviet geriatrics

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

ALTHOUGH on the scientific side the USSR's war against man's age-old enemy, old age, goes on all the time on many apparently unconnected fronts that seldom figure in the headlines, a quite new type of offensive has been launched on what has been variously described as the psychological front, the home front, or the Do-it-Yourself front.

The very word "geriatrics" (the branch of medicine dealing with old age and degenerative diseases) which until a few months ago was used only in medical and biological journals, is now almost a household word; and even in the shopping queues you can hear people hotly discussing the latest "cures"—and often making sweeping claims for certain treatments that the originators of these treatments would be the first to deplore!

The chief, but by no means the only reason for this new wave of geriatric-mindedness, is a series of broadcast discussions which began on Radio Moscow in July and has had so lively a response that one wonders why it was not begun long ago. The panel is usually made up of a chairman (a popular broadcaster), three or four doctors (repre-

senting different branches of medicine and by no means in agreement on the comparative values of different treatments) and several patients—elderly people who, if we can accept their very enthusiastic testimony, have derived really astonishing benefits from rejuvenation treatments which are, for the most part, within the reach of everyone.

Other factors are (1) a wide network of lectures on the subject arranged by the very enterprising Society for the Popularization of Knowledge; (2) articles by geriatric specialists and interviews with centenarians in *Zdorovye* (Health), a non-technical monthly which could outsell its present circulation many times over if paper supplies were unrestricted; (3) one-reel films and TV "spots"; (4) obligatory "daily-dozen" intervals in factories and offices (and a campaign against those establishments that do not as yet organize these intervals); (5) remedial courses for "the elderlies" at many stadiums, clubs and clinics.

Much of these activities are, nominally at least, the concern of the Ministry of Health which, under the Seven-Year Plan, has a definite role to play—and liberal funds to allocate—in the fight for longevity. The Ministry has been attacked for, among other things, its alleged failure to give these active groups adequate support; but I gather that, because of the many competing

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

claims, the actual choice of what line to follow is in itself a formidable task which must be tackled first. At a higher scientific level the Ministry is criticized for not pressing ahead with statistical research to determine, for example, what longevity factors are common to all the centenarians (including several over 140 years old) now living in the country.

Naturally, in a situation like this you often hear the Russian equivalent of Pope's "Who shall decide when doctors disagree?" but I think the following composite statement, taken from various sources, covers the ground on which there is no disagreement:

Although our medical science, public health services and improving standards of living will continue to add many more years to man's life span, anyone who lazily "leaves it all to the doctors" or expects some modern scientific version of the Elixir of Youth to be handed him on a plate or in a bottle is throwing away a valuable chance of living to a ripe old age. . . .

To live long you must live wisely, must observe the basic rules of health about which we doctors do not differ. And you can't start too early: some of the factors of longevity—controllable, not hereditary factors—begin to operate on the child in its mother's womb. . . .

We are all agreed that man's natural span of life is much more than "three-score years and ten"; most of us put it at double that figure. Where there is freedom from other diseases, and, of course, barring accidents, the so-called "disease of old age" cannot by itself turn a man of ninety into an old man of ninety.

The following are some points that I have gathered from the sources mentioned above, from experiences of friends, who take regenerative or remedial treatment at centers in Moscow and from talks

I have had with several Soviet centenarians.

DIET: The theories of Nobel-prizewinner Ilya ("Sour Milk") Mechnikov, who half-a-century ago claimed that the "chief agent in senile degeneration is bacterial infection of the intestines", which can be combatted by "milk preparations soured by cultures of certain lactic-acid bacilli"—in other words, such things as curds, sour-milk and yogurt—are widely respected here. Sauerkraut (which is fermented) also gets high marks. Koumiss (fermented mare's milk) is a basic remedy for a wide range of degenerative diseases at many sanatoriums. Except that one or other of these items figures on almost every regenerative or remedial diet, diets here are basically the same as in the West.

EXERCISE: Prescribed more often here than abroad, and in rather stiffer doses, even for quite elderly people, when qualified supervision is available. Sixty- and seventy-year-old sufferers from debility who have taken remedial exercises "till it hurts" have testified to remarkable benefits. Smooth and graduated exercises, with deep-breathing, are strongly recommended for all sedentary workers unless there is strong counter-indication.

REGULARITY of meals, sleep and bowel-elimination "cannot be over-emphasized."

OBESITY "should be regarded as a warning signal." Reducing diets follow roughly the same pattern as the medically-endorsed diet in the West. No "crash diets", but weekly or fortnightly "unloading days" (I translate literally!) with, say, an all-apple diet, are observed in many

sanatoriums—and in many families. Bicarbonate of soda baths, which had almost a craze popularity a few years ago, are now in disrepute officially.

AIR IONIZER (an apparatus which gives a stream of positively—or negatively-charged — “mountain air”).

This is widely used in medical institutions here in cases of respiratory and heart diseases and various degenerative conditions. This treatment has been so widely—and perhaps wildly—talked about that a number of people began using home-made apparatus. They were warned that they were running grave risk. Now an approved apparatus has been put into general production and it will eventually be on sale to private individuals.

VITAMIN H-3* (the famous Rumanian rejuvenation treatment by injection of a modified novocain). Not held in quite so high repute here as in Rumania and other countries, but hospitals use it in certain diseases of the heart. Soviet geriatricians would welcome a report of a “controlled” test of H-3 (a test in which, say, 100 patients are given the injections and 100 “controls” in identical circumstances are not given it, or are given, without their knowing it, a neutral injection). A treatment by injection of vitamin C at one Moscow center is stated to be “promising but still in experimental stage”.

GINSENG: Before World War I fantastic claims were made and fantastic prices paid (\$300 an ounce in U.S.) for this “Chinese root of long life”. Today, thanks to planta-

tions near Moscow, essence of ginseng can be bought quite cheaply over the counter at any pharmacy here. While dismissing the extravagant claims, Soviet authorities accept ginseng as having great value in cases of debility and diseases of the lungs, liver, heart, kidneys and nervous system.

CLIMATE, etc. It is claimed that there are more centenarians per head of population in Dagestan, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan and other small countries of the Caucasus than anywhere else in the world. Special (and possibly significant) features there are: mountain air (ionized?); plentiful fruit; unusual variety of green vegetables eaten raw and in huge quantities; mineral springs; very low consumption of potatoes, tea and coffee; meat (mainly mutton) grilled or boiled rather than fried; vegetable oils preferred to animal fats; plenty of cheeses, goat's milk, unleavened bread, nuts, beans, onions, garlic; little hard liquor drunk but a great deal of various light wines.

TOBACCO AND ALCOHOL: To an extent almost incredible in Western eyes, these state products are being attacked with increasing fervor in specialist and non-specialist publications and on the radio. For instance the back cover of *Zdorovye* recently carried what seemed at first sight a cigarette advertisement, but below the colored reproduction of a packet of “Kazbek” cigarettes was a diagram indicating that the nicotine of one “Kazbek” could kill a rabbit, and 100 could kill a horse! That smoking is a cause of lung cancer is accepted here as beyond dispute. Although producers of light wines advertise their “health-giving

* See *New World Review*, July 1959.

qualities," even light wines are attacked. Readers' letters in various papers (mainly from wives) are demanding that alcoholics be compelled to undergo the now well-established and very efficacious cure for alcoholism. (Since I began writing this article the radio announced that, as a result of the anti-alcohol campaign 38 plants in the RSFSR have ceased production of vodka!)

WORRY is described as a "very potent" life-shortener which should be "combatted by persuasive and self-persuasive methods." Tranquilizers are definitely "out."

On the psychological front the main attack is against certain popular ideas about the "inevitability" of old age and the "incurability" of various conditons which are, rightly consequences of advancing years. (It is emphasized, for instance, that the process of hardening of the arteries can not only be arrested, but *reversed!*)

As one broadcaster put it:

Too many people underestimate their own natural expectation of life. If you accept science's much higher estimate as part of your basic attitude to life, and if you shape your life accordingly, you will far outlive those whose attitude is one of either apathetic or tragic resignation.

A Soviet Dietitian Suggests:

The following is a long-duration diet of 1,400 calories a day recommended in cases of obesity by the leading Soviet authority on dietetics, Professor S. M. Marshak. (A diet of shorter duration is on the same lines but of only 1,200 calories a day.)

Breakfast—6 oz. buckwheat porridge with 4 oz. milk; 5 oz. boiled meat; cup of coffee with 2 oz. milk (no sugar).

Mid-morning—2 oz. curds, 1 oz. milk, 1 glass "tea" made from the dried fruit of dog-rose.*)

Midday—Vegetable soup with a spoonful of sour cream; 5 oz. stewed meat; unsweetened fruit compote or apple.

Afternoon—as mid-morning.

Evening—7 oz. boiled fish; 4 oz. boiled potatoes with dessert spoonful of vegetable oil; 4 oz. sauerkraut; 1 cup tea (no sugar).

One hour before bed—1 cup of sour milk.

For whole day—2 oz. bread.

For arterio-sclerosis the above diet is modified as follows: less meat, practically no fats; more raw vegetables, fruit and curds; sugar is allowed, but total calories per day should not exceed 2,200.

* Rich in vitamin C and especially recommended in cases of arterio-sclerosis.

GEROVITAL H-3 IN USE IN MEXICO

ACCORDING TO *The National Guardian* (August 3) two clinics in Mexico are now using Gerovital H-3 manufactured in Mexico following the Rumanian formula. Dr. Ana Aslan, head of the Bucharest Geriatrics Institute, is scheduled to visit these clinics in October.

At least one U.S. firm is reported preparing to import Gerovital H-3 from Mexico. Dr. Aslan's own papers on the treatment do not refer to Gerovital H-3 (a commercial name) but it must be assumed, the *Guardian* suggests, that in more than ten years of experiment, which began with ordinary procain, variations have developed which would make the Rumanian product preferable.

Report from Egypt

by TABITHA PETRAN

IN THE lush green fields of the Upper Delta where cotton plants are now in bloom, fellahin (peasants) and their children cut, hoe, water, weed, take pests from leaves, from sunup to sundown. For cotton cultivation in Egypt is essentially a gardening operation with each plant requiring immense work by hand and the land, as well as plants, demanding continuous care from plowing in late February or March to picking in August or September.

Squads of children, each armed with pointed stick, sow the seed; thinning is done by hand; watering, by primitive oxen—or hand-pumps; welding and hoeing, with the short-handled, broad-bladed *fass*, is continuous; so is inspection for pests which involves lifting every leaf on each plant and is always done by children since only they can get through the plants without harming them; children also pick the cotton, tying belts around their waists and stuffing the cotton down the necks of their galabiyas (robes).

Continuous servicing means a continuous need of money by the cultivator. To get it he must sell his cotton in advance to the moneylender—whether this be the head of his cooperative or the landlord—at an “agreed” price. As a result, by picking time, the cotton all belongs to the moneylender, the fellah has nothing, and may still be in debt. Hence fellahin say: “The cot-

ton is white but it has a black heart.”

Where before 1952 the fellah had a certain possibility to maneuver between the different ruling forces in the village, he has come since that time to be more and more at the mercy of what he calls the “king of the village.” If a cooperative has been established in the village, this will be the boss of the co-op. If not, it may be the landlord. In any event, it is the person who controls the granting of loans, the sale of seed, fertilizer, fodder, etc., to the fellahin, and the purchase of their surplus products. This person may be at the same time the government’s chief agent in the village.

These village “kings” are usually out to line their own pockets and more often than not contrive to make loans, and to sell to the fellah the fodder, seed, fertilizer and other essentials he needs, at black market prices. Since the *Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Bank* in practice lends mainly to the cooperatives and rich peasants, and since the small peasant is too ignorant or too intimidated to know or exercise such limited rights as he may have, he has no choice but to accept the terms of the village “king” both in buying his essentials and in selling his surplus products. Hence he usually pays stiff black market prices when he buys and gets something less than the going market price when he sells.

Where cooperatives exist, these are imposed and controlled from the top and the peasant, who is compelled to join, must bear the added

TABITHA PETRAN, who is on the staff of the *National Guardian*, has been traveling in Europe and the Middle East for the past few years.

costs of this heavy bureaucratic apparatus. If he is one of the 250,000 fellahin who have received land under the land reform, he is experiencing the additional difficulties of having to meet payments on his land in these hard times.

Since the attack on Suez the squeeze on the rural poor has tightened. Rising costs of fertilizer, kerosene, fodder, and all other commodities have pushed official as well as black market prices even higher, while prices paid for agricultural products are down. The world market price of long staple cotton—about 70 per cent of Egypt's cotton crop this year—is, for example, at its lowest level since the war, with Egypt's production alone sufficient to meet total world demand.

Early this year the government raised the land tax by *£1 per feddan (roughly an acre) thereby increasing the land rent which is officially fixed at seven times the land tax but is often higher. This increase will go into the pockets of the landlords.

This year desperate fellahin are being forced to sell their animals and even corn, which they usually keep for food. The number of landless is increasing. The agricultural laborer who in the best of times works only 150 days a year and receives an annual income of not more than £4 to £7 is worse off today than ever. Children who get paid even less make up a not insignificant proportion of the rural labor force.

Workers and urban dwellers are also suffering. In 1952 the average industrial wage was estimated to be about £2 a week. Today, according

to *Al Ahram*, the journal of the big capitalists (Feb. 13, 1959), it is £2.33. The range is from £8.74 for oil workers to £2.12 for textile workers and even lower for other industries. But the printing of Treasury bills (£125 million in the last six years) to finance industrialization and repair the damages of the Suez aggression has set off a tremendous rise in prices. Prices of food and other essentials have in some cases doubled since 1952. Real wages therefore have drastically declined.

White collar workers and the lower middle class are also hard hit. Most white collar workers get no more now than they did six years ago—about £14 or £15 a month. And the wage of one worker or employee must usually support 5 or 6 or more persons. A recent survey by *Al Mesawer* found that 39 per cent of students come from families whose income is no more than £15 a month and the parents of another 46 per cent have incomes between £15 and £30 a month. Most students have to borrow to continue their studies.

To the burden of rising prices has been added the burden of increased taxation, both direct and indirect but the latter has increased the more. In 1952 Egypt's tax system was one of the most regressive in the world with direct taxes accounting for only 20.1 per cent of total revenue. This has now shrunk to 17.1 per cent.

Just as the fellah suffers from tight government control imposed on the villages, so the worker suffers from government control of the trade union movement. If the quantitative growth of unions has been encouraged, their qualitative

* One pound equals \$2.80.

development has been systematically blocked.

All the trade unions have been forced into the National Union, the government's political-policing organ established on the Portuguese model. Trade unionists must have National Union approval before they can be elected to union office or committees. Strikes are prohibited on pain of three to twelve months' imprisonment. Such a controlled trade union movement can do little to enforce legal working hours, block widespread imposition of fines, or prevent any of the many abuses from which workers suffer.

Fellahin, workers and the lower middle class bore the greatest share of the cost of the industrialization program and played the largest role in the anti-imperialist war in 1956. With victory won, the entire burden of paying for it was shifted to their backs while the big capitalists reaped record-breaking profits and the government hastened to deprive the people of the few freedoms they had won.

In the wake of these developments, social tensions in countryside and town have sharply intensified. These social tensions in Egypt—coupled with even graver difficulties in Syria, where a poor harvest and disruption of normal trade channels produced economic recession, and where resentment at the methods of "unification" has reached major proportions—go far to explain the policy of the United Arab Republic in the past year.

For the UAR response to the Iraq revolution was conditioned by the need for a quick prestige victory to take the edge off sharpening discontent at home. Otherwise, the initial

more or less general acceptance by Iraqis of the desirability of federation could have been cultivated more carefully. Only the urgency of this need, together with a certain amount of deliberate self deception, can account for the reckless haste and blind determination with which the Nasser regime tried to use the Iraqi Baathists and Col. Abdul Salem Aref to bring Iraq into immediate union, and, when this failed, the resort to conspiracies.

Egypt's big capitalists certainly looked to Iraq as a market for the goods soon to be produced by factories now under construction, since Egypt's industrialization program must to a large extent be geared to exports, so long as no steps are taken to expand its narrow internal market. At the time, however, Egyptian big business, far from experiencing a crisis of markets, was enjoying the highest profits in history. A quick takeover in Iraq was not for it an urgent matter. But for the regime, whose farflung apparatus in village and town keep it extremely well informed of popular currents, the matter was urgent and became more so as the democratic character of the Iraq Revolution grew increasingly plain.

The series of speeches made by President Nasser throughout the country last November and December bear this out. Virtually admitting widespread discontent, he felt compelled to castigate corruption in government, inequality of wealth and exploitation, and to promise price cuts and higher living standards.

But the carrot was accompanied by a stick: attacks on progressives and the arrest of hundreds of Com-

munists and non-Communists in Egypt and Syria.

Nasser's visit to Syria in February, in an effort to halt the deteriorating situation there, was almost certainly timed to coincide with the Mosul revolt and to set the stage for a triumphal entry into Iraq. The revolt's quick collapse, the worst defeat Nasser had ever suffered, was followed by his furious attacks on the USSR as well as Iraq, and by the arrest of some 4,000 Egyptians and another 4,000 Syrians, to the accompaniment of an anti-Communist campaign unparalleled here even under the King.

The arrests and the anti-Communist campaign pointed to the need to terrorize the people and silence discontent at home. This need was underlined by strikes which had occurred on the Egyptian State Railways and on the Alexandria communications system and which were suppressed only by force and the arrest of hundreds of workers. And after these arrests policemen circulated underground leaflets containing their own economic demands!

But why the attack on the USSR without whose consistent aid and support in the last four years the Nasser regime could never have survived? And on Khrushchev who, since Suez, has been almost a national hero to the Egyptian people?

Cairo reports which maintain that American intelligence supplied Nasser with "documentary" evidence of a "Communist plot to establish a Red Fertile Crescent" may well be true since intelligence services operate this way. Blind rage, frustration and the need to find a scapegoat for so disastrous a defeat played their part. But obviously powerful

pressures lay behind this switch in policy.

One such came from influential businessmen, largely importers and exporters, whose traditional relations have been with the West and who need foreign exchange in order to function. These business groups have long demanded a return to a Western orientation at almost any price. Their most powerful advocates are Abdul Galeel El Emary, President and Governor of the National Bank of Egypt, and Abdel Moneim Kaissouni, UAR Minister of Economy.

Both Kaissouni and El Emary worked at the World Bank in Washington after the war and have remained close friends of its President Eugene Black. Both were educated in England. El Emary has served as director and chairman of many of the big companies in Egypt which are associated with foreign capital. The pro-Western, especially pro-American, orientation also has many other influential spokesmen in government like Vice President Abdel Latif Boghdadi.

For these groups failure of the Mosul revolt offered a golden opportunity to force acceptance of their policy. In this they may have had, at least at first, support from big businessmen, industrialists rather than traders, who fear the implications of Soviet aid even as they prosper under a policy which has given them a certain independence from imperialists' domination.

The abrupt termination of the anti-Soviet campaign after only a few weeks showed however, that the harsh realities which forced Egypt's acceptance of the Soviet connection in the first place still pertain: the

unwillingness or inability of the West to supply Egypt with a sufficiently large and stable market for its cotton, with arms and munitions for its army, and with aid for industrialization.

Egyptian big businessmen would certainly prefer to get all these things from the West. Western, especially American, failure to respond to Nasser's anti-Soviet tirades with substantial concessions proved disappointing and an important factor in bringing them to an end.

So was the failure of the UAR to align Arab states with its anti-Iraq stand. The UAR, in short, was heading into a dangerous isolation and retreat was necessary. This was the more so as among the people the police had provoked confusion and among most intellectuals, even anti-Communist intellectuals, dismay: for there is general recognition here that Soviet aid is essential to industrialization. The policy evoked a favorable response only among student, employee and other groups closely controlled by the government.

But if the anti-Soviet campaign was abandoned and the anti-Iraq campaign muted, the efforts of Egyptian big business to find a closer accommodation with the West continued unabated. Foreign capital investment is being wooed and substantial concessions are being offered.

The end of the anti-Soviet campaign marked the beginning of an almost frenzied emphasis here on the positive economic problems. The Cabinet, which sometimes doesn't meet for half a year or more, is now meeting regularly several times a week to discuss such ques-

tions as "doubling the national income in 10 or 20 years," the "road to a socialist democratic cooperative society," and so on. The various Chinese, Soviet, Indian five and seven year plans have become required study for cabinet ministers.

Most significant, widespread price cuts have been announced and others have been promised. The government has increased its subsidy to bring down the cost of living from £6 million to £15 million. (This brings it back almost to the pre 1952 level from which it was cut each year thereafter until it reached only £1.9 million in 1955-6.)

The July 8 elections for local committees of the National Union are being intensively propagandized as an example of the democratic method. The newspapers sing peans to "pyramid democracy," the term used to describe the governmental system to be introduced here. (Parliament will be named in part by the President from the old Syrian and Egyptian parliaments and in part by election by the National Union committees to be chosen July 8.)

Price cuts, if enforced, will help of course, and they represent a victory for the people. But how much all this will affect the people's daily struggle for subsistence remains to be seen.

The fundamental problem created by the retrogressive effect of the government's economic and political policies on the already appalling inequality of wealth remains untouched.

What is very clear is that class conflicts are entering a new stage in both Egypt and Syria.

We Get in the Wheat for Peking

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

I RATHER like that title: "We get in the wheat for Peking." But conscience compels me to state at once that my part in harvesting consisted of trips to interview top personnel and to snap-shot girl reapers, in which I seemed to add to the general gaiety but not to the general speed. At my age they wouldn't have taken me as a volunteer; I would have been in the way.

My one positive contribution was indirect: I let Feng-feng volunteer. Feng-feng is my interpreter; without my permission she could not have gone. Her basic job is with the Peace Committee; they lend her to me. She is a neat young woman with a new curly permanent; you wouldn't pick her to harvest wheat. She has, moreover, two small children both under school age. But Feng-feng keeps in condition by the usual daily calisthenics in the yard and the half-day a week of physical labor, which just now means weeding the garden. She has willing relatives to help with the kids.

She came to me June 9 with the news that a call for harvest workers had come to the meeting of office staff the previous evening and she had volunteered. Would I let her go? I asked if Chi or Liu could substitute and was less than happy

when I found these were going away to Manchuria with a group of visitors. Later Feng-feng told me she had been refused for the harvest; it was felt I needed her. I asked her if she really wanted to harvest and when she said she did, I told the Peace Committee I could do without her quite well. At the moment it was a minor lie; but it turned out true. I did get on without her because sundry people from the Peace Committee dropped in from time to time to help.

However, I made a condition. "Feng-feng," I said, "you are going to do a harvest story. I want you to keep notes of every day, how you volunteered, how you went, where you slept and ate, and what was your daily work." So Feng-feng went for ten days but came back at the end of a week because all the ripe wheat was done. Yesterday she reported to me.

On the evening of June 8, said Feng-feng, the message came to the weekly meeting of the Peace Committee staff. Wheat was ripening fast in the Peking area and with it was predicted considerable rain and even hail, with heavier rains increasing for two months. So the wheat must be got in fast between showers, and the ground prepared and planted to the next crop, before the fields turned into seas of mud. The farms had a labor shortage and wanted 120,000 volunteers for three, six or ten days.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, famous world correspondent and author of many books on the USSR, China and our own country, has been living and traveling in China since early this year.

The Peace Committee has a staff around fifty but only twenty were at the meeting, some being out of town on various jobs. Practically everyone at the meeting volunteered. Not just by hand-raising. They went up after the meeting and handed in their names. Next day the section groups in which they worked reviewed the list and turned a lot of them down. One woman was told she couldn't go because she had a nursing baby; Feng-feng was told I needed her. Later Feng-feng got back on the list when I agreed. A total of seven went from the Peace Committee for ten days.

They left at one in the afternoon on the tenth. They assembled at another place in Peking and at three o'clock took a bus with other volunteers, 38 in the group. By four o'clock several such buses drew up at the headquarters of one of the Production Contingents of Evergreen Commune; by five they were assigned to their production teams. Shortly after five Feng-feng was walking down the road half an hour to Ming Village, one of the many villages in Evergreen Commune. The 38 were assigned to Ming Village; their bedding rolls and change of clothing went with them in hand-carts. Each took a bowl for food, and chop-sticks and spoon.

"We were shown places to stay in Ming Village and our group divided them out. Five of us women drew a room in a private family, where we slept on a kang. The seventeen men in the group got the use of the day nursery, but they could only use it at night after the children went home. This made it a bit hard for the men to find a place to rest during the noon-day rest."

Before dark they were all settled and at seven they had supper in the community dining-room. Very few of the regular commune members yet ate in the dining-room because it was still unfinished, just a big room with walls and roof but without doors or windows and with almost no furniture. The kitchen was in shape: it was an old air-raided shelter built by the Japanese during the occupation, a round building about forty feet across with very thick rounded top. Glass windows had been put in since the war. Most of the villagers just came to the kitchen and collected their food and took it home. But there was a big table in the dining-room and several logs for seats, and a few ate there. The volunteers all ate there, sitting on logs and holding their bowls.

"Very good steamed rice," said Feng-feng, "and two side vegetable dishes, cucumbers and pickled cabbage. The meals in general were very good, with the rice home-grown and the vegetables fresh, right from the garden. Different things every day, rice or steamed bread or corn bread or millet, and various vegetables." Sometimes a tasty squash prepared as soup or with soy sauce. Also they had a good rice porridge with red peas."

Next morning, June 11, they got up at five, went to the fields at 5:30, worked until seven o'clock breakfast, then rested till eight and returned to work from eight to twelve. The noon rest lasted, with lunch, from twelve to two, then they worked till dark, about seven. Once in mid-morning and once or twice during the afternoon there were extra half-hour rest periods taken in the field.

"We began to ache at the back of the waist from stooping and at the knees from squatting," Feng-feng said. "All the local workers took these same rest periods too."

The first morning at 5:30 the women went to transplant sweet potato seedlings and the men to dig up cabbage roots. The wheat would not be ripe enough till the 14th, they were told, but other work was also pressing. The reason for the labor shortage was not only the ripening of wheat and the threat of rain and hail. Ming Village Production Team consisted of some 180 workers. But the fifty strongest young men had volunteered early in the year to help dig the Dense Clouds Reservoir which was a mighty job, serving the entire Peking Area. Last year everyone thought the Ming Tombs Reservoir a terrific job but Dense Clouds would be forty times as big, with two main dams and five smaller ones.

Ming Village had let its fifty strongest men go to Dense Clouds Reservoir for the general good of the Peking Area, knowing that when the proper time came, they also could call on Peking for help. Their immediate need that morning was in the sweet potato transplanting, in a four acre irrigated field from which the early carrots had been reaped.

"The field was already ploughed and harrowed and fertilized and shaped into ridges," Feng-feng reported, "with small gullies for water to run. The water came from a reservoir in the Western Hills under Jade Fountain Hill. This team had a man up there who turned it on and off according to orders each day. They also had a man in the

field who turned the water from the main channel into all the small channels in turn. When we got there at 5:30 the water had not yet come and our first job was to pull up all weeds that had grown since the harrowing. The man also showed us how to go along the rows and dig holes nine inches apart for the seedlings.

"When we went back to breakfast the men came in all muddy and wet to the knees. They had been pulling up the heavy cabbage roots in a field where cabbage was already taken, but the ground must be cleared. The longer the roots were left in the ground, the more fertilizer they would consume in trying to sprout again. But the sooner they were taken out and piled in heaps to rot, the more fertilizer they would make. The roots were heavy and wet and this was a job for the men.

"When we got back at eight o'clock to the sweet potatoes, the water was coming in. So now our job was to go down the rows where the water had come, and throw water from the channels into the holes and put in each hole a sweet-potato seedling. These were brought in carts from another place. We must not put earth into the hole on top of the water, for the water film would keep the earth away from the seedling and it would not grow. But after an hour, when the hole was dry but not very dry, we went down the row and pushed earth around the seedling. This must be done when the hole is still a little damp but not sticky and when the sun has not yet dried it hard."

By noon the women volunteers had finished an acre. After the

noon rest a heavy rain set in and everyone sat around in the dining-room talking, reading and playing cards. But the sun came out around 4:30, and it was possible to work again on sweet potatoes till seven. . . . After supper they washed up, cleaned their clothes, went to bed.

"There was no electricity yet in the village," said Feng-feng, "and not much use to sit around with a small kerosene lamp. Anyway we went to sleep right away. But the barber shop had a very bright light from kerosene; I never saw one like it before." (American campers can deduce this kind of light.)

On the twelfth at early morning everyone went to the cabbage field, both men and women together. The roots pulled up the previous day lay all over the field and had to be put into piles where they would stay and rot. This was done by breakfast-time. After breakfast everyone went together to the sorghum field to thin.

"On the way to the sorghum we met a big detachment of students from the People's University. They had come to do sorghum, too. This University is very close to Evergreen Commune and the students work there regularly and have classes at the same time and sometimes on the subjects of their work. . . . Everyone has been advocating close-planting but nobody yet knows how close is good. This sorghum was much too closely planted; we had to weed out more plants than we left. They told us to leave only one stalk in every foot. The students weeded and also made observations about close planting. With all this help a lot of sorghum was done between breakfast and lunch. In the after-

noon we were back again in the sweet potatoes, while the men weeded the leeks."

That afternoon was made memorable by the finding of a good singer among the volunteers. "The peasants found out that a woman in our group sings very well and asked her to sing in the rest period. At first she just sang herself but then she began to teach songs to the others. After this we often had singing."

On the thirteenth the women still worked on sweet potatoes but the men went to prepare the threshing floor, for wheat reaping the following day. It was a large flat bare area, perhaps three hundred feet square. They sprinkled it with water and rolled it and let it dry, to be hard for the threshing.

"On the 14th everyone went at once to the wheat reaping. We heard there might be heavy rain or even hail and we should reap very fast. We cut it off with sickles near the roots, and stacked it in sheaves, and a man with strong hands bound the sheaves. Some people make big sheaves and some make small sheaves, and some tie their own, but mostly we let the men tie them. Then a cart comes along and takes the sheaves to the threshing floor. But we do not thresh that day because there is no time and no sun. We pile the sheaves up and cover the piles with mats.

"The cutting is very slow with the sickles. For the wheat is close-planted and thick and sickles are dull. We sharpen them often, during breakfast and during lunch and even at other times. But they get dull quickly.

"Special help came that day with the wheat reaping. About seven

as we were going to breakfast we saw them coming, two hundred students from the Peking University, from its quick term middle school. This is a special middle school for workers and peasants who got their primary education late. So they are older than most middle school students and they have also more experience in work. They went to another part of the wheat field and we did not know until later how they were working. They did not use sickles. They just pulled the wheat out by the roots with their hands and tied it at once into sheaves. This was quicker than cutting with sickles, but it took much strength."

Because of the two hundred husky students who came for the day of the 14th, all wheat that was ripe was reaped on that single day and stacked, either on the threshing floor or in the fields.

On the fifteenth in the morning the men went to the threshing floor to cut the sheaves for threshing while the women went to weed leeks. That morning another kind of helper came, some fifty or sixty children from the local primary school.

"Ming Village has its own primary school," said Feng-feng, "and the children now came in two groups of about twenty to thirty in each. One group was from nine to twelve in age, the other from thirteen to fifteen. They came with flags and singing. They went to the wheat field where we had reaped the day before and picked up the stray heads in baskets and brought all these gleanings to dump on the threshing floor, leaving the field clean for plowing."

Everything on the fifteenth was

done under threat of imminent rain or hail, a threat that didn't come off. "It was very dark in the sky at lunch time," said Feng-feng, "so that day we took no noon rest. As soon as we ate we all rushed to the threshing floor, both the women and the men. All morning the men had been cutting the sheaves in halves, with heads on one side and roots on the other. These were not clean halves, for much straw remained with the heads and a few heads remained with the roots. But in case of rain we must first save as many heads as possible, and later save the scattered heads with the roots.

"So now we all work very fast to pile all the heads together and put mats over them, and to pile the roots and also put mats, and to clean all the straw away from the grain already milled, where all morning the horses were dragging a heavy roller around. We women cleaned off the straw from the ground and the peasants put the dry milled grain into sacks and took them away under cover. All the work is very intense because the sky is very dark and looks like rain. But at four o'clock we finish piling and covering with mats and then the sun comes out a little.

"So then we go back to the wheat field where the sheaves are standing and carry these to the threshing floor in our arms for the carts are not around. It is only three minutes walk. It is very funny to see the different ways people carry sheaves, everyone trying to carry a lot at once. I can carry two big ones or three small ones, but some of the men tried to carry a lot of sheaves on poles and it didn't always work.

We clean up all the sheaves from the field and get them to the floor, and our arms all get so scratched up with the sharp points of the wheat.

"That day also we took two longer rest periods in the afternoon because we had no noon rest. This time we found that one of the volunteers could tell good stories. He tells a funny tale from the Ming Dynasty and then a tale about a revolutionary. After that at rest periods we ask for stories as well as having some singing."

On the sixteenth in the morning the volunteers picked peas. Two volunteers from the Peace Committee were called back to Peking, because the Parliamentary Delegation from Colombia arrived five days ahead with nine members of Parliament and several wives and secretaries, and interpreters were needed in a hurry.

The reaping of peas was very fast. "Just like rolling an egg," said Feng-feng, using an old proverb. "The peas are in rows and the roots are not tight, and you walk down between two rows, and pull one row up with your right hand and the other with the left hand. You drop them on the ground and a cart goes along and takes them to the same threshing floor. We thirty-six volunteers cleaned the whole five acres of peas in one morning, and went back in the afternoon to the threshing-floor."

On the threshing floor the same kind of work continued: the cutting of sheaves, the piling under mats against rain, the carting away of the cleaned wheat in sacks. The feature of the day to Feng-feng was that a man from the Peace Committee carried a sack weighing 220 pounds and walked right along with it. The

entire Peace Committee felt proud. The usual sack, said Feng-feng, is 165 pounds. . . . This seems to me to be enough.

On the 18th the volunteers again spent three hours pulling peas, and then went to another wheat field that had ripened in the intervening days. This time the wheat was damp from dew and no sun came all day but a few drops of scattered rain fell during the morning. "So this time many people pull the wheat by hand, because they learned from the students and because it is hard to cut damp wheat with sickles. But I still try with sickle, for I am not strong enough to pull by hand. This time we do not take the sheaves to the threshing floor because they are damp, and we stack them in the field to dry."

At lunch time on the seventeenth word came from the Peace Committee that Feng-feng was needed in Peking. She returned. "The wheat was about all reaped anyway," she said, "and the others would return on the twentieth. That afternoon as we came away we saw the piles of fertilizer heaped already in the former wheat-fields ready to be ploughed into the earth for the next crop."

"What kind of fertilizer?" I asked.

"Many kinds," said Feng-feng, "but mostly mud made rich with straw and manure."

Feng-feng reported in the morning and I went out the same afternoon to see the harvesting myself in another commune where 8,000 acres of wheat had been reaped with the help of 8,000 volunteers who would finish in another two days. Here also half was done by sickles and half by bare hands. I saw it

here not from the standpoint of a single production team but from the Party secretary of the commune, in the field headquarters, a temporary structure of woven kaoliang stacks, gay with pink and green flags.

"You have time to decorate," I commented on the paper flags.

"We are happy at our bumper crop," he smiled. "The first harvest as a commune. It doubles last year's."

A few acres had been checked and weighed and came to 96 bushels per acre. But those, he said, were the best. . . . The total crop on 8,000 acres, would average nearer 28 or 30 bushels. "Last year it was 15 bushels per acre," he said, and before Liberation wheat in this area ran only around eight bushels per acre. This was never a good area for wheat.

"No peasant ate wheat here before Liberation. Even now we don't eat it very much. It's a good cash crop, but the grains we eat are mostly maize, sorghum and millet, and even some rice. We'll sell most of our wheat to buy glass for hot houses, and have vegetables for the city all the year. In this area that is both more useful and profitable."

On the way out I learned from a man from the Peking municipality that four-fifths of the area's wheat was already reaped. Some places, but not too many, had suffered somewhat from storm and even from hail. There had been 120,000 volunteers from the city, not counting the students who went for single days.

I also learned, from the *People's Daily*, that China sets her goal, not at 30 or 60 or even 90 bushels per acre but at a 220 bushel average throughout the country, a height that

will not be reached without tractors, combines, fertilizer and only by the growth of years . . . that what the Chinese call "fertilizing," means not merely chemicals, but the building up of the soil that has been for centuries worn down. A friend who knows organic chemistry assures me that the Chinese are well aware that the soil must be built up by organic methods and that this will take many years.

I talked with a Canadian friend who had also visited the harvesting. We agreed that the Chinese are equal to anyone in techniques of organization—in dovetailing marvelously the work of students, of volunteers, of children—but are far behind in machines. I remarked that the Chinese might be well advised in keeping out American reporters.

"Why should they stand for a semi-friendly pat on the back for the excellent handwork of civil servants in pulling up wheat without even sickles," I said, "from Americans who have junk-piles of machines in every town. It might be just as well to wait till their fields are full of tractors and combines, and show not only noble effort but consolidated strength."

"Quite right," said the Canadian. "And yet there's something rather cozy in those kids cleaning up the wheat heads with flags, and those students yanking up whole acres in a day by the roots, and the people singing songs and telling stories in the rest hours. I hope when they get their mechanization—and of course they'll get it—they'll never be as lonely as the Canadian farmers on their highly mechanized farms."

"They won't," I said.

American in Stockholm

A personal report on the Tenth Congress of the World Peace Council

by **STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN**

We are privileged to present in somewhat condensed form the sermon given by Reverend Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, California, on his return from the Stockholm conference which he attended with his wife, who collaborated in the report.

NO FIVE DAYS of my life up to now can equal in importance these days from May 8 to 13, when 350 men and women from over seventy nations gathered in Stockholm for the Tenth Anniversary session of the World Council of Peace, for there is no substitute for personal communication of truth.

As long as I live I shall remember the evening memorial meeting honoring the great services of Dr. Frederic Joliot-Curie, for nine years President of the World Council of Peace. Tributes were paid by outstanding leaders in the world peace movement. Throughout the hall one saw an audience rarely found in this world, men and women, young and old, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Ceylonese, Mongolian, Indian, Turkish, Italian, French, American, Venezuelan, African, Russian, Australian, Lebanese—and those are only the few that sat in my immediate area of the hall.

The Soviet writer, Ilya Ehrenberg, gave one of the greatest speeches of his life, according to friends who had heard him often. One could see how deeply moved he was as he spoke of the great Nobel Laureate

who for twenty years had given his every effort to keep nuclear science on the side of peace. Mr. Ehrenberg reminded his audience that the presidency of World Peace Council marked the first time in history that a great movement of the people was headed by a man of science, not a politician, a churchman or a writer. "Frederic Joliot-Curie," he said, "united science and conscience. We have had, hitherto, too much science without conscience and too much conscience without science."

I must confess that it was a real shock to many of the seventeen United States citizens who attended to find how bitterly millions of people in the rest of the world feel about the role of the United States as an imperialist power. To these people our government seems possessed to arm the human race at any cost in preparation for a guaranteed final catastrophe, and determined to freeze the present order of society against all change.

We listened to leaders from all over the world. It was stirring to listen to a great Gandhian leader from India, Dr. Sunderlal, to Mme. Eugenie Cotton of France, to Dr. J. D. Bernal, the eminent British physicist who gave the keynote address. Two outstanding addresses were given by Mr. Kaoru Yasui of Japan, head of the very large and effective Japanese committee against A-and H-bombs, and by Mme. Isabelle Blume of Belgium who spoke

most eloquently and factually on the rearmament and remilitarization of West Germany, the powder-keg of Europe at this moment. Europeans are genuinely frightened at the prospect of a nuclear-equipped Germany.

Dr. Bernal set the tone of the Council sessions when he said:

We must swiftly attain disarmament through negotiation, we must stop existing wars as in Algeria and Kenya, as mobilized public opinion helped to stop them in Korea, Suez and Indo-China during the past few years; we must end the cold war between the two great power blocs today; we must end nuclear testing.

Let me say that as a minister of religion I was deeply impressed with the clerical delegates and observers, such as the Metropolitan Nikolai of Moscow, Mr. Saranankara, a Buddhist priest from Ceylon, Monk Aphrem Abboody of Iraq, Dr. J. L. Hromadka of Czechoslovakia, Rev. Alexander Karev, General Secretary of the Baptist Union in the USSR, and others with a deep commitment to the peace cause.

These were exceedingly realistic sessions in Stockholm, where gathered seasoned warriors for human progress and peace—men and women who had spent many years in struggle, in prison and in jeopardy of life itself—and young people from colonial areas still in very grave danger.

The delegates and visitors to the Council sessions were profoundly dedicated men and women who meant precisely what they said. We felt very close in spirit, in spite of the many varieties of politics, nationalities, ideologies, religions, and cultures represented.

In Baghdad, one million people gathered to bid farewell to the Iraqi delegation to Stockholm. In April, 2700 delegates in India met for a Peace Conference of all parties, all trade unions. They were well represented in Stockholm.

It is a tragedy indeed that our vast newsgathering services fail so totally to tell us of the tremendous mass movements now in motion for survival and for progress toward a stable and secure society. We have eyes but see not, we have ears but hear not.

We Americans live on a silent continent, walled against the voices of millions. And, when one crosses the walled Fortress America and listens to those outside, he is made vividly aware of how much of our American heritage of human liberty has been lost in recent years.

I wish you could have seen the alert, sensitive faces of the young Negro delegates from various African countries as they heard Dr. Bernal and other speakers discuss the practical possibilities for economic, social and political advancement in the years ahead. Some of these delegates have a price on their heads for their militant leadership for freedom from colonialism, and for peace, but they were eloquent, vigorous and exceedingly persuasive as they took the speaker's desk time after time to explain the situation in their home countries; this was equally true for speakers from the Latin American and Middle East nations. The Chinese delegation, a large one, spoke with magnificent clarity and force for an end of armaments and a vast attack on the problems of human welfare. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, shining star of

our American delegation, told some of us of his experience seeing the new policies of China which he had just toured in an 8000-mile journey within that vast nation.

Dr. Bernal made a declaration that reflected the mood of all of us:

Millions of people accept the cold war as permanent. We believe that the present drift to war can be and must be stopped. We know the success of the peace movement is tied up with the struggle for national independence in many countries. We in the World Council of Peace represent popular forces, not governments. For ten thousand million dollars annually for less than twenty years a European standard of living could prevail for all the underdeveloped nations of the world. The means are available. Welfare for all is a practical promise. In two years all people could be fed with what American farmers are paid not to grow. Infectious diseases could be wiped out, or very greatly controlled.

And then, in one of the most passionate moments of the five days, this eminent scientist declared: "Stupid and insane men prevent this world of health and welfare. This blackmail must be stopped."

And for those who assume a hopeless intransigency and rigidity in Soviet thinking, it was significant to hear the Soviet writer Alexander Korneichuk state so categorically:

We must listen to and hear peace proposals from all organizations that wish to make them, whatever their systems. We must avoid narrowness and forget about prestige. We must not fear being refused. We simply must end the cold war and the arms race. We of the USSR are prepared to work with those who do not share our system. We in the Soviet Union wish the American Government would listen to their own scientists and end all nuclear testing.

One of the most impressive and

forceful speakers during the entire week was a beautiful woman from the Argentine, Senora Maria Rosa Oliver. She and one of her fellow delegates from Argentina, Dr. David Marengo, told us of Operation Argus, the testing in the exosphere of the very powerful bomb in South Atlantic waters by the American Government. It was our first unannounced test. It was so powerful a bomb that from fear of popular protest the American desert or the Pacific area could not be used; our government selected Latin-American waters. There will be a fallout for a long time on African and Latin-American soil. Operation Argus awoke Latin America to the perils of nuclear testing and nuclear war. Vast campaigns have been undertaken. As Senora Oliver stated the situation:

Operation Argus brought us to reality. Defenders of peace protesting the nuclear danger were sent to prison and some permanently disappeared. But new leadership appeared in the trade unions, student organizations and women's groups. A solidarity between Africa, Asia and Latin America can avoid blood being spilled in a third and final world war.

Nine years ago the World Council of Peace held its second meeting in Stockholm and drafted the now famous "Stockholm Peace Petition" for the complete abolition of the nuclear bomb, a petition which won the signatures of five hundred million people (including two and a half million Americans). I wish now to quote the new Stockholm Peace Appeal adopted May 13th at the final plenary session:

After many years of cold war, the representatives of the great powers who

can either make war or ensure peace must meet.

The people of every country want this meeting, to prevent an armed conflict arising from the German situation, to rid the peoples of the nightmare of nuclear war, and to pave the way to disarmament and peaceful cooperation.

The World Council, after ten years of activity for peace, calls on all peace supporters to demand:

- the end forever of nuclear tests and abolition of nuclear weapons;
- a disengagement of armed forces wherever peace is threatened, first and foremost in the center of Europe.

You who are active in the struggle for peace in every land: Your meetings, your marches for peace, your campaigns, will awaken the men and women who think as you do but who have not yet entered the struggle to express their will.

It is their activity and your own efforts which will force the statesmen to meet and not to separate until they have taken the first steps towards peace. Such steps are essential to end the cold war and help both individuals and peoples to obtain their right to freedom and to life.

The time has come in the affairs of men when we Americans need to play our proper role in the attainment of a sane and peaceful world. We have no major peace movement in America today. Our government is largely responsible for this fact by treating peace as a subversive activity. To be sure, such groups as the Quakers, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Women's International League, the Peace Commissions of the Methodists and Baptists, have managed to carry on modest and stripped-down programs in an area that calls for full mobilization of the American conscience. As an American said in Stockholm, it was not until atomic debris began to threaten our food supplies, our

water, our soil and the genetic health of our children that Americans began to think about the price of the cold war and its inhuman presuppositions.

We do not return to say that the World Peace Council has been without flaw; far from it. But we were very much aware of the Council's own self-criticism at this session. Over and over again, speakers, including members of the secretariat, stated the need for less sectarianism and a far wider representation from all sections of the world family. There was no rubber stamp, predigested preparation of resolutions. There were differences in emphasis between the secretariat and the delegates from colonial countries where any extensive peace action must follow and not precede national independence.

We discovered more acutely than ever before that there are two kinds of nationalism in this world: The progressive, liberating kind through which all nations (as did our own in the eighteenth century) must pass before it is possible to discuss a world federation and the abandonment of national sovereignties; this healthy nationalism requires peace for its achievement. And then there is the second, degenerate kind of nationalism, which is basically a mask for dictatorship, which will not let people travel abroad or participate in international congresses and other exchanges between peoples. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are beginning to learn the folly of such ingrown nationalism, which breeds suspicion of foreign ideas and foreign "subversion."

As a rational Unitarian I can conceive of no possible apology being

called for when I cross borders anywhere to reach my brothers' hands—anywhere on sea or land. The time has now come, if we are to survive, when we must speak our minds out without fear or favor, working for peace with anyone who will join us. No Post-office Department's childish phobias shall keep me from reading the thoughts of men anywhere on earth who wish to share them with me. No neurotic Passport Division shall make us prisoners in our own fair land. It is far too late to seal our minds from brotherhood, anywhere that man can breathe. It is truly for the "best interests of the

United States" that we drop forever this arrant foolishness that we are a race apart and dare not suffer contamination with our neighbors in both the hemispheres. There is nothing more important at this hour than to see that more than half a billion names are attached to the Second Stockholm Peace Appeal. As a proud and patriotic American I want the peoples of every nation, large and small, to know that we care for them, desperately, intelligently, and without equivocation. We want their hands in peace and love, and we will not settle for one iota less.

TREASON CHARGES DROPPED IN POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE

AN IMPORTANT VICTORY was won in the Powell-Schuman case when the fantastic treason charge against the defendants was dismissed in San Francisco on July 13 for lack of evidence.

John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, U.S.-born citizens, were indicted for sedition in April, 1956, for writings published in *China Monthly Review* (owned and edited by Powell), in Shanghai during the Korean War. The Government's case was based mainly on articles reporting the use of germ warfare by U.S. troops in Korea, such as had been reported widely around the world at the time. The indictment was handed down more than two-and-a-half years after the three had returned home from China.

The case finally came to trial last January, and after five days a mistrial was declared as a result of prosecution attempts to introduce inadmissible evidence and because local newspaper stories had quoted the judge as implying that the defendants were guilty of treason. The Government immediately moved on a treason charge, but was unable to secure evidence for a new indictment.

The long persecution of these three people has aroused indignation wherever the facts of the case have become known. The *Washington Post* on July 18 said of the dropping of the treason charges: "The Department of Justice has been left looking rather silly. . . . The sedition charge against the defendants is still pending. It ought to be dropped and forgotten. In point of fact it should never have been brought in the first place."

The Powell-Schuman Defense Fund has announced that it will continue its work until such action is taken and asks that letters be sent to Attorney General William P. Rogers in Washington asking that the sedition indictment be dropped.

In Unknown Albania

by J. N. F. NEWALL

Secretary, British Albania Society

(The first part of this article appeared in NWR for July).

It would take too long to describe all that has been done to develop Albania's industry, but by 1955 it already accounted for not far off half the country's output—this in a formerly exclusively agricultural country. During the first six months of 1958 the industrial output was greater than for the whole of 1952, and 7.5 times more than for 1938. In 1957, the volume of construction exceeded the 1956 level by 23 per cent and gross output was up by 24 per cent. In comparison with the pre-war level it was 14 times greater, and the 1958 figure is to show a further 20 per cent increase over 1957. A new glass factory at Tirana was put into operation last year, a shop producing insulation plates was opened at Elbasan woodworks, and this year the Tirana shoe factory has been completely modernized with up-to-date Czech machinery. All the work is now done by machine, and excellent shoes are being produced. These are made entirely from Albanian materials, the rubber soles for example, being prepared at the rubber factory in Durrës.

The velvet factory at the Stalin Textile Combine was opened last year, and Albania is now an exporter of textiles and cloths, the conditions in the country being especially suitable for their manufacture. The Stalin Textile Combine is completely equipped with machin-

ery delivered from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, and more engineers and technicians are employed in this works alone than there were in the whole of pre-war Albania.

Cotton for the factory is grown in Albania, and processed in the mills at Fier. The cotton harvest in 1957 exceeded the previous year's by 85 per cent and, among the other main crops, grain was up by 15 per cent and tobacco by 12 per cent. The best tobacco is grown in the Shkodër region, and there is a large factory there to prepare it for export and for home consumption. Cigarettes for sale in Albania are produced in factories at Durrës and elsewhere.

On the road from Shkodër to Durrës we passed a new agricultural settlement, surrounded by rich fields which only recently had been marshes. This village was built to house families whose homes were submerged when the Karl Marx Hydroelectric Scheme was completed, and is just one of many housing schemes throughout Albania. Thirty seven per cent of the houses in the country were destroyed during the war, but this was long ago made good, and building is now going ahead everywhere, to replace the hovels of the past with proper dwelling places. This year, seven apartments are being completed each day, and these will be rented at the ten shillings or so a month, which is the usual rent in Albania for a dwelling or small flat.

Building has been carried out both in the towns and the country, and much of it has been on the new agricultural co-operatives. These, with the state farms, now account for nearly 80 per cent of arable land. This is an increase of about 20 per cent on the 1957 figure, and in that year alone 800 new co-operatives were set up, which brought the total number in the country to 1,700. Agricultural output has now increased by 182 per cent as compared with pre-war, and mechanization, with the introduction of combine harvesters and other modern methods is an entirely new feature. The number of agricultural tractors in use has now reached 2,763, compared with 30 before the war.

The farms we visited had excellent modern buildings, and the state farm we saw, between Korçë and Pogradec, had its own laboratory, and provided artificial insemination facilities for the cattle in the district. They had two Brown Alpine bulls, and a Jersey, and among a large milking herd, there were 26 Jersey cattle. There are two Jersey herds in Albania, one on the farm we saw, and the other on the leading experimental state farm near Durrës. The cattle were well cared for, and were giving yields comparable with those on farms in some parts of this country. State farms, of course, are intended as model institutions, and both cooperative and private farmers go to them for advice and help.

Durrës itself is surrounded by rich farmlands of the coastal plain, stretching back to Tirana. Parts of this land, too, were marshy, and breeding grounds for the mosquitoes that made malaria almost a national

disease in Albania. At one time 22 per cent of the population suffered from this scourge. Now there are no longer any cases, and it has been even more effectively wiped out than T.B. and other diseases which once plagued the country. They have all been successfully combated.

Today a visitor to Durrës can safely leave his "Paludrine" tablets at home, and now that the beautiful fresh mountain water which supplies Tirana has been extended to the coast, one doesn't even suffer the stomach troubles common in hot countries. Durrës, in fact, is being developed into a holiday paradise. For the Albanian people there are the numerous workers' rest houses, built along the beach, within a minute's walk from the Adriatic, and its wonderfully warm bathing. There is a pier with dancing and refreshments, restaurants and boats with outboard motors. For the children, there is the beautifully equipped camp for young Pioneers, accommodating 900 at a time. Children come in relays from every part of the country to spend their holidays here, or in similar camps elsewhere. When we were there, there were Soviet and German children staying in the camp too. They are all under the care of a staff of 90, including doctors, nurses and instructors in cultural and recreational facilities, such as music, zoology, botany, sport and so on. We saw an excellent display of gymnastics, followed by singing and dancing, and visited an exhibition of the children's other activities.

Later in the evening we watched young workers in their holiday clothes giving a stirring perform-

ance of the mountaineers' dance which won a first prize for the Albanian group at the Moscow Youth Festival last year. Later we saw this dance performed again, but this time in full national dress by the Albanian Army Ensemble. This was on one of our last evenings in Tirana, at an open air concert given in Tirana's main square. The square was bedecked with flags and colored lights for the month of Albanian-Soviet Friendship, and as I watched the enthusiastic audience and performers, intent on the exciting dances and beautiful songs of which Albania is so rightly proud, I felt moved and thrilled by the thought of all that is being done to build up this young country—only 14 years old this November.

In the pleasant cool of one evening at Durrës—we had come from Tirana, where it had been over 100 in the shade—we enjoyed a concert given at the Artisan Rest Home by stars of the Tirana Opera, who were there on holiday beside the workers. Another evening we went to the open air cinema, where Albania's first full length feature film, "Tana", was being shown. During the five years of its existence the "New Albania" film studio has concentrated on documentaries and newsreels. The experience gained in these years, and in the very successful Albanian-Soviet co-production on the life of Albania's national hero, Skanderbeg, has been most profitable, for Albania may be justly proud of "Tana". Filmed entirely in Albania, it deals with the problems of life on a cooperative farm, and Tana is a girl on the cooperative who falls in love with a young private farmer. We enjoyed the film

not only for its successful handling of everyday life in Albania, but for its excellent production, acting and photography, which represent a triumph for the Albanian film industry. "New Albania" is now essaying color filming, and a color documentary on Albanian folklore is to be ready next year.

Durrës has two closed cinemas as well as the open air one, so visitors have a choice of films. But we didn't always go to the cinema. Instead we often went for walks, or sat outside the beautiful new hotel enjoying the cool evening air. There was an excellent orchestra, and if one wasn't dancing, it was interesting to watch, and wonder where the dancers came from. For this hotel, opened earlier this year, is equipped especially for holiday makers, and is always full of Albanians and foreign visitors. It is a truly first class hotel, with all the facilities one can want—rooms with private bath, suites, spacious lounges, bar and dining room.

Increasing numbers of foreign tourists are visiting Albania each year, and the tourist industry is being rapidly extended. Hotels are being modernized and enlarged, and new hotels are going up. This year over 3,000 tourists, from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Great Britain and elsewhere have stayed in Albania, and the Rumanian vessel *Transylvania*, on a cruise of Adriatic and Black Sea ports, brought many visitors to have a look at the country, when she called at Durrës.

In this article I have concentrated on progress in Albania, but alongside the new, there is naturally still much of the old, to delight the searcher after the picturesque. As

practical working clothes the old national costumes—different in every region, and almost every village—have been superseded, but the country people still wear their finery on holidays and market days. We happened to be in Shkodër on market day, and I have never in my life seen such a profusion of colorful and magnificent costumes. The old must give way to the new, but in the old quarter of Tirana, and other towns, one still finds little shops selling the traditional wares, such as the filigree for which Albania is famous, old silver work and so on.

But the old crafts are not being forgotten in New Albania. Artisan co-operatives are being formed to make the traditional embroideries, silk woven scarves, carpets, and intricate filigree work, and the old designs are being used in new forms, such as in painted woodwork. The traditional costumes, as well as much else of historic interest, are to be seen on display in the national and local museums, with all the old crafts of which Albania is rightly proud.

It is this, as well as the magnificent scenery, that may appeal especially to the tourist. One doesn't know where to begin when talking of Albania's natural beauty. There is Lake Shkoder, with the impressive Illyrian fortress towering on a hill at its southern end. There is the wonderful road, over the Ilogara pass south of Vlora, and down to the lovely southern coast. Then on to Himara, once an inaccessible city state, and now one of the beauty spots of the Albanian Riviera. From here one looks across an incredibly blue sea to the distant Ionian Islands.

There are mountain fortresses, such as Kruja, castles, beautiful old Byzantine churches, painted mosques. Or there is the mountain road over range upon range of hills, through Elbasan, to Lake Ohrid with its magnificent scenery, and air of remote peace. For all its hustle and industry, there is much of peace in Albania. She has seen too much of international and internal strife, and has suffered too much, overrun and pillaged as she continually has been. What the Albanian people want and need, and are striving for, is peace and a better world.

If one reads a little of Albanian history, one realizes that after centuries of foreign occupation, and bloodshed, she deserves a chance to build her country without interference. For the Albanians are a proud people, and will struggle against any outside interference.

Everyone has heard of Skanderbeg, Albanian's great national hero, who fought desperately against the Turks for many years. A visit to his fortress, hidden in the mountains at Kruja, explains how he managed to hold out against such odds. But lacking his skill and leadership, Albania fell under Turkish rule, and Kruja was captured in 1478, not long after his death. Turkish rule lasted for nearly 450 years, but rather than be subject to Turkish tyranny, many Albanians chose to go to Italy and Sicily, where there remain large Albanian communities to this day.

During the Turkish occupation, there were several uprisings, but it was not until the Balkan wars that Albania, in 1912, gained her independence. Again, between the two world wars, Albania fell under the rule of a feudal and reactionary

government, and the country came increasingly under foreign domination, culminating in the Italian occupation in 1939.

Having at last gained her freedom in 1944, the Albanian people have shown their determination to defend it, and this has earned them slander and abuse from some quarters. One reads so much that is untrue, and I have written this in an attempt to tell the facts, as I saw them for myself. One reads that there is no freedom, that the church is persecuted. Yet I went to church on each of the four Sundays that I was there. The two Catholic churches and the two Orthodox churches which I attended were fuller than many churches in this country, and with people who seemed to belong to all walks of life. The mosques serving the 70 per cent or more of the population who are Moslem, are open and in good repair.

A little story which appeared recently in a report on Albania struck me as typical of many which certain papers are fond of publishing. The writer, who has been to Albania, tells us that the Albanian bus in which he travelled to the Yugoslav frontier was allowed into the no-man's-land between the two countries, to turn around. According to this report, which seems to provide the keynote to the generally abusive tone of the writer's article, the entire time the bus was in no-man's-land, the driver was covered by the guns of the Albanian frontier guards. This causes the writer to comment (referring to the driver): "Even with 50 yards to go to freedom, he would not have made it. And he did not try".

As it happens, he did not need to try, for that same driver, who is well known to me, took his bus right across Yugoslavia, from Lake Ohrid, to the Bulgarian frontier, via Skopje. He had a look at this supposed "freedom", and if he liked it, that was his opportunity to stay there. Instead he chose to return to what the writer describes with a purely fantastic turn of phrase, as a "virtual concentration camp". He deposited his passengers on the Bulgarian frontier, and retraced his route to Albania.

Supposing, as we are told, the guards on the Albanian frontier did unhook and cock their guns, I suggest that this was because of the feeling between the two countries, after the murder of Hasan Spata in Belgrade. The supposed events took place within a fortnight of Hasan Spata's death, when all Albania was in fury about the incident. He was an Albanian émigré who decided to return to his native land, and on his way he was arrested and shot in Belgrade. This was another Albanian, incidentally, who chose to return to his country, and only one of many who have gone back home in recent years from Australia, Canada, Argentina, America and elsewhere. There are 50,000 Albanians living in the United States, and a party of them came over this summer to visit relatives in their home country. Visits of this sort are important, as they help to counteract the distorted and untrue reports usually published.

Courtesy ALBANIA, British Newsletter
Correction: The figure given for Soviet credit to Albania up to the end of 1955, in the first half of the above article (NWR, July), should read 422 million rubles.

PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

(Continued from page 7)

Those "Captive" Peoples

Nixon himself had finally to fall in with the joke about the "captive" people of the Soviet Union which Khrushchev kept making to him, as he faced the great crowds that welcomed him with warmth and friendship, and saw the people disporting themselves on the beaches and in the waters during a boatride as Khrushchev's guest. "Yes, Captives!", he laughed.

Nixon was reported to have been embarrassed by the resolution of Congress and proclamation by the President of "Captive Nations Week," to take place exactly during his visit to the USSR. And well he might have been. Walter Lippmann (*New York Herald Tribune* July 28) called the resolution and proclamation "an absent minded bumble of Congress and the President." He noted that the resolution had been adopted *without debate* by the Senate, [and later the House], that it came from the Committee on the Judiciary, headed by that "notorious lover of liberty," Mr. Eastland of Mississippi, and that it said among other things that the United States has "been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds. "The hypocrisy of this" said Mr. Lippmann, was embarrassing to our country as well as to Mr. Nixon.

This fantastic and outrageous resolution included among nations "enslaved" by the USSR not only the Eastern European Democracies and China, but a whole series of Union Republics which are an integral part of the Soviet Union, as they had been a part of Tsarist Russia for several hundred years. Thus it was in effect a call for revolt of the Soviet peoples from within, as well as heaven knows what in relation to independent socialist nations. The President's

proclamation, though somewhat milder in tone, accepted this basic premise and called on the American people to observe "Captive Nations' Week" the third week in July "with appropriate ceremonies and activities", and urged them "to study the plight of the Soviet dominated nations and *to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the peoples of those captive nations.*" (Italics ours)

Suppose that just as Vice Premier Kozlov arrived in this country, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR had passed a resolution calling for a week to be dedicated throughout the USSR to, say, the return of Texas to Mexico, or support for the independence of Puerto Rico? What kind of a reception would Mr. Kozlov have received here?

Mr. Khrushchev wisely treated the whole matter as a joke (though it was indeed a rather grim one) continually pointing out to Nixon the "captives" who everywhere joyously greeted Khrushchev and Nixon too.

It is significant that the nine governors who recently visited the USSR, in their report on their return (*New York Times*, Aug. 1), noting the substantial progress "in the development of their vast country under their Socialist system," and calling for greater exchange and greater mutual understanding in order to achieve permanent peace, made a special point of the fact that they found among the Soviet people "no indication of a desire to abandon their system of government and economy." Captives!

Obviously concerned about what some of the anti-Soviet refugees from Eastern Europe who promoted the resolution might do to embarrass the United States during the visit of Premier Khrushchev, Mr. Nixon on his arrival at the airport, referring particularly to Hungarian and other refugees (who had hurled rocks and rotten tomatoes at Mikoyan), urged that the best possible climate be provided for the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks, which could have

such great importance for peace, and that the people of our country would show Khrushchev "the same courtesy that the people and the leaders of the Soviet Union have shown to me."

President Eisenhower endorsed the request.

Foreign Ministers' Conference

With the question of Germany and Berlin undoubtedly a main issue of the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks, we need not at this point go into all the complex ramifications of the Foreign Ministers' Conference which met on these questions in Geneva from May 11 to June 20 and July 13 to August 5. The conference failed to reach any definite agreements, but according to the final communique, provided an opportunity for a "useful exchange of views" and served to clarify the positions of both sides, and bring them closer on some points.

In considering the importance of the question of Germany, and of Berlin, which flows out of it, certain basic issues must be borne in mind.

First of these, is the question of the rearmament, and especially the supply of nuclear arms to Western Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, where the resurgence of the Nazi aggressive aims that brought such agony to the world, and which the Potsdam agreements prohibited, is an undeniable fact. Former Hitlerite Generals hold the highest places in NATO, of which Western Germany has become the main military base; former Nazi officials permeate every section of the Bonn Government; the power of the great cartels that backed Hitler, is again in the ascendant; anti-Semitism is rampant. Chancellor Adenauer has openly proclaimed his aim of repossessing the territories beyond the Oder Neisse Line, returned to Poland by Allied agreement, settled now by the Polish people, and become an essential and integral part of their political and economic system. Such repossession

could only come about through an aggressive war.

The threat of a rearmed Germany with aggressive aims to the people of Europe and the world is the greatest present obstacle to peace. It is not only the Soviet Union that recognizes this but many governments and all the peoples of Europe.

The existence of two Germanys is an essential fact of the world today that has to be recognized. The West had to acknowledge this in agreeing that both Germanys be present at Geneva as consultants. It must equally be recognized that the historic record shows that the Western powers are primarily responsible for this division. Whatever differences anyone may have with Soviet policies, it is an incontrovertible fact that the German Democratic Republic was established and recognized by the Soviet Union only after the formal setting up of the Federal Republic of Germany, and that the Warsaw Treaty organization, including the GDR, was set up only after the establishment of NATO with Western Germany as its main military base.

Western Germany has developed as a capitalist state. Eastern Germany has developed as a socialist state. Neither could impose its system on the other without war. It is clear that neither the German Democratic Republic nor the Soviet Union would permit the incorporation of socialist Germany into capitalist Germany. It is equally clear that the Western world would not permit the extension of the socialist system into Western Germany. Unification, while the eventually necessary solution, therefore is not at present practical. *Both East and West know this.*

It is a fantastic and abnormal situation that there is no peace treaty with Germany 14 years after the end of the world war. Since no single state exists, the only solution would seem to be that offered by the USSR of peace treaties with both German states, pend-

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ing eventual unification, which the Soviet Union considers a matter for the Germans alone to solve.

Out of the absence of a peace treaty grows the situation of the continued division of Berlin, whose Western part is connected with Bonn, and still remains occupied by the Western powers under the postwar agreements which under normal circumstances would long since have been superseded by a peace treaty ending all foreign occupation.

To understand the position of the GDR and the Soviet Union on the question of Berlin, it must be remembered that Berlin, and consequently Western occupied West Berlin, is more than 100 miles *inside* of the German Democratic Republic, of which Berlin is the natural capital.

Just suppose the Soviet armies had gone further East at the end of the war, and under Allied arrangements had been given the right to occupy part of Bonn, now capital of the Federal German Republic, and were still there, with their troops, occupying an enclave carrying on espionage and subversive activities in the midst of a capitalist state? Would not the Federal German Republic and its Western backers exert every effort to get them out of there?

This, in brief, is the background of the Soviet proposals for a solution of the problems of Germany and Berlin.

Never having had any counter-proposals from the West, the USSR repeated its proposals for a solution of the German and Berlin problems at Geneva (see NWR, January and February 1959).

For Germany as a whole, the Soviet Union proposed a peace treaty with both German states pending reunification, which would provide for a neutralized, demilitarized Germany, as part of an atom free zone, or the adherence of both parts to the respective East and West pacts under a non-aggression agreement. Meantime, representatives of West and East Germany should nego-

tiate to set up some form of federalized German state.

Flatly rejecting the Soviet proposals, the West offered an over-all package plan (openly acknowledged to be unrealistic and impossible of agreement) linking together a plan for reunification of both Berlin and all-Germany under a staged plan of "free elections," that would mean absorption of Eastern Germany by Western Germany and an eventual united Germany, free to join NATO. All this was linked up with a complex disarmament plan on which negotiations have been stalemated for years.

Unable to get anywhere on Germany as a whole, (with Adenauer the dictator of Western policies at Geneva) the foreign ministers turned to the question of Berlin.

The Soviet Union had proposed that West Berlin become a free city under some form of UN control, with Western forces reduced to token size. The West flatly turned this down, insisting on their continued rights in Berlin. Concessions on both sides brought their positions closer together . . . not close enough for any agreement, but close enough to give hope that some progress may be possible through the bilateral and Summit talks.

The Soviet Union (having previously indicated that if no negotiations were held it would make its own arrangements with the GDR this year, and turn over its rights in East Berlin to GDR representatives), proposed an interim settlement for a period of eighteen months, after which the whole matter if still unsettled could come up for new negotiations. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko stated officially that this was no ultimatum and that the Soviet Union would not take unilateral action after this period, but enter into new negotiations.

The West accepted the policy of placing a time limit on a Berlin settlement, but proposed a five-year interim settle-

ment. At the same time, it insisted that the Soviet Union should give unequivocal assurances that Allied rights in Berlin would not be affected after an interim settlement.

The Soviet Union, however, said it could give no assurances that could be interpreted as underwriting permanent Allied occupation of Berlin.

The Soviet Union proposed a reduction of the present Allied forces in Berlin to a symbolic contingent of 3 to 4,000. The West proposed to freeze the West Berlin garrison at the present level of 11,000, with a reduction later to be considered—this was unsatisfactory to the Russians, but at least contained the principle of possible reductions.

The Allies proposed curbs on propaganda and subversive activities in both parts of Berlin, while the USSR felt they should be confined to West Berlin—a not unnatural position, since East Berlin represents the capital of a sovereign state, West Berlin an enclave within that state. There was final agreement that there should be some control over propaganda and subversive activities in all Berlin.

The West accepted the principle of dealing with East German rather than Soviet authorities on matters of access to and from East Berlin—while at the same time the USSR made clear it would take no unilateral action on this matter or on a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic as long as negotiations were still in progress or envisaged.

The Soviet Union wanted an equal committee of representatives of Eastern and Western Germany to meet meanwhile to consider questions of reunification, which they consider a matter for the Germans alone to decide, but also agreed that there could be simultaneous four power meetings.

One of the most important agreements in the final days was that long-deadlocked disarmament negotiations should be renewed through a new tenation Disarmament Committee with

membership divided equally between East and West.

Spreading Nuclear Arms

The problem of Germany has become much more serious with the going into effect of the treaty to provide Western Germany and other NATO countries with information on the use of nuclear weapons and full nuclear arms equipment save for the actual warheads.

Executive agreements for the supply of nuclear arms have already been signed with Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Greece, Turkey and the Netherlands, while negotiations are under way for similar pacts with Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Italy. Treaties of this nature become law within sixty days of submission unless Congress passes a concurrent resolution of disapproval. No such concurrent resolution was passed. The arrangements with the first seven nations have therefore *already gone into effect*.

Approval of the nuclearization of our NATO allies by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy was the signal for approval by Congress.

In the House, Congressman William H. Meyer (Vermont)—elected to Congress last fall on a peace program—put in a resolution to block approval, joined by a few other Congressmen. The House Rules Committee refused to report out the resolution, and Speaker Rayburn refused to recognize Meyer for a unanimous consent request. Although forty members of the House signed a letter asking for discussion, only brief remarks in protest were permitted to representative Meyer, and a few others.

In the Senate some of the more liberal Democratic Senators expressed strong misgivings. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey submitted a list of questions which asked whether this move might bring war nearer, but later answered them weakly himself, suggesting that after all they might throw such fear into the Russians that they would help avert

war. So there was no real move at all to block them in the Senate.

Only after their failure to act had resulted in the agreements going to effect did fourteen Democratic Senators who had "misgivings" send a letter to the President urging him to make a declaration of policy that would reassure the American people that the agreements in no way preclude the United States from "entering into agreements in the future with the Soviet Union and other nations concerning control and reduction of armaments," and do not bind the United States "to continue to supply the recipient governments with nuclear information and materials if this action should be prohibited by international agreement."

Under prodding by some peace groups, open hearings were held on July 1 and 2 on the agreements. Spokesmen opposing them appeared from the Friends' Committee on National Legislation, the Federation of American Scientists, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Unfortunately there were no witnesses from labor, farm, business, civic or church groups to oppose a move with such threatening implications to us all. Opposition from the widest possible groups to the implementation of this policy of spreading nuclear weapons should be now heard.

Nuclear Tests Suspension

The same Pentagon and A.E.C. circles who were responsible for pushing through the spread of nuclear weapons program, have been working assiduously to prevent any agreement on ending tests at the Geneva conference. On August 5, Senator Clinton P. Anderson, Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy predicted that the United State would resume testing atomic weapons after October 31, when the year-long moratorium

announced by the President in the summer of 1958 will end. (Administration officials, however, insisted no such decision had been reached.)

Nevertheless, there continue to be reports from Geneva of some slow progress, and around the world people continue to pin their hopes on some initial agreement on ending tests, while ever new scientific discoveries show dangers to present and future generations from fallout even greater than previously estimated.

Concessions by both sides have brought their positions continually closer, especially on the question of the manning of control posts to inspect suspected explosions. The West had originally insisted that all inspectors come from neutral nations, the USSR that they be chiefly nations of the country where they were stationed with a small number of inspectors from outside. The West has now proposed that one-third of the posts, if on Soviet soil, would go to Soviet citizens, one-third to U.S. and British, one-third from outside the Big Three. The USSR feels that the number of outsiders should be limited to ten.

An AP dispatch from Washington, July 27, declared:

The United States has made some significant concessions to the Soviets in the Geneva talks on halting atomic tests, but the Russians have made even more concessions to the West.

The dispatch declared that while "the prospects seem less than bright," the parley still could lead to a breakthrough "of most far-reaching consequence in the cold-war freeze up."

It may be hoped that on this question too, the most vital of all to the health and the life of the people of the world of today and all our tomorrows, a beginning may be made in the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks toward an agreement to end all testing of nuclear weapons, as the first step toward banning them altogether and forever.

"The Russians Have Done It Again!"

Press comment on the Russian Festival of Music and Dance

"The Russians have done it again"—John Martin, dance critic of the *New York Times* (July 8) began his review of the opening of the Russian Festival of Dance and Music at Madison Square Garden on July 7. "Some of them sang and some of them played musical instruments, but most of them danced—and danced, and danced!"

"Two hundred strong, this is the largest concentration of theatrical talent ever directed at an overseas target by the Russians—or anybody else. There was no resisting them. The crowd capitulated to them from the start." *World-Telegram*, July 8.

"For sheer excitement and somewhat feverish entertainment, the Russian Festival of Music and Dance at Madison Square Garden is something to be seen to be believed. Almost 12,000 first-nighters started cheering early, stimulated by a mighty thrust of exuberance in a dance competition that turned out to be only the beginning of more spectacular stuff to come." *Journal-American*, July 8.

"Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were and still are strange-sounding names. But after last night's excitement at Madison Square Garden, the folk art of these Soviet Republics has become, locally, an exuberant reality." *New York Post*, July 8.

"The range and the size of the show were established right at the start when the entire troupe, composed of numerous sub-groups, filed on the stage, exhibiting their gorgeous costumes and displaying such varying ethnic heritages as blond hair and round faces, black hair and swarthy faces, beak noses, slant eyes and the many other physical attributes of the races and nations which make up the Soviet Union." *Herald Tribune*, July 8.

"The Russians have the terrific advan-

tage of drawing on dozens of folk cultures for their music and dance. There is undoubted interchange between these cultures, leading to further enrichment. The folk dancing for example, isn't always in the strictest native tradition. Moscow ballet discipline is often brought into play, and Western devices are used to heighten the appeal of regional music. But the bedrock of folk art is sedulously preserved in the rhythms and patterns." *World-Telegram*, July 10.

"Some of the highest leaping and most dynamic turning we've ever seen, to say nothing of kazotsky stepping and incredible spinning. It's like watching a bunch of superior circus tumblers on the loose. It's a whirlwind of fun and excitement." *Mirror*, July 8.

"Of dancing, there was an infinite, and consistently fine, variety. Sharply etched folk numbers by groups from the Armenian and Kazakh Companies, soloists from the Bolshoi and Leningrad ballet companies, and—Mr. Hurok's trump card—a series of delectable turns by artists from the Moisseiev Dance Company—brought distinction at all points. . . . Add to this a symphony orchestra under the direction of Genadi Rozhdestvensky, an attractive new ballerina from Uzbekistan, Georgian warriors who whirl on their toes, and one has a formidable evening of entertainment." *Saturday Review*, July 25.

So great was the demand for tickets that a return engagement of five performances were given at Madison Square Garden at the end of August after the Festival company had returned from a cross country tour that took them to the West Coast.

The Moscow State Symphony is to tour the U.S. early in 1960.

Tibet

The Real Tibet, by Susan Warren. Far East Reporter. Maud Russell, Publisher. New York 17, N. Y. 1959. 25 cents.

THIS pamphlet supplies the reader with a useful history of Tibet, gives an account of its social and religious system, and explains clearly its long relations with China.

The reputed "revolt" in Tibet that occupied the newspapers this spring and gave wild hopes to those who want to worsen U.S.-Chinese relations is put in its proper perspective:

The conspiracy in Tibet was one link in a chain of actions directed toward the reversal of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa which is changing the world balance of power. The friendship of China and India is one of the cornerstones of that surging movement.

With its factual material on Tibetan history and its placing of the recent conspiracy in the proper world setting, this useful pamphlet provides the reader with information that will allow him to understand more clearly events and changes taking place in the reputedly "mysterious" country that is said to be on the roof of the world.

H-3

The Rumanian Treatment for Old Age Using Substance H-3, by Charlotte and Dyson Carter. Northern Bookhouse. Toronto, Canada. 50 cents a copy.

This is a report on the use of the now famous H-3 in the Parhon Institute of Geriatrics, Bucharest, Rumania. The Dysons answer questions about the treatment, give actual case histories, details of research carried on by the Institute, and facts for the public and doctors.

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