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New World

REVIEW

THE PEOPLE AND THE SUMMIT

West Germany 15 Years Later

GEORGE WHEELER

From Riga to Tashkent

RICHARD MORFORD

Women and Family in China

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

How Red Is Russia?

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*
MURRAY YOUNG, *Managing Editor*

ESLANDA ROBESON
Our Roving Correspondent
Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions

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The People and the Summit

by JESSICA SMITH

AS the loveliness of spring unfolds again across our land, the beauty of life it eternally symbolizes brings new yearnings for peace into people's hearts.

This spring as in no spring before there is an opportunity for every one of us to do our part in the work for peace. Each must speak out in the brief time that remains before the Summit Conference to let the leaders of our country know we expect them to find a way toward settlement of the issues that divide East and West and to take concrete measures toward disarmament.

We are continuing in this issue, a review of the various organizations through which peace work may be done. But far more than the work of existing groups is needed. There must be a mass expression of the American people, either through these groups, or through their own individual pressure on those who make our policies. This is the time, too, to let all candidates in the coming elections, and the leaders of the major parties, know that you will vote for no one who does not take a forthright stand on disarmament, the ending of nuclear weapons tests and peaceful solutions of East-West differences.

Negro Liberation and Peace

Inseparable from the issue of peace is the glorious and peaceful freedom struggle of the young Negro people of the South today, in which young

white people are joining them. In insisting on their rights to non-segregated education and living, these young people are only insisting on the basic human right to a full and abundant life on an equal basis with all others. They must be supported in this struggle, even as we fight for a peaceful world in which they can live to enjoy this right. This is part of the same struggle which is being waged by the African people against the monstrous apartheid system which denies them the fullness of life. It is no accident that a white South African writes to the *New York Times*:

It is quite obvious that Americans living in the deep South have the identical views on apartheid that we South Africans have; that is to say we are convinced that the only way to avoid friction between white and black is to have separate facilities and amenities for each group.

The racists in our South and the racists in South Africa equally hold the master race theory on the basis of which Hitler plunged the world into such measureless blood and agony. From the theory that some people have a greater right than others to live and enjoy this world of ours, wars are made. The fight to insure that all men shall live as equal brothers is part of the fight for peace.

Only when our people wipe out this blot of inequality and injustice on the fair face of America, only when our Congress passes legislation guaranteeing to the Negro people

their full rights to voting and equal citizenship instead of such legislation as that just passed making it harder for Negroes to vote, can we win back our lost prestige in a world where we profess—but have ceased to give—leadership in the solution of burning human problems and peace.

Tests and Disarmament

What the people can do is, we believe, illustrated by the fact that the question that seems nearest of solution in East-West relations today is that of ending nuclear weapons tests. This is the question that above all others has been taken up by peace organizations and the American people generally. We reported in our last issue of the U.S. proposal for an agreement at the Geneva test-ban conference to prohibit all tests except those "small" underground ones considered undetectable, that is, below the 20,000 tons of the Hiroshima bomb, (not such a very small one after all.)

The USSR accepted the proposal, on condition that a moratorium be declared on all underground explosions, pending joint efforts by scientists to work out methods of detecting those now considered undetectable. The Soviet Union has agreed to start immediately on such scientific studies. Despite continuing efforts against banning by AEC and Pentagon circles who wish to continue testing, despite all efforts to prove that the radiation danger from previous tests has been largely dissipated and that radiation in fact is some sort of health cure (see press pictures of fat "healthy" cattle herds near Nevada testing grounds), dispatches and statements from Washington hold out increasing hope that

some agreement may be reached on this question.

Such an agreement, of course, would be a first step, and an important one, toward disarmament. Continued pressure on this issue is essential and, we believe, will be carried on by Americans who heed the warnings of sober scientists of continuing dangers to present and unborn generations of the deadly danger from Strontium 90 and Carbon 14, and understand that continued testing means an ever speeded up arms race and increases the dangers of all-out nuclear war.

The Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference is recessing pending the Summit Conference not, as Secretary Herter so surprisingly asserted, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, but by agreement of all the members. This means that pressure for measures toward disarmament must now be directed to the Administration, as it is a primary item on the Summit agenda.

While no progress has yet been made at Geneva, the position of both sides has been clearly set forth. We reported in our last issue on both plans. The Soviet program, concurred in by the other socialist states, proposed complete and universal disarmament within four years, *with appropriate control and inspection measures to accompany each step.* The Western plan called for an elaborate and complex study and intricate inspection procedures to be worked out in advance of each step toward disarmament, indicated no time table, and in fact did not even call for universal and complete disarmament, since the international police force to prevent aggression it advocated had to be predicated on the

means of aggression still existing.

The West rejected the Soviet plan as "too vague and general," lacking in control and inspection measures, though it clearly provided for them, and called on the Soviet Union to begin with some concrete step like the banning of nuclear weapons in outer space.

The Soviet Union rejected the Western plan as not providing for real disarmament at all, and called for banning of weapons and means of war already existing rather than those not yet being produced.

On April 11, the head of the Soviet delegation, Valerian Zorin, proposed on behalf of the five-nation socialist group that the committee agree on a formulation of general principles of disarmament as a pressing practical task, in accordance with the resolution of the UN General Assembly in November 1959, in conformity with which a treaty on universal and complete disarmament should be worked out. This is the latest Soviet proposal:

1. General and complete disarmament includes disbandment of all armed forces, destruction of all armaments, cessation of all types of military production, liquidation of all bases on foreign territories, withdrawal of foreign troops from these territories and their disbandment, prohibition of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and rocket weapons, cessation of their production and destruction of their stocks, abolition of the organs and institutions destined for the organization of military service in the states (general staffs, war ministries and their local organs), prohibition of military training, liquidation of military educational establishments and discontinuation of appropriations for military purposes.

2. General and complete disarmament shall be effected in agreed sequence by stages in a strictly fixed period of 4 years.

3. All measures envisaged in the program of general and complete disarma-

ment shall be effected under international control, the volume of which shall accord with the volume and nature of the disarmament measures taken in each stage. An international control agency shall be set up to organize control and inspection over disarmament taking into consideration all states and operating on the basis of special rules forming an integral part of the disarmament treaty.

4. After completing the program of general and complete disarmament, states will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia) agreed for each country, armed with light firearms and destined solely to maintain internal order and protect the personal safety of the citizens.

5. The realization of the program of general and complete disarmament by states cannot be suspended or made dependent on the fulfillment of any conditions the treaty does not provide for.

In the event of some state trying to circumvent or violate the treaty on general and complete disarmament, the question about such a violation must be immediately considered by the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly for the purpose of taking measures against the violator in conformity with the provisions of the Charter. The governments of the states-members of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee express confidence that realization of general and complete disarmament in accordance with the aforesaid principles would forever eliminate the threat of war and ensure stable peace to mankind already in the lifetime of the present generation.

As an act of goodwill and for the purpose of providing conditions necessary for the earliest conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, the states-members of the committee possessing nuclear weapons solemnly declare their refusal to be the first to use such weapons.

The West immediately rejected this plan as "phony," "a propaganda play," "same old plan in a new guise," etc., called again on the USSR to negotiate concrete steps instead of vague general principles. Yet it must be remembered that the

United States joined the Soviet Union in sponsoring the UN Assembly resolution passed unanimously, last November for submission to the ten-nation committee, which expressed the hope that

... measures leading toward the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time.

The USSR has not insisted on acceptance of all the details of its own plan as a basis for agreement. But would it not be easier to reach agreement on immediate concrete measures, if there were mutual agreement as to what the goal of such measures must be?

Germany and Berlin

While the American people have become aroused on the question of ending nuclear tests and on the necessity of steps toward disarmament, there is all too little realization of how closely the issue of Germany and Berlin is linked with that of disarmament. It is not a question of any Soviet "threat to Berlin." It is a question of the threat to world peace of a rearmed Germany, supplied with nuclear weapons.

How short are our memories!

On January 22 Chancellor Adenauer of the Federal Republic of Germany told Pope John XXIII in Rome:

I believe God has given the German people in these calamitous times, a special task to be guardian of the West in the face of the powerful forces that press on our country from the East.

These words, spoken in the days of nuclear weapons, must strike cold fear in the heart of all humanity.

For even though Adenauer himself may not be a new Hitler, they breathe the very spirit of Hitler's mission "to save the world from communism," through his anti-Comintern axis. It was for this that the West permitted and encouraged the rearming of Germany after the first world war. It was for this they appeased Hitler and his allies in their aggressive policies, for this the men of Munich, hoping to turn his aggression eastward handed Hitler the body of Czechoslovakia for him to trample on, thus beginning the conquests of World War II. For Hitler's appetite grew so great he marched through all of Europe before he at last turned eastward to meet his doom.

Through all the cold war years the State Department has nurtured the evil myth, *based on Nazi documents alone*, which it published in "proof," that the Soviet Union, through its non-aggression pact with Germany, was responsible for World War II. How many Americans today remember the facts of the long years the Soviet Union sought a system of *collective* security against Hitler, to guard both East and West from his aggression; how it sought to negotiate an agreement all through the summer of 1939 with a Britain still trying to turn Hitler eastward, and only when in the end it became clear Britain was not negotiating seriously, did the USSR turn to the only alternative left, a non-aggression pact with Hitler, a *non-aggression pact*—never an alliance—which gained the time for the Soviet Union to prepare for its role in the final defeat of Hitler.

We need not rehash all this past history now, though it is important

it should be known. What is essential is that we recognize the menace of resurgent West German militarism to the world today. It is not alone the Soviet Union, with its 20,000,000 war dead that is so endangered. It is all of us.

No, Adenauer may not be Hitler. But the master race ideology that permeated his statement to the Pope is the same that animated Hitler, and in the West Germany he rules today the seeds of Nazism, nurtured all these years, are growing into poisonous plants, menacing the peace of the whole world. It is the old cry of "lebensraum" that is behind the seeking of military bases in Spain, in Turkey, in Greece and elsewhere—West Germany has no room for all the soldiers and military supplies it is piling up today. And already there are neo- and old Nazis in Germany raising the cry against West as well as East, urging again the march toward world domination, and crying "Deutschland Uber Alles."

Elsewhere in this issue George Wheeler tells of the moves, scrapping Potsdam, whereby the West German State was brought into being with the help of the United States and the West, which crystallized the division of Germany and brought the German Democratic Republic into existence as well.

Today the Bonn Republic rests on the same forces that supported Hitler. Nazi generals run NATO and the new German army. The Krupps and Thyssens and other monopolists again dominate West German economy. Eight of 17 members of Adenauer's cabinet were members of Hitler's party. One of them, Theodor Oberlaender, may indeed be

forced into retirement due to the exposure of his fiendish war crimes, although Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party retains him in its Parliamentary group. Eighty-five per cent of Bonn's foreign service representatives worked for Ribbentrop. A thousand West German judges were guilty of war crimes under Hitler. Children in school are taught of the glories of Germany, but not the horrors of Nazism.

The Communist Party is outlawed in West Germany, as it was under Hitler. Peace organizations are banned, peace workers tried for "subversion." Anti-Semitism has flourished. Almost a thousand anti-Semitic incidents have occurred in the last few months alone, the examples of Swastika-smearing and vandalism spreading across the world, infecting our country as well. The recital could go on endlessly.

This is the country which is dominating NATO militarily, dominating West Europe economically through the European Common Market, already undermining British economy and threatening that of the U.S. as well. This is the country to which it is proposed to give nuclear arms, in the use of which its armies are already being trained. This is the country that is threatening world peace with its revanchist aims of reclaiming the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse frontier, where the Polish people are living peacefully under the agreement at Potsdam, subject only to ratification by the final peace treaty that has never been made.

And this is the country which wants to take over East Germany, where a Socialist regime, according

to an increasing number of reports in the conservative press, is bringing increasing stability and well-being to its people.

Is it any wonder that Soviet Premier Khrushchev has raised so constantly and insistently the dangers to peace of the remilitarization of West Germany, the need for a peace treaty with the two different Germanys pending unification by their own action, the need of eliminating the vestiges of World War II by ending foreign occupation of both West and East Berlin?

The divided city of Berlin, it must be remembered, lies 110 miles within the German Democratic Republic, of which East Berlin is the capital, West Berlin an enclave of Bonn, a hostile and subversive center within the socialist state. Khrushchev has not proposed "taking over" West Berlin—only making it a free city, with access from the West handled by GDR instead of Soviet authorities, as it is already handled in all civilian matters.

At the Foreign Ministers conference last year the West had already made some concessions on the question of Berlin. Now, on the urging of Chancellor Adenauer, who rushed to Washington for the purpose, Western diplomats, in advance of the Summit Conference, declare they will settle only for the status quo.

The reasoning for this is odd. On the one hand, they insist they will not relinquish their occupation rights in West Berlin because of the "threat" from the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they insist they will stand firm on this question just because they are so sure the Soviet Union wants peace and will not go to war over Berlin!

WILPF Proposals

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, along with urging prompt measures at the Summit toward the goal of controlled world disarmament, notes the close link between problems of disarmament and Germany, and commends the following principles to the Summit and the East and West German authorities, in approaching the complicated problem of Germany:

1. Recognition that East and West Germany have grown far apart politically and economically during the postwar years and that they themselves must negotiate their reunification over a period of time.
2. Agreement on an interim arrangement whereby all parties concerned, both inside and outside of Germany, recognize the existence of both parts of Germany, while encouraging contacts and cooperation between them. Both parts might even be admitted to the UN without jeopardizing their unification (just as Egypt and Syria were members of the UN without precluding their subsequent single membership as the United Arab Republic.)
3. Recognition by both power blocs of the moral obligation to guarantee West Berlin the right of access to West Germany and freedom from Soviet East German domination pending the reunification of Germany.
4. Agreement to military disengagement and demilitarization of the area (as proposed in the Rapacki Plan.)
5. A plea to the West German government to relieve doubts as to its intentions by formally renouncing recovery of the Polish-controlled territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line.

DOROTHY HUTCHINSON,
Chairman Policy Committee,
in Four Lights, April, 1960.

These realistic proposals deserve close attention from all groups and individuals working for peace and disarmament.

Interim Berlin Agreement?

The announced stand of the divided Western Allies to "remain firm" on Berlin and the unrealistic Western plan based on German reunification by means of free and supervised elections starting with "greater Berlin," do not necessarily preclude some interim arrangement.

Pravda, organ of the Communist Party of the USSR, on April 14 published an article expressing confidence that a "partial and temporary" agreement on West Berlin could be reached at the Summit conference, and declared that Moscow was "prepared to do everything to solve the German problem on a basis acceptable to the Western powers as well."

On April 17, the East German Party paper, *Neues Deutschland*, published proposals for an interim settlement that would allow Allied garrisons to remain in Berlin for the time being, gradual reduction of military forces and a step-by-step abolition of the Occupation status." The interim program also includes a ban on the stationing of nuclear weapons or rockets in West Berlin.

There is reason to believe that despite its professed support of German unification, there is in the West a recognition of the fact that this cannot now be accomplished, and, in fact a fear of the great added strength that would accrue to a united Germany under Bonn control, the only kind of united Germany, of course, which Chancellor Adenauer envisages.

This point is made bluntly by Walter Lippmann in his column of April 19 in the *New York Herald Tribune* and other papers. He writes:

Both sides realize that in the long run German nationalism will not accept gladly the present dismemberment. But for the short run which may be at least a few more years, the partition is acceptable, indeed unavoidable as long as the occupying powers are determined not to make war over the German question.

Mr. Lippmann expresses the opinion that there is a fair prospect of an interim working arrangement about West Berlin at the Summit. He suggests that the reason for improvement in the atmosphere making this possible was the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to Paris.

On May 19, readers of New York papers—and we hope of other papers throughout the country—saw on the front pages pictures of a monster demonstration in London's Trafalgar Square. This was the climax of the great Easter march from Aldermaston in which Britishers of all political views participated, with Canon John Collins of St. Paul's cathedral, one of the organizers and leaders of the March, at their head.

The Trafalgar Square crowd, estimated at 120,000 people, "roared its approval of demands for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, the end of United States and British nuclear bases in Britain and Britain's withdrawal from alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that are based on nuclear weapons."

When will Americans prove themselves equal to organizing similar demonstrations? A beginning will be made in the May 19th Madison Square Garden rally (see page 36) of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear policy, which should have the widest possible support.

"People Under the Same Sky"

by MURRAY YOUNG

FOUR young Soviet service men carrying the golden keys of the city of San Francisco, received this spring a welcome home in Moscow befitting the heroes they were.

The whole world had rejoiced at their rescue by the United States aircraft carrier Kearsarge on March 7 after their unprecedented seven weeks adrift in the Pacific Ocean. Details of the incredible adventure filled the newspapers of every country: how they had spent the endless days reading Jack London, singing to the accordion which they later ate when their limited food supply gave out; how they collected rain water to drink, made a stew of their boots; how, starving and freezing, they had yet disciplined themselves so that when their rescuers found them they were, though thin and haggard, safe and sound.

Taken by the Kearsarge to San Francisco, the young heroes were dined and feted by that warm-hearted city whose Mayor George Christopher had just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union where he had gone at the invitation of Premier Khrushchev. The mayor, presenting the golden keys of the city, cheered the young men with Soviet tea and cigarettes he had been given on his trip.

"This is American-Soviet friendship!" the commander of the Kearsarge declared, delivering his young Russian charges to Soviet representatives in San Francisco.

The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* in an editorial on March 19 expressed what must have been the universal sentiment of people throughout the world:

What courage, what fortitude and faith people must have to conquer despair! And each one of the four lads has these qualities in full measure. They have proved to the world and to nature that there are no limits for Man who wants to live and work on the good big earth. That is why the whole world admires them. They are not only the pride of the Soviet people, they are the pride of the peoples of all races, of all nations and countries.

California had earlier this year at Squaw Valley provided another splendid demonstration of international good-will in the Winter Olympics which thanks to TV was seen by millions of Americans on screens in their own homes.

Who, having watched the skillfully photographed scenes of those superb young men and women moving with swift grace down snow-clad mountain sides, across glittering ice, or sailing like a marvelous new species of bird through the sunlit air, could ever think of any of them as "enemies"? Indeed even in the fiercely competitive hockey games the thunderous applause of the watching crowd was impartially given for brilliant attack or defense rather than for any kind of narrow partisanship. The suggestion of the captain of the So-

viet team, Nikolai Sologubov, that the American players use oxygen before the last quarter of their crucial game with the Czechoslovak team was typical of the whole spirit of friendliness that prevailed during the games.

Already in the field of music, admiration for exceptional skill and interpretive authority has won the widest audience for Soviet musicians in this country. Oistrakh, Gilels, Rastropovich are familiar and well-loved names. This winter's tour by the Moscow State Symphony Orchestra acquainted us with one of the major Soviet orchestras as well as with fine soloists such as the lovely Galina Vishnevskaya of the Bolshoy Opera who appeared with the symphony. Of great interest also to opera lovers this winter was the appearance of Pavel Lisitsian of the Bolshoy Opera as Amonasro in *Aida* at the Metropolitan in New York. And the Georgian State Dancers this spring widened our knowledge of the dancing of the many peoples of the USSR, already deeply enriched by the tours of the past two years of the Moiseyev Dancers and the Bolshoy Ballet Company.

The enthusiastic reviews of the Soviet movie *The Cranes Are Flying*, the second Soviet picture to be released in the exchange program, and the audiences crowding to see it, are being matched in the Soviet Union by the popularity of *Marty* which has been showing for several months in Soviet cinema houses. *My Fair Lady*, at present on tour of four major Soviet cities, is giving Soviet people their second look at an American musical show—it was the all-Negro cast of "Porgy and Bess" that in 1955 can be said to have be-

gun on their own the cultural exchange program.

The Exchange of Books

But the visit by Mr. Mikoyan during his tour of Cuba this winter to Ernest Hemingway and his presentation of a new two-volume Russian translation of selected writings of the American author, brings to focus an area of cultural exchange that is for all concerned far from satisfactory.

The classic American authors—Mark Twain, Theodore Dreiser, Jack London—have long been established in the Soviet Union in vast editions. In recent years, apart from Hemingway, there have been translations of William Saroyan, Dorothy Parker, Sinclair Lewis, William Faulkner and a few others. Nevertheless the choice remains still quite inadequate for the Soviet reader. What visitor to the Soviet Union has not been questioned about recent American writing?

And what of our own record so far as contemporary Soviet writers are concerned? Now that the contrived hullabaloo about *Dr. Zhivago* has been allowed to die down what is there really to point to? Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone* and Pavel Nilin's *Comrade Venka*, both published under the hope that they contained "revelations" about the Soviet Union, complete the list.

Happily the novels of Sholokhov* have been reissued by the American publisher, and both *Quiet Flows the Don* and *The Don Flows Home to the Sea* (the two earlier novels)

* Mikhail Sholokhov: *And Quiet Flows the Don*, \$5.00; *The Don Flows Home to the Sea*, \$5.75; *Seeds of Tomorrow*, \$4.00. Published by A. A. Knopf, New York.

are now available in inexpensive paperbacks.* It is to be hoped that the second half of *Seeds of Tomorrow* will soon be available here. Alexey Tolstoy's masterly *Peter the First** has been published complete in this country for the first time quite recently. But the fine novels of Fedin, Leonov and Fadeyev have either never been published here or so long ago that the editions have long since been exhausted. As for the younger Soviet writers, what American even knows their names?

In the theater also the Soviet record while better than ours is hardly satisfactory. Plays of Lillian Hellman and Arthur Miller are produced in Moscow but what recent Soviet play has been done in this country—even in a presumably “daring” off-Broadway production?

A recent article in the Soviet publication *Foreign Literature* is very much concerned about the inadequacies in the field of literary exchanges:

In order for us and the Americans to make true judgments about the state of our literatures, we must have a good knowledge of each other's points of view. It is high time for American publishers to issue serious works on Soviet literature, in particular Soviet studies of our major writers, such as Gorky, Alexey Tolstoy, Sholokhov, Fadeyev and others, and as well some Soviet works on the theory and history of literature. Why should not we too, publish the most important books on contemporary American literature such as the studies by Maxwell Geismar, James Aldridge, Van Wyck Brooks and others? Why not publish regularly, in the form of a series of collections, the most interesting articles on the problems of

the development of the novel, poetry and drama?

An example of how fruitful such an exchange in the field of literary theory could be are the letters published in the February issue of *Soviet Highlights* between the most recent American editor of the Mark Twain autobiographical material, Charles Neider, and the Soviet Mark Twain authority Yan Bereznitsky. Not the least interesting part of the exchange is the information that a large part of the new Twain material Mr. Neider includes in his edition has already been published in the Soviet magazine *Crocodile* with an edition of 1,200,000 copies and in the Estonian newspaper *Hammer and Sickle*—so widespread is the interest in Mark Twain among Soviet readers.

The writer of the article quoted from *Foreign Literature*, referring to the recent visits of American writers to the Soviet Union and the return visits here by Soviet authors,* puts her finger upon the inadequacies of such formal visits and “talks”: “How much more fruitful it would be to have joint talks and round table meetings if they were preceded by wider publications in both countries.”

Much more fruitful certainly for the writers, and how much more enriching for ourselves who have

* Last year Norman Cousins, editor of *The Saturday Review*, Edward Weeks, editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, Alfred Kazin, literary critic, Paddy Chayevsky, playwright, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., historian, were guests of the Soviet Writers Union.

This winter there were four leading Soviet writers in this country. Stepan Shipachov, Leonid Leonov, Oles Gonchar, and Mukhtar Auezov. Sholokhov came with Premier Khrushchev on his official visit last fall and last summer Valentine Katayev was here briefly. Lev Kassil, one of the most popular Soviet writers, came as a reporter of the Olympic Games in Squaw Valley.

* New American Library Signet Books at 75c each.

* *Peter the First*, by Alexey Tolstoy, Macmillan, New York. \$5.95.

during the past two years had our whole cultural experience enormously extended by the appearance in this country of the splendid Soviet dancers and musicians. Are we to go on believing the testimony of various "Russian experts" that in the last forty-odd years there has been nothing of genuine literary interest in Soviet writing but the dreary novel of the self-pitying Pasternak? Let us read for ourselves and come to our own judgments. "Russian experts" in other fields, we have found to our chagrin, have in the end not proved to be the infallible guides they set up shop to be.

Science Points the Way

Premier Khrushchev in his address to the French trade union representatives on his recent trip to France asked them: "Can it possibly be true that people living under the same sky cannot live as one family without wars and discord?"

Khrushchev's answer was of course that people could and would. And such seems to be the answer from the field of science where recent years have been particularly rich in cooperative international effort and where continued cooperation is the necessary condition for further great advances.

The *New York Times* for April 12, commenting somewhat sourly on the announcement that the Soviet Government has decided to build a 236-inch optical telescope, sees this decision in part as a desire to "surpass" the present world's greatest telescope located on Mount Palomar in California. (The Mount Palomar telescope has a 200-inch lens.) But having made its childish point,

the *Times* goes on to say that nevertheless we should applaud the decision because the universe "is large enough and presents enough unsolved problems to keep many giant telescopes busy indefinitely. And, of course, if the Soviet-American rivalry could be restricted primarily to matters such as building huge telescopes and competitive probing of the secrets of the universe all humanity would gain."

Certainly the announcement of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that the United States will share with the rest of the world the weather pictures sent down to earth by Tiros I, the world's first weather satellite, is significant. As is its further statement that all detailed weather information obtained from satellites will be distributed through a specialized agency of the United Nations, the World Meteorological Organization, which, regardless of political boundaries, is responsible for the exchange of weather information. This is a landmark in the remarkable developments in international science that have marked even the Cold War years.

Mr. William L. Laurence, science editor of the *New York Times*, calls this development unique in history: "The scientists are demonstrating that, as far as sharing non-military scientific information is concerned, there is no such thing as any kind of 'curtain,' either iron or otherwise." (*New York Times*, April 10.)

Mr. Laurence points out that the International Geophysical Year, participated in by sixty-seven nations, involved the work of 30,000 scientists and gathered vital information from more than 4,000 stations scat-

tered over the earth. He lists the special contribution of the Soviet scientists:

The Soviet scientists have cooperated in sharing the information obtained by their three sputniks and three luniks. They have published detailed information on the behavior of the dog Laika, the only large animal yet placed in orbit in outer space, its reactions to weightlessness and acceleration and other pertinent physiological data. The Russians also published the first pictures of the far, hitherto unseen side of the moon. And the Soviet Union has published data obtained by its space vehicles on cosmic, ultra-violet and X-radiations in upper space; temperatures and pressures inside the vehicle; gas components of interplanetary matter; corpuscular radiation of the sun; magnetic fields of earth and moon; meteoric particles in space and heavy nuclei in primary cosmic radiation.

The I.G.Y. was sponsored by the International Council of Scientific Unions which was set up in 1931. Membership of the Union is made up of the leading academies of sciences or research councils of forty-five countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union and all the leading nations of the world with the exception of People's China, which withdrew after scientists from Taiwan were accepted in I.G.Y.

At its General Assembly meeting in 1958 the International Council of Scientific Unions, among other projects, authorized the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) whose purpose is "to provide the world scientific community with the means whereby it may exploit the possibilities of satellites and space probes of all kinds for scientific purposes, and exchange the resulting data on a cooperative basis. . . ."

One of the many significant examples developing in other fields of international cooperation is the Soviet experience with the use of Dr. Albert Sabin's live anti-polio vaccine. Believed by many experts to be superior to the Salk vaccine, it was the inoculation of twelve million Soviet children by the end of last year that proved the value of the method developed by Dr. Sabin—not one case of poliomyelitis developed in the children inoculated.

What similar cooperation in other fields of medical research—cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis—would mean need hardly be gone into so clear before all mankind is the hopeful future that awaits in a world of coexistence, cooperation and peace.

ALREADY, before the convening of the Summit Conference of the Heads of State, the flow of American tourists to the Soviet Union is beginning. Last year's number is expected to be doubled this year. Whatever may be the outcome of the negotiations in Paris, thousands of quite unofficial conferences will this summer be taking place between Americans and Soviet citizens on the historic streets of Moscow, the vast, ordered squares of Leningrad, or the lovely beaches of the Black Sea at Sochi or Yalta.

These fortunate meetings of people with people will be concerned like the Paris meeting—and perhaps with happier results—with how people living under the same sky can live as one family without war and without discord.

May this summer with its official and unofficial meetings bring a rich harvest for us all!

Khrushchev in America

by GEN. HUGH B. HESTER

THE reasons for publishing the book, *Let Us Live in Peace and Friendship*,* by the Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, can only be understood and its great contribution to world peace efforts appreciated when studied against the backdrop of fourteen post-war years of politically manipulated fear and hate. Unfortunately, only the briefest account of this can be given here, and that limited almost exclusively to the year 1959. The title suggests its purpose, and the book itself is a faithful recording, largely free of propaganda, of Mr. Khrushchev's pleas for peace, through understanding, during his September 15-27, 1959 tour of the United States.

The year 1959, like most of its predecessors, began inauspiciously. The Berlin "crisis" carried forward into 1959 the so-called ultimatum of 1958. The Soviet official denial of the ultimatum threat as usual was not enough for most. The negotiators for cessation of bomb tests when they reconvened at Geneva, January 1959, were confronted with Edward Teller's "big hole" in the earth theory of the undetectability of underground explosions. The "new discoveries," according to the proponents of continuing the tests—that is, the AEC and Pentagon, et al., made adequate inspection impossible and the findings of the conference of scientists earlier, to the

effect that these tests could be detected, worthless.

The picture for international co-operation, through mutual understanding, accordingly, looked dark indeed at the beginning of 1959. But somehow, still not fully appreciated, a series of events occurred and some light broke through. The foreign ministers met for the first time in almost four years to consider the Berlin "crisis," despite the so-called ultimatum; Secretary Dulles' illness proved fatal. President Eisenhower assumed primary direction and responsibility for U.S. foreign policy; Frol R. Kozlov, a deputy premier of the Soviet Union, opened his government's exhibition in New York and Vice President Nixon opened our government's exhibition in Moscow. Sandwiched in between these were numerous other exchanges of important personages, official committees, and cultural groups.

Then without warning, and to this date without full explanation, the President of the U.S. proposed an exchange of visits with Mr. Khrushchev, which the latter promptly accepted. This was not only the

HUGH B. HESTER, Brigadier General of the United States Army (retired) received the Distinguished Service Medal for his work in the Southwest Pacific Area, 1942 to 1945. He was Food Administrator in the American Zone of Berlin, 1945 to 1947. General Hester is a contributing editor to the *Churchman* and co-author of the recently published book, *On the Brink*, reviewed in NWR, March, 1960.

* Published in this country as *Khrushchev in America* by Crosscurrents Press, New York, 1960. 231 pages. \$2.95.

most dramatic development of 1959 but the most significant one for peace in many years. In some respects it was more important even than U.S. recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933. By the act of recognition at that time, President Roosevelt merely followed, belatedly it is true, the generally accepted practice of recognizing those exercising the instruments of governmental power.

The Khrushchev visit, on the other hand, signified acceptance at last by the West of the Soviet Union as an equal in world affairs. Up to this time she had been treated as a bumptious revolutionary, with a temporary nuisance value only, and therefore unworthy of treatment as an equal at the conference table or in international bodies. Evidences of this are the original packing of the UN Disarmament Committee four to one against her, and the insistence by the West as late as 1958 that the re-formed Disarmament Committee be composed of 16 from the Western bloc *versus* nine from the Eastern bloc.

There is no doubt whatever that Mr. Khrushchev sincerely wants peace in order to promote the welfare of the Soviet people. A five-week, twelve-thousand-mile journey through Sovietland in 1957, embracing eight of her 15 republics

and climaxed by a three-hour interview with her top leader, in addition to many years of study, convinces this reviewer that the Soviet people, Government, and the Communist Party all three want and require peace, for the fulfillment of their program. A careful reading, objectively done, of Mr. Khrushchev's speeches and interviews on his visit here will, I believe, support this conclusion.

It is hoped that this exchange of visits between the top leaders of the two polar powers, when and if finally completed, will mark the end, or the beginning at least of the end, of the Cold War. The only alternative to this, of course, is world disaster. But it will be a mistake of the first order for those who are working for peace to underestimate the power of the forces opposed to any accommodations whatever between the two blocs. This is no time for a relaxation of peace efforts. For these opponents of peace are a hard-working, dedicated group, although terribly misguided. While war is not inevitable, neither is peace. *People* make both; and this may be the world's last opportunity to grasp the proffered hand: "Let Us Live in Peace and Friendship."

The book deserves to be in your library in the interest of peace.

THE VOICE OF REASON MUST TRIUMPH

"THE GUNS MUST NOT be allowed to speak, the voice of reason must triumph in the world. For this sake the Soviet Government and the Soviet people will stint no effort. We are strong, patient and persistent enough, and we shall prove to all people on earth that peace and happiness can and must triumph in our age."

Premier Khrushchev speaking in Moscow on his return from France

Germany 15 Years After

Memories and Unfinished Tasks

by GEORGE WHEELER

IT IS often said that forgetfulness is a blessing because it permits us to drop from our mind memories of pain and horror. It is true that it would be more comfortable not to remember the living skeletons or the dead piled next to the furnaces at Dachau or Buchenwald, the stink of the dead in the subways and the misery, cold and hunger of 15 years ago. Too many of those who saw these things have deliberately pushed them from their minds, others have tried to paint them over with a gloss of heroics, and some are too young even to remember if they tried.

One result of this is that there is a large and increasing part of the population of Germany, to say nothing of the United States where people generally have never experienced war, who are much too indifferent to war preparations, and much too passive about the struggle for peace. In this case poor memories may be the prelude to unprecedented disaster.

In May 1945 when our group first entered Germany we found the peo-

ple not only completely weary of war. More important, they were, with few exceptions, determined that those who had twice before in only a generation started worldwide wars should never again have the chance of starting another. This meant trials for some of the worst criminals, but much more fundamental, depriving them of the economic and political power to wage war.

Just as the devastation of war knew no boundaries in Germany, so too, the opposition to the war criminals was just as deep in the West as in the East. In those first postwar days very few spoke of Hitler's *tactical* mistakes as they do now in Bonn revanchist circles. Somehow, perhaps because they had had years to think about it in which each day brought fresh proof, most people, and above all working people, knew that the whole fascist and military program was wrong—not just parts of it. When you are sitting in a bitter cold room, without glass in the window and with a belly painful with hunger, the resolve not to let it happen again can be both clear and firm. If anything the Ruhr miner was more vehement in his opinions than the Pankow (East German) shopkeeper.

It was also pretty clear that if another war was to be prevented some drastic economic, political and social changes would have to be made in Germany. This was recog-

GEORGE WHEELER was formerly in U.S. Government service in Washington and later in the military government in Berlin. With his wife, our correspondent Eleanor Wheeler, and their four children, he now lives and works in Prague, where his book on U.S. agriculture has recently been published.

nized even in the United States, where the published policy in regard to Germany recognized that criminal as the Nazis had been, the responsibility also lay deeper and involved most of the leading financiers and industrialists as well as the Prussian military cast.

At Potsdam it was agreed by all three powers (France had not yet recovered sufficiently to have representatives) that those responsible for the war should be deprived of their economic power, excluded from political office and "never again" be permitted to threaten the peace of the world.

This meant, first of all, nationalizing the banks and factories of those who had been responsible for Hitler's rise to power. If one doubts the near-universality of this demand in Germany one has only to recall the secret elections held in the American zone of Germany in which this question was put to a special vote at the instance of General Clay. It must be remembered also that Clay and other top U.S. officials not only made it clear how they wanted the vote to go—they put all the pressure they could on the West German people to vote for "free enterprise."

These elections took place in connection with voting on the *länder* constitutions of Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden and Hesse late in 1946 and early 1947. The result was overwhelming approval of the nationalization of the property of war criminals, big financial institutions and the coal and steel industries. Also approved was the idea of co-determination of the trade unions in the management of factories. As late as October 12, 1947 the majority of

the people of the Bremen "enclave" voted for "co-determination."

These results, combined with the often expressed demand of the Ruhr trade unions for nationalization of heavy industry, were a shock, not only to General Clay, but even more, to Wall Street.

It was, of course, from that moment they gave up the dream of extending their control and restoring the monopolists to power in all of Germany and concentrated on partitioning Germany and making it safe for themselves and for their German partners in West Germany.

Clay's response to these votes was, incidentally, quite typical of the "democracy" of the U.S. policy. He simply suspended the clauses of the constitution involved — on the ground that it was something for the "German people as a whole" to decide. Actually Wall Street knew that the German people as a whole had decided—and it did not intend to permit them to carry out their decision.

We do not intend to imply that the first divergence of policy between East and West arose with these elections—far from it. But from that time Wall Street knew more definitely that the majority of the German people were opposed to the program which Wall Street wanted. They therefore were more hasty in their action of setting up first "Bizonia" and then Bonn. They were more eager to disrupt the Four-Power administration of Germany, to betray their war-time allies and the German people by a separate currency reform (after *all* details of a Germany-wide and real reform had been agreed to), to initiate the "airlift" to Berlin and all the other

cold war acts necessary to partition a great nation.

Of course the partition of Germany had many other facets, and the cold war many complex reasons aside from Germany—such as the profits that were made on the airlift itself and the huge jump in war spending that took place in the United States under cover of the "Berlin crisis." As John Foster Dulles later admitted, the "airlift" blockade had such advantages for the U.S. State Department, that it hesitated to end it—meanwhile shedding buckets of tears in the press for the suffering Berliners!

But it still is true that a major purpose, perhaps the main purpose of those early years, was to protect German monopolists from the German people. This had the dual purpose of protecting Wall Street's own investments and opening the way to further investments and of forming a bastion in middle Europe against communism. This explains the haste in the formation first of a police force and then of an army composed of the worst rabble of the SS and other Nazis. These are the kind of people who would not hesitate to shoot down German workers—and incidentally that is a much more palatable assignment for most of them than starting for Moscow again! Now, 15 years later, with the possibility that these criminals can get their hands on the thermonuclear weapons, the problem takes a new and much more acute turn.

This decision to restore the monopolists to power in the West—a decision which the United States used both economic and political pressures to force Britain and France

to accept—is the starting point of the great and steadily increasing divergence between the two parts of Germany. In the East, in what is now the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union adhered strictly to the Potsdam agreement, confiscating the property of the war criminals, destroying the economic base from which wars have always sprung.

Some may argue that the policy of re-education which the Soviet Union initiated is equally fundamental, and perhaps it is. Certainly the differences in the economic systems is not the whole story—what is in the text books also influences whether swastikas desecrate synagogues or whether the dignity and equality of all peoples is understood, and respected. Yes, cultural and moral training is also important—and this is one reason why it is such a tragedy that in West Germany it has been left so largely in the hands of the ex-Nazis.

In case some people think that this was an accident let us recall how this was done. In the U.S. zone in particular great emphasis was placed upon a *show* of denazification. For example, millions of *Fragebogen* and *Heldebogen* (questionnaires) were filled out—but only minor Nazis ever suffered from the countless crimes that were admitted in them. While this was going on the U.S. Government was busy appointing fascists (but not formal party members in most cases) to posts of authority where they controlled both policy and appointments. For example, Dr. Hans Meinzolt was put in charge of education in Bavaria. In 1935 Meinzolt, a high lay functionary in the Evangelical

Church, had said: "For Evangelical Christians, the Sunday prayer for the Fuehrer of our people is not lip service but heartfelt avowal." Is it any wonder that that educational system has raised another generation of young hoodlums that try to emulate "the Fuehrer?"

Let us take one other example, with which I am personally familiar. When the name of Reinhold Maier was being considered for Minister President of Württemberg-Baden by American Military Government I wrote a memorandum to General Clay in protest. I pointed out that not only had Maier in 1933 as a member of the Reichstag voted to give Hitler dictatorial powers, but in a speech had said "We feel ourselves at one with the views expressed by Hitler here today."

Nevertheless, Robert Murphy, then the highest representative of the State Department in Germany (and now retired to his corporate reward) insisted that Maier be appointed. The result? In 1950 Maier himself reported that in Württemberg-Baden there were more than 14,000 Nazis (or nominally ex-Nazis) in public service. In the Minis-

try of Education in Württemberg there were 6,102 ex-Nazis and only 1,968 non-Nazis. Not only that. Maier had pardoned 19,000 Nazis and had fired 2,100 anti-Nazis—who at the time of his report were still unemployed!

Can the U.S. State Department today pretend to be dismayed when swastikas again come out into the open? Can it deny responsibility for the fact that fascism in West Germany again threatens world peace? We think not. But our problem today is not to assess blame except insofar as it helps us to understand the problems before us and to work out ways of correcting them. In 1945 fascism in West Germany was defeated and weak. Now a re-armed West Germany is so confident of its own strength that it is demanding bases all the way from Britain and Spain to Greece—and the repossession of the Eastern territories.

No fanatic with a hydrogen bomb is a "paper tiger." But neither are they able to win. It may take some time, but the fascists will again be defeated. The first step is general disarmament.

HERALD TRIBUNE REPORTER ON EAST GERMANY

THE EAST GERMAN Communist regime is showing signs of consolidating itself more firmly than at any time since World War II and is providing substance to Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev's assertion that the postwar era has given birth to two Germanys. . . . Living standards have improved considerably. People eat better and dress better. They are buying furniture and acquiring more goods. . . . They come out of restaurants laughing and in good humor. . . .

Refugees and migrants are still leaving East Germany for West Germany at a rate of almost 100,000 a year, but the bulk of the 16,000,000 East Germans remain behind. . . . The East German Government is operating efficient reception centers for thousands of men, women and children who are migrating from West Germany to East Germany. . . . Walter Schaeffer [head of one center] said that about half of the persons arriving there this year are West Germans who are coming to East Germany for the first time. The other half are East Germans who fled to the West but decided to return. . . .

GASTON COBLENTZ, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, May 2 and 3

Soviet Student Down on the Farm

by ESLANDA ROBESON

IN THE hospital where I have been having treatments in Moscow, on my floor, there are several university student-patients who are learning English. Some of them are well advanced, can read and write the language, but what they need and want most is practice. So I talk with them. One of them, a very pretty chestnut-haired, brown-eyed girl of 20, is gay and irrepressible, full of fun, interested in everything and everybody, but she also works very hard at her studies. She is majoring in forestry and at the moment is laboriously translating an involved dissertation on botany from the English text of an American university scientific magazine.

One evening she told me something about her student life. Because her use of English was so delightful and picturesque, I will try to put it down as exactly as I can. The parentheses are mine:

"We work at Institute with our studies in winter, and in summer we work three months *praktik* (practical work in the field). I am Komsomol, and Komsomol go to virgin lands and hard places (where conditions are difficult). In 1956 summer we go to Kazakhstan for our *praktik*. Kazakhstan very big country, not many people; very much steppe, not much rivers; very hot sun, very cold night. We go help with wheat; Kazakhstan very very much wheat. I city person, no know much about farm and wheat, but I learn. . . .

"Fields very very far from house we live. No bus in steppe. Too far to walk. Everybody ride horst (horse). I never ride horst before. Comrade help me up on horst, and horst go. I sitting. Horst go fast. I sitting. Bumping. Very much bumping. I think I fall off. Nothing to hold. I take hair on neck of horst, and I hold. Other comrades on horst singing, so I think, maybe I sing, horst will go slow. So I sing, and horst go slow. I sitting. Very interesting. Soon I learn ride horst very good. . . .

"We all work very hard in fields in sun. Sun very hot. We have big hat, but sun very very hot. Our clothes wet. Sweat. When sun too hot, we sleep, and work again when sun go. . . .

"Not many people in Kazakhstan, but Kazakh people live very well. Have everything: nice house, many clothes, many many food, very good food. Have car, machine, tractor; have many horst, milk animal, dog, sheep. Many, many. Have very much air, fresh air, nice to breathe; but do not have much water. Not much rivers in Kazakhstan. Water not good. Horst drink, people drink, people wash in same small river. Very bad. We all get very sick from water. Kazakh people accustom, no get sick. We not accustom. That was 1956. Now drink water very clean in Kazakhstan, and everywhere. Health Ministry make all drink water very clean every place people live. Horst no drink same

water, people no wash same water as drink; drink water keep different. Very clean now. . . .

"People in Kazakhstan very rich people. Have very many things: many food, clothes, animals, machines. But Kazakh house very strange: nice big house, many rooms, but nothing in room. No bed, no chair, no furniture—sometimes very low table for tee-a (tea). Have only carpet in room; many many carpet, beautiful carpet. People sleep floor, sit floor, eat on floor. Kazakh room,

nothing in. Very strange. Very interesting. They like. They no like furniture, like floor. Drink many many tee-a; all time drink tee-a; wake up, drink tee-a; day, drink tee-a; night, drink tee-a. . . .

"Kazakh people drink horst milk; say very good for health, make strong, cure tuberculosis. They like. I no like.

"Kazakh people like village, like farm, like steppe, like life in Kazakhstan. No like town. I like town, like very much Moscow. . . ."

PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY

THE RULES OF ADMISSION have been announced for entry to the People's Friendship University which opens for its first term in Moscow on October 1, this year.

The university will accept men and women students up to the age of 35, irrespective of race, nationality or religion.

Applications from citizens of Asian, African and Latin American countries can be sent directly to the university through the Soviet Embassies and Consulates in foreign countries.

Students will be enrolled in the following departments: engineering (several specialties), agriculture (agronomy and livestock raising), medicine (medical treatment and pharmacology), physics, mathematics and natural sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology), history and philosophy (history, literature, the Russian language), and economics and law (economics and planning of national economy, international law.)

A preparatory faculty of the university will provide one- to three-year secondary education courses for students who are without the necessary training for higher educational studies.

Applications for admission will be accepted up to July 31. The applicants' standard of education will be verified either at the university or in their own countries with the assistance of higher and secondary educational establishments of the countries concerned.

Tuition is free of charge and all students will receive grants, free medical treatment and hostel accommodation—which will not include accommodation for their families—and return traveling expenses.

The Rector of the university will be Professor Sergei Romyantsev, doctor of technical sciences. He was appointed by the university founders—the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Since 1955, Professor Romyantsev has been Deputy Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the USSR.

The university council will include—in addition to representatives of the constituent organizations—the Pro-Rectors, the Deans of the various departments and elected representatives of the faculty and the students.

The Soviet Government is providing the university with premises in Moscow and the necessary funds for equipping laboratories and study rooms.

From Riga to Tashkent

by RICHARD MORFORD

A *New York Times* editorial on February 16, entitled "Tribute to the Enslaved" declares that the people of the Baltic States have been "subjugated by Soviet commissars." Their independence has been lost. The Western powers remain pledged to seek their liberation by all peaceful means, the editorial says, and "this pledge . . . the West will have to keep in mind when meeting Premier Khrushchev at the summit."

In Soviet Latvia

Since these sentiments find wide expression in our country, Mrs. Morford and I went to Latvia to see for ourselves the state of the enslaved and to determine whether its people seek liberation from their ties in the family of nations which is the Soviet Union.

Outward signs of good living and growing prosperity are more noticeable in Riga, the capital of Latvia, than in Moscow and Leningrad in the Russian Republic which we also visited. The public markets were thronged with thousands on a Sunday morning, purchasing heavily at counters abundantly stacked with every sort of food. Fresh and smoked meats and dairy products

were in plentiful supply, attracting the most customers. This was winter time. Riga friends said we should see the out-of-door tables of the market when summer vegetables arrive and when the luxurious blooms of Latvia are on display.

Traveling through the countryside to the sanatorium at Kemeris, we stopped at a state store at a crossroads. A well-stocked department store it was, filled with customers making many purchases from overcoats to yard goods, from shoes to window curtains. Installment buying is now possible for purchases over one thousand rubles, with six months to pay, and customers eagerly avail themselves of this arrangement. In a park on the city's outskirts, next to a tremendous outdoor stadium, the scene of the famous Latvian Summer Singing Festivals, is housed a permanent industrial and agricultural exposition. The place figuratively bulges in pride with its display of every conceivable product manufactured in Latvia's own plants, marketed in the Republic and throughout the Soviet Union, exported to countries abroad. Among the products we saw several models of the Baltica radio. Latvians are proud that this radio was chosen for display at the Soviet Exposition in New York in 1959. We visited the factory where it is made—a factory that developed after World War II. In 1945 its output was valued at 1.4 million rubles. In 1959 it produced

REV. RICHARD MORFORD is Executive Director of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship. With his wife, Mrs. Aileen Morford, he recently returned from a Soviet tour. The first part of his report appeared in the April NWR.

140,000 sets valued at 150 million rubles. In 1945 there were 211 workers. Now there are over 3,000. The 35-year old manager showed us site and plans for new buildings to replace the old this year since the demand for radios is far from satisfied and developments in stereophonic sound must be incorporated in new models.

The larger part of the modern equipment we saw on a tour of Riga TV studios is manufactured in Latvia. We were staggered by the battery of complex instruments in the control rooms and the myriad cameras and lights in the broadcasting studio. And, we may say, we were jittery when the time came for our appearance to tell our impressions of Riga. But the director said we looked well and spoke well—the honors going particularly to Mrs. Morford.

There is much more to say about Latvian progress that, holding fast and developing its own language and literature, is also able to enrich its cultural life by adding the Russian language and literature. Russian is taught in the schools together with Lettish. Of 16 newspapers published in Riga, six of them appear in two editions—one in Lettish, the other in Russian.

We carefully avoided seeking answers through direct questions to our concern about "subjugation" and "lost independence." We did not wish to evoke cautious and safe answers. Indeed, without queries we gained the impression during four days of conversation with many people in industry, in cultural centers, at the university, etc., that the people of Latvia really have the independence they wish—to build up

the country that they love and to carry forward a cherished national art and culture. This becomes possible in large part, they say, because the country is a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The over-all economic planning and cooperation is presently advancing the welfare of the Latvian Republic and providing high confidence and high hope for the future.

Uzbekistan, Central Asian Republic

We headed out to Tashkent, capital of the Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan, 2,000 miles from Moscow, for a reason similar to that which caused us to visit Riga. Those in our country who try to hinder the growth of American-Soviet friendship say, "Sure, there is progress in Russia, plenty of money is poured into the development of that favored Republic, but what about the minor and distant republics? They aren't getting as much help; Russia intends them to remain backward colonies to be exploited."

True enough, we saw a country that had known hundreds of years of backwardness and underdevelopment, an exploited people who lived in virtual slavery under the Tsars. Deprived of schooling, they were illiterate. Following the Moslem tradition, the place of Uzbek women was in the house, out of sight. Venturing on the streets, black horse-hair veils had to be worn to hide their faces. This degraded condition continued in the 20th century until the Soviets gained control in 1921 and Uzbekistan joined the Soviet family of nations as a Republic in 1924.

What has happened as a result of the establishment of universal education in the Uzbek S.S.R.? Illiteracy as reported for 1926 averaged 89.4 per cent (women 93.5 per cent illiterate, the men 85.8 per cent). By 1940 illiteracy had been reduced to 32.2 per cent. Today the nation is almost completely literate. In response to Mrs. Morford's questioning, Mayor Magrupov of Tashkent, told of his part as an educated young man in the organized effort to teach adults to read and write. Assigned to families on the streets near his home, he visited one after another in the evening to give instruction. Among the first things that the Tashkent visitor is told is that there are 16 institutions of higher education now in that city. These range from the Central Asian State University to the Agricultural Institute, the Electrotechnical Institute of Communications, the Textile Institute, the Medical Institute, the Pedagogical Institute.

On large collective farms in the southern region of Uzbekistan, cotton production is increasing each year aided by the comprehensive planning and cooperation of the Soviet Government, coupled with the Republic's own initiative. One must remember that today's great fertility has been accomplished by a complex system of irrigation. Many years ago a great canal was dug to tap the waters of the Syrdarya River and bring fertility to the whole of the Fergana Valley. As the result, cotton production is nearly six times that of pre-revolutionary Russia, accounting for more than 80 per cent of the USSR's total production and making the Union self-sufficient in cotton. It was re-

ported at a recent Communist Party Congress that within the Republic now are being produced nearly all the machines and equipment necessary for its highly mechanized cotton growing and harvesting. In 1960 the Republic will supply itself with 2,650 new up-to-date cotton picking machines. Uzbekistan is also in the lead among the Union Republics in the growing of silk.

Industry has developed rapidly. The Tsars took the raw materials, cotton and silk, to let European industrialists profit by their manufacture, but the Soviets have encouraged establishment of local textile plants and other industries. We saw in operation the fabulous Textile Combine in Tashkent, established about 30 years ago, larger than the famous factory in Manchester, England. The Combine consists of 10 mills—spinning, weaving, dyeing and thread mills. Spinning machines have a total of 300,000 spindles. There are 6,000 automatic looms. The plants employ 15,000 workers in manufacturing operations, the majority of whom are women; and 1,500 additional conduct medical and social services, including polyclinics, seven nurseries and seven kindergartens, the Palace of Culture for youth and adults, sanatoriums and summer camps for children.

The plant's manager received us in his office. He reviewed the plant's history and present operations and gave us the figures. He was quite as proud of its medical and social services to the workers as he was of its immense production. He expressed satisfaction that the Combine had received every encouragement as had other Uzbek industrial

enterprises from the All-Union Ministry. Now the appropriate Ministry of the Republic has almost complete authority under the plan of decentralization, as the result of which the manager expected the Combine might be enabled to do an even bigger job. He showed his pleasure in telling how the Combine contributed not alone to the welfare of the Republic but to the entire Soviet Union.

As for the status of women. In the early days of the Republic they began to appear on the streets without veils. A new generation of women has grown up, trained in the sciences, moving into places of technical and professional leadership as doctors, teachers, engineers, etc. And, also winning place in the political leadership of the Republic. At this time, some 25 per cent of the members of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan are women, and, indeed, in 1960, the President of the Republic is Mme. Yadgar Nasriddinova. We saw her at the State Opera in Tashkent welcoming distinguished state visitors: Mr. Klementi Voroshilov, President of the Soviet Union, Mme. Ekaterina Furtseva, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party and Mr. Frol R. Kozlov, Deputy Premier. These three chose to honor the Republic by a stop-over on the way from Moscow to Delhi for an official visit to India. Robust, vigorous and friendly, we saw her walk among her people as they strolled in the exquisitely decorated side halls during the intermission in the gala concert, stopping to converse with one after another of her fellow citizens.

These halls were startlingly beautiful. Native artists had been called

from every part of the Republic. Each had been given a room to decorate, employing his own motif. Yet there was a sense of harmony throughout these halls for the designs all came from the rich Uzbekistan art heritage. Paragraphs should be added here to tell of the further flowering in contemporary times of the outstanding culture developed among the Uzbek people even when their lot was virtual slavery, not only for indoor decorating but in designs to be woven into textiles. One should also speak of the splendid flowering of literature today, of its poets and novelists. But there is no space.

Suffice it to say, we found an impressive answer in Tashkent to the question of how the Soviet Union deals with the minorities. In this case it is a dark-skinned people, embracing 20 Eastern nationalities who make their home with the Uzbeks, together with many Russians (in this instance themselves the minority) in this Central Asian Republic. The people live together amicably and cooperate completely in building up the country and in raising the living standards for all. Uzbekistan is not a colony; it is a proud and equal partner in the Soviet family of nations.

The Soviet People Want Peace

The refrain of returning visitors is: The Soviet people want peace. Having talked now with many Soviet citizens ourselves, Mrs. Morford and I join in that refrain. The Soviet people do not speak of peace primarily because peace propaganda has been put before them at every turn, although this is true. On the walls of every library, school, theater,

Palace of Culture, we saw a series of blown-up photographs of the Khrushchev visit to the United States last year. Standing forth most boldly were the pictures of President Eisenhower who appears hopefully to the Soviet Union as a man of peace. When Soviet people express their yearning for peace it is first of all the testimony of hearts which still ache with the great sorrow of their country's losses in World War II. Did we say the country's losses? We should say the personal losses. Every person speaks of the death of an immediate member of his family or a close relative; in many instances several dear ones were killed. The young are told the story by parents and in school. It is impossible for most of us in our country to feel so deeply, since our experience was in no sense comparable. This accounts in great part for our apathy in the struggle for peace.

The people in the Soviet Union sense this apathy but they accept our assertion that the rank and file of the American people want peace. Those in peace leadership in the Soviet Union, the officials of the Soviet Peace Committee, with whom we discussed the problem for several hours, know that we shall not be able to enlist the active support of the masses of the American people for a policy of peaceful coexistence, which involves gradual disarmament, unless we can convince working men and women that disarmament will not upset the economy and create mass unemployment. Some industrialists told Premier Khrushchev when he was here that the transition from armament building to a peace economy could be made without upset. Political scientists

are putting forward concrete proposals; but labor leadership drags its feet when not openly hostile to the idea of shifting to peace production. We found Soviet peace leadership understanding of our problem, willing to be patient, providing that we who are committed to peace and international cooperation will work ever harder at the job.

Meantime, in high places decisions are taken by the Soviet Union in further demonstration of their desire to make peace and begin disarming. We attended the session of the Supreme Soviet on January 14 when the proposed cut in the Soviet armed forces was being discussed—and approved. From a vantage point only 14 rows from the front of the great hall, we saw the earnest attention of members of the Presidium as speaker after speaker came to the rostrum to support the proposals. All were deputies to the Supreme Soviet, of course. The speakers were from several of the Republics, they were an Army General and a Navy Admiral. One was a youth. One man was quite elderly. One a factory worker, another the manager of the Likhachev Automobile Plant in Moscow, another a collective farmer, a woman deputy from a Central Asian Republic, a writer, the Foreign Minister Mr. Andrei Gromyko—they all spoke for peace and disarmament.

But the witness that challenged us most was that of the ordinary people we met, as on that day when we visited the wonderful workers' sanatorium at Kemerli some forty miles from Riga. They crowded around us in the reception room. Oh, so friendly! Yet there was firm-

ness in their questions: "Why doesn't your country make peace with us?" "But," I remonstrated, "we are getting together slowly. Premier Khrushchev has visited in our country, President Eisenhower will soon come to see you. And there is the Summit Meeting in May. Our people hope some beginning agreement may result from those negotiations." "Our people want peace. We Soviet workers (how proudly they refer to themselves as workers!) want peace. You should be trying to get your country to disarm as we are."

So then I had to tell them, as I had told press and radio news correspondents in Moscow (and they printed and aired my comments), that we accepted the Soviet cut in armed forces as demonstration of a desire for peace but that Premier Khrushchev himself had said that the reduction would not reduce the country's defensive capacity for the

Soviet Union possesses the all-powerful nuclear weapons. The U.S. has these nuclear arms, also, and both countries must sooner or later take the first steps toward the elimination of these fearful destroyers and remove the terror of annihilation.

With all this they agreed. Yet they pressed their point. "Go back and tell the American workers that we Soviet workers are doing everything possible for peace among our people and we hope they will join us in the struggle for peace. And tell them to come to see us. We are their friends."

The challenge to mobilize American workers for peace and friendship is perhaps the strongest challenge that emerged from all our contacts with people in the Soviet Union. It is one to which the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship should address itself.

USSR UNION OF FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES

THE UNION OF SOVIET Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Country has the aim of providing the people of the Soviet Union with greater opportunities to learn more about other countries, and the people of other countries with facilities to know more about the USSR. Two-way societies for this purpose exist with many countries all over the world.

According to a recent statement by Nina Popova, Chairman of the Soviet organization, the interest of Americans in things Russian is reciprocated by Soviet citizens. Writing in the English-language magazine *USSR*, she said:

"A large group of eminent Soviet people got together recently and proposed to found a USSR-USA Society in the Soviet Union. The initiators are men and women of the stature of Academicians Alexander Nesmeyanov and Alexei Blagonravov, writers Mikhail Sholokhov and Boris Polevoi, film producer Sergei Yutkevich, sculptor Sergei Konenkov, Igor Moiseyev, who heads the dance group that made such a hit with American audiences, agronomist Valentina Korenskaya, metal worker Ivan Borodin and miner Nikolai Mami.

"This is one step among many taken by the Soviet peoples to build friendship between the two countries. When Nikita S. Khrushchev spoke at a Washington Press Conference during his tour of the United States, he made it clear that the Soviet Union was wholeheartedly for any step that would build better understanding. There is an oriental proverb that compares friendship to a tend the tree of friendship with loving care. Its fruit is world peace."

Women and Family in China

by ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

IN THE big leap forward in which China has more than doubled her agricultural and industrial production since 1958, hundreds of millions of women have taken part. In factories and farms they have mastered every kind of skill. This enriches and advances the whole country. It brings wider horizons and more effective equality to women. It increases family income. Women in China, of course, receive equal pay for equal work with men. And this participation of women in production is in itself an act of liberation and creation on a scale never before seen.

As always when one comes to a milestone in history, one cannot help looking back at what went before. I lived in the old Kuomintang-dominated China through most of the World War II days. The pictures in my mind are vivid, indelible, painful. Women on their knees in the fields of Kansu, scratching at the ground to raise a crop of flax, probably already mortgaged to the landlord . . . grey-faced women, aged before their time, training half-starved children, trying to flee a famine in Honan while the local despot's granaries

bulged with grain . . . a little girl household slave screaming under the flogging of her mistress in Kweilin . . . misery, near-starvation, rags, cold and want. An endless nightmare.

I brush away the memory, blink my eyes, and look at the women of today. **I see women at work** alongside men everywhere. They are happy, smiling, confident. On the construction sites, in the factories, on the farms, in the shops, the hospitals, the schools. Women traffic policemen, taxi drivers, airplane pilots, drivers of locomotives. The army even boasts a woman general!

Together with thousands of other women, I myself volunteered for two weeks' work on the Ming Tombs dam, near Peking, two years ago, and I count the experience of participation in mass effort one of the happiest and most exciting of my life. We worked in groups of ten, men and women together. All were volunteers from Peking offices and we had all argued hard to get permission to go. We moved an average of three cubic meters of earth and stones a day and carried it an estimated 22 miles with a carrying pole from which dangled two baskets. I looked at the slips of girls around me and wondered how they would take it. But we all returned home hardened, and in much better physical condition than when we went. It was substantial proof that the concept of women as "the weaker

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY who now lives and works in Peking, was correspondent in China of the *London Daily Telegraph* during the Sino-Japanese war. She is the wife of Israel Epstein.

sex" is nothing but a myth serving to deny women the full expression of their rights and equal treatment.

When I was in England in 1958 some of my women friends looked at me askance and said: "Oh, but what about home life?" The answer is that the Chinese have home life too. What is more, I have seen it growing better and better year by year—not at a snail's pace either but by leaps and bounds.

In all offices in the study period before International Women's Day this year, the advance and continuing problems of women were discussed and the men in particular were asked to examine themselves on their feudal and other exploiting attitudes towards women. This was done after study of an article in *Hung Chi* ("Red Flag") the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which exposed the roots of patriarchal authority in the old family. In the ruling classes, it was pointed out, this was meant to keep together the property exploited from the people's labor. The authority of the head of the family was supported by the feudal morality of that class so that he could make the rest of his household work to produce a surplus to meet these obligations. A slave himself, he was used as a slave-driver. The family at all levels, therefore, was an economic unit of the old society.

Now for the first time, all members of society are economic equals and the economic unit is no longer the family but the working collective. The way is thus opened for family ties truly based on affection, mutual support and respect. But first, it is necessary to clear away the mental remnants of the old

ladder of oppression—it has already been cleared away at its base by economic equality between men and women, and in legislation by the marriage law and other enactments enforcing equal rights for all. Now the most tenacious part of the old superstructure in people's heads and hearts must also be cleared away because only then can the new relationships grow and flourish. So the whole matter is treated as a serious political campaign. No man who continues arrogant, no woman who continues subservient, can laugh it off after such studies and say: "I am just old-fashioned." Every one understands that to be old-fashioned in this way is to be a carrier of the crippling wounds and encrusted filth of the entire hated old order.

It is by these standards and with the desire to establish new and truly human relationships that the discussions were conducted by both men and women. Some of the men may have looked pale for a while, but it was good for all concerned. As in other things the principle was—proceeding from a desire for unity through criticism and struggle against obstacles, to try and reach unity on a new and higher level.

All this means the strengthening, not the weakening of the family. But the big thing that is happening is that women are entering production. How can the family be strengthened, some may ask, when the woman is away all day at work? The fact is that the home is becoming the joint responsibility of the father, mother and children, with household drudgery rapidly being taken off the backs of the women through public services. Take food:

In city offices and the people's communes in the countryside, there are public dining-rooms in which the whole family can eat. The aim of those in charge is to make meals as good or better than home cooking.

Again, who takes care of the children? There are nurseries for toddlers and kindergartens. Nearly every office runs its own nursery, and there are also others organized by neighborhood committees, trade unions, and so on. Parents can send their children to these daily, or they can live in during the week and return home on Saturdays for the week-end. In school the children are taught a sense of social responsibility. A short time ago, my daughter who is in first-year, or primary school, came home with a notebook in which she said I was to write down every week what "labor" she had done at home. She then ran off, put on an apron, and started laying the table for dinner. Without the school's cooperation and the "labor book," this would just have been a disagreeable chore. Once a week she comes home late because it is her turn to help clean the classroom. And sometimes she rushes off early because it is her turn to help the teacher correct and mark the exercise books. This gives her a great sense of pride and responsibility.

Neither do I have to worry about her health unless she is ill because there are regular checks at school by the doctor from the local clinic, and inoculations in case of epidemics.

Another problem in China for housewives has always been the laundry. A short time ago I was de-

lighted to see an editorial in the main daily newspaper on home washing machines. Washing machines are being factory-made but cannot at present be supplied in sufficient quantities to fill the need. So the editorial urged people to devise their own, using electricity or whatever power was available, and giving detailed examples of factories and organizations that had already produced them.

Also of great help to women are the service stations which are being organized by the people themselves in every city district. Here men and women unable to do regular work because of their age or poor health, perform countless services. You can take them your socks to darn and the family mending; give them garments needing alterations, leave the children with them while you yourself go out, ask them to find workmen for all kinds of house repairs, take them messages to deliver and so on.

All these services of organized, collective living relieve mothers of worry, enable them to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their jobs, and leave them to enjoy their free time with their children or in any way they please. It has enabled women in China today to become a great force in socialist construction and is opening up to them a broad life in which they can develop their abilities to the maximum.

They work hard, yes. But they are all working together to make life what under socialism it can be—full and prosperous for everybody.

It is what I would wish for my children—what I would wish for the people of the whole world.

How Red is Russia?

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

A FRIEND of mine in the north of England tells me that in the readers' letters column of his local newspaper someone gave as "just another example of the Russians' refusal to call a spade a spade" the fact that Moscow's famous Red Square is "neither red nor square."

It is the fascinating word "red" that interests me most, but let me deal first with some other points to clear the ground.

There is a strong possibility that the letter-writer was pulling the editor's leg—if so, good luck to him!—but heaven knows there are plenty of people who forget that Russians in Russia tend to call Russian things by Russian names. Certainly the Russians don't call a spade a spade: for some reason of their own they call it a *zastup*.

"Red Square" is, for better or for worse, the accepted English translation of *Krasnaya Ploshchad*. A *ploshchad* is not a rectangular figure with four equal sides; it is a "place" and can be of any shape, even circular. *Krasnaya* (*krasny* is the basic masculine form) can mean red but it can also mean scores of other things that help one to get the real "color" of Russian life. For instance, in the following boy-meets-

girl episode the 21 "reds" illustrate 21 different meanings of *krasny* which I'll explain later, though some of them you can probably guess:

A red girl, sitting in the red corner of her cottage one red day, looked through the red window and saw her red lad approaching the red entrance. He, too, was a red girl in his own way: he never boasted about his skill as a fisher of red fish and hunter of red game in the red forest. Nor was he given to red talk, though he could exchange red words and give a red speech with the best of them.

"Come in, my red sun. The red seat for the red guest!" she said, but he preferred to sit by her side on the red bench. They discussed their plans—the red table and the red procession at their wedding in Red Hill . . . and, perhaps, in a couple of years, a red family.

Except for "red talk" all these "reds" are words of praise. A red girl is kind, good-looking and modest; a red lad is handsome and trustworthy; "my red lad" or "my red girl" means "my sweetheart" and when a young man is described as a red girl that is a tribute to his quiet, unboastful character.

In the old days the red corner of a house was where the ikon stood; today the red corner is one of the most distinctive features of Soviet life. A red corner can be a whole room, or a series of recreation and reading rooms in a factory

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.

or a block of offices. In fact, it is a very unenterprising "enterprise" that doesn't have a red corner.

The red entrance is the main entrance to the humblest of homes or the most magnificent of buildings, and many other features of a building on the side facing the street (or sometimes, the south or the southeast) are described as red.

Red can also mean honored, as in "The red seat for the red guest!" "My red sun" is an affectionate greeting that is quite often heard in Russian rural life; "red sun" refers to the beneficence, not the brightness of the sun, but a red day is a bright day. A red word is a *bon mot*; a red speech is an eloquent one but a *krasnobai* (red talker) is a bit of a liar or, at least, a boaster.

A forest of conifers is called a red forest and its game-birds, unlike water-fowl, are red game. Only the best fur-bearing animals are "red," so a silver fox is red but a red fox isn't. Similarly with fish. The "royal" sturgeon and its soft-boned cousins, despite their white flesh, are red fish, but the red salmon is not!

Although the color red is not especially popular at weddings, the bridal feast, the procession and other things associated with weddings are called red. Many villages have a red hill, the nearest high ground that is first clear of snow each year and therefore the scene of the first merrymaking of spring. For this reason the first week after Easter is called Red Hill. It used to be that so many weddings were held during this week that the higher birth rate around the turn of the year was the subject of many jokes. A red family is one boy and one girl.

Most things associated with death are referred to as black, but in the saying, "Even death is red when you die among friends" and in "A funeral is red from tears and a wedding red from song" the dominant meaning of red is "becoming" or "as it should be." In these days of sex equality any male rash enough to use the old expression "a red funeral" (meaning, when the husband buries the wife) is apt to get a skillet at his head.

Still often quoted is an old saying, "It isn't the red corner, but *pirog*" (not religion but hospitality) "that makes a house red." In other words, more pie and less piety!

Where we would say "New paragraph" in dictating, a Russian would say "Red line"—an interesting direct link with the days when missals and similar documents had a decorative drop-initial, usually in red, at the start of a paragraph. Red phrasing is extempore rhyming, which you can still hear quite often in rural Russia, sometimes in the form of bardic back-chat between two people, either spoken or sung.

There are scores of puns based on the many different meanings of *krasny*—and occasionally a confusion of meaning. For instance you can guess only from the context whether the Russian word for red-faced means pink-cheeked, beautiful, blushing or a Red Indian.

And Red Square is, of course, Beautiful Square. *Krasny* is connected both by its root and by long usage with *krasivy* (beautiful) and also with words associated with color in general, such as those for "paint" and "dyes"—and it's no great jump from "color" to "beauty."

This is by no means the only

case of a concept being damaged in transit from Russian to English. For instance practically all of our dictionaries *literally* put the cart before the horse when they define troika as "a vehicle drawn by three horses abreast." A troika—a "three-some"—does not run on wheels or sledge-runners—it runs on twelve equine legs.

Sometimes, of course, the boot is on the other foot, and, speaking of boots, the Russians have adopted the word *bootsa*—it sounds like "bootsy" in the plural—apparently in the belief that in English only footballers wear boots and that they wear one boots on one foot and another boots on the other!

Krasny and *krasnaya* have, to me at least, a much warmer, softer and more poetical sound than the short, sharp "red," and that must, I think,

have influenced the Russian people in giving the word so many pleasant meanings and in using it, both in poetry and in everyday speech, much oftener and with much more affection than we use "red."

Although it was probably the Russian revolutionaries, in 1905 as well as in 1917, who did most to popularize red throughout the world as the symbol of anti-landlordism, nobody here claims that this originated in Russia. The Red Flag was first waved in Russia during a peasant revolt in the 17th century, but in Germany it appeared a century earlier—and in Persia *eight* centuries earlier.

Today, when a Russian says "Red times are coming," what he means—and what he prophesies so confidently—is that *great* times are coming!

NEW NAMES ON THE MOON

A MAP OF THE FAR SIDE OF THE MOON published in "Pravda" on March 18 carried the names of geographical features of this area hitherto unseen by the eyes of man—and thus far seen only in the photographs taken by the Soviet rocket that encircled the moon last October. The names given to the craters whose existence was for the first time disclosed by the photographs pay honor to the scientists of many historical periods and of many lands. Among them were the following:

Giordano Bruno—Italian. Postulated the infinity of the universe. Condemned by the Inquisition, he was burned at the stake in 1600.

Marie Curie—Polish. Discoverer of radium.

Thomas A. Edison—American inventor.

Heinrich H. Herz—German. Discoverer of radio propagation.

Frederic Joliot-Curie—French nuclear physicist.

Mikhail V. Lomonosov—Russian. Eighteenth-century educator and scientist. Founder of Moscow University.

James Clerk Maxwell—English. Pioneer in magnetism.

Dmitri I. Mendeleev—Russian. Nineteenth-century scientist. Discovered the periodic table of elements.

Louis Pasteur—French, Nineteenth-century bacteriologist.

Alexander S. Popov—Russian. One of the inventors of radio.

Konstantin I. Tsiolkovsky—Russian. Pioneer in rocketry and studies of the problems of space travel.

Tsu Chung-chih—Chinese. Mathematician and astronomer of the fifth century.

Jules Verne—French. Father of science fiction.

Peace Groups in the U.S.

CONTINUING the survey of peace groups commenced in our last issue, it should be noted that while no broad general peace movement exists in the United States, increasing coordination of various peace activities is taking place. A new impetus has been given to the work of all peace groups through the Eisenhower-Khrushchev agreement that general disarmament is the most important question in the world today, the unanimous UN resolution favoring general disarmament, the ten-nation disarmament conference now meeting in Geneva, the continuing negotiations on cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

Since the April article, which covered the work of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy among other groups, SANE has announced the program for its May 19 rally for controlled disarmament, cessation of bomb tests and a successful Summit meeting. It will be held in New York's Madison Square Garden under the honorary co-chairmanship of Norman Cousins, Clarence E. Pickett, Eleanor Roosevelt and Max E. Youngstein. Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, who has declared his decision to devote himself to peace rather than seek re-election, heads a roster of speakers which includes Dr. Harold Taylor, Dr. Israel Goldstein, union leaders Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph, and Harry Belafonte and other distinguished entertainers.

Society of Friends

The search for non-violent alternatives to war was always a prime concern of the Society of Friends (Quakers). In recent years, their peace work has been especially broad and fruitful.

A number of Quaker-sponsored studies have strongly influenced the attitudes of many thoughtful persons. Beginning in 1949 with *The United States and the Soviet Union* and including *Steps to Peace, Security Through Disarmament*, and *Speak Truth to Power*, the series helped break the cold-war ice by urging a new U.S. foreign policy based on negotiations with the USSR rather than reliance on military force.

Five Quaker groups are participating in the special Cooperative Program for Disarmament launched by the Consultative Peace Council, a clearing house for a number of national peace organizations. The Program is designed to awaken public opinion and attempt "to reach political, educational and industrial leaders on the relevancy of total disarmament. . . ."

The Friends have special committees through which they conduct and cooperate with others in peace activities.

American Friends Service Committee

"An expression of social and humanitarian concerns" within the Society of Friends, the AFSC is non-

sectarian and its work is open to anyone—regardless of race, religion or nationality—who “to some extent shares its commitment and its endeavor.”

Constantly alert to trends affecting the outcome of all official peace negotiations, the AFSC makes known its analyses and opinions of developments as they take place. In late March, the organization urged President Eisenhower to speed agreement with the Soviet Union on a moratorium on small-scale underground nuclear tests.

The AFSC carries on a Peace Education Program to: “Make clear that cold war policies and programs have failed,” and to “Develop concepts of the economics of peace which must replace the economics of war.” These objectives are promoted through such means as:

Labor International Affairs Programs which include especially prepared peace education material for labor, AFSC participation in trade union meetings and conferences, summer schools, institutes, and regular mailings of editorial material to some 800 union publications. An AFSC-sponsored conference of some 90 labor leaders representing 21 unions in the Chicago area last summer examined the issues surrounding labor and the cold war. The AFSC recently published a pamphlet on *Labor and the Cold War*, by Stewart Meacham, Foreign Service Section, discussing in terms pertinent to labor the effect of 12 years of cold war on U.S. domestic economy and on world economic development.

Peace Education in the Churches Program, which stresses the moral position on peace. Through the

churches the AFSC reaches many groups of persons involved in peace activities, keeping them supplied with latest information and techniques.

College and High School Programs for youth, including world affairs camps and institutes, seminars in Washington and at the UN, and other conferences. “Steps to Disarmament,” was the subject of a high school UN Seminar held in New York this April. Peace caravans of college students travel within the U.S. during the summer, discussing peace issues with community, church, civic and social groups.

Committees of Correspondence, formed of groups meeting informally once a month, committed to writing letters continuously to promote world peace. Guidance for the groups is furnished upon request to the nearest AFSC office.

Of note among other ways in which the AFSC functions for peace and disarmament is the recent successful venture into the theater medium with a documentary dramatization *Which Way the Wind*. Depicting the perils of the nuclear age and peaceful alternatives to war, it was highly praised by critics when it played over 50 performances from coast to coast this past winter. It is available to educational, religious and civic groups at moderate cost.

The AFSC also issues an invaluable “Peace Packet” of literature six times yearly (\$2.50 annually, 50 cents per issue). Each packet contains pamphlets, reprints and other items. The January-February packet featured four pamphlets and a bibliography on the economics of disarmament.

The Friends follow closely the work of the United Nations with representatives on hand to discuss peace issues with delegates of our own and other countries. They hold off-the-record conferences with diplomats from East and West to search out areas of agreement.

Friends Committee on National Legislation

The FCNL, a working committee of Quakers and like-minded people, is located in Washington, where it is in direct and frequent contact with legislators and government officials.

"Work for Disarmament" is the overriding 1960 priority of the FCNL, which has urged Congress to:

- Appropriate more money for disarmament studies;

- Approve a treaty to end nuclear weapons tests if one is agreed on at Geneva;

- Revoke the authority granted by the 85th Congress for transfer of nuclear information and weapons material to other nations;

- Pass resolutions prohibiting use of germ and gas warfare by the U.S.;

- Revise U.S. policy toward Communist China to permit direct negotiations.

A monthly *Washington Newsletter* (\$3.00 per annum) and other useful printed material covering disarmament and peace issues, as well as civil liberties and civil rights, are published by the FCNL. Of special importance is its pamphlet, *Questions on Disarmament and Your Job*. Statements of facts in all cases are accompanied by suggestions for action and for ways of bringing pressure on Congress.

National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA

This is the American affiliate of the World Council of Churches and

represents 33 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox church bodies, with a constituency of some 34 million churchgoers.

In the opinion of Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council:

There is something crooked about a generation that speaks glibly about peace while spending 40 billion dollars to train its choicest youth in the arts of scientific and military slaughter. . . . We shall be blessed when we cease spreading through the earth the evil fallout of radioactive dust and distrust.

The National Council's decisions and statements on peace issues are influential because of their source, but their effect is often vitiated in the course of transmittal to member denominations and down the line to local church groups. The result is that the churches so far have failed for the most part to assume the peace role they should be playing, and too many churchmen and churchgoers lend support to cold war policies. However, some blueprints for peace efforts may be seen in the ways laid out by the National Council.

Last July, the organization launched a 12-month Nationwide Program of Education and Action for Peace, conducted through the churches of the member denominations.

Just prior to Premier Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the USA, elected heads and other denominational officials met with President Eisenhower to assure him that his efforts for world peace had the backing of churchgoers.

The Department of International Relations, which is in charge of the 12-month program, reports response far beyond expectations to this

work. An example was the success of a recent Young Adults Workshop for Peace at the Episcopal Church of the Advent in Tampa, Florida, which was addressed by Hugh B. Hester, Brigadier-General U.S. Army (ret.) and Dr. Stephen Speronis of Tampa University, and featured serious discussion led by several members of the clergy.

The peace efforts of the Protestant denominations in the National Council and of local Protestant groups and their lay and religious leaders are conducted within the congregations themselves, and also through cooperation with other bodies.

Recent joint appeals for speedy conclusion of agreement on peace and disarmament, directed to U.S. and foreign officials, have borne the signatures of such church leaders as Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. John A. Mackay, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Rev. Robert J. McCracken, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The National Council, together with the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church and the continuations committee of the American Baptist Convention, participated in discussions leading to formation of the new "1960 Campaign for Disarmament," a broad secular movement to secure incorporation of peace and disarmament planks into the election platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The National Council of Churches publishes material relevant to peace and disarmament problems. Its *Information Service*, a bi-weekly bulletin, carries reports of speeches and writings on these and related subjects.

Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice

The American Unitarian Association, a non-credal religious body, has long affirmed that universal disarmament under the UN is necessary for peace and urges transfer to constructive ends of the resources and manpower now being used for military purposes. Public lectures and forums on these and related topics frequently take place in Unitarian churches. The membership plays a militant role in the peace movement through the Social Justice Fellowship.

The San Francisco Chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship was initiator of a series of 1960 activities which began in mid-January with a dramatically successful Walk for Peace in which some 500 people participated and which received outstanding local press coverage. It was based on the immediate issue of the impending French bomb tests.

The Fellowship held a workshop at the First Unitarian Church on March 5 to map out future peace action. The 150 individuals who attended, mostly private citizens without organizational affiliation, decided to hold a "Little Summit" conference in San Francisco in May while the big talks were proceeding in France.

At the same workshop it was announced by Robert R. Schutz, former economist at the University of California, that his broadcasts over Station KPFA on behalf of peace and disarmament had evoked such enthusiastic listener response that he was setting up a plan for a non-organizational, private citizen peace lobby in Washington, for which \$7,000 of the needed \$25,000 already had been received.

Other Religious Groups

Various Protestant denominations, as well as sections of other religious sects, have their own particular programs for peace.

Two well-known Protestant periodicals, the weekly *Christian Century* and

the monthly *Churchman*, feature editorials and news reports on questions pertaining to peace and disarmament.

Two pamphlets to promote discussion of disarmament issues from a moral and religious standpoint have been published by the Women's Division of the Methodist Church Board of Missions.

The Methodist Board of World Peace concluded a conference of churchmen in December 1959. It called for a ban on nuclear tests and a program leading to complete disarmament, and also requested the U.S. Government to explore ways and means to bring about trade with the People's Republic of China.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action (unofficial) stands for the complete abolition of war. A Peace Workshop which it conducted in Oregon last autumn voted support for a program of total disarmament by 1965. It issues a monthly *Social Questions Bulletin*.

Among other church groups doing work for peace are the Baptists, the Episcopalians, and the United Church of Christ. The Social Action Council of the latter in early 1960 called upon the denomination's 2,300,000 members to work for a drastic reduction in the world's stockpile of armaments, to encourage the U.S. Government to negotiate for general reduction and control of all armaments—conventional, nuclear, biological and chemical—and to press for agreements on cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

Negro church leaders and people are active in work for peace. Their great immediate concern in problems of desegregation and full equality for the Negro people in American life, now being so gloriously expressed in the struggles of the young people in the South, is an inseparable part of the world movement for brotherhood and peace.

Questions of peace and disarmament enter various areas of Jewish thought, especially where they touch on remili-

tarization of Western Germany and proposals to furnish her with nuclear weapons, and in connection with recent anti-Semitic outrages. Many Jewish religious and lay leaders are lending sponsorship and support to inter-faith and secular groups engaged in peace activities, and certain Jewish religious and lay organizations are examining practical methods for achievement of peace.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has urged a world convention of religious leaders to take up moral problems of the nuclear age, such as those related to disarmament, nuclear tests, radioactivity.

The United Synagogue of America (Conservative) convention last November urged worldwide disarmament, beginning with a ban on atomic arms and tests.

The American Jewish Committee held an Institute on Human Relations in New York in late January at which Philip Noel-Baker spoke on the necessity of paying serious heed to the Soviet Union's proposals for disarmament. A similar point of view was expressed to the congregation of Temple Emanuel in mid-February when it was addressed by the Negro educator Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University.

Strong opposition to resumption of nuclear testing by the U.S. and other world powers appeared in a resolution by the National Association of Temple Educators at its 1960 assemblage.

Hadassah and the National Council of Jewish Women both have gone on record with statements of support in connection with specific phases of the overall peace movement. The Temple Sisterhood was represented in the drafting of the 1960 Campaign for Disarmament statement.

Other Anti-War Groups

A number of pacifist groups participate in Hiroshima Memorial demonstrations, walks for peace, vigils and at-

tempts at non-violent entry into germ warfare centers, missile bases, and other military installations.

The Peacemakers campaign for non-payment of individual federal income tax on the basis that a large proportion goes for war purposes; they maintain picket lines in front of Internal Revenue Service offices.

The *Catholic Worker* group, led by Dorothy Day, demonstrates against the New York City annual public civil defense drill by refusing to obey orders to take cover.

Similar measures in opposition to war are carried out by the War Resisters League, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

World Fellowship, Inc., operates a Center at Conway, N. H., where forums are held on problems related to world cooperation. This summer camp is described as a "community dedicated to peace and justice without barriers of race, faith or nationality," by its executive director, Dr. Willard Uphaus. This dedicated worker for peace is serving a one-year jail sentence for refusal, on grounds of conscience, to surrender the guest list of the camp to the New Hampshire Attorney General. An appeal against his sentence was turned down by the State Supreme Court on March 31. (Pleas for clemency to Judge George B. Grant, Jr., with copies to Gov. Wesley Powell and Attorney Gen-

eral Louis C. Wyman, all at Concord, N. H., are in order.)

No account of peace activities can be complete without special note of the organizations working in the field of American-Soviet friendship, cooperation and cultural exchange, which are basic to all peace work. The main organization in this field is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, of which the distinguished artist Rockwell Kent is president. We have frequently reported on its work. Important work in this field is also being done by the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American Russian Institute of San Francisco, and the American Russian Institute of Los Angeles.

Labor activities for peace, which should have headed this survey, must unfortunately be left to the end. The official AFL-CIO cold-war approach to international affairs has left American unions, with a few notable exceptions, tagging far in the rear of other groups and individuals active on the peace front. Growing support for peace activities is, however, developing in the lower echelons of labor, and among rank and file workers throughout the country. Labor participation in peace efforts will be surveyed in the next issue.

(May we note again that we welcome communications from our readers on local peace activities.)

Prepared by NWR Research Department.

DR. MORDECAI JOHNSON ON AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

DR. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, president of Howard University, speaking at Temple Emanu-El in New York on April 17 proposed that the United States discard the cold war containment policy and instead cooperate with the Soviet Union in accomplishing "humanitarian goals."

Warning that the United States would be "relegated to the role of an underdeveloped nation" unless it dealt with the Soviet Union as he suggested, Dr. Johnson said:

"The Russians know they are so powerful we are incapable of dislodging them. They offer us peace because they no longer see any need of war. If we continue to label them as our enemies and insist upon the 'cold war' containment policy as the only approach, Western civilization is set upon a path of failure."—*The Morning Freiheit*, April 17

Adjusting the Economy to Peace

DISCUSSION of the economic consequences of disarmament is proceeding in wider circles both here and abroad. The consensus of opinion seems to be that disarmament will neither cause a depression nor prevent a depression. Progressive labor supports the program advanced by economist Victor Perlo at a recent New York conference on the economic challenge of disarmament.

Housing would benefit: Taking the number of new housing units—2.3 million—which the AFL-CIO says we need to build each year to eliminate the slums by 1975, Perlo urged the spending for this purpose of at least \$2.5 billion a year of federal funds now going to armaments. American slums could be eliminated in 15 years at an annual cost of 5 per cent of the U.S. military budget.

It is estimated that every dollar spent for construction of housing will provide 1½ to 2 times as many jobs as an equal amount of money spent for munitions. Such a program could provide jobs on the construction sites, and in the manufacture and transportation of the building materials, for about 1.8 million workers.

Shorter work week, security for all: The 35-hour week should be the next goal in hours, for the American work week has been frozen at 40 hours for some 20 years, while in the same period industrial productivity has risen about 60 per cent. The danger of additional unemployment resulting from disarmament could be further reduced by cutting the work week to 35 hours, and thus providing roughly 4 million additional jobs for workers in peaceful production.

To end poverty, which now affects some 50 million Americans in families with low incomes, the minimum wage should be doubled and applied to all workers; and the social security sys-

tem should be improved by combining its protections into a single national system guaranteeing a minimum income of \$2,000 yearly for each single individual and \$1,000 additional for each family member. To this should be added a universal free system of health services, all made possible by the savings from disarmament.

Foreign trade expansion: East-West trade is another way to take up some of the slack that might be caused by economic slump resulting from unplanned disarmament. Such trade has grown from about \$3 billion in 1952 to \$8 billion in 1959. It has helped to save the British and other foreign currencies from collapse. It could well be a support to the dollar in the same way. The socialist countries of the world already have about 45 per cent of the world's industrial output outside the U.S. and could in the future provide the best markets for U.S. products. Assuming a four-year disarmament process, American exports to the socialist countries alone could by the end of that period provide employment to at least 600,000 additional U.S. workers.

Shifting to civilian work: Munitions workers or those employed on military contracts—at least 4 million civilian workers—should have at least a year's severance pay if disarmament costs them their present jobs. They should also have free transportation and moving expenses to new job sites, as well as subsidies while training for new work.

Concrete measures in this direction have already been proposed by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (245 2nd St., N.E., Washington, 2, D. C.) in its pamphlet, *Questions on Disarmament and Your Job*, especially section E "How Will Working Men and Women Meet the Change?"

The tax angle: The corporations are already pressing for a cut in their taxes

in case of disarmament while maintaining the same rates on workers and imposing new sales taxes on the people. This is essentially the Nixon trickle-down program which labor opposes 100 per cent. The fruits of disarmament should not be passed on to the big monopolists but rather to the mass of people who have struggled for it.

Prof. John K. Galbraith of Harvard, discussing economic benefits from disarmament, in the Soviet weekly *New Times* (No. 51, Dec., 1959), urged that the first and most important step would be "a large reduction in taxes—especially the taxes that fall on lower-income taxpayers who could be counted on to spend the money they no longer paid to the state" to maintain a crushing military budget. "Purchases of arms and other supplies for the armed forces would thus be partly replaced by individual purchases for individual needs."

Outlays for public needs: In the same discussion, Prof. Galbraith notes that arms expenditures would in part be replaced by spending for public needs. "We require more schools and colleges; our large cities are in need of rebuilding; transportation into and out of our larger cities urgently requires reorganization; we must have more parks and recreation areas near our major centers of population; our roads barely accommodate what many are beginning to believe is a near maximum population of automobiles. . . . We need more hospitals and clinics." In fact, "there was perhaps never before a time since the first settlement of the country when our need for so many public services was so pressing."

Similar constructive programs have been suggested by those who have given this matter considerable thought. Norman Cousins, in an editorial in the *Saturday Review* (Nov. 14, 1959) on "Peace Without Panic," proposed the manufacture of 100 million prefabricated three-rooms houses for shipment to countries in which homelessness is a major

problem, and the undertaking of hydro-electric power, irrigation, road-building and hospital-building projects in other countries. As for the U.S. itself, he said, "We can launch a program to build at least 25,000 new elementary and secondary schools; to build at least 500 new teachers' colleges; to provide new equipment on facilities for 1,500 colleges and universities; to build at least 10,000 miles of much-needed Federal highways; to enlarge the plants and facilities of 25,000 hospitals; to carry out an air decontamination program to get rid of poisons resulting from industrial gases, automobile fumes and radioactive fallout; and to restore the eroded or eroding lands of the Midwest and West."

Welfare equivalents: The Committee for World Development and World Disarmament (345 E. 46th St., New York City 17), in its report on *Economic Consequences of Disarmament*, indicated just how much money "defense" costs in terms of what else might be purchased with the same funds. For example:

"The overall cost of introducing the Atlas inter-continental ballistic missile into our armed forces will average about \$36 million per missile on the firing line. As an example, the amount spent for one missile would provide each of the 36 counties of Oregon with a new \$1 million school.

"The latest atomic submarines will cost \$50 million each. (Three are budgeted for fiscal year 1960.) This total sum—\$150 million—could provide a new \$3 million hospital for all cities in the U.S. with a population of 200,000 or more.

"A single B-58 bomber costs \$26,700,000. Converted into social and economic needs, this amounts to about 1,300 new \$20,000 homes to house more than 6,000 people."

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ATOMIC ENERGY - FOR WAR OR PEACE?

The Failure of Atomic Energy, by F. O. Miksche. Praeger. New York, 1959. 224 pages. \$4.50.

Strategy in the Missile Age, by Bernard Brodie. Princeton University Press. 423 pages. \$6.50.

Defense in the Nuclear Age, by Stephen King-Hall. Fellowship Publications, New York, 1959. 234 pages. \$2.75.

Atomic Energy in the Soviet Union, by Arnold Kramish. Stanford University Press. 242 pages. \$4.75.

The Pursuit of the Atom, by Werner Braunbek. Emerson, New York, 1959. 250 pages. \$3.95.

From Hiroshima to the Moon, by Daniel Lang. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1959. 496 pages. \$5.95.

Organizing Peace in the Nuclear Age, by Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York University Press, 1959. 258 pages. \$3.75.

A NUMBER of books having to do with war and peace in the atomic age cross our desk at NWR, and our readers may find it useful to be able to distinguish what lies behind some of the titles they find in the bookstores and on the library shelves.

Three books on military policy have in common only the conclusion (by now quite obvious) that Western cold war policies have failed, i.e., that they have not accomplished the end to which they were designed, namely, some sort of decisive victory over the "communist world," and the equally obvious conclusion that total nuclear war cannot be counted upon to achieve this end. Having established these points, the three authors differ fundamentally. F. O. Miksche (*The Failure of Atomic Strategy*), attached to the headquarters of the Free French Forces during World War II and now living in England, is the most conventional in his conclu-

sions. Convinced that the West suffers from "atom paralysis" and too much dependence on technical achievements, Miksche urges the building of a fortified zone from the Baltic to the Adriatic, backed up by a politically united Western Europe.

Bernard Brodie (*Strategy in the Missile Age*), has written a research study financed by the RAND Corporation, an organization whose primary function is to develop military operations analyses, under contract for the U.S. Air Force. Perhaps his most interesting point is that military policy is not made by military experts; for example, the idea of "preventive war" was rejected, without much discussion but completely, by the American people, and that "massive retaliation" was introduced casually and almost inadvertently by Dulles, with the alleged reasons for its being subsequently "phased out" already in existence when it was first mentioned. Designed for study in war colleges as well as for the general reader, Brodie's book advocates no "total" solution.

Stephen King-Hall (*Defense in the Nuclear Age*) does have a total solution, which he advocates strongly for Britain, but he does not expect much American support for his views even though he would like to see such support: he would fight against communism and for "our way of life" by non-resistance. This, he says, is not pacifism, for he wants to attack and destroy communism; victory, according to King-Hall, consists in making the enemy change his mind, and this will not be achieved by force of arms. The Communists know this too, he says, and will not make unprovoked attacks. As a military man King-Hall is convinced that it does not make sense for Britain to possess superweapons, and he gives a well-reasoned argument for unilateral

nuclear disarmament. He admits the enormous magnitude of the task of making a strong aggressive support of "our way of life" entirely within the realm of ideas, and proposes a commission to study ways and means.

Another RAND corporation study, *Atomic Energy in the Soviet Union*, by Arnold Kramish, is disappointing in that much less attention is paid to Soviet science than to what is known (or guessed) of Soviet plans and progress in their development of atomic weapons. A serious book on science in the USSR is still lacking.

The Pursuit of the Atom, by Werner Braunbek, is a popular book written originally for West German consumption. The translation is particularly unfortunate in the use of grammatical tenses, and the science is no worse and no better, on the whole, than is presented in other books on the subject. Perhaps the most interesting feature is an omission which casts further doubt on the case made by Robert Jungk in *Brighter Than 1000 Suns*, that the German scientists deliberately refrained from work on the atomic bomb on the basis of humanitarian principles; it is true, according to Braunbek, that German efforts were frustrated, but there is no hint in his book that such humanitarian factors were in any way involved.

From Hiroshima to the Moon is a collection of "profiles" by Daniel Lang which appeared originally in the *New Yorker* from 1945 to 1958. Some of these pieces seem rather dull in 1960, but others, such as the story of the American scientific mission to assess the damage at Hiroshima immediately after the war, still hold considerable interest.

The eleventh report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, *Organizing Peace in the Nuclear Age*, may be useful to future scholars, but it can hardly be said to make history at present! It is of interest that the statement "We believe that every independent state should be a member of the United Nations and that every government actually in power within such a state should be permitted and encouraged to take part in the work of the Organization (UN), thereby clearly acknowledging the obligation to respect the provisions of the Charter" is included, although specific reservation to this one recommendation is made by five of the eighty-one members. The largest single subdivision of the book is a "supporting paper" devoted to the establishment and early actions of the International Atomic Energy Agency—"Atoms for Peace." It thus constitutes a valuable source of information on this particular agency. S. J.

AFRICA TODAY PAMPHLETS

FOUR pamphlets have been issued in a series under the above title. They are 1. "War in Algeria: Is Confederation the Answer?" by Lorna Hahn; 2. "Portugal's 'African Wards,'" by Marvin Harris; 3. "Kenya Faces the Future," by Tom Mboya; 4. "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: The Future of a Dilemma," by Channing Richardson and others.

The series is published by the American Committee on Africa as part of its

program to inform the public about Africa and its problems and help create a public opinion for the support of policies which will oppose racial discrimination, further interracial cooperation and help the development of responsible self-government in those parts of Africa where it does not exist.

The pamphlets (50 cents apiece) may be ordered through the American Committee on Africa, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York.

A REPORT ON SOVIET CHILDREN

Reviewed by ELIZABETH MOOS

Russia's Children, A First Report on Child Welfare in the Soviet Union, by Herschel and Edith Alt. Bookman Associates, N. Y., 1959. 240 pages. \$3.75.

TWO social workers of long experience in child welfare in the United States—one in the field of health, the other with neglected and delinquent children—went to the USSR to “see in what ways the Soviet Union’s approach to child rearing differed from our own.” Interested in the process of social change, they were eager to observe what they believed to be “the most radical contemporary effort in any part of the world to condition human beings to meet social needs.”

The Alts have gathered together much valuable material based on many interviews with Soviet educators, health workers, etc. They report observations made in schools, hospitals, kindergartens. They include much material from Soviet writing; from the press and from the works of Anton Makarenko. The book is, as its subtitle states, the first about child welfare in the Soviet Union by an American in many years. It is therefore unfortunate that the authors’ generalizations and comments are less objective than one might expect.

Starting with the assumption that individual freedom of development is restricted in Soviet education makes it difficult for the Alts to see how the group, the collective, is used by Soviet educators and psychologists as a means for full development of the human beings of whom it is composed. And thus the interaction between group and individual, so fundamental in Soviet theory and practice, is not clearly understood by the authors.

Particularly concerned with individual

expression, they viewed the controlled, disciplined, and non-aggressive behavior of Soviet children in group situations as the result of repression. When in nursery after nursery little children woke up quietly, undisturbed by the visitors, without crying, they were troubled, attributing it to a lack of impulsive behavior. The children they observed in schools, theaters, on the streets, exhibited discipline and self-control. This seemed somehow strange and a bit sinister to them. That the lack of tensions, of aggressive behavior might be due to the fact that Soviet children are not conditioned to violence by their television, films, books or by the behavior of the adults they observe, the Alts do not take into account. Although they comment favorably on the gentle, tender attitude of adults working with young children, they do not relate this to the children’s obviously secure, happy and calm behavior.

In the chapter entitled *Does the System Work?* the Alts examine a picture of Soviet youth. But instead of considering the over-all activities as youth go to the new lands, to industry, the farms, the schools, as they work on community projects, in the Komsomol, and so forth, the authors base their conclusions on interviews with chance acquaintances and evidences of dissident and atypical behavior (of which there is plenty), culled from the press. Such evidence of anti-social behavior belongs, of course, in any study of youth in the Soviet Union but it must be seen in the context of the total performance and achievement of Soviet youth.

Unfortunately, the section on juvenile delinquency, while reprinting much useful material from the Soviet press and some interviews, does not point up the fact that the quantity as well as the

quality of juvenile crime in the Soviet Union is not comparable to ours. An impression is given that our problems are the same, which is, to say the least, misleading. The work of rehabilitation is described and much valuable material provided. One wishes that more had been said about the Soviet manner of treating the adolescent in trouble; that the fact that corporal punishment, for example, is outlawed everywhere in the Soviet Union had been given greater stress and recommended to the attention of our own authorities.

The authors note positively the effect of the consistency of values, the unity of approach in the Soviet Union and the thoughtful social planning. They make some recommendations in this field. Our varied and confused theories of behavior and value, they feel, are "a cause of anxiety to parents and teachers," and they suggest that more might be done in the United States to "achieve a general consensus about a formulation of social and personal values which could be utilized in child rearing." They believe that our country might profit also by more social planning, they deplore the "inexorable and total character of planning in the Soviet Union" but we in the United States plan "too little and on too limited a scale."

In evaluating the book it must be noted that there are some inaccuracies and unjustified generalizations. We quote but two examples. Since the nurses in children's institutions visited by the authors had not had special training, the generalization is made that nurses in children's institutions do not have such training. This is incorrect. The Alts also report that case histories are not taken for children who are referred for special help. On the contrary, very detailed histories are compiled for every child.

The final conclusion reached by the authors is "a disappointing estimate of child rearing values and methods in the Soviet Union." This is based

on differences in approach; on "submergence of the individual in the collective" which they contrast with "respect for individual feeling and . . . tolerance of differences" which they believe is found in the USA. Having reached this conclusion, however, the authors say "it is only fair to acknowledge that our judgments are based on limited knowledge and therefore are subject to the risk of error."

In spite of the criticisms and shortcomings pointed out, *Child Welfare in the Soviet Union* is a welcome addition to the much too sparse literature on this subject.

Soviet Documents

Current Soviet Policies III. The Documentary Record of the Extraordinary 21st Communist Party Congress. Edited by Leo Grulio; 222 pages. Columbia University Press, New York, 1960. \$6.00.

THIS is a compilation of translations published in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, of the proceedings of the 21st Congress in February, 1959. It gives in full the control figures for the Seven-Year Plan approved by the Congress and extracts from the wide public discussion that followed their publication prior to the Congress. N. S. Khrushchev's report to the Congress on the new plan and his concluding remarks are published in full, as well as the Congress resolutions. Excerpts are given from the discussions that took place at the Congress on the report and the plan. An introduction by the editor deals with what our Soviet "experts" like to call the "power struggle" within the party, but fails to give enlightenment on the issues involved or to assess the meaning of the economic, social and cultural advances, accomplished and projected, in the lives of the Soviet people. The record of the Congress itself is valuable source material.

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