

OCTOBER, 1960

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# **New World**

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# NEW WORLD REVIEW

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## THE NEED IS GREAT

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# 15th UN General Assembly

## *New Chance for Peace*

**T**HE GREATEST ASSEMBLY of nations and of world leaders ever to have gathered together, is getting under way as we go to press. History will be far ahead of us by the time this reaches our readers. At this point we can do little more than point out the great opportunities this 15th UN General Assembly holds for a real start toward disarmament and peace.

The importance of this Assembly lies in the fact that due to the initiative of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev many world leaders decided to attend. And it lies in the fact that the admission of 15 newly independent African nations brings the Asian-African group to 44 out of 98 member nations. This ushers in a new era in UN affairs. The Western nations can no longer count on an automatic majority. The needs and the voices of the underdeveloped nations, now coming into their own, will be heard and counted.

Thus the UN nears to the goal of a true world parliament, which it will be when People's China with a fourth of the world's people and the remaining former colonial nations are admitted.

It is distressing to Americans that President Eisenhower missed the opportunity to give the significance to this extraordinary session that so many other nations are doing, both by failing to head up the U.S. delegation and by offering nothing new for the solution of world problems in his address.

The two important resolutions offered by Premier Khrushchev in his opening speech have largely been blanketed out by the press, which concentrated on his proposals for a reorganization of the

UN Secretariat, but they will certainly come to the fore again as the debates on special issues get under way.

*On Colonialism*, Mr. Khrushchev proposed that complete independence and freedom be granted immediately to all colonial countries, trusteeship and other non-self governing territories, and the elimination of all strongholds of colonialism in the shape of possessions and leasehold areas on the territories of other states.

*On Disarmament*, which he described as the cardinal problem of the world today, the Soviet Premier presented a draft agreement based on the revised plan for complete and universal disarmament presented to the 10-Nation Disarmament Conference, going still further to meet the Western powers. In presenting the plan, Mr. Khrushchev emphasized that strict control and inspection should accompany every step. He urged new disarmament negotiations in which neutral states would be represented.

The first stage under the Soviet proposal would see the cessation in 18 months of manufacture of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons and destruction of existing stockpiles; the dismantling of all foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from territories of other states. Taking into account the attitude of the Western powers, Mr. Khrushchev proposed coupling with these measures the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments.

The second stage would include complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and all other weapons of mass extermination, end of their manu-

facture and destruction of stockpiles and further reduction of armed forces and armaments.

In the third stage all armed forces and armaments would be eliminated, all war production stopped, war ministries, general staffs, military organizations of all kinds and appropriations for military purposes abolished, thus achieving the goal of complete and universal disarmament. For internal security, states would have agreed contingents of police or militia, placing such contingents at the disposal of the UN in case of need.

The Soviet Premier emphasized in offering these proposals that the Soviet Government "is deeply convinced that only a radical solution of the disarmament problem which would provide for complete prohibition of nuclear weapons together with cessation of their manufacture and tests and destruction of all stockpiles can fully accord with the task of delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear war."

The suggestion, not formulated as a resolution, that a single UN Secretary General be replaced by a Secretariat representing the three main UN groupings—"the states belonging to the military blocs of the Western powers, the socialist states and the neutralist countries"—grew directly out of the Congo situation, which we reviewed in our last issue. The Secretary General, as President Nkrumah of Ghana pointed out, in failing to distinguish between the legal and illegal authorities, had not properly carried out UN obligations to the Central Government of the Congo, which asked its aid in expelling the Belgian troops.

The UN authorities failed to carry out the Security Council's injunction to act in consultation with the Central Government, and in fact prevented Premier Lumumba from carrying out his responsibilities by denying him the use of his own radio station and airports. They also failed to act with sufficient firmness in relation to Tshombe, supported in his attempt for the secession of the Katanga by Belgian officers and

troops. Belgian troops still remain in the Congo in the guise of "technicians," etc.

It is not surprising in view of the Congo situation that Mr. Khrushchey should have raised the question as to how a truly neutral leadership could be achieved in heading up any UN force set up under a disarmament agreement.

Nor is it surprising that he should also have raised the question of moving the UN elsewhere, in view of the nonsensical restrictions placed upon his movements, and those of the Hungarian, Albanian and Cuban leaders, by the U.S. State Department, the churlish attitude of our government toward his presence here, and the provocative attitudes expressed by the press and various hate groups.

At any rate, Mr. Khrushchey has made it quite clear that he has no intention of "wrecking" the United Nations as has been hysterically charged. His very presence here demonstrates the importance he attributes to the world body.

We are glad to report that in the midst of all the provocations, large numbers of the New York people turned out to welcome the UN Assembly and the presence of the Soviet Premier and other government leaders. Hundreds of peace lovers demonstrated before the United Nations at its opening, in far greater numbers than the hostile refugee groups—until the police kept more from coming. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship participated with other groups in this demonstration, issuing a special leaflet calling for appeals to President Eisenhower that the United States should make unparalleled efforts for agreement on the beginning of a disarmament program and continuous negotiations in whatever manner the Assembly decided until agreement is achieved.

We join this call, and urge all our readers to participate in or initiate peace actions around the UN Assembly that will help its deliberations realize mankind's hopes for disarmament, human well-being and a world at peace.

# From West to East- From East to West

by MURRAY YOUNG

IF THERE was no Summit meeting during the troubled summer just past, there were nevertheless important conferences, symposia and exchange visits between East and West that marked a new stage in the increasing flow of scientific and cultural contacts. Some of these meetings were within the scope of the official exchange program between the Soviet Union and the United States, others were conferences of scientists in many fields who have consistently pressed for the widest contacts with other scientists in the world to advance the researches they are pursuing.

The ratification by the U.S. Senate on August 10 of a treaty with the Soviet Union and ten other countries to maintain the Antarctic as a peaceful international preserve was one of the most significant events of the summer. The Antarctic is a region as large as the United States and Western Europe combined and the treaty recognizes that "it is in the interest of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord." All nuclear explosions are forbidden in the vast region as well as all military operations. All signatories to the treaty have the right of unlimited inspection. Each nation may establish bases for research or exploration, and the nations further agree to pool their facilities for research that has continued in the

Antarctica ever since the International Geophysical Year.

The *New York Herald Tribune* (August 11) said of the ratification of the treaty by the Senate:

Its signature marked a major milestone in man's stumbling progress toward a world in which he can live together with his fellow man in peace and confidence. Its ratification rates applause.

On August 28 the National Science Foundation announced a \$4,000,000 program of scientific studies in Antarctica which includes exchange of Russian and U.S. scientific observers on important overland explorations.

In line with the terms of this treaty was the agreement made this summer by the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, meeting in Helsinki to set up an international service to warn of tidal waves. The three countries to take part in the service are the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union. The decision to organize such a service was in large part precipitated by the events following the disastrous earthquake last May in Chile. Despite evidence that tidal waves were moving across the Pacific, 57 people were killed in Hawaii and 139 in Japan. The warning service will help prevent in the future such unnecessary loss of life.

The International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, one of the world's largest scientific organizations, concluded its conference by electing Prof. Vladimir V. Belousov

of the Soviet Union as president. He succeeds Prof. J. Tuzo Wilson of the University of Toronto. The two vice presidents elected were Prof. Joseph Kaplan of the University of California and Dr. Julius Bartels of West Germany.

In accord with the terms of the official exchange program five Soviet nuclear scientists visited high-energy physics laboratories in the United States in July. At the same time a group of U.S. scientists visited similar laboratories in the Soviet Union. Among the U.S. laboratories visited by the Soviet scientists were Brookhaven National Laboratory, Cornell University, Princeton University, Argonne National Laboratory and Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in Berkeley, California.

Later in the summer the Tenth International Conference on High Energy Physics was held in Rochester, N. Y. The Soviet delegation to the Conference was led by the distinguished physicists Vladimir Ueksler and Nikolai Bogolyubov, both members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The International Union of Pure and Applied Physics, the principal sponsor of the meeting, said that plans were in progress to expand the already considerable amount of basic scientific information exchanged between East and West in their field.

Another international meeting in the field of physics—Conference on the Physics of Semi-conductors—was held in Prague during August. Some 160 United States scientists were in attendance at this important conference.

In the realm of applied science the first congress of the International Federation of Automatic Control

was held in Moscow in late June with more than a thousand delegates from about thirty countries. The U.S. delegates were headed by Prof. Rufus Oldenburger of Purdue University, who is president of the American Automatic Control Council. Six of the delegates who attended the congress, reporting before an Automatic Controls Conference held in September at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said that the Soviet Union was making "awesome" efforts in control theory, according to a story in the *New York Times* for September 8. They predicted that within five to ten years the Soviet Union would begin construction of automatic factories on a massive scale. They also found the 5,000 yearly graduates in the general area of automatic control most impressive.

Speaking at the congress on "Automation and Humanity," Academician Vadim Trapeznikov of the USSR, predicted that automation would completely relieve man from working under all harmful conditions and at the same time very much improve living standards and hasten the shortening of the work-day. This development, speeded up by the widest contacts and exchange of information between the scientists and specialists of the different countries of the world, would be in the interest of all mankind, Academician Trapeznikov said.

At the University of Wisconsin the Seventh International Soil Science Congress was held in August. The Soviet delegation to this congress numbered 26 scientists. There were 1,200 soil experts from all over the world in attendance.

A further realization of the official

exchange agreement were the Soviet cancer specialists who studied this summer at various cancer research centers throughout this country. In exchange, a group of U.S. specialists are to go to the USSR this fall to study in the fields of maternal and child care. (These exchanges of periods of study as against brief inspection tours are considered a valuable development in the exchange program.)

Early in the summer a conference was held in Moscow to consider the results of the mass trial of live-virus polio vaccine given in the USSR during the past year—60,000,000 persons had been given the vaccine during the course of the year. Among the U.S. delegates attending the conference was Dr. Albert B. Sabin of Cincinnati, the scientist who developed the live-virus vaccine and for whom the new form is named. As a result of the trials in the USSR and elsewhere, live-virus vaccine is now being produced by pharmaceutical companies for distribution in this country.

Dr. Sabin, lecturing in Prague on September 9, called for a world campaign for the total elimination of polio. He said that according to his calculations, the present factories producing pharmaceuticals in the USSR, U.S. and Great Britain could produce enough vaccine for the whole world.

At Prague during August an international symposium on membrane transport and metabolism was sponsored by the Biological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science. Professor A. K. Solomon of Harvard University was an alternate in presiding over the symposium along with Prof. A. S. Troshin of the

USSR Academy of Science, Prof. R. D. Keynes of Cambridge University and Academician Ernest of Hungary.

"The medical world is truly an international world," Dr. Michael E. De Bakey of Baylor University, Houston, Texas, told reporters in Moscow this summer where he had gone to read a paper at the Twenty-Second USSR Congress on Surgery.

It was this recognition of the fundamental international character of the world of medicine that led the seventeen Negro doctors from the U.S., headed by Dr. Edward C. Mazique, president of the National Medical Association, to visit the Soviet Union and other socialist countries this summer. (See September NWR for details.)

In our September issue we also published information about the two important trade union delegations that visited the Soviet Union this summer. Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, and three leading members of the Union were guests of the Soviet Sea and River Transport Workers Union. Another group of eleven trade unionists, headed by Ernest Mazey of the United Automobile Workers, were guests of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries.

This year's exchange of students is to send 21 U.S. students to Soviet universities and to bring 21 Soviet students for a year's study in various U.S. colleges and universities. During the summer 40 students spent a month in the Soviet Union after an intensive eight weeks of language study at the University of Michigan and Indiana University (this is double the number who made a similar study trip last year).

In part supported by the Carnegie Corporation, this project is related to a language study program looking forward to making of summer tours overseas for language students a standard part of their educational program—particularly for those specializing in Slavic and Oriental languages.

On the initiative of the YMCA four Soviet youth workers spent a month late this spring investigating YMCA work in this country; later four YMCA workers went for a month's visit to the Soviet Union to survey youth work there.

In the area of cultural exchanges the enthusiasm in the Soviet Union for the touring company of *My Fair Lady* and the summer concerts of Van Cliburn, the soprano Roberta Peters, and the distinguished violinist Isaac Stern were in no way lessened by the tragic U-2 incident. (See article by Ralph Parker, September NWR.) Similarly in this country the announcements of the debut of the great Soviet pianist Sviatoslav Richter in October, the reappearance for concerts of Leonid Kogan and David Oistrakh, and the second tour of the Moisseyev Dancers next spring were received with profound satisfaction.

Several Soviet movies in connection with the official cultural exchange program are at present playing about the country. Of the movies—*The Cranes Are Flying*, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, *The Idiot*, *Swan Lake* and *Othello*—*The Cranes Are Flying* was most highly praised in its first showing in New York. Nearer to American movies in its dominant theme of romantic love, its deeply moving story offers a most interesting contrast to American

movies with the same theme of love and war. Of the other movies perhaps *And Quiet Flows the Don*, with its superb re-creation of the life of the Cossack Dons along the Volga River is the most satisfying even though it is unfortunately only the first part of a trilogy. Based upon Mikhail Sholokhov's world famous novel, the movie absorbingly projects the vigorous, passionate life of Sholokov's characters.

In the Soviet Union the American movies *Marty*, *Roman Holiday*, *The Great Caruso*, *Lili* and *Rhapsody* are being shown throughout the country. The showing of *Roman Holiday* and *Rhapsody* in Moscow's Palace of Sports which seats 10,000 people would seem to indicate a more enthusiastic backing of the movie exchange than the far too limited showing in small houses here of the Soviet movies. (You may have to watch closely for the Soviet movies when they come to your local theaters.)

Happily the flow of visitors between the Soviet Union and the United States continues. Some 15,000 Americans are expected in the course of the year to take advantage of the increasing facilities and the attractive offers of Intourist. And some 1,500 Soviet citizens are expected to visit our country through the cooperation of Intourist and the American Express Company.

From East to West, from West to East hands continue to reach out, offering the finest flowering of the human spirit in scientific discovery and cultural achievement however troubled international relations become, determined against all odds to advance man's life on this earth and to realize an enduring peace.

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# "The Road to Life"-1960

## Visit to Soviet Juvenile Corrective Colonies

by ELIZABETH MOOS

IN THE Soviet Union during the 1920's special boarding schools, "colonies," for the re-education of young lawbreakers and vagabonds, were established. Anton Semyonovich Makarenko, educator who directed them, described the successful work of rehabilitation and analyzed the principles behind it in his valuable book *The Road to Life, a Pedagogic Poem*.

How are Soviet juvenile delinquents of 1960 treated and what kind of offenses are common? Are there colonies? Are these guided by the principles of Makarenko? To find answers to such questions was one objective of my visit to the USSR during May and June of 1960. Thanks to the courtesy of Soviet authorities and youth workers, this objective was largely achieved.

There are colonies for Soviet delinquents, girls and boys under 18 who do not respond to the ordinary pedagogical methods. About 5,500 young people are being re-educated in them. These colonies and all institutions for young lawbreakers are the responsibility of a special youth department of the Ministry of Internal Security. The head of this

department for the Leningrad area and the head of the Moscow region kindly arranged for visits to colonies and to a detention home. The directors and their co-workers generously devoted time to answering the visitor's questions. (Discussions were a two-way affair, for the youth workers in the Soviet Union are much interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency in the USA and very well informed about it.)

It soon became evident that the term juvenile delinquency (criticized in the USA) is very misleading in the Soviet Union. Tourists who inquire about Soviet juvenile delinquency have even been told "there is no juvenile delinquency in our country." Sometimes this may be out of desire to paint a rosy picture for the visitor. More often, it is because the term connotes for the Soviet citizen sadistic, brutal crimes, the sex crimes and gang murders which "juvenile delinquency" usually includes. Therefore, their answer was substantially correct.

Offenses by Soviet young people are stealing, petty thievery, black marketing, hooliganism (a term which covers damage to public property, fighting, undisciplined or insulting behavior), drunkenness, repeated truancy or vagrancy. Some get into trouble because "They are just adventurers, romantics—they want to see the world," said a Leningrad youth worker. He told of youngsters picked up on the streets

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ELIZABETH MOOS was formerly director of the Hessian Hills School, Croton-on-Hudson, New York. She has written extensively on Soviet education. Her most recent pamphlet, *Soviet Education Today and Tomorrow*, was published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

of the big cities who rode the freights, stowed away on boats, or stole money for travel.

What accounts for the fact that gangsterism, crimes of violence, sex crimes among youth, are so very rare—that the incidence of delinquency is very low? Is it, in part, because:

—Stories of crime, juvenile or adult, are not often publicized and never glamorized? Because no youthful offender sees his picture in print?

—Soviet censorship prohibits films, books or magazines, television programs, that glorify brutality, describe crime or perverted sex?

—There is no narcotic trade, no problem of addiction or of prostitution in the USSR?

The free recreation and sports facilities that are widely available to youth, the assurance of free education from primary school through college, the guarantee of jobs and a place in society are basic factors, no doubt.

### ***The Approach to Young Lawbreakers***

Why, then, are there young Soviet lawbreakers, hooligans?

Many families are without fathers, because of war losses. Housing is very cramped in spite of the tremendous building program and great progress made since the war. Neglectful parents, bad home conditions are blamed. In many families, both parents work. Pioneer clubs cannot take care of all children after school hours and children attend twice a week. The influence on the youth of Western attitudes toward morality and crime, as expressed in films, records, comic books or magazines, increased contact with

foreigners, is deplored by some Soviet citizens and considered as contributing to hooliganism.

Schools are now beginning to operate on a "prolonged day" providing recreation, study supervision and an evening meal for pupils. This, Soviet citizens feel, will keep youngsters off the streets and out of trouble. Boarding schools are being opened which provide for many youngsters.

Statistics of the number of boys and girls under 18 who get into trouble but are not sent to the special boarding schools for re-education are not available. Minor infractions of the law, first offenses, are handled by the local community through informal committees, "comradely courts." Parent committees and the Komsomol (Young Communist League), which now has its own militia corps, solve many problems without militia and there is no record made.

Prevention is everybody's job. Press and radio continually urge parents, trade unionists, teachers, Pioneer leaders, Komsomols and the general public to be alert, ready to step in to help any youngster who seems to be heading for trouble.

Visitors to Soviet schools often comment on the good behavior, serious attitude toward work and respect for teachers observed. Nevertheless, there are some young people who cannot get along and become "breakers of discipline" (to use a literal translation). They are potential "delinquents." Such children may be expelled by the school after provision has been made for them in another school or a job.

One of the Moscow schools doing remarkable work in starting such

youngsters on the path to good citizenship, accepts pupils from schools of the area who have been expelled and provides secondary education from 5th to 11th grades combined with labor training.

Because each year there are fewer students being sent, now 300 of the 800 pupils are "expellees" and the rest from the area.

The young director, B. D. Kashinsky, sat in his office under a picture of Anton Semyonovich Makarenko, whose principles he said are the foundation of the program he described for me:

"Five years ago, our pedagogical collective decided that a new approach should be made to children who were having difficulty in adjustment. For some children, regular study is difficult. Home conditions may be bad. They must be given self-confidence, self-respect." Participating in productive labor, said Director Kashinsky, is important for adolescents. Youngsters should earn by their work and not have to ask for pocket money. Boys working in the wood and metal shops were using modern machines, turning out preschool furniture, metal-lined sand tables, models of auto engines, etc., of professional quality. During work periods, from two to four hours a day, enough saleable goods are produced, usually on order, to make the school self-supporting. The boys earn some money for personal use but most of the money earned goes to the school or to the class. Class money is used for trips, theater, concerts, etc.

Self-government is highly developed. Each class has a council of five or six selected members, and an elected leader chosen for a year.

There is a business manager and a cashier. The pupils themselves keep accounts, take the orders, decide on time and labor schedules and assume responsibility for supplies and repairs.

There are many Komsomol members in the schools and they are active in the work with the councils on labor discipline and self-government. Parents participate actively.

The atmosphere is friendly, informal. School work and shop work are on a high level. The director and his devoted pedagogical collective are justly proud of their success in starting young "potential delinquents" on the road to good citizenship.

Such special schools are part of the school system, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. They are important in the fight to eliminate delinquency.

The Ministry of Education does not deal with young people whose problems can not be solved by ordinary pedagogic methods. These are the responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Security. "When the schools cannot handle them, they come to us," said Ivan Pavlovich Shiganov, head of the youth department of the Ministry of Internal Security for the Northwest and Leningrad area.

A handsome army officer in trim uniform, Mr. Shiganov is very well equipped for his job. A graduate of the Leningrad Institute for Higher Pedagogical Education, he was a teacher and school director for many years. A friendly man with a keen sense of humor, he told many stories of his youthful charges as we drove out of town to visit the boys' colony.

His enthusiasm for his work, his warm human quality and solid educational background, were duplicated in the directors of the colonies and the head of the detention home. "Only people who really understand young people, who love them, should do this work," he said.

The staff members seemed everywhere to be dedicated, doing work they had chosen, not just a job. This gives a definite tone, an atmosphere, to institutions for young lawbreakers that would seem most conducive to rehabilitation.

### ***Detention Homes and Colonies***

What happens when a young person is picked up by the militia?

Every militia station must have a children's room for youngsters who are lost or in trouble. Parents are sent for immediately. Serious cases are taken to a detention home. Like the colonies, detention homes are not coeducational.

We visited the boys' detention home for the Northwest district, talked with the pleasant director, also a graduate of the Lenin Institute for Higher Pedagogical Education and former teacher. A doctor and two nurses are on the staff of twelve specially trained workers in charge of 50 boys, from 10 to 17.

Young people may be held under observation in this large, comfortable house for no more than a month. They do not have regular school lessons but may study if they wish and there are some trained teachers on the staff to help them. There are workshops, game rooms, films shown regularly. The boys do most of the work in the house, such as serving the meals and cleaning the rooms. The doctor told us the boys

often have been neglected, come in poor physical condition, and always gain weight. The atmosphere of the house was warm, calm and friendly. No locks or bars were evident. Discipline? Yes, said the director. This is sometimes a problem, particularly at first. Boys are unused to routine. They resist control. Our main job, he said, is building self respect. What measures are taken to enforce discipline?

The reply was substantially the same as that given by the directors of the colonies; permissible methods are prescribed. Procedures vary but little. This outline applies, therefore, to the colonies to be later described.

First, persuasion is used. Efforts are made by someone of the staff to reason with the culprit, to convince him of his error and help him do better. If this does not work, he must appear before the collective, the student and staff council, for discussion. If all persuasion is ineffectual and he persists in undisciplined behavior, he is deprived of the right to work in the shops. This is considered a serious deprivation, for the boys earn money for usable products. A more severe measure is isolation, for no longer than three days. Deprivation of food, humiliating or corporal punishment are strictly prohibited.

Of course, the boys are well aware that their behavior in the home will affect the decision of the commission about their future and this motivates efforts to improve.

During this period of observation, the boys are studied psychologically as well as physically. Those with serious mental or psychological disturbances may be sent to a spe-

cial school; they do not remain in the home or colony. About two to three per cent of those brought to the detention home need this kind of special care. The number of nervous children immediately after the war was much greater, said the doctor, and is decreasing each year. Watching the "inmates" at work, at dinner, and playing chess, one wondered whether they did not enjoy this life. "It is true," said the director, "that some parents who come to visit are angry because the boys are so content, and think they should be punished. We try to educate parents to understand that it is not retribution but re-education we are after."

After checking with parents or authorities from the local area, on the basis of observation and behavior, a commission decides what to do with the boys. This commission is composed of doctors, teachers, trade unionists and ordinary citizens. They are usually members of the local Soviet. The people's judge who described the work of this commission added with a grin, "There are no lawyers on it." The executive committee of the local Soviet selects members for the commission. The work is considered an honor, a social service, and is unpaid.

The commission may parole the boys to parents or guardian after investigating the home situation. In this case they will be regularly checked by the corresponding local authorities over a two-year period. Some may need medical care and be sent to a sanitarium. Occasionally, a child picked up on the streets will be placed in one of the orphans or half-orphans homes, which

are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Those considered in need of re-education may be placed in a colony. Some young people may be sent to the colony by a local youth commission without having been in a detention home.

All colonies operate on a program similar to that of the factory-plant school, that is, a combination of labor and study.

All train young people for one or several trades; pupils are not released until prepared to hold a job. Those released are checked for one or two years by local authorities who are responsible to the Ministry for seeing that the young person has proper work and home conditions. Children committed to the colonies may stay no longer than three years and not after the age of 18. This means that if an offender has been given a sentence which will run longer than the years he may spend in the colony (for example, a 15-year-old sentenced to four years) it will have to be completed in an adult prison camp, unless the sentence is commuted for good behavior in the colony.

Colonies are self-governing. Every effort is made to develop a feeling of responsibility and self-respect. Differences between the colony and the world outside are minimized. Boys or girls may, if their conduct is exemplary, become members of the Komsomol while in the colony. Parents are organized as in ordinary schools and expected to come frequently. In the boys' colony, lectures for parents are given each Sunday. Parents are summoned when a youngster is not doing well.

Inmates are paid for work that

can be used or sold, at the regular rate for such work. Half of their earnings go to the colony for their support, some is put into a savings bank to be given them when released, some they keep for spending money. This experience is valuable for building self-respect and responsibility. Soviet authorities say colonies do not try to be wholly self-supporting. The character-building role of productive labor is emphasized.

### ***The Leningrad Colony for Boys***

About 20 miles out of town is the Leningrad Boys' Colony. The approach is rather forbidding, there is a high wall, a vast gate guarded by a soldier, and many acres of land surrounded by a yellow painted fence. Over the gate is a picture of Makarenko. Once inside, there are no bars on windows, no locks evident.

The colony is established on the grounds of an ancient monastery that was in the path of the Nazi advance. It is only a little over four years old and there are still ruined buildings and many in process of reconstruction. Four hundred boys live in the vast, bare, stone-floored, white-washed rooms. The great monastery refectory and kitchen are in use. There are workshops equipped with modern machines and tools, recreation and game rooms, a library, and a gymnasium. There are gardens, a small pig farm, and a chicken farm is planned for next year.

The 400 boys are divided into brigades of 100 each and the brigades are subdivided into detachments, each with an elected council. Boys do the work of maintenance, house

and kitchen duty. Two inmates, Komsomol members, are in charge of the colony library.

Boys who have not completed eight years schooling must do so during their stay in the colony. Teachers live in the city and commute; they teach 20 hours a week in the colony. "Upbringers," who are responsible for routines of life, for moral education, may also teach (and thereby earn extra money) if they wish. The "upbringers" are on duty for five-hour shifts during the ten working hours. That is, there are two shifts of upbringers. At night, only four men, one for each brigade, are on duty.

The boys work at productive labor from four to six hours a day, depending on age and, as noted above, are paid. The boys receive some of their training in the school workshops and some in the nearby factory where they are trained to be qualified mechanics, locksmiths and lathemen. A few learn to be gardeners by working on the school grounds.

There are many leisure-time activities: dramatic circles, boxing, a chorus, chess team, dance groups and band. The colony has a sports stadium and special sports teacher.

As the director, an old member of the staff who had worked in boys' colonies from the Makarenko days, and I strolled about the grounds with Ivan Shiganov, we watched boys cementing the wall of a reconstructed building; another group was digging in the garden; one shift was at the factory; half a dozen boys off duty lounged on a grassy knoll surrounded by lofty stone pillars—all that was left of a chapel destroyed by the Nazis. They were

singing, while one boy played a guitar. In the little brook that meanders through the grounds shaded by willow trees, three boys with their trousers rolled up were poling a raft and splashing noisily. They responded gaily to the greeting of their director and the head of the section, both men imposing and dignified in their uniforms. The relation of the boys to the adults in authority appeared remarkably relaxed and friendly.

Later, we talked in the director's office. The walls were adorned with samples of the boys' handiwork, wool embroideries, among them a dove of peace.

"Now ask your questions," said Mr. Shiganov.

"Do you have crimes of violence?"

"Very rarely. Once we had a 15-year-old boy who had murdered his brother by accident during a fight. He behaved very well here and was very sorry."

"We work to develop self-discipline, consciousness," the director went on. "That is why you do not see many locks. We believe that young people thrive when trusted. There is no problem of running away. The outside gate of the great wall is locked, but any boy who really wanted to escape could easily do so, for the buildings are not locked."

Those who behave well are allowed to leave the colony for as long as ten days. During the summer, all boys have a month's holiday. They may stay at the colony without working or, if they have the possibility and their behavior is good, may go on trips or on a visit home. Good behavior is rewarded by the receipt of a "Sunday certificate"

which permits the boy to go away weekends freely. Fear of losing such privileges is a powerful incentive to good behavior!

Describing the work of the self-government organization, the director said that boys were sometimes assigned to distasteful work for bad behavior—floor-waxing for instance. Isolation was not used often here. It is ineffective because, said the director, "Boys enjoy a few days alone, without work. They loaf or read."

Desire to be free to come and go, desire to have a good record and be released early are major incentives to good behavior.

What happens to the "graduates"?

Last year 24 of the boys who had been working in the nearby factory were given regular jobs there when released. All are now members of the "teams of Communist labor"—a great honor. Ten others who "graduated" last year work in a large machine plant in the area and are doing well.

A year ago 200 "graduates" were asked to write what they thought about the colony. Many of them wrote appreciatively about what had been done for them. "All your trouble is well justified," wrote one. This boy had studied at a mechanics school at night while on a job after leaving the colony. He is married, has a child and is out working on the virgin lands. Another boy who had been a thief at 14 was admitted to the Komsomol after a year and a half in the colony and given the "Sunday certificate" allowing him to go freely wherever he wished. After being released, he went to work in the factory nearby and became a

qualified turner of the 4th grade, overfulfilling his tasks by 150 percent. He has just been accepted at a major building construction plant in the city, and admitted to a Communist labor team.

There have only been three "repeaters" during the five years that the colony has been in existence. One of the three was a "graduate" of the colony, the other two had been in small colonies where they were not given proper qualifications for work. "Every boy must acquire job qualifications, at least an eight-year education, a feeling of self-respect, experience in productive collective labor before release," said the director.

### **The Pokrovskaya Colony for Girls**

One of the three colonies for girls in the Soviet Union is 50 miles out of Moscow on the 280 acres of a former monastery in Vladimir oblast. It is near a small town and townspeople work in the colony factory and send their children to the colony school.

The grounds border a beautiful lake with a small island connected to the mainland by a long wooden bridge. Dormitories are on the island with views of the pine- and birch-bordered lake from every room. "The sight of water is very relaxing," said the director. On the island is a large outdoor platform with a loudspeaker. There was a cold rain the day of my visit, but girls were dancing during the luncheon break to the sound of the loudspeaker. (The loudspeaker, I discovered later, was being operated by two inmates from a well-equipped radio room on the mainland.) Sportsfields and gar-

dens are on the island, on the mainland are school, shops, dining rooms, a guest house and the textile factory where girls are trained for a variety of trades.

The 400 girls of the colony, from 14 to 18 years old, are divided into brigades, each with its own building. Dormitories have 16 beds, each with its side table covered with an embroidered cloth. The curtains of the rooms and the bedspreads are also colorfully embroidered by the girls. The girls were proud of their neat rooms and we had to visit every dormitory for the monitor of the day eagerly waited to show the visitors around. Each dormitory has a large recreation room with a piano, books and a table for games.

The girls of the colony get up at seven, do exercises, and eat breakfast. Then one shift goes to school for four hours and the other to the workshops or factory. At 12:30 there is a break, a general meeting, and after dinner the workshift goes to school and the school shift to work. Between six and seven the girls are free. Supper is at seven and after doing homework for an hour or so they are free to spend time at their clubs.

By ten o'clock everyone is asleep. One nurse is on duty in each building.

The colony textile plant is a miniature combine where all processes from raw material to finished garment are carried on. Girls learn several textile trades, including knitting and mechanics of textile machines. They have some experience in all departments of the plant except dyeing, sorting and checking for final sale which are handled only

by adult workers. For one or two months, girls work as apprentices, then become regular paid workers. Tailoring and sewing trades are taught and girls make their own clothes; the colony supplies materials for both uniforms and clothing for out-of-school hours.

The textile plant is a real industrial enterprise and the government has just appropriated a half million rubles for the construction and equipment of a much larger factory. Many workers from the nearby town work side by side with the colony girls teaching them the trade.

Plastering and painting are also taught in the colony. Some girls work on local farms. Some train for nursing at a sanitarium across the lake. All girls have experience and training in domestic work and there is a special department for teaching domestic sciences with its own kitchen and dining room. Every girl is expected to learn two or three trades before leaving.

All must complete the eight-year school. The school has its own principal and staff and the Ministry of Education checks frequently, said the principal, to be sure that the quality of work is as high as that of any other eight-year school. Some pupils are taking 9th and 10th grade work for there are teachers equipped for this and an evening secondary school is carried on for the staff and factory workers.

Many of the girls in the colony have been neglected and have missed their schooling for one reason or another. Every effort is made to help those who wish to complete the 10th grade, and many "graduates" have gone on to enter technicums or institutes. In addition to

regular classes, the doctor gives frequent talks on medical matters, lectures on personal hygiene and sex. The school and the colony use radio, television and films in teaching.

A great deal of extracurricular activity goes on, in spite of the heavy schedule of work and study. There is a history club, literature circle, mechanics club, science club, embroidery circle whose products are everywhere evident, a photo circle, and, as noted above, a broadcasting station operated by the girls themselves with the help of one technician. The chorus, the dance group and the orchestra perform frequently in the nearby town and the colony's brass band led their May first parade. Several girls are studying piano, violin or cello.

A great deal of attention is paid to physical culture and sports. Every girl in the colony has her own pair of skis and skates and the colony skiing team won second place in a recent competition held in the area. Such a program requires a large staff; 215 men and women, including those at the plant, work in the colony.

Two of the staff, one of the cooks and a nurse, are former inmates. Both studied in technicums after leaving and returned as staff members. Attractive girls, both expressed love for the leaders of the colony and for their own work with the girls. They felt well prepared to understand them, they said. About 26 per cent of the "graduates" come back often to visit.

There is even less feeling of restraint here than in the boy's colony no visible walls or limits. The close contact with the town and

farm nearby contributes to this as does the presence of many people from outside the colony.

However, girls are not given the general "Sunday certificate" or allowed leave as freely as the boys. They may visit their own homes, go on vacation trips if behavior warrants, or if a parent is ill will be sent home for a visit at the expense of the colony.

When girls are ready for release the decision is made by the pedagogic collective, that is, the staff of the colony. A special commission is responsible for finding jobs for the girls and they are not permitted to go until a suitable job has been found. This commission is always headed by a deputy chairman of the local Soviet. It is composed of teachers, social workers, Komsomol leaders and the industrial plant manager. Frequently the commission must find suitable living quarters. If possible, girls are sent back to their own families. If families are neglectful or conditions bad, a better home must be found, and someone to be responsible for the girl.

After release, information and advice about the girl is sent to the local Soviet, to the militia or to the parents, depending upon the persons responsible for her. Contact is kept for one or two years. Girls must complete secondary schooling while on the job at evening or correspondence school and local authorities are expected to see that this is possible.

Ninety-five per cent of the girls have made a good adjustment to life, and have been able to hold jobs, said the director. A few return for further re-education. "This colony,"

he added cheerfully, "may cease to exist in a few years for fewer and fewer girls need it. Then it will be an excellent boarding school."

The attitude of responsible adults working with youthful offenders radiates optimism, faith in a good future for the young people. "The girls at the colony are just as fine youngsters as my own daughters," said M. Mokemkov, army officer, head of the Moscow youth section of the Ministry of Internal Security. Mr. Mokemkov had taught both elementary and secondary classes and is a graduate of the Lenin Pedagogic Institute. The director at the Vladimir colony, a former teacher, has devoted fifteen years to his job and his warm feeling for his girls was very evident as he escorted us, pointing out their fine work, introducing the girls on duty in dining rooms and halls.

As in the early colonies, so memorably described by Makarenko, the past does not shadow the lives of these boys and girls. Emphasis is on the future.

For the Soviet "young delinquents" are being given responsibility, self-respect, helped to become contributing members of society. "Demand the maximum from every individual and show every individual the maximum respect" is the basis for the work, in 1960, of bringing young people back on the Road to Life.

(Anton Makarenko's *The Road to Life* is available in English translation, published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.)

# Powder Barrel in Korea

by GORDON SCHAFFER

**T**HE new South Korean Government, which replaced the universally discredited regime of Syngman Rhee, is carrying on the same policy of terror and repression. The recent elections precluded all opposition to the Syngman Rhee policies and many of the election results were faked. South Korea with six million unemployed maintains an army of 750,000, the fourth largest in the Western world and there are plenty of trigger-happy militarists, who would like to escape from their domestic difficulties by using it. Korea is a powder barrel, which could explode with disastrous results for the whole world.

Mr. Pak Ir Jen, one of the North Korean representatives during the protracted armistice negotiations, which finally ended the Korean fighting, and who is now ambassador of the North Korean Republic in the German Democratic Republic, talked to me in Berlin about the gathering crisis in his country. Here is his story which ought to be known in the West, lest we are again dragged into war behind a corrupt and tyrannical regime:

When President Eisenhower arrived in Seoul, his route was protected by five rows of U.S. troops, with tanks in reserve. The "enthusiastic welcome" shown on the televi-

sion was carried out by selected groups protected by troops. All over South Korea, there have been demonstration strikes against the government and the Americans. Workers of all kinds, professional groups and students have all taken part. At Inchon, during one of these strikes, the Americans mobilized the police for a mass attack. Eleven policemen were killed and 36 injured. Syngman Rhee's so-called Liberal Party set up puppet trade unions, but these have been repudiated and the workers are beginning to build genuine unions to carry on the struggle. Syngman Rhee also carried out a fake land reform, which meant no more than redividing the small peasant holdings and leaving them worse off than before. The peasants have to pay 37 different taxes and a good deal of land is going out of cultivation. A lot of good agricultural land has been taken over by the army for maneuvers. So far the peasants have no organization and there have been only sporadic protests, but they are slowly realizing the need for united action. Business men and small traders, who are also hard hit are beginning to create opposition movements. So are the students, who are finding it impossible to get work. Last year, only eight per cent of those leaving university found work. Forty per cent were forced into the army.

Three U.S. divisions are in the country, ostensibly under the UN flag. The whole economy of the

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country has been distorted to meet American demands. For example, South Korea which used to supply grain for the whole of Korea now imports wheat from the United States. U.S. firms have established light industry, but there is no attempt to develop the resources of the country.

The artificial frontier between the two Koreas is sealed. There are no postal connections. But news about the rebuilding of North Korea is reaching the South Koreans and the contrast is striking. The devastated North Korean towns have been rebuilt. In 1953, there were only 200,000 industrial workers; now there are 1,500,000 out of a population of 10 million. Metal industries, including steel and aluminum, have been established. The foundation has been laid for a chemical industry, including synthetic fibers. Cars, machine tools and optical instruments are being made. Fifty-eight per cent of the agriculture is now run on a cooperative basis. The North Korean Government has offered to supply coal, timber and electric power to help the unemployment situation in the South, but the Americans forbid any contacts.

Inevitably as this picture becomes known in South Korea, the demand for reunification of the country grows. But anyone heard to back this policy is arrested. The repression in South Korea has resulted

in the isolation of the South Korean police and government officials. Police take off their uniforms as soon as they get away from the towns because they fear the people. Government officials are leaving the villages.

The South Korean people, having overthrown Rhee, are not going to stop half way, particularly when it is known that the Americans backed the "Democratic" party at the elections and many of the Syngman Rhee supporters merely changed party labels. The people are creating a popular front against the whole regime and their strength will grow.

That is Mr. Pak Ir Jen's report. He told me that the North Korean Government is ready to welcome delegations from the West so that they can see for themselves the truth about the recovery of his country. Government officials in the West, including President Eisenhower, who are always demanding free elections, might note that the North Korean Government has suggested free elections in both Koreas and has offered to provide facilities for the parties operating in South Korea to state their case in the North. The Korean question will be on the agenda at the next UN Assembly. North Korea makes one demand only—the right to put her case to the world assembly, equally with South Korea.

### CHINESE CLASSICAL THEATER IN CANADA

THE CHINESE CLASSICAL THEATER after a successful tour of the major Cuban cities earlier this summer, performed in a number of Canadian cities. In Edmonton, at a banquet given for the actors, Chen Chung-Ching, director of the theater, spoke of world peace and unity among the peoples. He asked that friendly relations between the Chinese and Canadian people be further strengthened.

# **"THE CHOICE IS IN OUR HANDS"**

## ***Report on a Japanese Journey***

**by STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN**

*We publish below a condensation of the report of the Reverend Fritchman, Minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, on his recent trip to attend the Japan Conference Against the A and H Bomb and for Total Disarmament, which took place August 2 to 9 in Tokyo.*

**I** COME from Japan profoundly convinced that the United States, more than any other nation in the world, holds the peace of the world in its hand. Today's report will be an effort to tell you why I feel this, and why I have been deeply shaken in my previous conviction that no nation on earth could possibly make the decision to start a thermonuclear war, and in the name of prevention of enemy attack, to drop the first weapon. I have met abroad many men and women, who, rightly or wrongly, believe American military power, authorized by our government will provoke and initiate World War III. Some of those who believed this were at the meetings of Gensuikyo (the Japanese peace movement associated with the organization against A and H Bombs. There are, of course, other peace groups in Japan.) Many Japanese outside of this organization expressed this fear of America's starting World War III, and sought to explain to me why they vehemently advocate neutrality for Japan at this time.

There is a peace movement in the United States, disorganized, discon-

nected, at various stages of maturity, but nonetheless a movement representing hundreds of thousands of men and women who desperately wish peace to prevail. There are thousands who favor total disarmament, unilateral if necessary, but preferably multilateral, as Premier Khrushchev proposed, not only to the United Nations last September, 1959, but again in his cabled message to Gensuikyo in Tokyo. A great majority of those who favor total disarmament come to their conviction as idealists, many as religious people with a reverence-for-life principle embedded deeply in their faith. Many of these Americans have given little thought to the economic and political cost of such a proposal.

The term used for American participation in the political and economic affairs of other nations was the one distasteful to so many of us, and unfamiliar to a majority of our citizens—American imperialism. It is a clear and scientifically accurate term, though often spoken with anger, or with fear by those familiar with it at the far end of the world, where the rubber plantation, the oil field or the ceramics factory is located, not the pleasant receiving end where the stock dividend or bond interest is enjoyed.

Other imperialisms were castigated besides our own—Belgian, French, British, Portuguese and Dutch . . . but the center of gravity

in the speaking was on American imperialism, because our twentieth century outreach into colonial areas and technically "independent" nations (such as those in Latin America) is the greatest of all. Our military force, so fundamental to the maintenance of existing and often very unpopular movements in such areas, is known and understood in Okinawa, in South Korea, in Taiwan, in the Philippines, in Cuba, in Spain and West Germany (to mention a few examples) far better than it is known by the average manual worker, white-collar worker or professional person in the United States, even those with college degrees.

As a minister of religion, I understand the humanitarian character of the American peace movement, as well as of the peace movements in many other lands represented at the Gensuikyo meetings, and I confess that the ethical and moral impact of the struggle for peace has always played a primary role in my own motivations. In this country the Quakers, the Methodists, the Unitarians and many others have emphasized the horror of war, the unthinkable-ness of a war of total annihilation. It has seemed to us that for all of the provocative verbal fireworks of the press and the other media, for all the bellicosity of Congressmen and even heads of state, sheer self-interest and love of personal survival would certainly hold back the hand of authority from pushing the disaster button of World War III.

I do not any longer dismiss the possibility of such a war taking place, and I now know a very large number of thoughtful people who

feel that this outcome is inevitable unless peace forces, enormously realistic and far more effective than now exist, are mobilized here and elsewhere in the world. Many Communists and other Marxists, many capitalists and participants in the "mixed-economy" areas, also share this feeling. I report to you today that it is my profound conviction that we need more than a numerical increase in the peace forces in the world, including our own land; we need far greater sophistication or understanding of what is the real cost of avoiding war . . . and that cost includes knowing political, social and economic factors, as well as moral, psychological, and religious ones. Horror at atomic devastation is not enough—and I say this having come home from laying flowers on the cenotaph of the atomic victims at Hiroshima and having visited living victims in the hospital there. . . .

It took an all day meeting of the religious group of the conference on August 8th to spell out for me and others the indivisibility of ethical-religious motivations and political factors in the peace struggle today. I listened to religious speakers explaining patiently the utter impossibility of ending the danger of atomic war until imperialistic forces were withdrawn throughout the world and non-exploitative governments were elected to replace them.

One Christian speaker at the religious section meeting stated:

Some people in Japan think "Christian" means "non-political," that a religious life is separate from politics, but the truth is we can have hope for the future only if we use politics. We cannot just sit and wait. . . . We must take action to produce a social effect before

it is too late. Our responsibility as human beings to each other comes first.

The Christian spokesman was followed by a Buddhist priest. His plea was for us to realize that being political was not to demand support of one party as over against another, but to see that political issues and measures were studied and actions undertaken. This speaker was followed by a Nichiren-sect Buddhist, his white trousers dusty from several days of participating in the 10,000 kilometer peace march, which involved 21 million Japanese people. He arose and underscored the remarks of the previous speaker by saying: "We must be patient with these simple and naive people who are afraid of Communists in our peace movement."

There are many who told me that in the mass demonstrations of July before the Diet building in Tokyo, it was the beating of the hand-drums of the Nichiren priests that really brought terror to Premier Kishi and presaged the downfall of his government, for this meant that the Buddhist people behind the marching priests were for a change of policies that would spell a greater chance for peace.

The Americans were a group of separate individuals, not an official group as was the case in many other countries. . . . Our group represented Marxist and non-Marxist viewpoints, well-informed opinion and not a little appalling ignorance of American public affairs, maturity of judgment and occasional prejudice that did us little good with foreign delegates.

If we believe in communication as one preventive procedure against planetary disaster, then we Ameri-

cans should have had delegates officially named by the National Council of Churches in New York, by the American Friends Service Committee (or an equivalent Quaker group), by the Auto Workers, the Longshoremen, the Mine Workers, the American Jewish Congress, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Unitarian-Universalist Association, and many, many others.

There was real diversity of opinion and conviction amongst the delegates from America (and also from other lands), something many skeptics find it hard to believe. On Sunday, August 7, group discussions were held on all aspects of the complex agenda. The debate, discussion, re-writing and further analysis of all matters which eventually came out of this tremendous conference should convince any fair-minded person, without preconceived prejudices, that here was the democratic process at work. I watched, for example, with amazement how suggestions made in the religious classified section were incorporated into several of the final documents. It was worth the trip across the Pacific in those incredible jet planes for me to secure firsthand evidence that progressive peace conferences are not the rigged and pre-fabricated affairs the American columnist and radio commentator and the State Department official would have us all believe. . . .

The Japanese (as well as other delegations represented) obviously like Americans and are deeply impressed with them, especially those manifestly working to relieve tensions and advance authentic peace

programs. They do not think all Americans are imperialists, though they do wonder how so many of us can be so blind to the tragic effects of our government and Pentagon policies on the lives of hundreds of millions of people in the world.

Listen to Professor Kaoru Yasui, Secretary General of the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs and for Total Disarmament, in his opening address to the Preliminary Conference:

I must make it clear that our attitude on President Eisenhower's visit to Japan and the Revised Treaty does not signify hostility to the people of the United States. On the contrary, we are striving for the common good and the friendship of the two countries, and for all mankind. Allow me to pay my sincerest respects to the American people who, in spite of various hardships and difficult conditions in the United States today, are working bravely for the cause of world peace.

The final resolutions also paid tribute to the courage and firmness of American peace activities by students, by women's groups and many others.

We Americans need to hear from those who consider American militarism and imperialism the greatest threat to survival and progress in the world today. . . . An American press and radio that dismisses such a world conference as a "red-controlled, red-inspired gathering" is simply closing off the one thing most needed in the present crisis—mature communication between nations and peoples of the earth. This is irresponsibility of the most dangerous character. It is no service to our own people. It is reckless and un-American to the highest degree.

What is it that was said in Tokyo?

I can give but a few examples. . . . Let me begin with Mr. Liu Ning I of China, who stated issues most sharply and received the most violent reaction in the American press and those sections of the Japanese press which represent the government of Mr. Ikeda, and recently of Mr. Kishi, the government that forced through the ratification and revision of the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty. He said:

At this conference the Japanese people have linked the struggle against nuclear weapons with the struggle against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty of military alliance. This is correct because as long as this treaty for arms expansion and war preparation exists, the banning of nuclear weapons in Japan and Asia will not be possible. . . . Japanese public opinion and the progressive public opinion of the world have long exposed the fact that the new Security Treaty is an aggressive treaty directed against China, the Soviet Union and the whole of Asia. . . . Not long ago, our government, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence (of Bandung) concluded a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Burma and Nepal. With the Western countries, including the United States, we are willing also to practice peaceful coexistence in accord with the same principles.

Mr. Liu concluded by saying: "We urgently need a peaceful international environment; we do not want war, nor do we permit others to impose war upon us. We shall strive for the defense of peace and for the realization of peaceful coexistence among nations of different social systems. Long live world peace!"

May I say that in the reams of newsprint on his speech in English-language papers in Japan and the United States, no quotation of this final statement or of the mood of his fundamental speech was reported.

I wish I could share with you all the words of Mr. J. Venturelli, delegate from Chile, a famous artist of his country and a most eloquent spokesman. One quotation must suffice:

The Latin American peoples, as the Japanese people, are engaged in a direct struggle for peace, against nuclear weapons, against military treaties and for national independence. Today the United States is trying to use the security treaty, called Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, against the people of Cuba with the purpose of destroying the Cuban Revolution. We are united with the Japanese people in a double way—in what we want and in what we oppose—united because we want peace and independence, and because we are against aggression, against military pacts and military bases and against atomic weapons.

Mrs. A. M. Colberg from West Germany, representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, spoke movingly, saying in part:

The European people are striving for the defense of democratic rights and against NATO and militarism. The people of France are now fighting against atomic tests in the Sahara and the war in Algeria. In England the Aldermaston March brought great pressure to bear on the British Government, pressing for abolition as well as stoppage of the manufacture of A and H bombs. The situation in Japan is quite similar to that in West Germany since military, atomic and rocket bases are being constructed throughout our country. In West Germany peace movements are subject to intervention and suppression.

Mr. George Crawford, a trade unionist, spoke for the twenty delegates of the well organized delegation from Australia and New Zealand:

We believe the struggle for peace is a struggle on many fronts, sometimes simultaneous. In order to obtain peace

we must achieve the urgent task of banning the manufacture and testing of A and H bombs and the withdrawal of all military bases in all foreign countries, and indeed the right of all people to determine their way of life without political or economic domination from outside sources. Our struggle for total and complete disarmament must be firmly based on the principle of coexistence between different social systems.

I wish you might have heard Haruyo Maeda report on the efforts of the organized citizens of Niijima, Japan, to prevent construction there of an American missile base. I wish you could have heard Carl Yoneda, a Japanese-American longshoreman, read to me at breakfast from the *Asahi Shimbun* the story of the 100 suicide squads preparing to enter the firing area for live ammunition testing at the base of Mount Fuji in protest against this further encroachment upon their land. Three hundred mothers of the Oshino Mothers Association started sitdown demonstrations against the arrival of the American marines.

A similar report was read by delegates from the Atsugi air force base where citizens were protesting against the jet plane activities and the U-2's, or "black jets." I shall never forget the translator's words ringing in my earphones as the spokesman shouted: "They tell us to find new houses, new farmland, that the airstrips must be built. But this is our land. Where can we go? Our patience is exhausted. This is our land of Japan."

The report of the delegates from Okinawa was equally shattering to the ignorance and the complacency of Americans who know little or nothing of the anger of the Japanese people at the encroachment of

American bases and planes on their peaceful livelihoods and existence.

Throughout the conference it was apparent that the peace front varies in different parts of the world. It was necessary to maintain as much unity as possible between Gensuikyo, the Chinese delegation, the Afro-Asian peoples emerging with passionate dedication from centuries of colonialism and those in the peace struggle in the Western countries. At times, I must say, I felt that the issue was between those like the Soviets, the French, the Germans, the Americans, who believe with Mr. Khrushchev that it is not too late to discuss, to communicate, to meet together at summit levels and lower levels, to avoid World War III, and those who seem to believe that the die is cast and that such a nuclear struggle is inevitable. . . .

It was clear from many conversations I had that things had moved dramatically since the 1959 conference when Dr. Pauling's proposals of unity against hydrogen extinction united the entire conference. The Chinese, for one thing, were not there last year. I am not saying that these Asian people want war . . . the very opposite is true. They sincerely want no more Hiroshimas multiplied in fury. But when they say that nothing can stop them in their battle against occupation by military forces, when they say that their poverty and misery cannot end until new economic and political policies are adopted, policies markedly different from those capitalism now offers them, they mean precisely what they say. . . .

I understood the militancy, the passion, the impatience of the young and the older Japanese speakers and

the Chinese speakers and the African speakers who said that the peace struggle involves the abolition of this man-made and needless horror of devastating suffering, hunger and sickness—not only atomic sickness of leukemia, kidney and bladder disease, but the sickness of plain malnutrition written on the faces of millions of Asian people.

I am not one, after such experiences, to complain against peace appeals which include demands that imperialism end in this generation. The problems raised at Tokyo cannot be easily resolved. We Western delegates worked valiantly to place abolition of hydrogen weapons and nuclear tests in the final resolutions—and you will see that we succeeded. But better than any documents out of Tokyo would be, for example, solid evidence in the next few months that the United States will recognize the right of Cuba to complete her internal reforms in her own way. That example of capitalism restraining itself would make next year's conference a far less difficult affair. The hardest question for an American to answer is to present evidence to Chinese or Kenyan ears that American or British Government policies accept the realities of a new world coming into existence and that economic factors will no longer dictate foreign policies and military actions above human and welfare considerations. . . .

I am not pleading today that the Tokyo Declaration is the law and the gospel, the only true answer to all of our present tensions. But it does have in it much that an American dare not reject without prayer and fasting (to use an old-fashioned religious term of my child-

hood). . . . I am pleading that we start with immediate personal example in this matter of disarmament and peace, that we demobilize our own minds (often a mighty hard thing to do); but Robert Vogel, and Willard Uphaus, and Linus Pauling have shown us in this generation how it can be done, as Buddha and Jesus and Gandhi have shown us in earlier periods of history. It can be done! Then we can insist that governments clean house, as the Soviets did in the 20th Congress a few short years ago, and as the Cubans did a few short months ago. We, as the richest and most powerful nation, can also set an example.

I'm for your pleading, and mine, in season and out, for our getting out of South Korea and Okinawa and Turkey and many other places

where as Americans with missiles and soldiers and technicians of war we do not belong.

Religion and politics must together start at home to cleanse our house of enormous error. Nothing but disaster of an overwhelming kind can come from nuclear armaments and human exploitation anywhere on earth. The threat of total extermination cannot alone stop men from seeking justice against grievances that have been centuries in the making. This I learned anew in Tokyo and Hiroshima. Some new, bold and resolute steps must be taken. They begin with you and me. The choice is ours—and let us hope the example will be contagious. There is no other way to survival for the peoples of this earth—our own America included.

### **TOKYO APPEAL AND RESOLUTION**

SPACE PERMITS only a few extracts from the Tokyo Appeal and Resolutions accepted at the final session of the Sixth World Conference Against A and H Bombs and for Total Disarmament. There was considerable emphasis, as Mr. Fritchman points out, on dangers of war arising from actions of imperialist and colonialist forces, and from the Japan-United States Security Treaty, abrogation of which was demanded, along with a ban on A and H bombs, total disarmament, and liquidation of all military alliance treaties and foreign military bases. Among other specific demands were the following:

"We demand a ban on all types of nuclear explosions and strongly protest against the U.S. Government's intention to resume tests. We demand that an agreement on a permanent ban on nuclear tests be reached."

"We demand establishment of atom-free zones in the Asian-Pacific region and in Central Europe."

"We demand withdrawal of U.S. forces from Okinawa and return of Okinawa to Japan."

"We demand that the U.S. imperialists withdraw from Taiwan which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China."

"We demand that all governments conduct sincere and successful negotiations at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to bring about total and complete disarmament, peaceful coexistence and respect for independence and national sovereignty."

"We demand that the People's Republic of China be restored to her rightful seat in the United Nations and that the Mongolian People's Republic also be admitted."

"We demand that any propaganda to encourage preparation for war be abolished in all countries."

The Conference urged a united struggle on these and other demands as essential for the strengthening of international peace movements.

# Mrs. Li of Shanghai

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

**I**F YOU first met Mrs. Li, as I did, in a group of three women discussing neighborhood problems over tea in the rather large room where the Lane Committee receives guests, you would be struck by her quick smile, attractive appearance and the modest efficiency with which this twenty-eight-year-old mother of three children handles Sunday picnics and activities at the Children's Palace.

You would take in her thick black curls, bobbed and held back by combs, the floral blouse in several shades of blue, blending into the dark blue well-brushed trousers, the black and white design of her socks tucked neatly into trim black slippers. You would think: "A nicely dressed working-class mother and a good community organizer who would fit into a Los Angeles PTA or a Detroit Women's Auxiliary."

But if you went with Mrs. Li to her home down a narrow six-foot back alley between ramshackle houses and across a small square of ground stinking as the May sun draws the odors of stale sewage of decades from the soil, you might say: "These Shanghai slums are incurable . . . even now after eleven years of liberation!"

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**ANNA LOUISE STRONG**, world famous correspondent and author of many books on the USSR, China and our own country, has been visiting in China for over a year. Last summer she visited Tibet with a group of correspondents, among whom she was the only American—and the only woman.

Mrs. Li's home consists of two small rooms, one step above the ground, a front room, ten by twelve, for Mr. and Mrs. Li and three children, and a back room, not more than a closet, for the mother-in-law. The place is neat as a pin despite crowded sleeping arrangements. You gasp as you think of summer and air. You note the electric light, after decades of kerosene. You note the water faucet in the back room; it runs into a wooden tub. There is clearly no toilet connection; there is a covered wooden pail which they take down the street to empty into the nearest public toilet.

For a hundred years the British, ruling the International Settlement, gave no sewers to this Chinese working-class area. Liberation has brought a sewer but it doesn't connect with all the houses yet.

"Why should it?" says Mrs. Li. "These houses won't be here long."

You would learn that Mr. Li has a factory job that pays him 70 yuan (\$28 a month), that Mrs. Li's work at the Children's Palace pays 20 yuan (\$8.00) and the mother-in-law's work in the new community workshop which packages medicine, brings in 16 yuan (\$6.24). A total of 106 yuan, or \$42.24 a month for a family of six! You think a family cannot live on this. Mrs. Li knows they can. She has lived much worse. This is her second step up. She looks around the well-cleaned room and says with satisfaction:

"All the workers live well now,

Of course we shall live better."

Mrs. Li is a proof of success or a horrible example, depending on the way you look at life. She is a hard-working, intelligent woman whose standard of material goods is very low in Western eyes but whose standard of "the good life" is high. It includes personal dignity, never-ending education, good relations within the family and with the neighbors, and activity in community help. Mrs. Li thinks things are going fine where she lives, and will be going better every year.

Instead of sneering: "Is this all the Shanghai proletariat can do for itself in eleven years of liberation?" you should look at the facts. The Shanghai working-class, the biggest organized working-class in any city in the world, has done a lot in these years. Their industrial output in 1959 was eight times what it was ten years ago. Their output of cotton yarn has surpassed the total output of Britain, that great textile country which ruled Shanghai for a hundred years. They built themselves 56 million square feet of new workers' housing, and remodeled or repaired three times that amount. But it takes more than a decade to rebuild the homes and factories of seven million people who lived a century in some of the world's worst slums.

The area where Mrs. Li lives is called "Changs Family House" because decades ago so many Changs lived there. It has long been part of the downtown working-class area of Shanghai. In past days the International Settlement was run by the British; the Chinese inhabitants had no voice. The only water supply came in faucets at a few street

corners. There was no sewer, no electric light. The lanes were unpaved, people threw garbage into them because there was no other place for it. The rains made pools of mud and garbage. This bred disease and the mortality was heavy. More than half the workers were jobless for years before Liberation. People died of disease, of hunger, from heat and cold.

"One of my neighbors had nine children," said Mrs. Li. "Only one survived." In the old days in Shanghai, carts went through each morning to pick up the dead from hunger in the streets.

In those days Mrs. Li was not yet married. She was nicknamed "Miss Garbage," because she helped her father, who went through the lanes with a shoulder pole and baskets and carried the garbage to the corners where the cart would pick it up.

Some things were worse than garbage. The area was also called the "Road to Hell" because of its many gangs and prostitutes. By day the gangs begged impudently and snatched from weaklings; by night they stripped people and sold the clothes to junk-shops. Other working-class areas were not much better.

The first step up was of course the Liberation in 1949. What impressed the girl Li was that her father and three brothers quickly got jobs. "So there was no starvation any more," she said.

Communists then went around telling the working people the city was theirs now and they should fix it up. People in "Changs Family House" got interested; they organized a Lane Committee and contacted City Hall. In two years the

gangsters were rounded up; the prostitutes were taken to compounds where they were cured of disease and taught trades. A sewer was put in and many more water faucets. Some public toilets were built. Neighborhood meetings discussed improvements and paved the lanes with cement or cobbles, getting some materials from the city and doing the labor themselves. Primary schools increased and a middle school appeared.

The girl Li married and had three children. Her husband was the only bread-winner, getting 70 yuan (\$28) a month. "Money was pretty tight," she said. "After Liberation we were never really hungry, but I couldn't afford a nursery for the children or any nice clothes." So Mrs. Li was ready for the next big step in 1958 when the Big Leap movement urged housewives to enter production. "I was a volunteer worker in the Lane Committee already," she said. "I was the first who applied for a regular job.... But they said: 'What will you do with your children?'"

Seeing that nurseries and kindergartens came first, before housewives could volunteer for regular work, Mrs. Li set out to organize them. Thus she landed her present job as "responsible person" in children's work, and also got her two children into a kindergarten.

"Changs Family House," as organized now under a Lane Committee, has 3,076 households with over 13,000 individuals, living in a criss-cross of 38 "wide and narrow lanes." The "big lanes" are half a dozen, down which a car can drive but two cars cannot pass. The others are "small lanes" where a man can

pass on foot with a hand cart. One of the "big lanes" meets a "regular street" where British people once operated normal transport.

This was where we left our car when I called on the Lane Committee. There I met, along with Mrs. Li, Mrs. Tsao, from the Women's Federation of the Ward, and Mrs. Chang who, despite her six children, finds time to run the six service stations which the Lane Committee formed to make life easier for the housewives who wanted to go out to work.

Of the 13,104 people in the area, the women told me, over 7,000 are adults. Of these 4,400 had jobs already, while 1,355 were not "able-bodied," because of age or disablement from their hard past lives. This left 1,245, most of them housewives. For most of these the Lane Committee found work in the neighborhood organization set up in 1958.

"We opened seven production factories," said Mrs. Li, "and also 24 dining-rooms, 15 nurseries and kindergartens, six service stations and a Children's Palace to keep children usefully busy when out of school. We also opened another primary school for 424 children, but with only a first and second grade. When so many women went to work, this meant that lots more children needed schools, and the city could not build new primary schools at once. Our primary school isn't a very good one, for there aren't any trained teachers, and our housewives have to learn to teach, but at least we keep the children off the streets. And 600 women are also now taking some evening courses."

For the 2,000 children of primary school age, the Children's Palace-

One which is not much like a palace—  
 has a place for study and games.  
 They have ping-pong, basket-ball,  
 a chorus of a hundred voices, a  
 painters' group and a science study  
 group—which just now is learning  
 to make soap. They give help in  
 homework, have Sunday picnics and  
 organize the children for useful activity in the Lane.

"The children behave better now,"  
 said Mrs. Li. "One group is responsible for protecting our trees, and another does propaganda for sanitation. They say: 'Papa, don't spit on the ground.' They also pick up waste. All this is part of my work."

Mrs. Chang, who is clearly older than Mrs. Li and has six children, is in charge of the six "service stations." They will clean your home for you, pay your utilities, bank your cash or draw it out, wash and repair your clothes, mend shoes and patch rubbers. You can park your baby or your bicycle with them while you go to a meeting. They fix anything in your house from chairs to guitars, mouth-organs or radios.

The service stations also serve as outlets for the postoffice, stores and theaters; they will buy your clothes and books on approval and return them if you don't like their choice. On this they get small commissions from the state commercial enterprises, which more than pays their rent. If you are sick they will do anything from giving first aid to buying medicine, and getting an ambulance. They are primitive in equipment and lively in spirit. They might be welcomed even in the USA!

"Our Lane is now a literate Lane,"  
 Mrs. Li and Mrs. Chang told me

proudly. "On March 8 this year we celebrated that all our women had learned to read and all our children of school age were at last in school. Now we have classes in sewing and cooking; we have a library, a cultural center, a gymnasium and a women's bath-house. We have a chorus of 100 voices and an art ensemble of 110 members, and some of the plays and operas they produce are written by ourselves."

Family life, they said, had become much better "now that the women were free to show their talents."

Mrs. Wang, for example, had a bossy husband who gave her money for food each morning and made her account for every cent, and then quarrelled over the way she spent it. When she got her first wage she blew it on food and cooked him a very fine dinner. He stared at it suspiciously and asked: "Where did you get all this?"

"For years," she replied, "you have paid for my food, and now I have a job and am paying for yours. I invite you to this meal on my wages." My friend reported that the husband was much moved by this attention and relations thereafter improved.

Mrs. Chu, aged 27, had always grumbled over her fate as a woman. But after she began outside work she showed much talent and became head of the processing factories. She was so happy and sang and danced so much that they named her "Dragon-Fly Girl."

They took me through the lanes and showed me some of their seven "processing factories." In one large room some twenty elderly women packaged medicines for a

drug factory; it was here that Mrs. Li's mother-in-law worked. They had a pink score board on which each woman's record was daily charted by little red flags. It seemed more like an old ladies' bridge club than a factory.

In another room was a tailor shop making clothes for the Lane's families and also to sell. They had collected about twenty old sewing machines of the foot-treadle type, placed them back to back in a long line, and installed an electric motor with a shaft that turned them all.

In another house of four rooms they were filling telephone handles for a factory that made telephones. They were supplied with empty handles, seven colors of wire, and screws. The wire had to be cut the right length and then each wire had the insulation scraped from its ends and was inserted in the handle. The local women had made dozens of "innovations." First they devised a wood block, carved out to fit the handle so it no longer slipped all over the table as they worked on it, but was held tight as in a vise; this change enabled the women to do 200 handles a day apiece instead of the previous 40. Next they devised ways of slicing the insulation off the wire-ends. At first they did it, piece by piece, with a knife; then they devised a pair of pliers that stripped both sides of the wire at once. Finally they made a small punch press, into which all seven wires were inserted at one time both for cutting and trimming.

"We all invented this together," they smiled. "Comrade Fu had the punch idea; it goes twelve times as fast as before."

In all these workshops there were

big tea-kettles boiling, so that everyone might have hot water for tea. Noting the blue flame beneath the tea-pot, I commented: "It seems you have gas here."

"Marsh gas," they smiled. "Our own."

Marsh gas is sewer gas. Chinese have learned how to use it. They were using that stink in the ground from the decades without sewers. They dug down fifty feet, inserted an apparatus and piped gas enough for a small blue flame. "When one hole runs out, we dig another, and the ground gets cleaner all the time," they said.

I asked Mrs. Li if she had seen the fine new "satellite town" at Minhang, where the first of eleven new industrial suburbs is going up around the new electric-power industries, and where eleven blocks of handsome four-story modern apartment houses, complete with department stores, barber shops, libraries, cinemas, kindergartens and nurseries, primary schools and public dining-rooms had been built in seventy-eight days. A whole private bath in every flat, twice as much space and light and air as Mrs. Li had, and room for gardens too. Did Mrs. Li expect to move to a "satellite town?"

She was not over-excited. She had been to see Minhang on a Sunday excursion. It was very fine. Then she looked around the small cramped room in which we sat, and out at the neighboring houses, with an estimate which had neither acceptance nor disdain.

"These houses won't be here very long now," she said. "I think we'll build as good as Minhang here. When you have been a Shanghai

person all your life, you like the center of town. I know a lot of neighbors here.

"Of course," she added judiciously, "it really depends on our work. I like my work in this neighborhood but if my husband's factory moves to a suburb, I suppose we'll move out too. I guess it doesn't really matter. Minhang is also Shanghai."

We went out through the "little lane" into the "big lane" and walked to where I had left my car. In the larger lane two of the neighbors were standing on ladders, painting very gaudy frescoes on the high white-washed walls, while a dozen children

stood around making comments. They were part of the Art Group. They were painting a slogan about the new urban commune, and a winged horse with a daring rider, symbol of the Big Leap.

The flying horse and his rider and the painted blue sky above them merged high up with the paler sky of Shanghai in which shone a noon-day sun.

They did not, of course, really make the Lane seem wider but they made it clear that the residents of Changs Family House were decorating a neighborhood that had become a home.

#### A CORRECTION FROM ROCKWELL KENT

IN YOUR MOST CLARIFYING ARTICLE on the situation in the Congo there is one error to which you may want to publish a correction.

Henry Morton Stanley was an English-born Englishman, christened John Rowlands. He was subsequently employed by a New Orleans merchant, changing his name to that of the merchant. He adopted American citizenship, served with the Confederate Army and was captured at Shiloh. After serving in a military expedition against the Indians he joined the forces of General Napier in Abyssinia. Three years later—presumably while still abroad—he was employed by James Gordon Bennett, Jr., of the *New York Herald*, to look for David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary and explorer, in central Africa. He continued in Africa to complete Livingstone's work, which led him to the establishment of the Congo Free State. He appears to have not stayed long in the United States after the conclusion of the Civil War, eventually reassuming his English citizenship. He entered Parliament and five years before his death was knighted.

We are on the point of leaving for another visit to Moscow. Hurrah! You will hear from us in the course of our adventures.

#### LANGSTON HUGHES PUBLISHED IN THE USSR

THE FOREIGN LITERATURE PUBLISHING HOUSE in Moscow has recently issued a new volume of poems by the American Negro poet Langston Hughes.

This is a collection of 110 poems written at different times, from Langston Hughes' debut in 1926 to the present day. The book includes poems from: *The Weary Blues*, *A New Song*, *Shakespeare in Harlem* and *Field of Wonder*.

In the introduction Hughes is described as one of the most gifted of the poets in America today; his poetry, both simple and as beautiful as life itself, reflects the joys and sorrows of the people. This is why, the introduction points out, his poetry touches the hearts of all men, Negro and white, American or Russian.

Mr. Hughes has written a special introductory essay for the Russian edition.

# Galaxy of Nazis

## Who Are the Men Around Adenauer?

by GEORGE LOHR

**V**ICE-President Nixon, in his acceptance speech in Chicago, considered it "indeed fortunate" to have the "wisdom, experience and courage" of West German Chancellor Adenauer "on our side in the struggle for freedom." Felix von Eckhardt, Adenauer's press chief, joined the pilgrimage to Hyannis Port to sound out Senator John F. Kennedy on behalf of his boss and, according to the West German press, returned with a highly favorable impression. In other words, both presidential nominees seem to be lined up on the side of "Der Alte" as NATO's European strong man.

Well, there is much emphasis on the youth of the two candidates, but neither is young enough to plead ignorance to the fact that a fascist regime came to power in Germany in 1933, that this regime subsequently persecuted all defenders of freedom, that the Nazis started a war of aggression and that in the course of that war not only six million Jews but also millions of non-Jews from many lands were brutally murdered. Nor can either Nixon or Kennedy deny that the top men around Adenauer, advising him on "the struggle for freedom," are former Nazi bigwigs, many of whom escaped hanging at Nuremberg by

a single strand of the executioner's rope.

On the very day the new President takes office, one of the diplomats that will step forward to congratulate him will be Wilhelm Grewe, currently Bonn's Ambassador to Washington, who joined the Nazi party way back in 1933 and held a professorship at the Nazi College for Politics in Berlin. Should the new President decide to pay a state visit to Bonn, he will first be greeted by Dr. Hans Joseph Maria Globke, Adenauer's Sherman Adams and known as the second most powerful man in West Germany. According to irrefutable documentary evidence presented the public recently by authorities of the German Democratic Republic, Globke had a leading part in drafting the diabolical 1935 Nuremberg racist laws which branded all Jews as inferior human beings. Globke's laws, for which he received a high decoration from Hitler himself, served as the legal basis for the eventual mass extermination of European Jews, performed by Adolf Eichmann who is now awaiting trial in an Israeli jail.

At the official reception which Adenauer would give for the new American President in Bonn, a whole galaxy of Nazis and near-Nazis would be present to do him honor. He would meet the Chancellor's cabinet, which contains not a single anti-fascist, but at least one former

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Nazi stormtrooper, five officers in the Nazi army, some officials of the Nazi state and two prominent Nazi industrialists. Surely also present would be Hermann Abs, the man whom Adenauer values "more highly than any of his cabinet ministers," according to the West German mass circulation paper *Spiegel*. Abs was head of Germany's most powerful financial institution, the Deutsche Bank, under Hitler, and he is now again in charge of it under Adenauer. Abs was a member of the board of directors of many industrial concerns under Hitler, and one of them was I. G. Farben, the chemical trust which manufactured the Zyklon-B gas which Eichmann used to kill his victims. Convicted war criminal Abs is today West Germany's biggest banker and holds more board of directorships than ever before.

Also anxious to shake the President's hand would be Nazi General Hans Speidel, who as one of the Nazi bosses in occupied Paris ordered the execution of thousands of French civilians, always carefully classified as "Jews and Communists" and who also organized transports of civilians to Eichmann's extermination camps. He now commands NATO's central European ground forces, including U.S. units in that region. There would also be dozens of other Nazi generals, Nazi judges who sent tens of thousands of anti-fascists to the guillotine and today again administer justice in West Germany, as well as dignitaries from all walks of life who feel that the heritage of Hitler is again in good hands today.

Finally, if one of the children in the Presidential party should get ill while in West Germany, the child

could be entrusted to the tender care of Dr. Werner Catel, today professor of pediatrics at the Kiel University and director of the university's clinic of pediatrics. Catel owes these posts to a minister of Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, despite the fact that Catel actively participated in Hitler's euthenasia program or, to put it bluntly, in the mass murder of children. The West German court ruled in 1949 that the murders undoubtedly had taken place, but that the accused (including Catel) believed that they had done no wrong. The prosecution reached the opinion that it could not prove the contrary and Catel, like many doctors who killed inmates of concentration camps, are again practicing medicine, no doubt waiting for the day when they will get new human guinea pigs, or "racially inferior" children to kill.

There is no need to go on. The top echelon of West Germany's society is studded with Nazis. Among those who count, among those who make policy, Nazis or Nazi supporters predominate. Well, and how about the German Democratic Republic?

This correspondent is amply familiar with the argument, often voiced in discussions with colleagues representing the Western commercial press, that there are also lots of Nazis in the GDR. In the first place, this accusation does not detract one iota from the indictment of the West German rulers. It is very much the old "stop thief" routine. But even when this charge is honestly put, it completely misses the point of the argument.

No person in his right mind will

deny that there are a great many former Nazis who are now citizens of the GDR. Hitler's Germany had a population of more than 60 million people, and unfortunately the majority of them were either Nazi party members, belonged to one of the many Nazi mass organizations or supported the regime to one degree or another. Most of the leading Nazis formerly residing in the Eastern part of Germany fled post-haste to the West in 1945, recognizing rightly that the pastures would rapidly turn much greener for them there than here.

But millions of little Nazis and Nazi sympathizers remained. They crawled out of the ruins when the fighting was over, some of them still with guns in their hands, dazed, their dreams shattered about the "Thousand Year German Reich" Hitler had promised, and with hardly any feeling of guilt for the crimes perpetrated by Germany. Exactly the same situation presented itself in Western Germany. Both sides of the occupation started with the same sorry lot of humanity. The all-decisive question is: What happened then? Who rallied the population finally to reject Germany's past of militarism and aggression? Who made sure that the 1945 Big Three Potsdam Agreement be carried through? Who resolutely undertook the dirty and back-breaking job of cleaning out the Nazi manure pile from the evil-smelling stable Hitler left behind?

The answer is inescapable. The democratic elements in the then Soviet zone, led by the Communists who worked in collaboration with other patriots, recognized that the achievement of this task was pri-

marily up to the working people, and by 1949 the first people's state in German history was established. A tremendous and consistent campaign of re-education of millions was carried out, weaning the people away from the fascist and militarist concept that Germany's greatness would arise from conquest and war. In millions of discussions and arguments, the majority of the GDR population was convinced, little by little, that the nation must earn respect, and an equal place in the family of democratic nations, by peaceful labor and a humanist culture.

Admittedly this transformation of millions of people has not been easy, and isn't as yet fully completed. But it is guided by men whose single-mindedness of purpose is based upon the conviction that, for the sake of Germany and world peace, the break with the evils of the past must be final. One might agree or disagree with the socialist policy of the GDR Government, but everybody must concede and agree that there isn't a single former Nazi in the cabinet. In fact, most members of the cabinet are steeled anti-fascists who have suffered much persecution.

Minister of Justice Mrs. Hilde Benjamin, to take but one example, is a Jewish woman who was active in the anti-Nazi underground and whose husband was murdered in a concentration camp. The West German press understandably prefers not to mention her past when it viciously attacks her for alleged "toughness" in prosecuting law violators. This correspondent has attended some trials here of criminals who tried to undermine the socialist order and I can testify that the proceedings were always judicially

fair. like auer er, t with and agree in serve cour Just was auth The Obe und min ever his Naz E the the ma pol Bu eat wh of ing wh eit in sib a r an sp in St at se be se ic ar a

fair. But it is also true that Nazis like the former minister in Adenauer's cabinet, Theodor Oberlaender, tried here in absentia, are dealt with severely. This is all to the good, and there ought to be universal agreement that the ends of justice, in prosecuting Nazis, are better served by Mrs. Benjamin than by her counterpart in Bonn, Minister of Justice Fritz Schaeffer, who in 1945 was listed by the U.S. occupation authorities as a "Nazi sympathizer." The long and the short of it is that Oberlaender was prosecuted here under the direction of Mrs. Benjamin and not in Bonn by Schaeffer, even though Adenauer admitted that his former minister was not only a Nazi, but "a deep brown one."

Enemies of the GDR make out they are revealing a big secret that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany plays a leading role in shaping policy here. Nobody denies that. But you can't have your cake and eat it too. Every one of the men who make up the political bureau of this party, its highest policy-making body, are old-time anti-fascists who during the Nazi rule were either in exile or being persecuted in concentration camps. Is it possible to imagine that Albert Norden, a member of this leading body, a Jew and an old-time Communist who spent the years of the Hitler regime in exile in France and the United States, would for one minute tolerate a Globke in a responsible post?

Of course, former Nazis who have seen the evil of their past ways are being permitted to redeem themselves in helping to build a democratic and peaceful Germany. But there are no war criminals in high posts, as there are in West Germany where

they pursue the same aims of aggression and fascism as under Hitler.

Perhaps you are skeptical. Perhaps you are like a recent visitor from New York who asked me to take him to West Berlin, and when there asked me, in a sort of wise guy fashion, to show him the "fascism the Reds always talk about." But this only shows a somewhat naive approach to the nature of fascism and of war. Nobody claims that brown-shirted storm troopers are marching through the streets or that the Adenauer government orders pogroms.

But there were also no storm-troopers marching through the streets of Washington during the ominous worst years of the cold war, and yet there were powerful financial interests using the vehicle of McCarthyism in their effort to destroy democracy. Because of the strong democratic traditions of the American people, those efforts were beaten back. But Germany has no such democratic traditions. In the GDR, a democratic structure is now being erected, on a socialist foundation.

In West Germany, however, the ruling circles are still the same as those that nurtured the emperor, that strangled the 1917 revolution, that used the instrumentality of the Weimar Republic to prevent any flowering of democracy, that brought Hitler to power and that now are gathered around Adenauer. In West Germany, a democratic revolution has never taken place. Power there is being exercised by a clerical-militarist clique as it has been since the creation of the German state in 1871, ruling on behalf of Big Business, the same financial groups that have controlled Germany's economy for

many, many decades. The aim is the same one as always—to win hegemony for Germany in Europe, Africa and other places by whatever means, to attack and take control of the socialist countries, and then to tackle the economic and political might of the United States. The slogans are different than they were under

Hitler, the uniforms of the soldiers are different, but the basic aim remains the same.

The Nazis in Bonn are cocky because they believe they have the next American President also in their pocket. It's time to let them know that they haven't the American people in their pocket.

## Young Russia Writes to the Press

(The Soviet magazine *Ogonyok* recently published a number of letters it received from boys and girls, aged 9-14, in primary schools. Below is a selection, translated by Archie Johnstone.)

*Take me on the space ship. For, for Science, a person is better than dogs. I am ready for all consequences so long as I get to know Can any one fly in space? How does the human organism behave himself in a state of weightlessness Zero-G? Why be frightened the capsule comes back to earth so nothing can happen. Also I can bear anything. Please also let me take our new cat Vasya. For you haven't shot any cats yet and my cat is a small and quiet cat and takes less space in space than dogs or rabbits. I can tuck him under my chin and Science gets the benefit.*

*Please advise me what study-course I should take so that on termination I work as a river-harnesser.*

*Please tell how to exterminate naughty boys. In our class they are worse than a fly in your eye.*

*Of all the members of the council of our (Young Pioneers') Group only the leader behaves himself properly. But he sits in the back row of our class. To emulate him one must turn around, and to turn around is a breach of discipline. What can one do?*

*In our plan the subject of the next meeting of our Group is the Place of the Mother in the Life-path of the Individual. And so I don't know what to do and what to say to make the meeting interesting.*

*I have been quite unlucky with flowers. The chickens pecked them out and I was very disorientated even cried. I have plucked out feathers from their tails as corrective punishment on behalf of my flowers. This did not help. My flowers still do not grow.*

*I have been writing poetry for many years but when I was collecting wastepaper as a social task my poems got mixed with the rest and when I came to my senses it was too late. What do I do?*

*... This year we also undertook to raise an average of 3 chickens per Pioneer.*

*Please give my warmest thanks to all who fought in the Civil War.*

*I have met an animal whose name is mermaid in my reading. But I do not know what kind of a beastie is it and what does it look like? Here in Siberia we have wolves and foxes, lynx, hares and a hedgehog but nobody in my class knows such a creature, neither do I. Please write where (in what region) do mermaids live, what do they eat, how do they look? In fact, everything you know about mermaids.*

# Social Security in the Soviet Union

by ED SEARS

"ARE you going all the way to Moscow?" I asked the old man seated across from me on the train from Leningrad to Moscow.

"Moscow is just a stop on the road for me," he replied. "I'm going back to my home town of Omsk, in Siberia."

"Are you on vacation, now?"

"Vacation?" he laughed. "You can call it that if you want to. I'm an old man. I'm on pension. I'm always on vacation."

This old man gave me my first introduction to the Soviet pension system. Until my conversation with him, I did not realize what an important part the pension system plays in the lives of the ordinary people.

I had originally gone to the Soviet Union to find out all I could about housing. Having worked in tenants' organizations in the States, I wanted to compare the problems tenants face here with those in the Soviet Union. I had no intention of studying the Soviet social security system.

This old man's remarks somehow aroused my curiosity. Was he an isolated case or was he typical of millions of elderly Soviet citizens? I decided to find out for myself.

---

ED SEARS is a professional economist. He spent a month this summer traveling over 5,000 miles in the USSR, from Leningrad to Tashkent and Samarkand.

Because I can speak some Russian, I was able to talk to people in all walks of life. Furthermore, my wife and I were traveling completely on our own. We were not part of any tour. In every city we visited, we made out our own itinerary. In some instances we got lost. On these occasions we met many people, people who would never be seen hanging around the tourists' hotels, and were able to find out from them about the many-sided facets to their social security system. I, in addition, received more information from relatives (my parents were born in Tsarist Russia and came to the United States before World War I), some of whom receive pensions from the state.

I was so impressed with what I had learned that I asked to speak to someone from the Ministry of Social Security. I met with Mr. D. Ivanov, editor-in-chief of the magazine, *Social Security*. A very warm, pleasant man, Mr. Ivanov explained to me in detail the working of the pension system. The substance of what I learned from him follows.

## **Pensions for All**

The state social security system covers all factory and white-collar workers, servicemen, students, and members of their families. 55 million workers, students, and servicemen, along with members of their families are insured by the state. Collective farmers and members of

producers' cooperatives (artels), who are not employees of the state, are not covered. They are insured by funds set up by the collective farms and artels. These bodies give a percentage of their earnings to their own social insurance funds. Every Soviet citizen, therefore, receives social security protection.

All the state enterprises are required to make contributions to the state's social insurance fund. Out of this fund come payments for old-age pensions, disability pensions, and survivors' benefits. Unlike the situation in the United States, no social security deductions are taken from the pay envelopes of the employees.

Most men become eligible for old-age pensions upon reaching the age of 60 if they have worked at least 25 years. Most women become eligible at age 55 if they have worked at least 20 years.

Certain types of workers become eligible for old-age pensions at even an earlier age and with a shorter work record. Men engaged in underground work (coal miners), or in unhealthful occupations (certain types of chemical workers), or who work under intensive heat (foundry workers), become eligible for pensions at age 50 if they have a minimum of 20 years of service. Women employed in these fields become eligible for old age pensions at 45 years of age if they have a minimum of 15 years of service.

Men performing heavy labor such as longshoremen, can retire at 55 if they have at least 25 years of service; women, at 50, if they have at least 20 years of service.

Only one-half of the years of service necessary to receive the earlier

retirement benefits have to be in these hazardous occupations. In order to retire at 50, for example, a man must work at least 20 years. Only ten of these years have to be in a hazardous occupation, like coal mining. Furthermore, these ten years do not have to be the last ten, for the law specifically states that earlier pension benefits shall be granted to these workers "irrespective of the last place of employment." A man can, thus, work 10 years in a coal mine when he is young, then switch to a safer occupation as he grows older, without any loss of pension benefits.

### **Monthly Payment Rates**

The monthly pension payments which are based on the average monthly earnings of the worker for the 12 months immediately preceding retirement (if the worker wishes, he can take as an alternative base the monthly average for any five consecutive years out of the last ten years before retirement) range from a minimum of 300 rubles per month to a maximum of 1,200. For the lowest paid workers, the pensions are equal to 100 per cent of their salary; for the highest paid, less than 50 per cent.

An average factory worker in the Soviet Union earns approximately 800 rubles per month. This is enough to provide him and his family with all his normal needs plus some savings. Upon retirement he receives a base pension of 520 rubles per month or 55 per cent of his former income.

This does not mean that his living standards drop by anywhere near that amount. For one thing, he does not have to pay income tax

on his pension, while he does on his wage. Secondly, his rent is greatly reduced. He may, furthermore, be entitled to certain supplements to his base pension. If, for instance, he has an uninterrupted work record for 15 years or a work record totalling at least 35 years, as most Soviet pensioners do, he is entitled to a supplemental benefit amounting to 10 per cent of his base pension. This increases the average Soviet worker's benefit from 520 to 572 rubles per month. He, in addition, can receive further supplements if he has any dependents. For one dependent he receives a supplement equal to 10 per cent of his base pension; for two or more dependents, 15 per cent.

The average Soviet worker with two dependents can thus receive a pension of 650 rubles per month, which is over 80 per cent of his pre-retirement earnings.

If a man continues working after retirement age, he receives both his full wages plus a pension benefit of 150 rubles a month as long as his wages are less than 1,000 rubles a month. If his wages are more than 1,000 rubles a month, he receives no benefits whatsoever, unless he is engaged in a hazardous occupation, like coal mining. A coal miner can receive his regular wage and one-half his base pension. There is no limit on what he can earn.

The average Soviet factory worker, who wants to continue working past retirement age of 60 can thus earn 950 rubles a month, 800 from wages and 150 from pension benefits.

A Soviet coal miner who wants to continue working past his retirement age of 50 can earn as much as

4,100 rubles a month, 3,500 rubles in wages (the income the highest paid coal miners receive) and 600 rubles from pension benefits (one-half of the maximum pension of 1,200 rubles).

### **Medical Care for All**

Medical care is no problem for the aged, as it is in the United States. It is absolutely free to everyone in the USSR — workers, pensioners, and their families.

In addition to free medical care, a worker is insured against loss of income if he becomes sick. His benefits depend on the type of work he does, his monthly wage, and the type of sickness or injury he incurs. Benefits range from a minimum of 160 rubles per month for those partially disabled because of a non-work-connected illness or injury to 1,200 rubles per month to those totally and permanently disabled by work injury or occupational disease.

If the average Soviet factory worker becomes partially disabled because of a non-work-connected illness, he receives a basic pension of wages and pension benefits up to 220 rubles per month. Partially disabled workers are generally able to work part-time and can receive wages and pension benefits up to their earnings before disability. The partially disabled average worker then is assured of a minimum income of 220 rubles a month, if he does not work at all, and can receive as much as 80 rubles, if he works part-time.

If the worker becomes totally and permanently disabled as a result of a work injury or occupational disease, he receives a base pension of 530 rubles per month. If, at the

time of his disability, he had 10 to 15 years of uninterrupted service, he receives a supplement equal to 10 per cent of his pension. If he has more than 15 years of uninterrupted service, his supplement is 15 per cent.

He also receives dependency supplements. His supplement for one dependent is equal to 10 per cent of his base pension; for two or more dependents, 15 per cent.

The average Soviet worker can, therefore, receive as much as 689 rubles per month if he has at least 15 years of uninterrupted service and two or more dependents. This is more than 85 per cent of pre-disability earnings.

The average worker will receive his disability pension as long as he is disabled. If he is considered totally and permanently disabled, he will be given medical examinations every two years up until the age of 60, to determine whether he has recovered sufficiently to return to his work.

After 60, he can receive the disability benefits for life, regardless of the state of his health. If he is also entitled to an old-age benefit, he has the right to select which type of pension he wants.

### **Survivors' Benefits**

When the average factory worker dies his dependents will receive survivors' benefits. By law, his dependents can include his children, wife, brothers, sisters, grandchildren, father, mother, grandparents, adopted children and adopted parents.

Survivors' benefits for the average worker can range from a minimum base rate of 220 rubles per month for one survivor to a maximum base

rate of 530 rubles per month for three or more survivors. The minimum pension is for those whose deaths result from illnesses or injuries not connected with their work; the maximum for those whose deaths result from work injuries or occupational diseases.

The dependents of the average worker can also receive certain supplementary payments which, if he has 15 years of uninterrupted service, can raise the minimum survivors' benefit to 253 rubles per month and the maximum to 610 rubles per month.

For all workers, survivors' benefits range from a minimum of 160 rubles per month for one survivor to a maximum of 1,200 rubles per month. This maximum is paid only to survivors of those whose deaths result from work injuries or occupational diseases.

Children who lose both parents and children of unmarried mothers receive survivors' benefits at the rate established for those whose deaths result from work injuries or occupational diseases, i.e., at the higher rate. If these children are adopted, they still receive the benefits.

Higher survivors' benefits and disability pensions are paid to those in hazardous occupations, like coal miners. These groups, however, do not receive any more than the legal maximum, 1,200 rubles per month.

The Soviet social security system, thus, provides protection against any conceivable type of economic catastrophe.

Dependent old age and sickness are no longer feared. Every worker knows that his family will be provided for in case of his premature death.

**Confidence and Security**

In closing, I do not want to give the impression that life in the Soviet Union is a bed of roses or that all pensioners feel that, like the old man on the train, they are on a permanent vacation. This is definitely not true. Life, in many respects, is still quite difficult for many pensioners, especially for those receiving small pensions, although some of the

former gaps in pension rates have been eliminated.

The Soviet pension system has, however, created an atmosphere of confidence and security, which is almost impossible to communicate to skeptical Americans. And to me the most conclusive proof of its success was that I first learned about it, not from Soviet officials nor from Intourist guides, but from the Soviet people themselves.

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## **"A Peace Program for Our Country"**

*We print below one of the two essays that tied for third prize in our essay contest. The first and second prize-winning essays were printed in our September issue.*

**by DAVID EVANIER**

I WAS born into a world of violence and war. I was a baby in 1940 when the Nazi barbarians threatened free men everywhere. I was five years old in 1945, and remember my father bursting into the house joyously shouting that the war was over. There was dancing in the streets that night in our neighborhood, and I was allowed to stay up late to eat ice cream and watch. Although I was very young, I can remember what a happy time it was. There was the feeling in the air of hope and rejuvenation. The forces of freedom and human justice had won out—there would be a new era, an era of freedom and peace.

Fifteen years have passed, and those hopes have not been realized. At the moment there is peace, but it is a peace fraught with tension and danger to the continuing existence of life on earth. During those fifteen years, we have seen the atomic bombing of 100,000 men, women and children of Hiroshima by

the United States. We have seen the rearming of the neo-Nazis in West Germany, the American support of Franco in Spain, Chiang Kai-shek in China, Syngman Rhee in South Korea, Batista in Cuba, and the dictatorships of Portugal, Venezuela, Laos and Turkey. There was the terrible waste of the Korean War, the suppression of the democratic regime in Guatemala, and the murder of thousands of Algerians by French colonialists with American arms and money. Finally, there was the insidious, invisible but real poisoning of millions by nuclear fallout.

All of these terrible consequences of American foreign policy began after the war, and the reason? There were other barbarians we had to defend ourselves against—the Russians. Weren't they our allies in a war that cost them twenty-million lives? Weren't they perhaps the most brave, the most conscientious of all our allies—were they not, as a matter

of fact, the key reason why the Nazi slaughterers were defeated at all? Well, yes, you might say that, but you see, they were also the enemies of freedom and peace. They were planning to destroy our free institutions and destroy our civilization.

Or at least that was the line as enunciated by President Truman on March 12, 1947, when he asked Congress for \$400 millions for military and economic aid to those two bastions of freedom, Turkey and Greece. He said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures . . .

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, controlled press and radio, fixed elections and the suppression of personal freedoms.

All through these years, that is the way the United States has described its mission in life. We supported the "free institutions," the "will of the majority," in countries where, as we are seeing today in South Korea, Turkey, Cuba, Laos, South Africa, the will of the majority was recognized by the use of jail, murder and every kind of oppression to stifle and subjugate it. The very first country that Truman chose to defend, Turkey, is one in which leaders of the people are tortured, students, workers and editors are jailed, beaten and murdered, and the rest of the people suffer from hunger and miserable conditions.

Fifteen years later, on May 8, 1960, Harry S. Truman spoke about the rioting in South Korea and came up with his own ingenious explanation of how it symbolized the democracy of Syngman Rhee:

It was an ironic turn of events that Syngman Rhee, whom history will record as a great patriot and father of the re-

public he created, should himself at this time of life be the cause of the uprising. I would like to say this to the Korean people, who know how I feel toward them as a brave and free people, that they must have learned their lesson in democracy well under Syngman Rhee, to rise up even against him to preserve their democracy.

God bless Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Batista, Franco, past and present teachers of democracy, whose brutality and oppression gave their people the true meaning of democracy!

The support of anti-democratic, pro-war policies can be seen inside our own country as well as outside. We have seen the suppression of free expression of ideas, and the persecution of all dissenting opinions. Coupled with this has been the education of the people for war and hatred toward the Soviet Union. In school, I was taught that the Russians were primitive barbarians who in every way equaled the brutalities of the Nazis (later the comparison was heard less often). For years, a teacher would suddenly yell TAKE COVER and we were forced to scramble under our desks with our hands covering our faces, or we would be assembled in the hallways and lie on our hands and knees. I was brought up in a land where the unthinking, unfeeling conformist was the ideal person—and the thinker was an odd bird who should be watched and not trusted. Our education was for war, fear and discouragement of free thought. It culminated in the days of the Korean War, the execution of the Rosenbergs and the McCarthy witch-hunts.

A peace program for our country would have to be begun with the education of my generation, and the younger generation as well, about the realities of our time and the true values of life. The violence and pro-war sentiments of the comic books, films, television, press and all mass communications would have to be changed. Our schools would be obliged to treat the Russians as human beings just like ourselves who want to

live in peace, and they would have to teach students some of the joys of living instead of the fear of war and death. The official policy of our government must be to recognize the Soviet Union as an equal society, which does not threaten us except in its support and aid of the under-developed peoples everywhere whom we have neglected.

Our foreign policy must be changed from the present one of supporting fascist, militaristic governments to one of supporting their peoples in their quest for bread and freedom. We must begin friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, and improve our relations, through increased communication and cultural exchange, with all of the Socialist countries. Nuclear weapons tests would have to be immediately abolished as the first step toward total disarmament.

In order to accomplish all of these things, we must substitute a mature, wise leadership of our country for the present one. We must have leaders who have full control of their offices, rather than relegating power to the military minds and monopolists, as we have seen in the past weeks with the U-2 espionage flights and the aggressive American attitude in refusing to apologize for them, which wrecked the summit.

Finally, we must take the *profit* out of war. After the breakup of the summit conference, the financial writer of the *Herald Tribune* wrote May 18:

Mr. Khrushchev wrote the market letter and got an immediate response in a spirited demand for airplane and defense-associated issues that turned what has been an irregular stock market into a sprightly one.

... There must be a few capitalists who went home last night with smiles on their faces.

I do not believe that such a peace program will come about without a strong, united peace movement—a movement that does not fall victim to the very red-baiting which it condemns on an international basis.

We must work with all the strength at our disposal toward the day when the President of the United States will in good faith express agreement with the words of Premier Khrushchev:

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.

## Great Words

reviewed by CORLISS LAMONT

*The Great Quotations*, compiled by George Seldes, with an Introduction by J. Donald Adams. Lyle Stuart, New York, 1960. 893 pages. \$15.00.

GEORGE SELDES has here put together such an arresting, important and useful volume of quotations that I, for one, would like to sit down immediately and read it from start to finish. In his selections Mr. Seldes has emphasized outstanding social, political and economic viewpoints that have become moving forces in the history of mankind. Accordingly, he gives generous space to such world-shakers as Marx, Lenin and Stalin; and the book has the advantage of including typical statements from retrogressive, anti-social characters such as Hitler, Mussolini and Father Coughlin.

Mr. Seldes also includes passages from eminent Americans whose more radical and controversial ideas have been discreetly omitted from previous books of quotations. Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine, Abraham Lincoln and Henry David Thoreau are cases in point. Of special interest, too, are the quotations from Frederick Douglass, Paul Robeson, W. E. B. Du Bois and other prominent Negroes. Mr. Seldes

has also been very generous in his quotations from notable women.

Although in this compilation Mr. Seldes goes all the way back to Plato and earlier, he stresses modern times and the twentieth century. *The Great Quotations* is a brilliant and monumental work that should be on the desk of every editor, writer, speaker, politician and statesman.

### **The Soviet Lunik**

*The Other Side of the Moon*, issued by the USSR Academy of Sciences. Translated by J. B. Sykes. Pergamon Press. New York. 1960. 36 pages. \$2.50.

**H**ERE are the pictures taken of the other side of the moon from the automatic interplanetary station orbited by the Soviet Union on October 4, 1959. Prepared by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, this is a report of the preliminary studies of the photographs.

A brief description of the design of the automatic interplanetary station is given with drawings; a description of the orbit of the station is supplied with diagrams; the method of photography and image transmission is discussed; and photographs of the hitherto unseen side of the moon are reproduced.

### **Origin of Life**

*Proceedings of the First International Symposium on the Origin of Life on the Earth*.—Held at Moscow August 19-24, 1957. (English, French, German edition.) Pergamon Press. New York. 1959. 656 pages. \$15.00.

**T**HIS is a complete record of the proceedings in English, French and German, with an English translation of the Russian contributions, at the important international scientific symposium—the first of its kind—held in Moscow in 1957.

More than forty scientists from sixteen countries took part in the symposium, eight of whom were from the United States.

The papers and discussions of which this book is made up provide an authoritative outline of contemporary ideas and controversies about the origin of life.

### **Soviet Treaties**

*A Calendar of Soviet Treaties, 1917-1957*, compiled by Robert M. Slusser and Jan F. Triska. Stanford University Press. 1959. 454 pages. \$15.00.

**T**HIS book lists more than two thousand international agreements entered into by the USSR from 1917 to 1957. Based on official Soviet publications, standard international reference works in this field, research in primary sources, and official data provided by many of the governments with which the USSR has concluded treaties or agreements, this compilation should prove of great value to specialists.

### **Jews in the USSR**

*The Truth About Jews In The Soviet Union*, by Sofia Frey. New Century Publishers, New York, 1960. 10 cents.

**T**HIS is an answer written by a Jewish teacher at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages to an article in *Life* magazine some months ago purporting to describe an anti-Semitic drive in the Soviet Union. The answer, written as an Open Letter to *Life*, was not published in the latter, but appeared in full in the New York Yiddish Daily, *Morning Freiheit*, and is now available in pamphlet form. It contains numerous facts refuting *Life's* charges that Soviet Jews have no access to higher education, government service, medicine, teaching and other professions. It records advances in Jewish cultural activities, shows the freedom of religion enjoyed by Jews, and demolishes the myth that any sort of pogrom or violence against Jews is possible in the Soviet Union today. This is a useful instrument in helping to meet the continuing fabrications about the position of Soviet Jews.

## Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' New Novel

reviewed by MURRAY YOUNG

*Mansart Builds a School*, by W. E. B. Du Bois. Mainstream, New York, 1959. 367 pages. \$4.00.

IN THE second volume of his trilogy, *The Black Flame*, Dr. Du Bois continues the story of Manuel Mansart from 1912 to the days of the New Deal. Just as in the first volume, Mansart's painful struggle toward understanding of the world in which he lives and his quietly heroic efforts to improve the lot of his own people is seen against the vast background of developing imperialist conflicts on a world scale.

Becoming president of the Georgia Colored State College, Mansart finds himself at the center of complex political struggles. The most significant aspect of these struggles is the question of trade unionism, particularly as it affects the Negro worker, more and more emerging on the scene as industrialization penetrates the formerly agrarian South.

World War I hastens the changes in the traditional patterns of American life and Mansart's sons are hurled, along with tens of thousands of other young Negroes, into the conflict. The stories of his sons, chiefly in the postwar years, occupy a central place in this volume. Watching and suffering in sympathy as his sons' unhappy lives unfold, Mansart's anxiety to understand the meaning of his people's existence grows always more somber.

Central to the deeper meaning of the lives of Dr. Du Bois' main characters are the actual historical figures who appear throughout the novel: Booker T. Washington, Tom Watson, Harry Hopkins, Oswald Garrison Villard, Eugene Talmadge, George Washington Carver and many others. Either as direct participants in the story or as subjects of pro-

longed comment, these actual personages very much heighten the book's significance.

Dr. Du Bois has observed too long and labored too untiringly for the Negro people of America—and indeed for the colored peoples of the world—to find the conventional novel with its small cast of characters, seen in the limits of a neat plot, at all useful for his purposes. Dr. Du Bois knows too well how frequently the individual life is turned from its hoped-for goal by the forces of history to be able to tell his story in a foreshortened pattern of purely individual conflict. Mansart and his sons and the other characters in the novel are both specific persons and at the same time symbols of the whole troubled world of which they are a part.

There is a brooding power in this novel, as in the first volume of the trilogy, not to be found in any other books published in our country today—a power at once searing in the light it casts upon the past and prophetic as it gazes passionately into the future.

Like Dr. Du Bois' classic studies *The Soul of Black Folk* and *Black Reconstruction*—as well as his many other books—this trilogy is a fundamental contribution to that agonizing reappraisal about which so much is heard today—the much-discussed "America's search for a national purpose." Such a search has been Dr. Du Bois' lifetime occupation.

It might be well if the recent recruits to this search, so busy now repeating their platitudes in books and on the air, were to study the career of Dr. Du Bois, read his books, and contemplate the high and unwavering purpose that from the beginning has distinguished his long and fruitful life.

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