

JUNE, 1961

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New World

REVIEW

**WORLD IMPACT
OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION**
SCOTT NEARING

Report from Laos
ANNA LOUISE STRONG

**Moral Imperative
For Peaceful Coexistence**
DR. HARRY F. WARD

Cultural-Scientific Exchanges
MURRAY YOUNG

CENTENARIANS IN THE USSR

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Our Roaming Correspondent
Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions

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Jessica Smith Writes from Moscow

May 14

"I am completely overwhelmed by all the changes. Especially striking is the tremendous efficiency with which everything is being done. In the past there were always so many hours spent in waiting—now our interpreter always gets here on the exact minute promised, our interviews are always exactly on time, everything beautifully organized.

"Everybody is busy, confident, happy. We feel strongly the warmth of human relations here, the wonderful courtesy of the people, the drive of the youth especially who are so impatient with all the remnants of the old, with whatever bureaucracy still exists.

"We leave next week for Sverdlovsk, Irkutsk, the tremendous electric power station at Bratsk—Lake Baikal! This will take us some 4,000 miles from Moscow! After that we shall visit the virgin lands in Kazakhstan and the Uzbek Republic, and in the meantime somehow get in visits to Kiev, Leningrad, collective farms, factories, etc.

"So far we have been to Friendship University, a Moscow jail, an exciting exhibition about bringing the arts into daily life, the great agricultural-industrial exhibit, the new housing projects on the outskirts of Moscow. Tonight we go to the opera 'War and Peace' at the Bolshoy."

Don't miss any of Jessica Smith's accounts of her visit to the Soviet Union.

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The World Impact Of the Cuban Revolution

by SCOTT NEARING

FIDEL CASTRO's July 26 Movement forced President Batista to leave Cuba at the end of December, 1958. Beginning in January, 1959, the new Cuban regime announced policies, initiated reforms, organized the Cuban people for mass effort and chalked up revolutionary achievements that have elevated the island, its inhabitants and their revolution to a high point in world attention, comment and esteem.

Not since the forces of liberation under Mao Tse-tung won their victory over the Chinese Nationalists in 1949 has a liberation movement attracted more intensive and prolonged news coverage than that devoted to Castro's Cuba. China was an immense country with a long history of past greatness and the largest among the nations. The transformation of Africa from colonial status to independence has been newsworthy because of its territorial immensity and its cultural diversity. Cuba, a tiny island, with a lopsided, backward economy and a population approximately the same as New York, London or Shanghai, has stolen the news show by daring, in the face of stupendous odds, to

inaugurate the building of socialism in the Western Hemisphere under the nose and under the guns of the richest, the best armed, and the most bitterly anti-socialist and anti-communist large country in the world.

Revolutionary Cuba has had a greater effect upon Latin America than upon any other region: first, because Cuba is part and parcel of Latin America, and second, because the burden of economic backwardness and political dependence which cramped and thwarted Cuba's past are felt in much the same measure by the peoples living around the Caribbean and, to a lesser degree, in the other Latin American countries.

Castro's government has influenced Latin American neighbors partly by propaganda, but mostly by example. For years people in the area have suffered from cultural backwardness, unemployment, poverty, disease, ignorance and the omnipresent domination of Yankee imperialism. Millions complained and grumbled; few protested. Since war's end in 1945 none had attempted to take decisive action. In January, 1959, the new Cuban Government began a lone star act on a hemisphere stage filled with supernumeraries. For thirty months the Castro Government has been acting before a world audience, with Latin Americans occupying close-up seats.

SCOTT NEARING, lecturer and author of many books on economic and social questions, writes the regular "World Events" section of the magazine *Monthly Review*. With his wife, Helen Nearing, he traveled extensively in Latin America this winter.

Repeatedly Premier Castro has uttered vehement protests against the aggressions and oppressions of Yankee imperialism. Frequently he has urged Latin American peoples and governments to join Cuba in efforts to break the grip of United States monopoly capitalism on the hemisphere. Latin American governments, impoverished by the decline in raw material prices and perennially hoping for more extensive trade with United States business and more aid from Washington, hesitated and side-stepped the basic issues.

Not so the Latin American people. Castro's victory in January, 1959 against heavy odds, and his success during the subsequent two and a half years in out-witting and out-pointing the bumbling, heavy-handed Washington government have won enthusiastic responses from Latin American young people, from the masses in city and countryside and even from important elements among business men, professionals and technicians. Inside and outside Cuba approval of the new regime has been widespread.

Latin American popular backing for Cuba and its government have been so general and so persistent that the Latin American press, while editorially opposed to the Havana Government, has found it expedient to publish thousands of news items and opinion columns dealing with the Cuban revolution, its problems, its personalities, its adventures and accomplishments. During more than two months of traveling in twelve countries circling the Caribbean (from December, 1960 to March, 1961) I do not remember picking up a single Latin American

newspaper that did not contain at least one item on Cuba. Most papers that I read (and I spent hours each day with the excellent newspapers which I found in every important city) carried several Cuban items, running in some cases as high as six or eight in a single newspaper. By comparison, for each reference to the President of the United States there were at least two or three to the Prime Minister of Cuba.

Time's passage and the sequence of events changed many individual opinions and divided the people of Latin America into pro-Castristas and anti-Castristas. The same thing happened inside Cuba. Batista's regime had become highly unpopular by 1958. People representing varied interests and many viewpoints flocked to the standard of the 26 of July Movement. Most of them had only the vaguest ideas about the nature of the revolution. They had been against Batista. They now supported Castro. That was enough.

But Castro was not his own master. On the contrary, he was the servant of revolutionary forces which the long struggle against Batista, the efforts to build a new Cuba, and the counter-efforts of some Cubans and some of Cuba's neighbors, had called into being. A revolution is not a finished object like a table or a typewriter, once completed, forever the same until it wears out. A revolution grows like a plant or a system of education. Like a plant and a social institution it grows, develops, stagnates and decays. In its course it passes through various stages or phases.

Cuba's revolution was a response to dynamic, explosive, social tensions and forces. It has grown and

changed from month to month. It has broadened and deepened. Not content with improvements in education, health, housing and other social reforms, the Cuban Government has altered property relations, planned the economy, distributed land, nationalized industry, organized cooperatives. Some of these measures are a far cry from the conditions and social relations existing in Cuba before January, 1959.

As the Cuban Revolution broadened and deepened, many people inside and outside Cuba raised their eyebrows, doubted, questioned, protested, opposed. This was notably true among propertied and privileged persons who favored better education but turned against planning and nationalization. Some of the dissatisfied and disgruntled went to Florida, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, and began organizing anti-Castro movements. Other dissident Cubans stayed at home and worked against Castro from within the country.

Special circumstances forced the Cuban Revolution to develop very quickly. One was the counter-revolutionary pressures, domestic and foreign. Another was the widespread enthusiasm for the revolution which bubbled across Latin America. A third was the increasing determination of the Washington government to take the Cuban Revolution out of Castro's hands and turn it back to the reformism of its early days. A fourth factor was the change-over in Cuba's foreign economic relations. In Batista's day about four-fifths of Cuban foreign economic dealings were with the United States. By the end of 1960 about the same proportion were with Soviet bloc countries.

This economic shift from West to East made it easy for Washington to charge that the Havana government had gone "communist" and was providing the Soviet bloc with a foothold in the Western Hemisphere. More oil was thrown on the fire when Cuba received shipments of arms from Czechoslovakia.

These circumstances were already in evidence when Premier Castro visited the United States in September, 1960, was snubbed by President Eisenhower, met Premier Khrushchev and other Soviet bloc leaders, and made his notable United Nations address outlining Cuba's problems. During the following weeks events moved rapidly. Soviet bloc countries stepped up aid. The United States retorted with boycotts, blockade, a break in diplomatic relations and with a State Department memorandum of denunciation issued in April, 1961. Preparations for the invasion of Cuba were hastened.

Counter-revolutionary interchange back and forth across the Cuban frontiers had been going on since the early days of the Castro regime. Couriers came and went. Arms and other supplies were smuggled into the island. In the early months of 1960 the United States Central Intelligence Agency began formulating plans for an invasion, to be carried out by anti-Castro Cubans that would link up with anti-Castro elements inside Cuba and replace the Castro regime by a government more responsible to the needs and desires of New York and Washington. Under these plans, the invasion and conquest of Cuba were to be carried out by Cubans.

Training centers were set up in

the United States and Guatemala. Arms were collected. Anti-Castro volunteers were examined, inducted, mobilized. There were perhaps sixty thousand Cuban refugees, most of them concentrated in Florida, others scattered around the Caribbean within easy reach of Cuba. Most of these refugees expected to be back in Cuba within a matter of weeks, or at most, months. The greatest single obstacle to the achievement of this goal was the diversity in aims and objects and the bitter rivalries among the several anti-Castro factions.

During March, 1961, a probing operation was undertaken. Anti-Castro recruits were transported to Cuba in small groups and assembled in the Escambray Mountains. Anti-Castro leaders asserted that four-fifths of the Cuban people were against Castro. Given an opportunity, these dissidents would flock to an anti-Castro standard and overthrow the government. Few Cubans joined up with the invaders. The Escambray center was quickly broken up by the Cuban militia.

After the failure of the Escambray probing action, invasion planners (among whom representatives of the C.I.A. seem to have played the dominant role) prepared for a large movement of anti-Castro trainees into Cuba. The invasion took place in mid-April. A fleet of boats carried the invading force of perhaps 1500 men and their equipment to the southern shores of Cuba and attempted to land, establish a beach-head, and proclaim the establishment of an anti-Castro government on Cuban soil. Within a matter of hours the beach-head was destroyed and the invaders killed or captured.

The total of prisoners taken by the Castro forces seems to have exceeded a thousand.

Premier Khrushchev, in a note dated April 18, solemnly warned President Kennedy to "call a halt to the aggression against the Republic of Cuba. . . . As to the Soviet Union, . . . we shall render the Cuban people and their Government all necessary assistance in beating back the armed attack on Cuba."

President Kennedy sent a sharp rejoinder to Khrushchev's warning. Two days later the President made a speech to the Newspaper Publishers' Association demanding the overthrow of the Cuban Government, calling upon the members of the Organization of American States to assist in the move and announcing that in the absence of such support the United States would do the job alone.

The ill-starred Eisenhower-Kennedy-Dulles invasion of Cuba humiliated the United States, aroused Latin America, dismayed West Europe, encouraged the emerging nations of Asia and Africa, and lifted Castro and his regime to a pinnacle of world prominence. The issue was no longer between a Cuban Government headed by Castro and a rival group of Cubans headed by Cardona, but between the United States, with its 180 million population on one side, and Cuba with its 6 million on the other: the shark against the minnow. In such a situation public sympathy went out to the minnow, with disapproval and opprobrium for the shark. The invasion fiasco revealed a year of preparations, carried on in the United States and in several Central Ameri-

can countries, with the approval and assistance of two United States Presidents and various government departments and officials. It also uncovered the double-talk, lying and bungling at the highest Washington governmental levels.

The invasion, with its aftermath, provided a field day for Castro and his government. It demonstrated the correctness of his predictions that an invasion was being prepared. It backed up his charges that the Washington government had financed, organized and directed the project from its beginnings. It gave the Havana regime a chance to win a quick, easy and decisive victory. It proved that Castro had wide support in Cuba and that he knew what he was doing when he distributed arms generally to the citizenry. It also consolidated Cuban support behind Castro in the face of an invasion organized, financed and armed by Washington.

The whole of the episode, its setting and its outcome rocketed Dr. Castro and his government onto a new level of world-wide fame and importance. The minnow had not only escaped the shark's attack but had bitten off a part of the shark's tail.

Another significant consequence of the April invasion of Cuba was its test of the relation between Soviet

promise and performance. Castro came out of his 1960 New York meeting with Khrushchev convinced that the Soviet Union would go to Cuba's help in case of need. After his December, 1960, tour through the socialist countries, Cuba's economic chief, Ernesto Guevara went back to Cuba with more detailed promises and commitments.

Western critics scoffed, "You can't trust Soviet promises." Latin American capitals watched and wondered. Would the Soviet bloc lend a helping hand to a tiny comrade country in the Western Hemisphere, half way round the planet?

Cuba had been getting substantial economic, technical and cultural aid from the Soviet bloc for months before April, 1961—aid without strings. Prime Minister Khrushchev had also promised "all necessary assistance" in case of an invasion. When the invasion came in April, 1961, some of the "necessary assistance" was already in Cuba.

The dramatic turn of affairs in Latin America compares with the emancipation of Asia after 1945 and the upsurge of independence in Africa during the past three years. It marks another death-kick of imperialism; another break-through for colonial self-determination. Latin America, and the rest of the world, have taken notice.

AGAINST THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

LINUS PAULING and his wife, Ava Helen, reported to some 3,000 people in Carnegie Hall, New York, on May 12 on the Conference Against the Spread of Nuclear Weapons they had called in Oslo, Norway, May 2 to 7.

Thirty-five physical scientists and twenty-five social scientists from fifteen countries took part in the Oslo meeting. Dr. Pauling pointed out in his report that the conference statement was passed unanimously despite the wide variety of political opinions held by the delegates.

The Paulings will present their petition against the spread of nuclear weapons—signed by people in many countries—to the UN on June 15.

Cuba Libre

by ESLANDA ROBESON

ON TUESDAY afternoon, April 4th, I was talking with a friend about plans for work and other serious matters, when he suddenly interrupted the conversation to ask: "Eslanda, would you like to go and see a film this evening?" Astonished, I said: "No, of course not; I must write an article, I must prepare this, do that, read the mail, answer the mail, go here, go there to keep appointments. Don't be silly, I have no time for a film. But thank you just the same." My friend smiled, and, knowing him very well, I then asked: "What film?" "Oh," he said casually, "just a film about Cuba." "Well," I replied immediately, "why didn't you say so. Of course I must see the film. Where? What time?" "In half an hour," he replied.

Thus began a magnificent adventure for me. I had never been to Cuba, which is odd, considering that I lived in the United States, which is just next door. Many Cubans came to America to escape the oppressive conditions of the Batista and previous United States-supported Cuban dictators, and many American tourists went to Cuba; but knowing about the grinding conditions for the mass of the Cuban people, I had no wish to visit this luxury playground of the rich.

Here in Moscow, a few minutes by taxi from my hotel, at the offices of *Izvestia*, my friend and I joined the audience for the special showing of the film *Island in Flames*—and there I was in Cuba!

The beautiful panorama of this lovely island unfolded before us in rich, natural, glowing color, the adorable face of a bright youngster, riding behind his father on a mule; the close-ups of the countryside, the farms, the villages; lovely Havana with its modern skyscrapers; the mountains, trees and flowers; the sea; I was there, in Cuba.

And then we saw the people—the beautiful, busy, eager, proud, happy people going to and from work *for themselves*, for *their* country—not for the Boss; we saw children at school, learning for life; men and women, very young and older, training for the army to defend *their* country; wrecks of American tanks in the countryside, showing the need for this defense. And there was Fidel Castro himself, talking with, and listening to the people along the road, in the army, on the farms, to a hundred thousand people in the Square in Havana, sitting on the grass talking with a group of school children: Castro talking and *listening* to the people.

For many years many of us wondered if and when the Latin American peoples would work or fight their way out from under the iron hands of their dictators, out from under the colonial economic domination of the United States. Somehow Cuba and the Dominican Republic, under "strong men" Batista and Trujillo, under the lavish United States support, seemed the most hopeless. We followed the

wonderful exploits of Fidel Castro over the years, rejoicing at his victories, mourning over his defeats, and somehow feeling that his was a magnificent but hopeless venture. All of which shows how wrong we can be.

Because when the people decide that enough is enough is enough, when they search for and find a brilliant, courageous and incorruptible leader and unite under him, there is nothing they cannot do. The Cuban people led by Fidel Castro, fought their way out from under Batista and the American Dollar, and are now happily building Cuba for themselves.

The film, *Island in Flames*, was made in Cuba in 1960 by Soviet producer Ramon Karmen; the script was written by Mr. Borovik, who first went to Havana to cover Cuba for the Soviet magazine *Oganyok*

in the spring of 1960. Mr. Borovik fell in love with the country and the people, and found what was happening so beautiful and important and exciting that he wanted urgently to record it all. He discussed this idea with Ramon Karmen when he returned to Moscow, and together they went to Cuba in the autumn of 1960 and made this film, with the cooperation of the new Cuban Government Film Section. I am very glad they did, and you will be too when you see this magnificent film.

If you want to go to Cuba to see the country and the people and meet Fidel Castro and get the feel of the Revolution, and cannot quite manage to arrange the trip, it is now possible, thanks to Mr. Karmen and Mr. Borovik, to do the next best thing: go and see the film *Island in Flames*.

MARGARET H. FITZ PATRICK

Margaret H. Fitz Patrick, for seven years our valued friend and colleague on New World Review, died suddenly after a brief illness on May 6.

A volunteer worker, Mrs. Fitz Patrick's high sense of responsibility, and her devotion to the magazine made her an indispensable and cherished member of the staff.

Such a publication as ours is based in great part on the good will and freely given help of its readers which takes many forms, forms not always known and thus not appreciated as they certainly should be. But those of us on the staff are never unmindful of what these contributions, springing as they do from shared convictions and precious reserves of energy, mean in publishing the magazine.

Mrs. Fitz Patrick's contribution was generous beyond any praise we could possibly hope to express.

Her death has left us deeply saddened. But her dedication to the jobs she had taken on, and her dauntless confidence in the goals of New World Review, remain for those of us who worked with her a lasting inspiration.

Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

by MURRAY YOUNG

I AM sure that after each cosmic trip we will return to our earth and that the earth will forever remain our home," Dr. Vladimir V. Belousov, Soviet specialist in the study of the earth's interior, told reporters at a news conference, April 20, held at the National Academy of Science in Washington in connection with the annual meeting of the American Geophysical Union. Dr. Belousov is president of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics (of which the American Union is an affiliate) and originator of the program known as "The Upper Mantle Project," an international study of the earth that is to run three years, beginning next January.

"We are a little worried," Dr. Belousov went on to tell the reporters, "that only a few kilometers beneath our feet something unknown begins. It is quite obvious that we know, at present, much more about the cosmic space around our earth than we do about the earth beneath us."

Dr. Belousov praised the American part of the project which is to drill through the earth's crust beneath the oceans. It will be necessary to drill about two miles to pierce through the crust and bring up a piece of the mantle which comprises more than 80 per cent of the earth's volume. The Soviet scientists said that plans were under con-

sideration in the USSR to drill a deep hole in land some seven miles in depth. (At present the deepest hole appears to be an oil well in Texas, some five miles down.)

The International Committee on Geophysics by sponsoring "The Upper Mantle Project" is carrying on some of the same coordination that marked the International Geophysical Year of 1957-58. An account of the remarkable achievements of this year is now available in a book* written by Walter Sullivan, science reporter of the *New York Times*.

A review of the book in the *New York Times*, April 23, concludes:

Sullivan admires fine instruments and tight scientific reasoning, but his book gives the impression that what he enjoyed most about the I.G.Y. was the pleasure that scientists from contrasting or hostile nations took in each other's company. In the camps, observatories, ships and airplanes of the I.G.Y. were no barriers of nationality, race, religion or ideology. Japanese, Russians, Egyptians, Americans, Swedes and Yugoslavs mingled in amity. All felt themselves brothers for an enchanted interval. They were pitted together against nature, that great adversary which treats all men alike.

A GROUP of six American experts in technical education left in May for a thirty day tour of the Soviet Union to explore technical training there. They told reporters

* *Assault on the Unknown: The International Geophysical Year*, by Walter Sullivan. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1961. 460 pages. \$7.95.

as they left that they wanted to see Major Yuri A. Gagarin or at least the school that produced him. Later this year a group of Soviet experts in the same field will visit technical schools in this country.

What particularly interests the American experts are the Soviet technicums or technical schools that provide studies between advanced technical training and the university level. (Gagarin attended the industrial technicum at Saratov, a city some 460 miles from Moscow.)

According to Joseph P. Kozlowski, a member of the group and a specialist in Soviet manpower, 3,000 Soviet technicums are at present turning out 250,000 graduates a year. Similar American schools, according to Mr. Kozlowski, are turning out between 16,000 and 30,000 a year.

Other exchanges in recent months included four distinguished Soviet women invited here by a group of women in California: Margarita Zakhanova, specialist in the field of microbiology, Alla Shishkova, professor at the Moscow Technological Institute of the Meat and Dairy Industry, Olga Tuganova, expert in International Law, and Olga Ushakova, editor of the English edition of the monthly periodical *Soviet Woman*.

In May eleven Soviet journalists spent 19 days here. They included Boris S. Burkov, chief of *Novoski*, the new Soviet press agency, Alexei U. Gretnev, deputy editor of *Izvestia*, and V. V. Maevsky, an editor of *Pravda*. Later this year a group of American editors will visit the Soviet Union.

One of the most popular of all exchanges to the Soviet Union proved to be the ninety-four "crew-

cut and pony-tailed students," as Marvin Kalb described them, from the University of Michigan. They were members of the University Symphony Band and toured two months this winter from Leningrad to Baku. Performing music from Bach and Moussorgsky to George Gershwin, they were greeted everywhere with warm enthusiasm and endless bouquets of flowers.

Also in May a group of Soviet dentists came here to investigate our dental methods and practices and especially to examine American dental equipment.

After visits to Boston, Philadelphia and Washington the Moiseyev dancers came back for six performances in the middle of May at Madison Square Garden. The cavernous reaches of the Garden thundered with the echoes of the dancers' swift, exact footbeats and the audiences' wild applause.

NOT only Soviet dancers appear at Madison Square Garden. In January, to the delight of an audience gathered for a routine basketball game, five beautiful young Soviet women athletes, among them the lovely Polina Astakova, women's all-round champion of the USSR, and six young Soviet men, gave an hour's demonstration of their exceptional gymnastic skill.

This exhibition was the last of several given in this country as part of the cultural exchange program. Later this year a U.S. gymnastic team will perform in the Soviet Union.

In February, sports enthusiasts at the Garden watched Valeri Brumel, an 18-year-old Moscow school-boy repeat his high-jump triumph of last

summer at the Olympic Games in Rome against the U.S. contender John Thomas.

Scattered boos at first greeted Brumel's boyish leap of joy when Thomas, after his third try, failed to clear the bar, but the boos quickly turned into a great roaring cheer when Brumel went over to Thomas, grasped his hand and patted him affectionately on the back.

EXCHANGES go forward in many fields: Soviet delegations of experts on cement, petroleum and inland waterways have toured this country in return for similar experts who have visited the Soviet Union; six Soviet scientists have lectured at U.S. universities on short term basis and Aleksandr Boyarchuk of the Crimean astrophysical observatory is at present spending six months in various California observatories. In return Dr. Harold Zerlin, a solar astronomer at the University of Colorado, is spending six months at the Crimean observatory. Four Soviet professors from Moscow State University spent five weeks at Columbia University this winter, doing research work and taking part in seminars in their respective fields. Four Columbia professors will spend five weeks at Moscow University later this spring.

According to the *New York Times* (Jan. 9), U.S. officials in charge of the cultural exchange program believe that the three-year operation of the exchanges shows that they are immune to short-term political shifts; they feel that "technical, scientific and cultural exchanges seemed to have become a stable element in relations between the two countries."

Prof. Everett C. Olson of the University of Chicago, who has recently completed a survey of the living and working conditions of the twenty-two U.S. graduate students spending this year at Moscow State University and Leningrad University (in exchange for the twenty Soviet graduate students who are studying at various universities in this country), said that relations of the students with the Russians varied widely, according to personalities:

Those who came here expecting to like the people, and have liked them, have gotten on. Those who are introspective and afraid have found it difficult. (*N.Y. Times*, Mar. 4.)

Well, this seems fair enough and what anyone might have expected: friendliness breeds friendliness and suspicion breeds suspicion. The poison of the cold war has not left everybody immune.

SVENELD EVTEYEV, the Soviet scientist who spent over a year at McMurdo, the chief U.S. base in the Antarctic (a U.S. scientist spent the same amount of time at the Mirny Station of the Soviet Antarctic Expedition), recalled an incident of his stay at McMurdo for the Soviet publication *Trud* in a recent issue:

On December 10, eight of us left McMurdo for the South Pole. Ahead were hundreds of kilometers of "white silence." At the especially dangerous places where our Sno-Cats might have fallen into deep crevices, we disembarked from the vehicles and probed the snow with three-meter-long metal feelers. Three polar explorers tied with belts went ahead, while three others held on to the safety ropes. Two drove the vehicles. This picture seems to be most symbolic of how scientists—American and Soviet—by working together can overcome all hardships and join their efforts for the sake of peace.

Moral Imperative for Peaceful Coexistence

by DR. HARRY F. WARD

WHEN I received the invitation to speak at the anniversary dinner for Jessica Smith, my mind at once went back to the summer of 1924, to a breakfast table in the Friends' House in Moscow. I had a very important engagement that day with a government official. I was called to the phone to be told that my interpreter was sick. When I went back and sat down looking pretty glum, a young lady turned to me and said, "Perhaps I can help you, Professor Ward." And she did.

That young lady was Jessica Smith. So you can understand that from '24 until today, I've been following her career with very great interest, and have done what I could to help her when she needed help from me in the magazine. Since she became more than an editor, when the magazine turned to being a world review, I have followed with increasing interest and appreciation the degree to which she has become one of the keenest and best analysts on the world scene writing in this country today.

When she wrote me a little note and told me what she'd like to have me speak about this evening, she pretty nearly changed my mind. She asked me if I wouldn't say something

about what I've written on to some extent in the magazine, concerning the moral imperative for peaceful coexistence. Just a small topic like that, in a few minutes. So it occurs to me that what I ought to do, since I know that you people wouldn't be here if you didn't want peaceful coexistence, is to say, if you want to know what's to be done to get it, read Jessica Smith in the magazine, and then sit down.

I will, however, make a couple of suggestions concerning how this issue has to be handled. There is a moral imperative for peaceful coexistence, and you know just what it is. It arises out of a two-fold fact in our modern times. The first is the discovery of how to use a new form of energy, which always means a change in civilization; and the next, the demonstration that a socialist economy can succeed.

Now those two things put together indicate the absolute necessity, the categorical imperative, to discover and use the ways to get peaceful coexistence. You know that the core of that imperative is the fact that we either find out how to coexist, or we cease to exist as a civilization. You know that perfectly well.

That fact, and the other one about a socialist economy that I mentioned, has led our government in the last 10 to 12 years to try to work out a substitute for peaceful coexistence, and you know what that is. It is what we call the cold war. And

DR. HARRY F. WARD, Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, is the author of many books, including *In Place of Profit, Democracy and Social Change* and *The Soviet Spirit*.

you know very well that before we can get any peaceful coexistence, the cold war has to be ended. Even Eisenhower agreed on that with Khrushchev in principle, but how is it to be done.

There is general agreement throughout the world, except from the United States, that it requires total disarmament. Without that, it cannot be done; and the United States has blocked the approach to the discussion of total disarmament every time by substituting the question of control. What we have to do then is to push the administration constantly in the direction of total disarmament.

The other thing that you have to keep in mind if you're going to persuade people is that it cannot be done by simply supporting an indispensable magazine. It has to be done very largely by changing public opinion through conversation, through letter writing, and all other means that individuals can use to change the intellectual and the moral climate in which we have to live.

What has to be continually stressed is the threefold nature of the moral imperative for peaceful coexistence. This is the A B C of the language we have to use. The only choice before us is peaceful life together or mutual slaughter and destruction. There is no way out of this situation except the abolition of war and the prevention of its return. There is no way to end war except total and universal disarmament and its enforcement.

In explaining these imperatives, I think you have to keep in mind all the time that the basic issue is between two economic orders. All the rest is simply so much dust blown

up in the eyes of the public, to confuse that fact. All the talk about freedom! What does it mean? It means the restoration of the capitalistic economy; that's what it means, nothing more, nothing less. All the talk about religion, and atheism, what does that mean? Nothing more than directing attention away from the basic fact that the issue is the choice between two kinds of economy. So we can go down the line and the whole tactic of our government is to keep its basic objective concealed from the people by raising these other issues.

Now is the first time in the history of mankind that anything like this has been proposed, the first time it could be proposed; namely, that two economies which do not agree, and which are totally different in their motivation and basic construction, should attempt to live together. Nobody before us has had to live in an age when there was a new form of energy which could either destroy them and their civilization, or could open before them new heights of living for all mankind. In a new world like this, you have to attempt new things. It's the first time, for example, that human beings have understood enough about what was happening to be able to act intelligently in their choice of an economy. In the past the people moved blindly, not knowing what they were doing, nor where they were going. Now they not only have to know where they want to go but how to get there.

The other thing that I want to call your attention to is this. Practically all of the talk about peaceful coexistence has stressed its competitive nature. We're going to show

which kind of economy is better by proving it to you, says the Soviet Union. Well and good. That's the way the rest of the world which isn't practicing a socialistic economy (with a small "s") is going to make up its mind, of course—by seeing the results.

But that isn't all. Because when you come to that kind of competition, you have this basic fact, that down underneath, a good many of the people who are carrying on the cold war know they cannot compete on that basis with the economy of the Soviet Union. That fear, as much as anything else, accounts for the unworkability of the programs they are trying to put over in the United Nations and elsewhere. They reveal the confusion that fear always creates. Deterrents that don't deter but do increase the possibilities of mutual annihilation. Brush fire wars with no equipment to keep them from spreading. A "defense" shelter layout whose outcome a recent experts' pamphlet says is that "eventually most human life will be underground." They forgot to add that the land outside, by which our cave-living ancestors kept themselves alive, will be poisoned indefinitely.

The other interest that comes into the problem of living together as two different economies is self-interest, and it's only when self-interest coincides with the general good that progress becomes possible. That's why the Soviet Union is able to go ahead, because it does combine those two factors in workable degree; the interest of the individual is also the interest of the whole, and the interest of the whole requires the development of the interest of the individual.

A consequent fact is that the kind of living together the Soviet Union proposes is also beneficial to both sides; to both it brings some things they need. That has to be emphasized all the time when we are trying to explain to our people what peaceably living together really means. Let me give a small example that I saw in operation.

In the late twenties, when the success of the first Five-Year Plan was essential to the future of the Soviet economy, we helped to make that possible by the technical aid we sent and the machine tools we sold. The consequent reduction of unemployment in our machine tool industry helped somewhat in getting us out of depression. This kind of mutually beneficial economic relations between the capitalist and socialist blocs is possible today on a very large scale. The accepted order from the Soviet Union for the technical equipment of a new plant, which was canceled recently by us while unemployment was increasing, is only a small example of what is possible from free economic interchange between the two blocs. Canada, whose economy is in a bad way, has just given itself a lift by selling an enormous quantity of wheat to China.

As is well known, such economic interchange helps continuously to lessen the tensions that now stop the common self-interest to abolish war and prevent its return from becoming effective. It is also widely recognized that the mutual benefit from scientific and cultural exchange operates in the same direction. I repeat: when self-interest and the common need coincide, beneficial developments in the social order become possible the world around.

From Laos

Prince Souphanouvong's Historic Jail Break

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

IN CHOOSING the first story from Laos I shall not give you my talk with the famous Captain Kong Le, who gave me a whole evening and said he "reveres me like his grandmother," for I am still perplexed by that young man who seems entirely too casual to have pulled off the historic coup d'etat of August 1960 as he did. Nor shall I give you Kham, the one and only woman ever elected to the National Assembly of Laos, through whom I learned the ways in which the secret police control the elections and through whom I learned also the program of the Neo Lao Haksat, the "Patriotic Front" which the West calls "Communist" but which seems mainly concerned with national independence and the winning of schools for the poor.

Nor yet shall we visit the Plain of Jars to see the great masses of GMC trucks, many of them ten-wheelers and the "Army Cars" marked plainly in English as "Made in the USA," and the storage sheds of mortar shells, also with English markings, which indicate that they came from the USA via Bangkok,

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Thailand. These substantiate Kong Le's claim that the "Russian arms-lift," so denounced in the Western press, is mainly concerned with bags of rice and tins of gasoline, since Kong Le and the Pathet Lao had already captured in the Plain of Jars far more American cars and weapons than they are able to use, in a war where ammunition is a minor feature.

Before all these I must place the historic jailbreak of Prince Souphanouvong and the fifteen other "patriots" on May 23, 1960, for this was a greater turning-point than even Kong Le's August coup. And it reveals by lightning flash the forces acting in Laos, which are mainly political and moral. It is also one of the best detective stories of all time.

IT WAS under the premiership of the pro-American Sananikone that "The Sixteen" were arrested on July 28, 1959. There was considerable uproar in Laos about it, for seven of the arrested men were deputies to the National Assembly from the "Patriotic Front" which had been granted participation in government by the Geneva Agreements of 1954. And one was Prince Souphanouvong, very widely respected as the leader and organizer of the Pathet Lao, the patriotic force that had won victory over the French and

helped to bring about that Geneva Peace Conference; he was Minister of Reconstruction and Planning.

As to the charges against them, these were never quite clear, for though the Sixteen were kept in jail ten months, the Royal Court never found grounds enough to try them. It was connected generally with the fact that the liquidation of the Pathet Lao hadn't come off as its opponents planned. For though the Pathet Lao had dutifully turned in its weapons and demobilized its men to their homes, excepting for two battalions which were to be incorporated into the Royal Army with their ranks preserved, and though the First Battalion had already been incorporated, not as per agreement, but by breaking it into small bits and reducing some officers to the status of raw recruits, the Second Battalion, seeing the same fate coming, and fearing even for its lives, had broken by a ruse through an encirclement many times its own numbers, and, taking its families with it, to the number of a hundred women and children—one woman giving birth on the way—had made its escape to a firmly held base in the hills.

This deeply annoyed Sananikone and his American backers and was generally given as the reason for the jailing of "the Sixteen," the leaders of the "Patriotic Front" who were held responsible for the Pathet Lao.

Because the prestige of these men was very high in all Laos, and Prince Souphanouvong was especially revered as the winner of the war for independence from the French, the first police unit ordered to arrest him refused to go. "This task is too great for us," they said. The mili-

tary police of the Royal Army were then ordered and this unit also refused. So the two groups of recalcitrant police were themselves jailed for an example and an officer with a detail of fifty soldiers—the men ignorant of the task and the commander under threat—was sent to arrest the Prince.

This officer, with his fifty men accompanying him, went down on his knees before Prince Souphanouvong from a distance, and approaching him on his knees, apologized for his errand but said he was "forced to invite the Prince to official headquarters" and he hoped the Prince would understand. The Prince "understood" and went to jail. So did the rest of the Sixteen.

A special jail was made for them from a row of army stables. Each horse-stall held a man, solitarily confined. A long wall was built to close the open side of the horse-stalls, and this was penetrated at each cell by a door. Each cell had a small opening high up for air and light and this was barred. Half of each roof was tin, the other half tile. When it was hot, it was like an oven; when it rained, the worn tiles leaked.

Outside these walled-in horse-stalls a firm fence of barbed wire was set, ten feet high, for a short distance, and outside this, a second ring of barbed wire, six feet high. Outside this was a wall of tin, so that the prisoners could see nothing of the outside world and no person on the outside could see in. At the four corners of this jailblock four floodlights were kept on night and day. A hundred guards were assigned to guard the sixteen prison-

ers; they had an entrance room in which to sit but patrolled on shifts the space between the barbed wires and the jail-block. The road on which the entrance gate held a motorized unit of the Royal Army with four tanks. The entire area was surrounded by the houses of the military police including the house of the U.S.A. adviser. It seemed pretty well hedged in.

There were no conveniences in the cells so three times a day, morning, noon and evening, the prisoners were taken from their cells under guard for meals and toilet purposes. The guards were strictly forbidden to speak with the prisoners except to give them orders; the prisoners were not allowed to speak to each other. No books, newspapers or radios were allowed and no contacts with the outer world except when official interrogators came to question each prisoner in his cell.

Sixteen men, each in solitary, with no outside contact, except at meals and washing, under guard—it seemed a tight enough affair. It led, in fact, to international protests. Many deputies spoke out in the National Assembly against the jailing; the Royal Court refused to try them, saying it had “no grounds.” The International Association of Democratic Lawyers sent people to Vientiane to protest. Even Dag Hammarskjöld hurried to Laos and proposed a trial postponement. The government finally postponed it “sine die,” i.e., indefinitely. And all this was so clearly illegal that people wondered whether a trial would one day be held, and guilt or innocence adjudged, or whether, under a sudden pressure, they might be taken out and shot.

WE TURN to the men in jail as they planned for freedom. The thought began from the first hour, but at first nothing could be done since there was no contact even between two people. They were guarded both by military police and by political “gendarmes,” accustomed to political and intelligence work. None of these spoke to them. Nor could they even glimpse the world outside. A month went by and nothing at all occurred. No news of the world; not even the guards were talking.

At the end of the month, the guards were reduced; the ordinary police were removed and the gendarmes remained, more intelligent men, but conscious political enemies. But now, these guards were no longer under the observation of others when they opened the door of a cell; a single guard, or two, might be for a moment alone with a prisoner. Moved by the excellent behavior of the prisoners and their high reputation, some of the guards began to speak politely when they opened the doors. On this the prisoners built and gave a sentence or two of polite comment to a guard when nobody else was in earshot.

Gradually the prisoners learned which guards responded. Some guards had been monks, serving for a time in the pagodas, as many young men of Laos do; they were moved by the character of the prisoners and by feelings of kindness engendered by Buddhism. Other guards had feelings of patriotism and respected Prince Souphanouvong. Gradually, from sympathy or patriotism, the guards began to buy for the prisoners some necessities from outside the jail.

Two special actions were next taken by the prisoners, still without mutual discussion. When authorities came to interrogate men in their cells, the prisoners answered loudly and protested their views on national independence so that the guards outside the cells might hear, and be convinced that the jailing of these men was against the national interest.

Then, in the brief moments of exercise between the jail-block and the barbed wire, the Prince began to make a garden for vegetables and flowers, and the gendarmes furnished small tools and seeds, not unwilling to have the prisoners improve the jail. So the prisoners got exercise, and the guards became proud of the neat looks of their jail, and on Buddhist festival days, the prisoners would ask the guards to take vegetables and flowers to the pagoda, as a gift to the monks. And the monks also began to say that these were really good men who should not be in jail.

Soon the prisoners had some contact with each other, though only slight. Then each undertook the "awakening" of particular gendarmes. Sometimes a guard who was kind to a prisoner was himself given a few days confinement for "relaxing the jail routine." But other guards made contacts with prisoners' families and reported their condition and also listened to radio news and told the prisoners what it said. So the prisoners learned that the Pathet Lao's Second Battalion had escaped to its mountain base, and they learned how the anti-imperialist movement developed in Laos and in the world.

The prisoners "awakened" some

forty gendarmes in their ten months' confinement. Of these they picked the best and those most interested to study politics in small groups, while other friendly gendarmes protected the "classes" from interruption by some officer. These classes were very small and held for very short periods. So the Prince himself began writing the history of the patriotic revolution in Laos in a series of short lessons, and how they first fought for independence from the French and now from the Americans. These documents he kept and later took with him from the jail.

After these classes, some of the gendarmes would want to rise up and overthrow the pro-American government and would urge the prisoners to break jail in order to lead the people. Then the Prince would counsel patience and would note the difficulties, testing the gendarmes. Finally of the gendarmes they picked eight as the best. Then they began to make plans and among other things, to plan how these eight gendarmes might all eventually be placed on the same night shift. Each prisoner had a special part to do in the planning.

Two of the eight gendarmes were officers of the lowest rank, which we may call "corporal." They were named Udon and Chan Thavi and were among the more intelligent of the men. Finally the prisoners discussed with these two the plans for escape. No Hac, one of the prisoners who was a member of the Executive Committee of the "Patriotic Front," worked out the outside contacts and the route they should take after breaking from jail. The two corporals made the contacts with

leaders of the Patriotic Front in Vientiane and beyond it, so that the prisoners might be guided by the nearest route to the base of Pathet Lao armed forces. The first outside contact was with the Buddhist pagoda to which the prisoners had made gifts of vegetables and flowers. Here Chan Thavi had a cousin who was a monk, and it was arranged that this monk with four other monks who now wished to help the Pathet Lao should be the first to meet the prisoners and take them on the first stage of the way.

The prisoners also needed gendarmes' uniforms in which to escape, and wide white bands for their sleeves to indicate that they were "on duty." They needed food, and dry rations for the road, and nylon waterproof sheets against the rains. The two corporals prepared all this. Yet there must have been many times in these arrangements when the prisoners wondered whether and when the plan might be suddenly betrayed.

AT 3 in the afternoon of May 23, 1960, word came that the places of outside contact were all arranged, and that five of the eight friendly gendarmes would be that evening on the night shift. Then the other three gendarmes made arrangements to exchange places with other men on duty for the night, these temporary exchanges for personal convenience being easy to make through the corporals' permission and by giving some inducement and reason to the man with whom they exchanged. Early in the evening a liaison man from outside was smuggled into the jail and confined with one of the prisoners, his pres-

ence there protected by the guards.

At 8 P.M. the 16 prisoners, the eight friendly guards and the liaison man were alone in the jail. Then for the first time the plan of escape was made known to them all. Until this moment only the prisoners and the two corporals knew that a jail-break was planned, and only at the last moment, when the eight were successfully on the same shift, was it clear that the break would be made that night. They went over the plan twice and all agreed. Then all withdrew to their places, the prisoners in their cells and the gendarmes on guard to wait till midnight when the surrounding camp should be asleep. And if, in those hours, any man weakened, then all were lost. But everyone seemed very happy and surprised to learn how well the escape was planned.

The prisoners were told to rest and save strength but one doubts if any slept. They could hear outside the officers' families talking on their verandas, for it is hot in Laos in May, and they heard the two big dogs of the American adviser barking in his yard where he seemed to be giving a party. But finally the sounds died down and the lights in the homes went out. Only the four bright flood-lights at the corners of the jail shone in the yard.

At five minutes before midnight, the jail door opened, and after a minute it closed. Twenty-five men, in gendarme uniforms had issued through the door. They went loudly, stamping their feet, as if on duty, for they knew that if any persons heard their passing, loudness would be less suspected than stealth, and would seem a natural gendarmes' movement such as changing posts.

They went under the bright floodlights, and into the road and past the headquarters of the armored unit, and nobody gave hail or paid attention. They did not trust the streets of Vientiane, but turned quickly over a bridge into the woods.

Here they waited in darkness, drawing back into the trees when they heard voices and saw flashlights approach. Then Chan Thavi recognized the voice of his cousin, the monk. He had brought four other monks to go with the prisoners on their way.

All of the prisoners found the walking difficult, for they were in poor condition after their months in a rather bad jail. The Prince was the weakest, being the oldest. His legs swelled and he fell many times. It seemed they had been long on the way, yet the floodlights from the corners of the jail were still visible and whenever they came to a place where they could look back and see this, they walked faster, fearing they were not yet safe. They came to a village through which they had hoped to pass quietly, but a Buddhist festival was being celebrated and everyone was awake and it was all alight. It was the Prince who then insisted that they go all the way around the village through the woods. It was now so dark that each man had to hold to the shirt of the man ahead of him, lest he lose the way.

It rained very hard, as it often does in Laos. Despite their nylon waterproof sheets they were all soaked through. They were all also very hungry. But now it was the Prince who encouraged them, though his legs were worse than the others and he fell more often than the

rest. Seeing his spirit, some of the gendarmes, who had volunteered out of patriotism, yet feared they might be attacked and killed on the way, now began to believe they would all win through.

It seemed many hours but it was only four in the morning when their guides brought them to a place north of Vientiane off Road 13, where a platoon of armed men waited, thirty-six men of the Pathet Lao who would take them all the rest of the way. And they knew that by this time their flight was known in Vientiane when the new shift of guards came on.

THE flight was indeed not discovered until the new shift came at four. Then Captain Kong Le's Second Battalion of Paratroopers, known as the crackerjack group in the Royal Army and especially praised by the Americans, was given orders to catch the prisoners and bring them back. Kong Le personally was in Luang Prabang, celebrating his wedding day. Later he said: "They ordered me to hunt down Prince Souphanouvong and how can I do such a thing? So I made excuses. I said I have not enough troops, since one company is on duty in Paksane and another is training in Thailand. So they sent the Battalion Number One of the paratroopers first. But soon I am again given orders and I return to Vientiane and find the men of Battalion Number One returning and saying that they are tired and cannot keep on. And so I go out as ordered, but I do not hunt very hard. For nobody wanted to hunt Prince Souphanouvong."

It was less than two and a half

months after that jail break—which took place between May 23 and 24 of 1960, that Captain Kong Le, ordered again on a mission against the Pathet Lao, chose to seize the capital Vientiane instead. On August 9th he made the historic coup d'etat, which brought Prince Souvanna Phouma, half-brother of Prince Souphanouvong, back to power for the fourth time as Premier.

When I asked Kong Le how he did it, for he seemed quite too casual a youth to pull off a coup d'etat and set up a government, he said: "It was a very popular idea and I had many friends in the services. As soon as I told them at the airfield that we were having a coup, the pilots who used to take me out against the Pathet Lao just gave me ten American planes." The captain fancies himself as a persuader of soldiers, for which he has reason, but he is modest about his ignorance of politics. He avoided power and invited Prince Souvanna Phouma to return to the job of Premier, which he had held three times but from which he had twice been ejected by American money and arms. The prince's policy of neutrality had been popular, and Kong Le liked it too.

So the Prince came back and shortly made a truce and a joint statement with his half-brother, the escaped Souphanouvong. The two princes met in Sam Neua, that north-east province of Laos where the Pathet Lao had vanquished the French and thus paved the way to the greater victory of the Vietminh at historic Dien Bien Phu, which won the Indo-china war. The two Princes, meeting again, issued a joint statement demanding cessation of

civil war and a policy of independence, neutrality and internal peace.

"It took me all those months," said Prince Souphanouvong to me when I met him later in April 1961, "to get across Laos on foot from Vientiane to Sam Neua where I met Phouma. For the Pathet Lao had disbanded its forces in good faith, except for the Second Battalion which saved its arms at the last moment and escaped from encirclement to its base. So we had to organize the country all over.

"It went fast. I organized each province as I walked through it. In fact, I rather had to organize it to get through. By the time I got to Sam Neua, we had a pretty good organization again, all the way from Vientiane."

But the Pathet Lao was to increase still faster. For only a half year after that historic jail break, the American-advised General Phoumi Nosavan attacked Vientiane with plentiful new weapons and even some foreign troops and Captain Kong Le himself was retreating from Vientiane, to combine with his former opponents, the Pathet Lao, as allies, and to seize the Plain of Jars. After which the growth of both their forces went faster than before.

These are the forces in Laos which, as I write, hold not only three northern provinces, but most of a fourth and nearly all the highlands in all of Laos, north and south. One could wish that Kennedy understood this, and knew that to pour out money and arms against such forces is worse than a mere waste of dollars and arms. It is buying arms that the Pathet Lao takes over, and buying anti-American sentiments that last.

"Oh, Could I Flow Like Thee"

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

WHEN the Soviet Union does something that is out of the usual run of things, such as orbiting the first sputnik or circling the moon or giving one of its lads a trip into space, the Western press tends to talk in terms of "crash programs," "narrow specialization" and that good old standby, "bending every effort" towards one particular goal.

For the life of me I can't see it like that, but perhaps from this less remote distance I can't see the trees for the wood and can't tell a bent effort from an unbent one.

I'm not denying the thrill and the front-page-splash value of the individual events (and even the London *Daily Mirror's* announcement in inch-deep type that in England *The Girls Go Ga-Ga Over Gagarin* could count as a contribution to international friendship); but when an event of this kind is treated as a complete-in-this-issue episode rather than as a milestone marking progress at only one point on a country-wide front, not only its significance but much of its real "drama" is lost.

A few weeks after the man-in-space flight I showed some examples of this "crash program" line of talk to a scientist here and he commented: "That's what *your* American colleagues, the journalists say—*mine*,

the scientists, know as well as we do that only patient, well-planned work along sound scientific lines produces the best results. They know that the crash programs imposed upon them in the past have, in the long run, slowed down their progress quite considerably.

"And so with the flood of talk—again by *your* colleagues, not mine!—about our being behind in the sophistication of space apparatus. This stress on sophistication is sheer sophistry. It implies that our big lead in thrust-power, in "getting the damned thing off the ground," is in some unexplained way unsophisticated, when in fact thrust-power is the first, last and only real measure of sophistication in this field. We are not driven by sheer necessity to concentrate on miniaturization, but anyone who thinks we are lagging behind in this, and, more especially, in the production of extremely sophisticated space apparatus, is in for a big surprise."

This hint, coupled with others of its kind which I have heard recently from people on the fringes of space, tempt me to record a strong hunch of mine: the first man-in-space flight was more than a masterpiece of supremely sophisticated instrumentation; it involved the use of really revolutionary principles, the nature of which will become known "all in good time."

On the question of "narrow specialization" I can say this: from personal observation, from interviews

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with authorities on a wide range of subjects and from lectures and the materials in specialized publications I am convinced that the effort expended on any one aim of science, technology, industry or anything else is, so to speak, "rationed" to accord with the aims of all other sectors of Soviet life and with the well-being, immediate or distant, of the country as a whole.

Even a summary of recent major achievements—many of them ranking as break-throughs—would run to book length. So I shall mention only a few of those that earned their authors Lenin prizes in the recent "honors list" (though I feel ashamed when I dismiss achievements of world importance in this cursory way):

- A new method of deriving electrical energy directly from solar and other heat sources without machinery—invaluable in space-craft and highly economical for mundane purposes (by Abram Yoffe, distinguished Soviet physicist, who died recently.)

- A radar-like, or TV-like system on a ricochet principle that "ignores" the earth's curvature. (Professor Mikhail Posnikov.)

- New principles of geology that upset long-accepted theories and have already helped to locate and map deposits of aluminum, shale-oil, phosphorites, etc., at unusual depths. (Acad. Nikolay Strakhov.)

- Discovery of new species of *po-gonophora* (deep-water, worm-like organisms) that provide a missing link in the biological chain. (Dr. Artemy Ivanov.)

- A new "description" of, and treatment for, a formerly incurable cerebral dystrophy that has its source in a liver condition. (Acad. Nikolay Konovalov.)

- A new diagnostic and operational approach to certain lung diseases (including cancer) which has "already saved thousands of lives." (A group of physicians and surgeons.)

- The location by new methods of one of the world's greatest deposits (80 cubic miles!) of natural gas, near Krasnodar, which by 1965 will equal half of the USSR's total output in 1960. (A group of mineralogists.)

- The invention of a generator-regulator which reduces by 10 per cent the "loss in transit" of electrical energy over Russia's far-stretching power lines. (Engineer Grigori Herzenberg.)

- And (last in the honors list but not least in shopping lists of us here who intend to toast all these world-firsts) a process by which Soviet champagne is matured in three weeks instead of three years. No need to take my word for it that the quality is even better than ever, for France, Italy, Argentina and Greece are all in the market for this process. There is no "racking" in barrels or other interruption of the process, it is *one continuous flow of champagne*. Perhaps John Denham had something like this in mind when he wrote:

*O, could I flow like thee, and
make thy stream
My great example as it is
my theme!*

Soviet Trade Unions

A review of the International Labor Organization Report

by LINCOLN FAIRLEY

The International Labor Organization is an intergovernmental agency of which 92 countries are members. Representatives of governments, of management and of labor organizations participate in its work. It was established in 1919 and became attached to the United Nations in 1946 as a specialized agency.

The Trade Union Situation in the USSR, Report of a Mission from the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1960. \$1.25.

CONTROVERSY over the nature and functions of trade unions in the USSR has been a feature of ILO discussions for many years. Is there "freedom of association"? Do the unions have the right to strike? Are they just administrative arms of the government? Does the Communist Party dominate and control them? Is membership compulsory? Can new unions be formed or is the structure frozen? These are some of the questions to which the present report addresses itself.

The report is the latest of several which the ILO has prepared dealing with "freedom of association" in the USSR as well as in other countries. The McNair Report (1956) studied the extent of freedom of employers' and workers' organiza-

tions from government domination or control and was based largely upon a review of the legal status of such organizations. In 1959, as a result of specific complaints by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a report was issued entitled "Trade Union Rights in the USSR."

None of these reports, however, was based upon on-the-spot investigation. The Workers' Group of the Governing Body proposed, and in 1958 the Governing Body agreed, that "factual inquiries" be undertaken "to obtain not just the legal but the real facts about conditions in each member State." Invitations to carry out such surveys were extended to the ILO in 1958 by both the United States and the USSR, and plans were immediately made for on-the-spot studies by the newly created Freedom of Association Survey Division of the ILO.

The first survey dealt with unions in the United States. The report was published in 1960.* This report contained the following explanations, equally applicable to the more recent report on the USSR:

The purpose of a factual survey—which was in effect to be a series of national surveys—as understood by the Governing Body, was to provide a full picture of the actual conditions in each

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* ILO: *Trade Union Situation in the United States* (Geneva, 1960). The paragraphs quoted are from pages 4 and 5. They are quoted in the study under review, pages 2 and 3.

country which affect the extent to which freedom of association is respected. For the factual survey in a country to yield realistic results it was agreed that its scope should be wide enough to cover all aspects of national life relevant to freedom of association. It was also agreed that to be fully factual, comprehensive and authentic, such a survey should not be limited to official and other documentary sources but should include the possibility of studying the situation on the spot in the different countries.

It will be noted that the procedure for the factual surveys was completely separated from that for dealing with allegations. The surveys were designed to elicit the facts in an objective manner and not to investigate disputes, and they were entrusted to the International Labor Office rather than to any committee inside or outside the Organization."

The decision to undertake on-the-spot surveys was of great significance. By supporting this decision the governments agreed that representatives of an international organization should be permitted to make independent inquiries in the member countries with a view to ascertaining the facts concerning a much-disputed subject. Governments had already furnished information on this matter but they were now agreeing that further inquiries should be made by an outside body on their respective territories. Added significance was lent to the decision by the fact that the first two Governments to invite the ILO to undertake such inquiries were those of the United States and the USSR, which are the greatest industrial powers in the world, and which represent two different economic and social systems."

The ILO survey team of four staff members, headed by John Price, Chief of the Division and Special Assistant to the Director-General, spent two months in the USSR in 1959 and, in 1960, Mr. Price returned for an additional two weeks. Besides Moscow and Leningrad, the team visited Irkutsk, Bratsk and Sverdlovsk in the Russian S.F.S.R.,

Minsk (Byelorussia), Kiev, Odessa and Yalta (Ukraine), Tbilisi and Rustavi (Georgia) and Tashkent (Uzbekistan). The team talked with officials of the unions, of the State Labor and Wages Committee, of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They visited factories, attended union meetings, and discussed aspects of trade union work at union headquarters, palaces of culture, teaching and research institutes, libraries, sanatoria, and other similar institutions.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 are devoted respectively to "The Background," "Historical Development of the Trade Unions" and "The Legal Situation"—all designed to put the actual survey findings into an intelligible framework for readers unacquainted with how trade unions developed both before and after the revolution or with their legal status within Soviet society. As stated in Chapter 1:

... The structure, functions and rights of the Soviet trade unions cannot be properly appreciated unless the economic, political, and social structure of the Soviet State is taken into account. This question of "background" or national circumstances is no less important in the case of the Soviet Union than it is in that of other countries.

The fact that private ownership of the means of production has been abolished is in the Soviet view of cardinal importance for an understanding of the situation of the Soviet trade unions and of the problem of freedom of association. This may seem obvious, yet its implications are often overlooked. When the means of production are no longer privately owned the place of the workers changes radically because these means then become the property of the people. Although there are no longer any private employers in factories and farms, the

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latter nevertheless need labor and the workers need employment. Their work must be organized and supervised, their working conditions must be settled and arrangements for their remuneration must be devised. In all this the workers' organizations, namely the trade unions, have a vital part to play. Various methods for dealing with this situation have been adopted in the Soviet Union. But the net result has been—as far as the subject of the Mission's study is concerned—that the trade unions have come to occupy a prominent position in the Soviet State."

Readers of the *New World Review* are aware that the issue of "freedom of association" is largely a product of the cold war. It is unlikely that the ILO would have undertaken this whole series of studies if the AFL-CIO and the ICFTU had not thought the issue of "free trade unions" a good one to further their vendetta against the USSR.

Now the issue has backfired, because the ILO has made an honest and objective study which to any equally honest and objective observer supplies the necessary factual data to answer the questions listed at the outset of this review. It is, of course, true that the Soviet trade unions perform functions which in other countries are performed by governments, such as participation in the administration of social security measures, for example. Moreover, in pointing out that the unions are continually changing and expanding their functions, the report notes that some people are saying that "the Soviet trade unions, with other social organizations, will eventually replace the State" (page 136).

As could be expected, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, at its meeting in February 1961, right after the report was released, adopted a state-

ment declaring that the report on Soviet unions had under the "cover of neutrality" shut its eyes to the Communists' "contempt for and flagrant violation of freedom of association" (*AFL-CIO News*, February 25, 1961). It is probably not surprising that AFL-CIO officialdom chooses to interpret the facts in this fashion. Besides the ideological considerations supplied by Jay Lovestone, there is the practical fact that a socialist country needs Meany's as little as it needs Rockefellers.

The labor movement in this country, of course, has had little opportunity to learn the facts about Soviet trade unions. The AFL-CIO has so far largely prevented implementation of the State Department's cultural interchange program so far as unions are concerned. Except for the ILWU which has sent three delegations since the war,¹ the only union delegations to defy the Meany Law have been from the National Maritime Union² and a group of nine including Ernest Mazey, UAW, and one representative each from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Dining Car Workers, United Service Employees, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Textile Workers, Railway Clerks, and Office Workers.³ Patrick E. Gorman, president of the Butchers' Union, made a seven day trip on his own.⁴

¹ *Report from Europe, ILWU, 1949; Special Report on President Bridges' Tour and Study of Europe and the Middle East, ILWU, April 1959; and "Report of ILWU Delegation to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union," the Dispatcher, January 15, February 12 and 26, 1960.* The most recent of these three trips was written up in a pamphlet published in the USSR: G. Kuznetsov, *U. S. Longshoremen Visit the USSR*, Profizdat Publishing House, Moscow, 1961.

² Joseph Curran, *Our Visit to the USSR, A Report to the Membership of the National Maritime Union, NMU, 1960.*

³ Brief Report in the *Butcher Workmen*, November 1960.

⁴ M. C. Raddock, *Trade Union Courier*, October 14, 1960.

Insofar as reports of these trips have been published, what the delegations found to be the status of Soviet trade unions is wholly consistent with the much more detailed findings of the present ILO study. The NMU report, for example, in a section on "Union Functions," describes their social, health and safety services, points out their concern over production and their part in setting quotas and in controlling overtime. The NMU report elsewhere quotes Premier Khrushchev on the right to strike, but makes no independent judgment. Actually, on this point, though it spends several pages discussing the legal status of the right to strike, the ILO report is almost as non-committal as the NMU report.

If the ILO report is to be criticized from the standpoint of the reader who already has some familiarity with the status and functioning of trade unions in the USSR, it would be on two points. While the report indicates that under the decentralization program the unions are acquiring more authority and responsibility, the nature and extent of this important development are given too little attention. The explanation offered, namely that the mission made only one trip and therefore could

not expect to observe changes, is not really an adequate excuse.

The second weakness lies in the absence of any satisfactory discussion of the role of the rank and file. There is, it is true, an interesting though brief discussion of "democratic centralism," but nowhere does the reader obtain a clear picture of the extent of participation by individual members. Though this is information hard to come by even in this country, I believe this aspect of trade union life might have received more attention. There is some indication that the trend is toward greater membership participation, but it is not really spelled out. Indeed, on this point there is considerably more material in Prof. Emily Clark Brown's study, published in "Industrial and Labor Relations Review."*

Perhaps the principal use to which the ILO study may be put is to see that it gets into the hands of trade unionists in this country who are reasonably open-minded and who would like to learn how their Soviet counterparts operate. If it can be circulated in this fashion, it will help break down the AFL-CIO barrier to better understanding.

* Emily Clark Brown, "The Local Union in Soviet Industry: Its Relations with Members, Party, and Management," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Cornell University, January, 1960.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV TO JOHN F. KENNEDY

*His Excellency John F. Kennedy,
President of the United States
Esteemed Mr. President,*

On behalf of the people of the Soviet Union and on my own behalf I extend to you and to the entire American people sincere congratulations on the occasion of the successful launching of a rocket with a man aboard, which flew a distance of 300 miles and reached an altitude of 115 miles during its flight.

The latest outstanding achievements in man's conquest of outer space open up unlimited possibilities for the knowledge of nature in the name of progress.

Please convey my cordial congratulations to Pilot Shepard.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

Soviet Criminal Law

Second of a series on new developments in Soviet Legislation

by PROF. BORIS NIKIFOROV

Increased Role of Public

OF PARTICULAR importance are the provisions in the criminal codes of the various republics that seek to narrow the range of criminally punishable acts by increasing the role of the public in the struggle against violations of Soviet law and the rules of the socialist community. Under these provisions certain minor infractions of the law, if committed for the first time, are not considered crimes and measures of public influence will be applied. Under the Criminal Code of the RSFSR these are: petty embezzlement of state or public property, minor rowdiness, making home-brew without the intention of selling it, and a few other acts. Public influence measures, moreover, may be applied in place of a penalty where the crime committed is of a trivial character and is a first offense, or if the crime committed does not constitute a great social danger (Articles 51 and 52 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR).

PROFESSOR BORIS NIKIFOROV, D.J.S., is head of the criminal law department of the All-Union Research Institute of Jurisprudence in Moscow. He has written a number of scholarly works on Anglo-American criminal law, published in the Soviet Union. Professor Nikiforov took an active part in preparing the new All-Union Criminal Law and the new Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

What are the principles underlying this solution of the problem, its theoretical basis? To justify the imposition of a criminal penalty not only must the act committed be socially dangerous but the transgressor of the law too must be socially dangerous. In most cases it is the nature of the crime committed by him that indisputably indicates the social danger of the transgressor. In the case of murder, rape, robbery, etc., no doubt arises as to the social danger of the criminal character. But it is altogether different as regards petty transgressions that are a first offense, or, for that matter, offenses of small importance.

Indeed, is it advisable to apply a criminal penalty to some one who has committed a trivial, and perhaps an even more serious offense, if it happened to be a chance episode in the life of a person enjoying a good reputation at work and in private life? Would not the imposition of a penalty in such a case be a purely punitive measure devoid of the purpose of correcting and re-educating the law-breaker?

That is why today the hearing of certain cases can be turned over to comrades' courts set up at plants, offices and other establishments. A comrades' court may confine itself to hearing publicly cases of first offenses that are of little importance or it may apply one of the following public-influence measures: impose on the

transgressor the duty of publicly apologizing to the victim or to the collective; give a comradely warning; make a public censure and reprimand; set a fine of not more than 100 rubles; impose on the guilty person the duty of making good the damage from his earnings, or apply other measures provided for in the Statute covering comrades' courts.

At the same time the courts, the procurator's office and investigation agencies have been given the right, on the petition of public organizations or collectives of working people, to drop criminal cases against persons who have committed offenses that do not constitute a great social danger and who have sincerely repented. These persons are turned over to the custody of the organization or collective which has presented the petition for supervision by it. In case, however, the person with respect to whom the petition has been submitted does not consider himself guilty and insists that his case be heard by a court, his demand has to be met. A person who has committed a grave crime, or who has deliberately committed a crime for the second time, may not be given over into custody as mentioned above.

If the person taken for supervision has shown by exemplary behavior and honest labor for the space of a year that he has reformed, the organization or collective advises the court or procurator's office of this fact and the custody relations cease. On the other hand, where the person turned over for such supervision refuses to reform, a resolution is passed to give up the supervision, and the collective advises the procurator's office or court of it; the procu-

rator's office or court then takes up the question of whether to recommence the criminal case that was not-prossed earlier.

Age Level for Criminal Liability of Juvenile Delinquents

And now let us deal with the range of people with respect to whom criminal penalties may be applied under the new legislation. In this sphere, too, significant changes have taken place. Before December 25, 1958 for certain crimes (those accompanied by violence, and larceny) criminal liability attached to persons from the age of 12, and for all other crimes, from the age of 14. Under the new legislation, criminal liability for roughly the same crimes attaches only from the age of 14, and for all other crimes from the age of 16.

The Fundamentals also contain another new provision concerning juvenile delinquents: Article 10 says that the court may release from punishment persons under the age of 18 who have committed a crime that does not constitute a serious social danger. If the court finds that such a person can be reformed without imposing a criminal penalty on him it may apply measures of a purely educational nature, or refer the case to the commission on the affairs of minors.

These commissions, specifically concerned with minors, are made up on the basis of wide enlistment of representatives of the trade unions, Komsomol (Communist Youth League) and other public organizations and of workers in the sphere of education, the health service, the social security field and establishments of the Ministry of Internal

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Affairs. It is the function of these commissions to seek out children and juveniles in need of government or public assistance, and teen-agers who have left school but are not working, and to help find jobs for them or send them to an educational institution. Another function of the commissions is to help parents in rearing their children. They watch over the behavior of minors after they have been released from a closed special educational institution or educational institution in which special medical treatment is given. They also keep an eye on the conduct of minors who have been convicted but whose penalty does not involve deprivation of liberty, of those who have been given a suspended sentence, and those who have been released before the expiration of their sentence. These commissions must take measures to find jobs for all such persons or send them to an educational establishment.

The commissions have the right to solicit courts not to impose a penalty or to impose a milder penalty. They may petition to have a sentence suspended, to release the minor before the expiration of the sentence and to have the minor's conviction expunged ahead of the time prescribed.

It is especially important to note that the commissions are charged with hearing cases of minors under the age of 16 who have committed socially dangerous acts. The commissions may also hear cases of juveniles between the ages of 14 and 18 who have committed a crime where the case has been referred to the commission by the procurator's office or court, or who have committed other anti-social acts.

The commission has the right to apply to juvenile delinquents a number of compulsory educational measures: to impose the obligation of publicly, or otherwise, apologizing to the victim; to give a reprimand; to admonish and put the delinquent on probation up to a year. If the damage caused does not exceed 200 rubles and the juvenile responsible is 15 years old or older and has independent earnings he may have to pay for the damage, and otherwise to make good by his own effort. The commission may turn over the file on the juvenile to the public organizations at his place of study or where he lives to hear the case and take the necessary measures; or, on solicitation of a collective of working people or public organization, give him into their custody.

The commissions have been given still another right, namely, to request the proper government body or public organization to start proceedings against those who have created the conditions for violation of the law by children and juveniles, also against adults instigating or enlisting minors to commit crimes or other anti-social acts. The commission may take measures to bring influence to bear on the parents of juvenile delinquents; among such measures are public censure, turning over the matter to a comrades' court, imposing the obligation of making good the damage if the amount does not exceed 200 rubles or imposing a fine up to 200 rubles.

The Role of the Court in Punishment and Parole

I shall now deal with the bodies that are competent to inflict criminal penalties.

According to Article 3 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation mentioned above, "crime may be punished only by a sentence of a court."

It is hardly necessary to prove that a court can better and more authoritatively than anybody else examine the facts of a case and pronounce judgment that is just, both with respect to the merits of the case and in the eyes of the public.

On the other hand, the provision in Article 3 just cited reflects the policy of enhancing the role of the court also in solving the main questions involved in release from punishment. According to Article 23 of the Fundamentals, persons who have served not less than half the term of their prison sentence may, if their behavior has been exemplary, have their prison sentence commuted to detention in a colony *by order of the court*. On the other hand, for persons who wilfully transgress against the regimen established for the corrective labor colony the court may order a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years in place of detention in the colony, the unexpired part of the sentence to be continued afterward in the labor colony. Earlier, such questions were decided administratively.

Adhering to the same line is Article 46 of the Fundamentals, according to which the release of a convicted person from serving his sentence, with the exception of release from or reduction of a sentence by amnesty or pardon, may be made only by the court.

This provision has special significance for release on parole. Paroles were provided for in the Basic Principles of 1924, and up to 1927 a pa-

role could be given irrespective of how much of the sentence the convicted person had served. In 1927 it was established that no parole could be given before the convicted person had served at least two-thirds of his sentence. In the Nineteen Thirties paroles by decisions of a court were abolished, and the question of release before the expiration of the sentence was handled by the administration of the place in which the convict was serving his sentence. In 1954 there was re-established the system of release on parole by the court, with no release to be given before the convicted person had served at least two-thirds of the original term of the sentence. This system existed side by side with the system of release before the expiration of the sentence by administrative decision. In the competition between the two systems it was not always the judicial that predominated.

Under the new Fundamentals the system of administrative release has been completely abolished. The question of release on parole from a sentence to deprivation of liberty, corrective labor without deprivation of liberty, transportation or exile is decided only by a court (Article 44 of the Fundamentals). Convicted persons may be paroled after they have served not less than half their sentence, provided they have shown by exemplary conduct and an honest attitude to labor that they have reformed. The court may release such persons from further serving their sentence or commute their sentence. Persons convicted of a crime particularly dangerous to the state or of another grave crime may be released on parole after they have

served not less than two-thirds of the original term to which they were sentenced.

According to Article 43 of the Fundamentals, the court may also release a convicted person from punishment if by the time the case is tried in court the court finds that by his subsequent irreproachable conduct and honest attitude to labor he may no longer be considered a danger to society. Under the same Article the investigating body or court may absolve a person from criminal responsibility if by the time of the investigation or trial of the case in court the act committed has through changed circumstances lost its socially dangerous character. This principle was embodied in earlier legislation too, but then the condition was that there must have been a change in the "social and political situation" (Article 8 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1926). This limitation circumscribed the possibility of absolving from responsibility in the said manner far more than under existing legislation.

Capital Punishment Exceptional

In comparing the articles of the new legislation with the penalties provided for under the punitive provisions of the earlier legislation a good many new principles stand out.

Among these I should like to mention in particular a definite narrowing of the sphere in which capital punishment may be applied; a reduction in the maximum term of many penalties and the limiting of their imposition where this is warranted by the nature of the crime committed or the character of the transgressor. In the same category are the reduction in the terms of

sentences provided for in the criminal codes of the Union Republics and the substantial cut in the proportion of sentences involving deprivation of liberty to the total number of other punitive measures.

The new legislation, like the old, reflects the negative attitude to capital punishment on principle. The Fundamentals characterize the death penalty as an exceptional measure, which may be applied, until such time as it has been fully abolished, in the more grave crimes in cases specified by the law. The negative attitude to the death penalty has also found practical expression in the new legislation. By this I mean the narrowing of the province of application of this measure. For example, the death penalty may no longer be imposed for wrecking. For premeditated murder, the earlier legislation (Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of April 30, 1954) provided that the death penalty could be imposed where the crime was committed "under aggravating circumstances"; Article 22 of the new Fundamentals has added "provided for in the Articles of the criminal laws of the USSR and the Union Republics which determine liability for premeditated murder."

The introduction of this new feature will result in the further restriction of the imposition of the death penalty in the USSR.

Lastly, for the first time in the annals of Soviet criminal law the Fundamentals themselves list the acts for which the law may provide for a sentence of death. The importance of this fact is that the list is all-inclusive for the Union Republics and may not be enlarged. It includes

high treason, espionage, sabotage, terrorist acts,* banditry, premeditated murder (within the limits indicated above), murder in wartime or at time of battle, and for other particularly grave crimes specially provided for by the laws of the USSR.

Earlier legislation provided that a sentence of death may not be passed on persons under the age of 18 at the time the crime is committed or on women who are pregnant at the time sentence is passed. Article 22 of the new Fundamentals has extended this principle to women who are pregnant at the time the crime is committed or at the time the sentence is to be executed.

Reduction in Maximum Sentences

Passing on to the reduction of the maximum sentences that may be given I shall dwell on deprivation of liberty, up to 20 and even 25 years. It should be borne in mind that these included not only cases of grave crimes against the state which had not been met with in practice for a long time, but also such acts as misappropriation of state or other public property, robbery and rape.

The new Fundamentals (Article 23) provide that a sentence to deprivation of liberty may not exceed 10 years, and that only for exceptionally grave crimes and for particularly dangerous habitual criminals the law may provide for a term of up to 15 years. And for one who has not reached the age of 18 at the

time the crime is committed the sentence may not exceed 10 years under any circumstances. The criminal codes of the Union Republics provide that in deciding whether a person is to be placed in the category of particularly dangerous habitual criminals, crimes committed before the age of 18 are not to be taken into account.

Important changes have also been introduced by the new legislation on transportation and exile (Article 24 of the Fundamentals). In place of the earlier 10-year term of transportation the new law reduces the maximum sentence to transportation for five years. Under the old legislation a sentence to transportation or exile could not be passed against a person who had not attained the age of 16 at the time the sentence was to be executed, but under the new law transportation or exile may not be inflicted on a person who has not reached the age of 18 at the time the crime is committed. Transportation (and under the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, exile too) may not be applied to pregnant women or to women with dependent children under the age of eight years.

As regards confiscation of property, the old law did not fix any limitations with respect to the nature of the crime committed. The new legislation (Article 30) introduced a limitation of the following character: it specifies that confiscation of property may be applied only in cases of crimes against the state and in cases of grave crimes for personal gain as provided by law. In practice the innovation should result in a sharp drop in sentences of confiscation of property. Indeed, my es-

* A sentence of death may be imposed for a terrorist act only if the crime is expressed in the murder of a government, or other public official, for his activity with the aim of undermining or weakening the Soviet government.

imate is that as against some 60 Articles in earlier legislation which provided for confiscation of property, the new legislation will provide the possibility of applying this measure in some 20 Articles.

It goes without saying that the lowering of the upper limits in a number of penalties in the Fundamentals constitutes a directive to the legislative bodies of the Union Republics for a general mitigation of constraint, in particular constraint in the form of deprivation of liberty. Under the former laws of the RSFSR the penalty for abuse of official position, or for exceeding one's authority, was deprivation of liberty up to 10 years, and in the new Criminal Code of the RSFSR the penalty for most cases has been cut by as much as half. Misappropriation of state or other public property where there were no aggravating circumstances under the old law brought the offender a sentence of deprivation of liberty for five to ten years, and under the new it is two to three years. Similarly, the penalty for larceny in the absence of aggravating circumstances was formerly deprivation of liberty up to six years, and under the new law it is now up to two years, or corrective labor without deprivation of liberty for a term of up to one year.

The Criminal Code of the RSFSR can be used for citing examples to prove also the other thesis, namely, the decrease in the proportion of the punishment in the form of depriva-

tion of liberty. This fact is the more interesting in that even before the adoption of the code, in more than 50 per cent of the cases courts imposed penalties that did not call for deprivation of liberty. The law previously in force in the RSFSR prescribed as the penalty for abuse of official position, or for exceeding official authority, deprivation of liberty; the new law has made the penalty corrective labor without deprivation of liberty, or dismissal from office. The criminal codes of the Uzbek and Kazakh Republics have made the penalty either deprivation of liberty or corrective labor.

For deliberate destruction of or damage to state or other public property in the absence of aggravating circumstances, the old legislation of the RSFSR provided a penalty of deprivation of liberty or corrective labor, and the new code has made the penalty corrective labor, a fine, or the obligation to make good the damage. For putting out poor-quality goods the old law made the penalty deprivation of liberty exclusively; the new codes of the Uzbek and Kazakh Republics provide that the penalty may be deprivation of liberty or corrective labor, and the RSFSR code provides in addition dismissal from post. More examples could be cited.

The third and concluding part of this article will appear in the July issue.

The text of *Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation for the USSR and the Union Republics* and *Fundamentals of Legislation on the Judicial System of the USSR and the Union and Autonomous Republics* and *Fundamentals of Criminal Court Procedure for the USSR and the Union Republics* are available in English translation, published in a pamphlet by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.

100 Years of Age and Older

The April issue of Vestnik Statistiki, scientific journal of the Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR, carries interesting information on the number of people of 100 years of age and older, obtained as a result of the 1959 census.

THE Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR as a result of the last census obtained information on the number of people of 100 years of age and older.

Taking into account the fact that people of that age often forget their true age and often indulge in so-called "old-age boasting" by exaggerating their age, the Central Statistical Bureau made an individual check of the true age of the persons who stated their age as 100 years and more. A similar documentary check was made in respect to people who stated their age as 100 during the census of 1897.

The results of the check have revealed that of the 28,015 people who stated their age as 100 and over

during the census actually 21,708 people have reached that age. (In 1897 the number of centenarians was exaggerated five-fold).

The information on the number of people of 100 years of age and older according to the Republics, Territories and Regions is most interesting.

In the Russian Federation the record for old age is firmly held by the North-Ossetian, Kabardino-Balkar and Dagestan Autonomous Republics. To every 100,000 inhabitants there from 61 to 70 people have reached the age of 100 and over. In frigid Yakutia to every 100,000 inhabitants there are 32 people whose age is measured by three-digit figures. In Altai Territory there are 20 such old-timers to every 100,000 inhabitants and in Krasnodar Territory 21. In some of the regions of the Russian Federation the number of such oldtimers is much smaller. For instance, in Moscow Region there is only 1 centenarian inhabitant, in Yaroslavl Region 2 and in Leningrad Region 3.

People of 100 Years of Age and Older as of January 15, 1959

	overall figure	cities	villages	men	women
Overall number of people of 100 years of age and older	21,708	4,436	17,272	5,432	16,276
Including:					
100-104	13,350	2,718	10,632	3,100	10,250
105-109	4,183	863	3,320	1,127	3,056
110-114	1,384	281	1,103	415	969
115-119	532	116	416	176	356
120 and over*	592	105	487	224	368
People older than 100 years, whose exact age could not be established	1,667	353	1,314	390	1,277

* In a number of cases the exact age of people over 120 years of age could not be established.

**Number of Men and Women of 100 Years of Age and Older to
Every 100,000 Urban and Rural Inhabitants**

	overall figure	urban population	rural population
Both sexes	10	4	16
Men	6	2	9
Women	14	6	21

In the Ukraine to every 100,000 inhabitants there are 6 people of 100 years of age and older, in Byelorussia 13, in Uzbekistan 10, Kazakhstan 10, Lithuania 17, Moldavia 6, Latvia 3, Kirghizia 11, Tadzhikistan 11, Turkmenistan 8 and Estonia 1.

The old age championship is held by the people of the Caucasus. In

Azerbaijdzhan to every 100,000 inhabitants there are 84 people of 100 years of age and over, and in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region there are 144. This region is the absolute old-age champion of the USSR. In Georgia to every 100,000 inhabitants 51 have reached the age of 100 and over and in Armenia 33.

People of 100 Years of Age and Older in the U.S.S.R. and Other Countries

	year of census	overall number of people of 100 years of age and over	100,000 inhabitants to every
U.S.S.R.	1959	21,708	10
U.S.A. ("White population")	1959	2,005*	1.5
Britain	1951	301	0.6
France	1946	261	0.7
Japan	1960	97	0.1

* In addition to this figure United States census registered 2,470 people older than 100 years of age among the so-called "non-white population" or 16 people to every 100,000 "non-white inhabitants." These figures are considered doubtful.

THIS OLD, KIND PLANET

THE EARTH is populated by humanity, by millions of toilers. There are so many of them on this old, kind planet of ours! I did not see them, and understandably so, but I remembered them and I thought of their common destiny. The people worked, dreamed about their future, relaxed, grieved and rejoiced on that spring day.

They were all different, different in everything—in the pigment of their skin, their customs, and their desires. . . . I don't know how to put it but from the skies they all seemed kinsmen to me; they seemed to have a common destiny, because they have a common home—our planet. It is inhabited by Russians, Chinese, Negroes, Americans, Cubans, French and Poles; and they all seemed fellow countrymen to me because they were all earthlings. From there I could not see the frontiers that separated one state and one people from another.

From an article by Yuri Gagarin in Izvestia, April 29.

Moscow

A Home for Retired Textile Workers

by **LEN WINCOTT**

IN ONE of the districts of Moscow where the ramshackle houses and narrow twisting streets of old still exist (I hope the editor gets this to press quickly or my statement may soon be obsolete, as the building cranes are already hovering) there is a street which bears the very English name of Rochdale Street. When I tell you that one of Moscow's oldest and most famous (for many reasons) textile factories happens to be in this same street, there is, I think, no reason to explain the name. [Rochdale, in Lancashire—center of the English textile industry—was the birthplace of the Cooperative Movement.] For that matter, I have no intention of saying much about the street and its history because the people I want to talk about live just round the corner, right in a house with an exterior as imposing as an ordinary barn.

In fact, I would go so far as to call this old log-and-brick building one of the show places of Moscow, although you will not find it mentioned anywhere except in the accounts of the city department of the Ministry of Pensions and Social Services. And Intourist do not know about it.

This building has the very impressive title "The Home for Aged Textile Workers of the Three Hills

Textile Factory," that's the factory referred to above. It is, by the way, one of the smallest of the fourteen old people's homes in Moscow.

There are only forty inmates whereas in other homes, mostly in the suburbs, there are as many as 800 old people. But, why I chose this house to tell you about old people's homes is because it is a cosy little nook where all the inmates live as one happy family and each of them is a page of history. As soon as ever I pulled open the sun-blistered outer door the atmosphere of comfort embraced me. Immediately the snow white porch strikes the eye in startling contrast to the drab exterior. The staff and the manageress fluttered around me, taking off my coat and continually repeating, "Please come in. Please come in," and only when the coat was on the hanger the manager asked: "Who are you and where do you come from? Our old people would like to know."

In a large comfortably furnished sitting-room I met the forty veteran weavers, spinners, dyers and all the other textile trades.

The average age is seventy and all have not less than thirty years' working life behind them. That is, all except one. He is a young man, only thirty-six, but a fully established member of the home who has equal rights with the ancients of ninety or eighty-five. Nikolai is the son of a weaver who worked more

LEN WINCOTT is an English journalist who has recently been living in the Soviet Union.

than forty years in the factory. When she died, her son, a polio victim, was left on his own, a cripple, unable to work. But his mother's long service was sufficient to get him a place in the home. That is a little diversion, although it is impossible to talk about this home without mentioning Nikolai. What, however, impressed me most was the warm atmosphere of "home from home." All the inmates seem to have a jolly and healthy appearance and at no time does one feel a cold, official attitude.

The Ministry of Pensions gives a sum of 600 rubles for the upkeep of every inmate. Each person in the home receives 10 per cent of his or her pension for pocket money, but the minimum amount is fifty rubles whatever the pension. This information the manager gave me.

Now I wanted to know what the inmates had to say. And what they had to say was much more than I expected.

Most of them are women. Women who first began to work in this same factory in those long-ago days when a heartless boss by the name of Prokorov owned the factory and the workers, too. Most of them were round about twelve or thirteen when they began working fourteen hours a day. All were then absolutely illiterate and lived in overcrowded barracks where the girls slept on wooden bunk-beds, sometimes sharing one blanket between several people. Either by studying in the factory night school, or even late in years when already members of this home, they have all learned to read and write. So they are also able to take some part in the management of their own home.

The manager is the manager sure enough, but the actual running of the house and all the amusements, entertainments, and other social amenities are in the hands of the elected social committee.

An old lady of seventy-five is the librarian. Another septuagenarian is the chemist. She helps the staff doctor and the four medical sisters to prepare the doses of medicine and she is very strict in seeing that a sick inmate takes the medicine prescribed no matter how nasty it may taste.

Whatever their ages, they cannot forget that they have been working all their lives and any kind of idleness, even the most pleasant, goes against the grain. So these old people are never without some occupation. Almost every day there is a reading hour when the best readers read to them.

Former illiterates prefer to listen to Pushkin readings or chapters from Tolstoy. Occasionally they make excursions to one or other of Moscow's many museums and even sally out to the famous sights in the suburbs. Once all the inmates visited the Tretyakov Gallery and astounded the management by their demands. After a two-hour escorted excursion they protested in a very emphatic "we wuz robbed" sort of way and the management was obliged to send a truckload of pictures with a special lecturer to their home.

Entirely at their own discretion they may supplement their official grant by taking work from the small sock and glove factory located near by. No one is bound to any plan and should any inmate feel like resting instead of knitting she is quite

at liberty to do so. The money earned is their own. Some actually earn as much as 200 rubles a month. Behind the house is an excellent garden where they have cultivated fruit trees and at the height of the season all of them join in the grand game of boiling jam, pickling cucumbers and salting cabbage.

Whenever I asked a question, I got a surprise. One very old woman, toothless and deaf, so of course she shouted as most deaf people do, sat next to me, hand cupped round one ear, taking in every word. She is a youthful eighty-four, forgets how old she was when she began working in the factory, and casually remarked that her husband and two sons were killed in the Civil War and her last son, a lieutenant-colonel, was killed in the Second World War.

Small wonder she shouted into my ear: "My son, will there be a war?" I don't suppose she was thinking about herself, her life has already run its course. She just does not want other people's sons to die senselessly.

Then all the group began to talk about their sons, grandsons, daughters, granddaughters, and even a few greats. The number of doctors, engineers, officers mentioned! I had the feeling of having suddenly been transferred to a meeting of dons and scholars. Small wonder they are most enthusiastic about the progress of their country and talk confidently about enjoying the fruits of the next seven-year plan as if

absolutely sure they are far from the end of life's journey although all have traveled a long, long way.

They love their home because it is really a home and they run it themselves. When offered a two weeks' stay in a rest home outside Moscow, all, to a woman, refused. "There is no rest home better than ours," is their claim. And when out on excursions there is a strict rule. "No meals outside. Nobody prepares the food like our kitchen staff."

It seems they are right and are not just boasting. Three cooks for forty people, who serve them four good, solid meals a day is, I am sure, a guarantee of good eats. Anyway, the inmates all seem to be more than content.

Everybody knows the exquisite joy of watching happy and gay children playing in lovely gardens. Of listening to them lisping their million-and-one naive and amusing questions. But if any reader coming to the Soviet Union would like to experience the remarkable pleasure of seeing old people who were born in dirt and squalor, brought up in ignorance and inhuman exploitation, now enjoying the fruits of their labors, peaceful and happy in their own little paradise, please ask the editor for my telephone number and ring at any time of the day or night. The old folks will tell you themselves how they've never had it so good.

Reprinted through courtesy of British-Soviet Friendship, March, 1961.

WORLD STAMP EXHIBIT IN HUNGARY

BUDAPEST will be the scene of a world stamp exhibition from September 23 to October 1. Philatelists from all over the world will exhibit. The Hungarian Government will issue a special silver commemorative stamp.

The High Dam at Aswan

by PROF. I. V. KOMZIN

*Chief Expert of the construction of the
High Aswan Dam*

IN THE southern area of the United Arab Republic, Egypt, a country of colossal monuments of ancient culture, far away on the Nile, the age-old hope of the millions of Arabs for a better life has at last begun to be realized: the construction of the High Aswan Dam Sadd al-Aali has been launched.

Let people say I am partial, but I am so much in love with my job of a creator that I am absolutely convinced: there can't be a better trade in the world than that of a builder!

When slightly more than a month remained before my departure for the UAR I got down, in addition to a thorough study of the blueprints, to reading avidly books on Egypt and its own river the Nile. I knew, of course, that the famous Egyptian pyramids, those gigantic tombs of the Pharaohs, were considered first among the "seven wonders of the world."

On the day after my arrival in Cairo I decided to have a look at the pyramids. Mute sentries of the millenniums, they stand on the bank of the Nile, glorifying man's genius. For many centuries the pyramids were regarded as the biggest engineering structures on the ancient Egyptian soil.

Well, I thought to myself, the great pyramids built by the Pharaohs really show the high level of the art of building but they do not express anything, save the Pharaohs' ambition. Their construction lasted

for dozens of years. Thousands of people died in the process. They were built by the people but did not serve the people.

The High Aswan Dam will give the people of the United Arab Republic electric power, grain, and other foodstuffs. History and the grateful people of the United Arab Republic will never forget those who built the dam and the leaders of the two friendly peoples who found the ways for the realization of this grand construction project.

Those who once bowed to the pyramids as symbols of human ambition will now admire and extol the High Dam as a symbol of human wisdom!

In slightly more than a year, I have visited the Egyptian villages more than once and I have seen what hopes are pinned on the construction of the dam by the millions of people. A fellah is an Egyptian poor peasant owning at the very best, a small plot of land of one feddan (a feddan equals 13.3 acres). In most cases he is a landless farm-hand or a tenant. Fellahs make up more than two-thirds of the country's population. They are, in fact, the Egyptian people. And they say about themselves:

"We are like the needle which clothes others but remains naked itself."

The large-scale construction on the Nile will open a new page in the fellahs' life.

What can I say briefly about the places where we now live and work? Aswan is an ancient city, some two thousand years old, with a population of more than 30,000. There was a slaves' market here in the past from which African slaves were sold to all the parts of the world.

The Aswan hydro-system is situated some 8 kilometers from the city.

I am standing on the spot where the future dam will be erected. There are rocks all around and no vegetation. In the hollows on the left side some yellow patches of sand are visible—the traces of the mighty sand storms.

The mountains are not high, it is true, but gloomy and wild. Looking at them I think of how we shall soon lower them by more than 100 meters, building a dam and forming the Aswan water reservoir, the world's largest. Sorry though I may be, my favorite Lenin Hydro-Power Station and its reservoir on the Volga, the world's largest man-made reservoir at present, will have to yield the palm to Aswan in the future. The capacity of the Volga Hydro-Electric Plant is 2,300,000 kw. The Aswan plant will, evidently, be the same. But the capacity of the Aswan reservoir will be twice that of the Kuibyshev reservoir, reaching 130,000 million cubic meters of water.

Although it is hard for us, people of the Russian forests and green fields, to grow fond of these wild sun-scorched rocks and deserts, we knew that the longer we lived and worked here, the more we would like everything surrounding us. I can't remember who said the following, but his words were very

true. "If you want to succeed you must come to love the earth you walk on and the places where you work."

It will soon be a year since we started, the first small group of Soviet specialists, working far from home with our colleagues the Arab specialists, on what is so far the "rear" of the construction job. Those engaged in construction know what strength and energy are needed to build such a hydrotechnical system.

A drive is now going on in our Soviet-Arab designing bureau to reduce the time set for designing the auxiliary projects. The new designing organization headed by engineer Habib and his assistant, the Soviet engineer Vasili Kuzmich Korotayev, is working fruitfully.

Construction is developing on all the "rear" jobs of the great project. When these have been completed by the end of the year, we shall start on the basic jobs of the hydrotechnical system, first removing the rocks along the entire front of the canal.

After the first rocks had been blasted, the quarry faces were considerably expanded, and many thousands of cubic meters of rock were removed. In operation on the sites today are many powerful excavators, boring machines, bulldozers and huge trucks. An endless stream of tip-trucks remove the rock to the construction site of the mechanical repair and motor repair enterprises, the oxygen compressor and many other shops.

Roads are being completed for the transportation of materials to the face of the lower feeding canal; powerful Urals EKG-4 electric excavators with four cubic meter scoops have been assembled and

all are at present fully in operation. Our Soviet expert excavators, Heroes of Socialist Labor Slepukha, Klementiev and Yeliseyev and their fellow workers on the Kuibyshev, Stalingrad and Kremenchug hydroelectric stations, Travnikov, Vatolin, Cheberov and others, together with the Arab machine operators, are working on the construction of the open channel.

All of us, Soviet and Arab specialists and workers, are eager to get down to work as quickly as possible on the basic structures.

The Arabs are eager to work on the construction of the dam. The

most striking thing about our friends is their hunger for knowledge—they want to know as much as possible about the large-scale power engineering conducted in the USSR, they are eager to master the Soviet machines.

We Soviet specialists have seen for ourselves that the construction of the High Aswan Dam gratifies the age-old hope for a better life. The blank wall of backwardness and impoverishment that has surrounded this country is finally crumbling.

Translated from Pravda.

SOVIET MEDICAL AID

PYOTR V. GUSENKOV, Deputy Minister of Public Health of the USSR, gave an interview recently to a *Pravda* correspondent on the activities of Soviet doctors in foreign countries. The following is a summary of the interview.

After pointing out that dangerous infectious diseases such as smallpox, cholera, plague, malaria, and yellow fever, still rage in many countries, the Minister went on to say that the Soviet Union is rendering assistance to a number of Afro-Asian countries in organizing their own medical industry.

The designs for building a factory for manufacturing antibiotics and chemical-pharmaceutical preparations in Cairo have been completed and equipment is already being shipped there. U.A.R. specialists have arrived in the Soviet Union in order to master the technology involved. They are studying production in Moscow, Kiev, Minsk and Kharkov.

A similar plant for manufacturing antibiotics and pharmaceutical preparations will soon be built in Iraq, near Baghdad. Preliminary work is also underway for the erection of plants in India and other countries.

In Burma and Nepal hospitals built by the Soviet Union will soon be ready for use.

Towards the end of last year cholera broke out in a number of places in Afghanistan. Six Soviet doctors immediately took off by plane for Kabul, taking with them a bacteriophage produced according to the method discovered by Professor Alexander Nikonov, who accompanied the group.

The results of the use of the bacteriophage were so excellent that word spread throughout Afghanistan about the miraculous "holy water" and the magical Soviet doctors.

Soviet doctors are also working in Iraq, Ghana, India and Yemen and many other countries. In Iraq, for instance, they are waging a persistent struggle against smallpox and have vaccinated almost the entire population of the country.

Health Minister Gusenkov said in concluding the interview, that legends and songs are being spread in the jungles of Africa, in the deserts of Asia on islands in the ocean about the Soviet doctors who are bringing good health and strength to their friends.

HERE ARE THE AFRICANS

A review by ROCKWELL KENT

The Sons Of Adam, South African sketch-book by Paul Hogarth. With excerpts from the artist's diary. Preface by Father Trevor Huddleston. Thomas Nelson & Sons. \$2.95.

CUBISM, Surrealism, Futurism, Expressionism, Actionism . . . Abstractionism, on and on *ad nauseam*: the masses of mankind who are concerned with the realities of life as mankind apprehends them may well leave the whole fruitless discussion about what is Art, what isn't, to the supra-human dilettantes in Culture, and turn for inspiration, guidance, pleasure to those graphic expressions that, to begin with are commonly intelligible and which, upon that premise, offer satisfaction to their minds and souls. Here, before me, is a picture book: Paul Hogarth's; a book of drawings, sketches, Art. Yet as I open it I am at once aware not of its Art, not of the world and syntax of the artist's graphic speech, but of the stark reality of human life that Hogarth, through his art, has re-created. As that miracle of nature, man, transcends the bones, cells, muscles, viscera and all the rest that he is fashioned with, so from the scrawling lines of Hogarth's sketches emerge, as he has called his book, *The Sons of Adam*.

But of our brother Sons of Adam, who share our little world with us, it is the people who at this moment of history are emerging into prominence from the forests and the slums of their dark continent that Hogarth by his pictures brings to us or, more correctly—for the people's background is their native land—takes us to. The people in their country, Africa, at home, made vivid to our eyes and, by the artist's understanding and compassion, to our minds and hearts.

Quoted by Paul Hogarth in the ex-

cerpts from his diary by which the drawings are accompanied is an axiom of our great literary realist, Stephen Crane: "To show people to people as they seem to me." Accepting that simple axiom as expressive of his own intention, Hogarth has realized it. Here in *The Sons Of Adam* are those people whom so much of what is news today concerns. Here are the makers of that news; co-shapers—to what great extent none can foretell—of mankind's destiny. Here, reader, are the Africans.

A TIMELY NOVEL

The Man Who Would Be God. By Haakon Chevalier. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1959. 449 pages. \$5.00.

THIS is a novel of interest because it deals with the atom bomb, its meaning for humanity, the effect of making it on those who made it. The main figure in the story is the fictional prototype of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, creator of "the monster" that threatens mankind, thus—"The Man Who Would Be God."

The other leading figure is presumably in part the author himself, who knew Oppenheimer and was named by him in one of the security hearings in a spy story which Oppenheimer himself later dismissed as "cock-and-bull stuff." Although in the meantime it had had disastrous effects on the author's career.

It is obvious why the author has chosen to write his story in fictional terms, although the actual story of the events dealt with would be more absorbing. As a novel, attempting to examine the motives of the great scientist, the book is not entirely successful. But because it deals with events of such profound implications to us all, it is worth reading.

THE COMMUNITY OF FEAR

Reviewed by PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

The Community of Fear, by Dr. Harrison Brown and James Real. Foreword by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif. 40 pages. The Fund for the Republic, Inc. Single Copies free.

COMMUNITY of Fear is an important publication, not only on account of the surprising material it contains, but also because of its source. The pamphlet derives from the organization, the "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions," in California, and has behind it an impressive number of names of liberal thinkers and scientists in the United States, including Reinhold Niebuhr, the leading Protestant theologian of the United States, who has written the foreword; Robert M. Hutchins, formerly President of Chicago University, and Professor I. I. Rabi, the nuclear scientist.

The senior author himself, Harrison Brown, is already well known to the world of science and of liberal thought. Harrison Brown is a noted geochemist, responsible for some exciting studies of the distribution of isotopes, leading to estimates not only of the age of the earth, but of the age of the elements themselves out of which the earth is built. He has also been active in the group associated with world economic problems, and is one of the chief authors in the book *The Next Hundred Years*. He has also been very active in the Pugwash group.

The pamphlet itself, appropriately colored black, is a mere forty pages long. But is packed with explosive material. It is, in fact, a condemnation of nuclear war and the arms race. Mr. Brown begins by facing the successive attitudes of the military toward nuclear build-up and possible war:

As the technological competition continues, it seems clear that sometime in the mid-sixties ballistic missiles will form the bulwark of the striking forces of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Bases will become increasingly hard. Guidance will become more accurate. A variety of military satellites will emerge. Bombs, missiles and satellites will become less expensive. But above all we can expect in the years ahead many more "break-throughs" which will lead to a number of startling and unexpected military developments. Even less expensive and more efficient methods for the destruction of large segments of life and the products of human intelligence are almost certainly within our grasp.

The first danger Mr. Brown sees to stability is that of the spread of nuclear military technology to other countries. He cites eight countries, capable economically of making hydrogen bombs. The danger he sees from this is that:

The spread of nuclear military technology will greatly increase the complexity of deterrent systems. Thus, when China becomes a nuclear and missile power, or when we believe that she has become one, we must train our missiles upon the bases and cities of that country as well as upon those of the Soviet Union.

The next danger foreseen is that of accidental war or a "catalytic war"—one that spreads from a starting point like a chain reaction:

As the Russians' military position becomes more clearly dominant in the next decade, and as increasing psychological pressure is brought to bear on the Western positions everywhere, the likelihood of desperate, erratic, unauthorized action by the U.S. and allied forces is much greater than the chance of similar breaches of discipline by the Soviets.

Thus, if things continue the way they are going, the possibility of a *coup* by the United States military is real. The

general assumption that the American soldier is automatically responsive to his civilian masters might be rudely shaken were there a serious and clearly visible retreat on the world front by the American policy-makers. The same might be true in the event of a disarmament agreement which the military does not consider fool-proof.

J. D. Bernal, the brilliant British scientist, stated in a recent review of this pamphlet that: "The suggestion of a *coup* by the American military is the most surprising one contained in the article, and is backed up by a number of considerations, which appear later, as to the entrenched position of the military in American political life."

Community of Fear develops this:

Tens of thousands of scientists and technicians have devoted all of their professional lives to the invention and construction of weapons. A majority of those who went to work after World War II are convinced that weaponry is a way of life for themselves and expect the U.S.-Soviet contest to continue forever. Many of them are articulate and highly valued consultants in every walk of American life, from the Congressional committee to the P.T.A.

Although these men are not generally openly political, they are in every sense the paramilitary-civilian soldiers. They have spent most of their adult lives in the direct or secondary employment of one or another of the services, and their sympathy for and concurrence with their uniformed colleagues are often marked and open. Should a showdown between the military and the civilian sectors occur, this group could be relied upon to staunchly back the handlers of the weapons they have so devotedly evolved.

The military leaders themselves are quite naturally not enthusiastic for disarmament or for any steps that might curtail the freedom of action of the armed services. There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power.

Even though this pamphlet may not be assured of an enormous distribution here in the United States, the fact that these things have been stated in print by authorities, including Eisenhower, who cannot be questioned or accused of pro-Soviet bias, is of great importance in the general work of peace. Everybody can now know what many of us have long pointed out—precisely whom they are up against. It is clear that until this Unholy Alliance of business, science and military staffs is broken up by the people of the United States, our hopes of disarmament agreement are very slim.

The authors of the pamphlet, however, have not attempted to develop the positive side. They have stated the facts, and clearly wish them, in the first place, just to sink in. In fact, Dr. Niebuhr in his introduction points out that no hopeful solution is presented. This is a matter of, as he says, a "study which confines itself to a clear delineation of the magnitude of the problem and, by implication, to a criticism of presently proposed solutions which obscure the dimension of the problem."

A NEW LOOK AT CUBA

The Challenge To Kennedy

BY

JESSE GORDON

AND

GEN. HUGH B. HESTER
U.S. ARMY (RET.)

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