

JULY, 1961

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New World

REVIEW

THE IDEALS OF SOVIET YOUTH
A Discussion in Leningrad

What Will They Do Next?
ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

Red Banner for Foshan
ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Czechoslovakia Advances
ELEANOR WHEELER

Khrushchev's Memoranda
On Germany and Nuclear Tests

PEACE ESSAY CONTEST AWARDS

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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JESSICA SMITH, Editor
MURRAY YOUNG, Managing Editor

ESLANDA ROBESON
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Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions
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Jessica Smith Writes from Tashkent

June 9

"Again I cannot begin to tell you of all we have heard and seen. A new world built by the youth is rising on the virgin lands—and here in Uzbekistan we have seen with our own eyes a collective farm with an art gallery and a rest home with a swimming pool!

"The Palaces of Culture connected with factories and collective farms, with all the facilities they have for workers and farmers, are beyond belief.

"Prisons are closing down everywhere, and people's detachments are taking over from the militia.

"One of the men we talked to on legal matters quoted Khrushchev as saying, 'We shall go into Communism without any hooligans and without any militia.'

"I have material for many articles but we are on the go so much and every moment here is so absorbing that I have not had time to write an article for the magazine."

ON RADIO MOSCOW

One of our readers in Albuquerque, New Mexico, wrote in to say that he had heard Jessica Smith speaking from Moscow on May 29th. He writes that it came through the Pacific Coast Service of Radio Moscow and that he heard her voice loud and clear on the 19-meter band.

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

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WHAT ON EARTH— And In Space— WILL THEY DO NEXT?

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

EVER SINCE Yuri Gagarin swam planetwise into our ken, I've been receiving a flow of queries that can be telescoped into one: What on earth—and in space—will they do next?

If you can think of a tougher question to ask about this unpredictable country I'd be glad to hear it, but not so glad to answer it. And, before I tackle the one I've given, beginning with its space component, I must explain that all the inspired or semi-inspired hints I've been given recently have usually come with the double-edged preamble, "Your guess is as good as mine, but—." So the best I can do is to pass on both the prophecies and the preamble. Your guess is as good as mine:

(1) A successor to Gagarin will orbit the earth not once but two or three times, depending on his physiological reactions to weightlessness.

(2) An unmanned space station will be landed on the moon and will send back detailed reports on "local conditions" as a preliminary to a (much later) Man-on-the-Moon flight.

(3) A space-ship with retractable wings and mainly pilot-controlled will orbit the earth and make a gliding re-entry, after a series of dips into the upper atmosphere to reduce speed.

The resemblance between the last item and the well-boosted (but not so well boosted) American Dyna-Soar idea is perhaps not accidental. Years before Dyna-Soar was heard of—and acclaimed as an original American idea—I myself described an early version of this Soviet idea in a review of Karl Gilzin's *Travel to Distant Worlds*, published in 1957, and the work done on it since then may soon bear fruit. (To my Scottish ear Dyna-Soar sounds like "Dinna-soar!" but perhaps it takes its name from that prehistoric flop, the Dinosaur?)

A SHORT answer to the "Where on earth?" side of the question, based on talks I have had recently with Soviet geophysicists and geologists, is: Northwards, southwards and downwards.

Northwards and southwards bring us to the polar ice-caps which, with other glaciated areas, have a much greater influence on the entire world's weather, warmth, wealth and well-being than is generally appreciated. The Soviet attitude in this case—as in every case—is, "Let's do something about it." But let us first hear

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE'S articles on various aspects of Soviet life are a regular feature of NWR. Former editor of the British Embassy newspaper in Moscow, Johnstone has lived in the USSR since 1947.

the other side, ably stated by no less an authority than *Punch* in a recent article:

"The normal attitude of man to glaciers has been . . . one of resigned tolerance. . . . The glacier has its own inexorable laws for disposing of itself . . . a thing as lumpish and intractable as a glacier is best left alone." The article went on to split its sides over a plan to melt, by covering with black material, glaciers on the Tien Shan, Altai and other mountain ranges on the Sino-Soviet borders holding the equivalent of *half-a-million* cubic meters of water that could irrigate vast areas.

Pity to spoil a good story, but Professor Grigori Ovsik of Moscow (leader of the International Geophysical Year's section of Glaciology) assures me that this "Glaciers on Tap," as *Punch* called it, is, very fortunately, no joking matter. It is actually being worked on an extensive scale and could, in principle, be done on a global scale. However, the "black material" is not the widow's weeds, discarded umbrella covers and old stockings suggested by *Punch*, but coal or other dust sprayed thinly from airplanes.

"Much of the world's ice, including all the Arctic Sea ice," he told me, "is like ice in a vacuum flask, not in a refrigerator. In other words, once melted it would not form again. It survives only because its whiteness throws back the sun's rays."

That simple principle is the basis of various sensational-sounding but quite practical schemes for melting the Arctic ice and turning the vast frozen deserts of both hemispheres into rich agricultural and industrial lands. And the cost? "Trivial compared with the cost of armaments."

The real snag, the professor told me, was that the secondary effects in equatorial countries would take years of study and international discussion.

However, a number of more modest schemes (including the "tapping" of glaciers and the diverting of cold currents from the vast sea of Okhotsk, which would benefit northern Japan as well as the USSR) have a much better chance of early realization.

I was particularly struck in these talks by the frequent and extremely friendly references by Soviet glaciologists and geophysicists in general to their American and British opposite numbers, with whom they are in regular correspondence and whom they often meet at international congresses (where the discussions are at too high a scientific level to rate more than a brief reference in the popular press). In these circles, by the way, Cold War sentiments don't seem to thrive very well—which is rather appropriate in the case of people who want to warm up the colder parts of our planet and who reject the idea that "a thing as lumpish and intractable as a glacier is best left alone!"

AND now to the third direction, downwards—more than a dozen miles towards the far-from-cold core of the earth, to produce a whole new science about the nature of our planet.

I think it was H. G. Wells who, stretching the swords-into-plowshares metaphor a bit, suggested that the world's armies should join forces and start digging a great hole in the earth. At present both the USSR and the U.S. have projects of this kind, and I feel that two holes,

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though not so good as one, are better than none.

The U.S. may get a running, or diving, start by attacking the earth's crust at its narrowest, that is, under the sea. According to Professor Vladimir Belusov (who is president of the International Geophysics Union) and his colleagues, the USSR prefers the harder start from dry land. That is partly because a boring column several miles down in the sea might be unmanageably flexible—it could, in fact be tied in a half-hitch!—and partly because a start from *terra firma* would provide a wide range of scientific and technical data of incidental but inestimable value in the exploitation of the country's mineral wealth.

The Soviet "Mohole" plan (the name honors Yugoslav geophysicist M. Mohovoricic who "mapped" the irregular dividing line between the earth's solid crust and its inner mantle of plastic rock) will make use of a wide range of new drilling techniques including telemetric and even television checking of what the actual drill is doing.

I gather that the boring will not begin until some extremely interesting devices, now in the experi-

mental stage, have been perfected. The actual location of the Mohole has not yet been finally chosen, but it will probably be on the volcano-dotted peninsula of Kamchatka where—as in New Zealand, Iceland and Yellowstone Park, U.S.A. but only more so—the earth's crust is fissured with geysers and has many other freakish formations.

Meantime, borings and "soundings" (in the literal sense) are going on in many parts of the Soviet Union and hardly a week passes without an important discovery of mineral wealth—oil, natural gas, hot and cold subterranean seas, as well as valuable ores, often at hitherto unreachable depths.

The very frequency of these discoveries robs them of their news value and this has encouraged various long-range observers of the Soviet scene to assume that there is a big gap between the U.S. and the USSR in down-to-Earth matters.

Probably there is. From what I have gathered at first- and second-hand I would say it is roughly similar to the gap in space achievements, which, as you will remember, was always unfavorable to the Soviet Union until it delivered the goods.

WELCOME TO FREEDOMWAYS

WE ARE SURE that readers of NEW WORLD REVIEW will welcome the appearance of a new magazine, *Freedomways: A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement*.

Shirley Graham, the distinguished author of many books, including biographies of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, is the editor.

The first number (Spring 1961) has a wealth of important material by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Alphaeus Hunton, Shirley Graham and many others. Of special interest is the full text of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech before the United Nations on the situation in Africa after the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

Dealing with the whole Negro liberation movement in both its domestic and international aspects, the quarterly is indispensable reading.

The address is 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., and the subscription is \$3.50 a year (\$5.00 abroad).

"Hope Springs Eternal"

by ROCKWELL KENT

SHORTLY after our return to America last December following the announcement of our gift of paintings, drawings and manuscripts to the Soviet people and the opening of its exhibition, I received, among many letters, one from a young High School student in Chuchkovo, a town in the Ryazan Region near Moscow. A continuous interchange of letters between us two ensued, of which the following letter and my reply to it are a fair sampling. Tanya's letters have been to us such touching evidence of the yearning for friendship with our people and of the warmth of feeling generated by the cultural exchange between our people which, happily, is now in progress that we feel that a sampling of the correspondence may be of interest to the readers of *New World Review*. Two letters, one from Tanya, and our reply to it, follow:

DEAR friend, our beloved Rockwell Kent,

We thank you very, very much for your very nice letter, which arrived here in 9 days.

We read it at our final evening-party to all our members, and we were so happy to have your letter on this day.

And now I want to inform you: we have accepted you as the honorable member No. 1 of our Chuchkovo International Club. Here we

enclose a special badge given to our best members. I have got one too.

Now about myself. I am 15 years old and I study in the 8th form. I study rather well and I get only good and excellent marks. I have to study 3 years more, and then I shall graduate from school. I have not yet decided about my future profession, but I am interested in foreign languages, literature, mathematics and art.

I am fond of good paintings and interesting books. I shall try to read your stories when they are published here. Our club sends you some reproductions of the paintings of Russian artists. I hope you will like them. Write us soon. With love and many, many kisses from all our boys and girls and Tanya Kononova.

Peace will win!

MY dear little friend, Tanya:

I am so moved by the honor done me by the members of your International Club that I feel that it should have from me just such a pompously eloquent acknowledgment as is expected from the winners of Nobel or Lenin Prizes, or of the highest military honors. But I think it is better that instead of such nonsense I just tell you that I am very, very happy at receiving such a mark of affectionate comradeship from your people, idealists in their belief in coming world-

wide human brotherhood and their devotion to advancing it.

I am proud to tell you that I am now, with this election as the first honorary member of your International Club, able to boast of five high-purposed groups to which I have the honor of belonging. I will list them for you. They are, first of all, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, of which, as you may know, I am the national Chairman. Then I am one of the two honorary lifetime members of the bravest, most honorable, most far-visioned labor union in America, the ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union), Paul Robeson being the other honorary member and Harry Bridges being the Union's President. In your country I have been made an honorary member of the Robert Burns Club of a Moscow High School; and, fifth, and, except for yours, the most recent honor that has come to me, I am an honorary member of the Kukryniksi, and I have been sent by them a beautiful diploma with a medallion at the top showing the heads of Kuprianov, Krylov, Nikolai, Sokolov and me rising out of one collar. My name is written "Rockwell Rockwellovich Kent." This is to me a very great honor, for the Kukryniksi are not only brilliant artists and cartoonists but, during the War, they proved themselves a powerful force for victory. But the greatest honor of all—and it embraces both of us, my wife, Sally, and me—has been the warm friendship that the people of your country have shown us everywhere that we have been and that they are now showing my work.

So you see, Tanya dear, in thank-

ing you and your Club for the honor they have done me I am not a man to whom great honors are unusual. I will only add that I feel the greatest tribute of all to come from the affection and respect of young people. I therefore in my thoughts embrace you all affectionately and thank you from my heart.

By this letter I am replying to two recently received from you, both of them containing lovely presents—pictures: one of the Bell Tower of Ivan the Great and the others of splendid paintings by artists of your country. And in addition to these pictures I now have the badge of your International Club with the head of the immortal Father of your Country, Lenin. I will enclose the photographs of me that you have asked for.

We are deeply disturbed by happenings in our own country: the continued bitterness in the South against the Negro people and the brutal violence by which it is given expression. We are troubled by the desperate policy and acts resorted to by our Government to stop by every means the sure advance of socialism in the world. We are deeply troubled by the continuous threats to peace that we are offering. And yet somehow—"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," the English poet, Pope, has written—we still have hope that we are at least approaching the threshold of a peaceful world.

And now, dear Tanya, I must bring my letter to a close and get to work. Please give my warm greeting to your friends and fellow members of the Club and know us always to be

Your affectionate friends,

Sally and Rockwell Kent

The Ideals of Soviet Youth

A Discussion from Komsomolskaya Pravda, April 5

Comrades!

We invite you to take part in our discussion: "The Psychology of the Modern Young Man."

Enthusiasm or scepticism
Open-handedness or rationalism
in feelings
Questioning or living "through
force of habit"
Generosity of spirit or sober
calculation
A sense of responsibility or
impulsiveness

Are the above mutually exclusive in the character of the Soviet person?

Are the qualities listed below good or bad today:

Practicality, judicious egoism,
ambition, harshness, uncompromising
straightforwardness, restraint, frankness, asceticism, ir-
reconcilability

What expresses the spirit of our times most strikingly?

What character traits will the man of tomorrow need?

THE above is the text of a questionnaire distributed in the factories, institutes and youth hostels of Leningrad early this spring.

The meeting took place several days later with a crowded audience in the Hall of Columns of the Pedagogical Institute.

It was decided not to set any time limit to the speakers or for the discussion as a whole. Dull speakers were to be cut short. The repre-

sentatives of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and the Herzen Pedagogical Institute, who had organized the discussion, were authorized to conduct it.

After the chairman's brief introductory word, Vladimir Shakhidjanyan, a senior Young Pioneer leader, began the discussion:

Enthusiasm most strikingly expresses the spirit of our times. But we cannot say that it excludes scepticism. It often happens that a person is enthusiastic over his work, his ideas, loves life, but at the same time he is a sceptic who, in the beginning, approaches everything with reasonable doubt.

There was a time when I studied under Leonid Nikolayevich Novikov, the director of the amateur art group at the Zhdanov Palace of Young Pioneers. Many members of that group of ours now work in the theater. We were amateurs, and I recall that we felt Leonid Nikolayevich was too sceptical in his attitude toward us and our art. He would frequently say: "You think you're already actors, don't you? Let's wait and see if you'll amount to anything." Generally, he never accepted anything at its face value. But he devoted all his time to his beloved work and inspired us.

One cannot be indifferent to one's work, to the profession one has selected for all time, for one's

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whole life. Otherwise, nothing will come of it.

But even if a person is enthusiastic, he must be able to judge the results of his work sceptically, for otherwise he will not notice his own mistakes.

I should also like to speak of nobleness of soul and sober calculation. Of course, there must be sober calculation in work, but when it comes to moral questions, sober calculation is very unpleasant.

I had an acquaintance who used to say: "I must behave in such and such a way with this person because it depends on him if I get in trouble with the dean's office or not, and with that person I must behave so and so, for he can get me a free pass to the theater. With this person I must behave altogether differently, for he can't do a thing for me." This chap had a notebook—he told me about it himself—in which he had a page for every one of his acquaintances, and in it he wrote down how he had to speak with whom, what relations he should maintain with each, and what he "would get from it."

I consider that cynicism. Briefly, I'm all for nobleness of soul. But not in the way some people understand it: they get their pay, squander it in two days, and are even proud of it. And then they borrow money from the very people whom they had just treated. My understanding of nobleness of soul is quite different. Especially if one is a teacher, a leader of children, a doctor, he should devote his entire soul to his work and derive from that work as much as possible for his own soul, for his own development. He must read, think, discuss things, he must have

as many acquaintances as possible, constantly live among others, among people, exchange opinions, and *be of use to people*. And then both he and the people about him will find it good to live.

Vladimir Solovyev, a student of the Repin Institute, spoke next:

The Roman philosopher Seneca wrote: "Life, like a fable, is valued not for its length, but for its content."

What does that content depend on? There are eternal questions which worry each generation anew.

If we consider life in its real interrelations and conflicts, we find that a person is bound with other people by thousands of ties.

Don't we feel the influence of the ages that preceded our day? Man is born not into an empty world, but into a world in which he feels the impact of King Oedipus, Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and his contemporaries, his school teacher and his colleagues, and even his descendants. It is very difficult, but one must realize that man lives not only for himself.

"If I don't stand up for myself, then who will stand up for me? But if I am only for myself, of what use am I?"

Everyone understands the meaning of the first part of this saying, but what about the other part?

If man lives only for himself, then he has no reason to live at all. He will die without having finished his work, his life, and his material death will also be his spiritual and final death. Perhaps, then life is a relay, and one must run, run until the sweat pours down one's face, un-

til it hurts, until there are callouses on one's feet, until one bleeds, run without stopping to catch one's breath, without stopping until the very end in order to pass the flaming torch on to the next person?

A mosaic consists of various stones. One stone may come from the bottom of the ocean, and another from a mountain peak. In each of us there are these stones, with names and without, and they have that wonderful light which generations of people have left to each of us.

There is no greater joy for man than his ability to bring happiness to people, his ability to become dissolved in other people. Where does the demarcation line between serving oneself and serving someone else become effaced?

To renounce oneself does not mean depriving oneself of one's individuality, it does not mean indulging in hypocrisy. But individualism is, in the final analysis, the renunciation of individuality, it is equivalent to crossing oneself out. One must understand oneself, find one's place in life, and remain true to oneself.

To be true to oneself means being true to others, but one must be true to one's real self, and not to one's mask, selected either with taste or without.

We say that we must learn from our fathers and grandfathers, from the Komsomols (members of the Young Communist League) of the 1930's and the Civil War. That is true, of course. We must learn! But we must not mechanically transfer the traits of 30 years ago to our day.

I don't know from whom I can

get more for myself, from Pavel Korchagin* or Saint-Just. History did not begin today or yesterday. By making a painstaking study of the achievements and mistakes of the past generations each of us and our generation should develop his character and his ideas.

Paradoxical as it may sound, there are people who, in general, do not have any ideas of their own, do not reflect about life independently, but mechanically repeat the thoughts of others. And that is bad, regardless of whether the thoughts come from Schopenhauer's "Aphorisms," from one of Hemingway's books, or from the novels of our Soviet writers. The ideas of others can become our own ideas, but they must be checked up. Needless to say, I do not think that the truth is born in any dispute, but it is axiomatic that the truth is checked up and strengthened by doubt and the pseudo-truth is thus discrowned.

The truth is that the society which we are building will not endure marking time, and in order to move ahead one must do a lot of thinking. One often speaks of the wheel of history, but it is people who move the wheel of history, and not God, nor fate, nor time. When a person does not think, he no longer resembles a worker who moves the wheel, but a squirrel running about in a cage.

When speaking of criticism I by no means refer to petty fault-finding but the scorching fire of human reason, faithfulness to an idea which has been verified and not mechanically adopted, a readiness, if neces-

* Hero of the novel *How The Steel Was Tempered* by Nikolai Ostrovsky.

sary, to fight for one's idea, a readiness to defend, not to retreat a single step from what has become part of your life.

I should like this idea to be properly understood. It is said that science moves ahead, crossing its own self out. One cannot move through inertia. That is something which physicists and lyric poets with a ten-year education know. For inertia means coming to a stop sooner or later. Every person must have his own inner engine.

Every person must have a clear idea of that great responsibility which has been placed upon our generation: to preserve the fire of the October Revolution, not to surrender a single position, to rise another step in man's ascent to the sun, to happiness, to light.

We must not be indifferent, must not become complacent.

The papers often say that we must not close our eyes to hooliganism, that if we see a street-brawl we must stop the fighters and put them to shame. That is more or less clear. But at times we close our eyes to other foul things, remain indifferent, do not see the defects in ourselves and in others, are cowardly and silent when we ought to be indignant. This should not be! We ought to promise ourselves that so long as our hearts beat within us we will think and fight for human beauty, against baseness, against indifference. We must be better than our fathers, just as our fathers were better than our grandfathers, and our children will be better than we. Mankind is advancing towards its spring, and it is our duty to fight for it.

A note sent up to Vladimir So-

lovyev read: "Does that mean that in the opinion of the speaker every person should develop his own independent ideology?"

V. Solovyev: What I meant was developing one's own views on life.

Chairman: Vladimir Solovyev raised, in part, the question of the difference in the psychology of our generation from that of our fathers' generation. It would be interesting to elucidate in detail what that difference is.

The next speaker, Alexander Andreyev, a student of the Polytechnic Institute, continued this talk:

I shall also speak of the generation that was born at the end of the 1930's and the beginning of the '40's. It seems to me that all those character traits which have been contrasted in the plan for the discussion, are to be found in every person, but some are manifested more strongly, others—more weakly. That can be seen in the example of one person taken individually and in the entire generation taken as a whole.

What, in my opinion, distinguishes some of my contemporaries? It is: instability, inconsistency in one's feelings and actions.

A person speaks of a sense of duty, and this sense of duty is well developed in him, but suddenly he does something that leaves us gaping. We went to the virgin lands, many were all excited over it, and the mood of the people was a lofty one. But at the same time some people behaved like hooligans and got drunk. The lofty and the base are side by side, and sometimes they are combined in one and the same

person in an amazing way. I am referring to our post-war generation, and compare it with the previous generation of Soviet youth, those who made the revolution, those who worked in the thirties. The behavior of a person is determined not only by his outlook, but also by the feelings instilled by society. The first Komsomols saw with their own eyes that our country had made a tremendous leap from capitalism, and they were convinced of these changes by their own experience. The youth of that period were, perhaps, less educated and cultured, they did not have so many opportunities then as we now have, but their character was steadier, their feelings—stronger. Our youth today do not have such first-hand, emotional experience. We have general historical experience, and it is logic that convinces us more than anything else. We have become much more educated and cultured, and we are able to decide great theoretical problems. But the inadequate cultivation of our feelings retards us.

Kharlampii Apachidi, a student of the Pedagogical Institute, spoke next:

I want to speak of the enthusiasm of the people of today. The comrade from the Repin Institute tried to prove that we cannot transfer to the present day all of Pavel Korchagin's traits. I absolutely disagree with him. I accept Korchagin in full!

There are various things in life one becomes enthusiastic about. I love Jack London's heroes. Enthusiastic characters, you'll admit. And yet, they were hoboes, sourdoughs.

But we need the enthusiasm of the Komsomol type, the enthusiasm of the Korchagins. Without that we cannot really live. They say that without enthusiasm one cannot be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer. Comrades! How can we do anything at all without enthusiasm!

The person who spoke before me was a polytechnical student, and he said that it was characteristic of our generation to be unstable in its feelings and views. People go to the virgin lands and on the way they buy vodka at some station buffet and get drunk. How does that reflect instability of views? That's simply swinishness. And I do not believe that such people were prompted by a feeling of patriotism when they set off. The person who is a real enthusiast, in a real Komsomol way, does not behave like that. Furthermore, if we make a phenomenon of every preposterous incident, we simply come to the absurd. It seems to me that this comrade does not see the forest because of the trees, as the saying is. If we wish to get rid of everything bad, we must be intolerant.

Before the discussion began, there were disputes, and the chairman even read the note asking whether it is right to pose the question so directly: enthusiasm or scepticism? Are not some nuances possible here, variations? It seems to me there cannot be any. Everyone must decide whether he is for enthusiasm or for scepticism. Those who are enthusiasts are heart and soul in a thing. They are ours. As for the sceptics, they are pessimists. They are the ones who promenade along Nevsky Prospekt and become objects for the work of the public or-

der squads. I am for the ardent ones, for the enthusiasts. They are the flower of life, the salt of the earth.

I recently met Galina Gavrilova. Two years ago she graduated from our department, went to Armenia, to the distant high-mountain region of Kafan, which cannot be reached in winter. And this Leningrad girl lives there in that remote place and does not whine.

Once she went to town to attend a conference. The snow began to fall, the roads were snowbound, and she was forced to wait over. Galya writes: "I was two days late in getting back to my classes, but what a wonderful return that was! My 9th form met me with such silence that I was frightened! How happy my children were! I learned that they thought I had left our blessed Irvenants forever.

"When in town I missed them so much, kept running back and forth and didn't know what to do. And they were worried about me. Where indeed would I run away from them? It's my class, my pupils, and it is all so dear to me now."

How wonderful that is! It feels good when our graduates are invited to go somewhere, whether to an Armenian village, Novgorod Region, or Kazakhstan. You're a fine girl, Galya! I envy you!

I went to Kazakhstan for the harvest. There were days when we slept badly, and for a month and a half we had no "bath day." As in the twenties. There are enough difficulties in our days too; we need enthusiasm and ardor as never before in order that our life may become as we would like to see it.

Grigori Gaisinsky, a student at the Polytechnic Institute:

Comrade Apachidi quoted a letter from a girl who went to a remote place to work. I deliberately wrote in my note that I was working on my diploma thesis. That means that a month from now I will be an engineer.

I got my practical training in Kuibyshev. There I met a girl graduate of our institute. She likes her work very much. She feels that she is of great value to the work. She told me the following: "At present our Stavropol on the Volga is barren land, but ten years from now there will be a big city there. . . . But I'll no longer be young ten years from now. I will have wrinkles then. I did not marry when I was in Leningrad, although I had many good friends there. Here I don't meet such people."

What could I say in reply? That life was wonderful and beautiful? That's nonsense, that wouldn't satisfy her. Like Comrade Apachidi, I'm for enthusiasm, but how could I preach to this girl and say that everything was splendid? The assignment of the students to their future work is a very serious matter. Two of our students, a boy and a girl, wanted to go to work in one and the same city. Everyone knew that in one of the cities there really were two vacant places. But just before these young people, someone else appeared before the commission. When he came away he said to them: "Excuse me, but I've taken one of your places."

The struggle for a more convenient place! How incredible that sounds in our day! Those who wish

to remain in Leningrad because there is culture here are committing a crime as regards that girl from Stavropol on the Volga, who is doing excellent work in spite of a few minutes of vacillation. We are still not so rich as not to have to make some sacrifices for the sake of the future. They are necessary and we should understand that.

But it seems to me that we sometimes are too free and crude in our interpretation of the conception of "duty." We must not judge of people and their actions demagogically, we must not think that just because someone has some doubts about something it means he is a sceptic, whiner, a busy-body. We cannot simply cut him off and put an end to everything like that.

I am going to Bratsk. What draws me to that place? Perhaps the romance of the great new construction project. But we cannot shout about romance. It must be spoken of delicately, tactfully. We cannot inculcate a sense of duty, a feeling of responsibility for our cause by giving orders, we cannot drive these traits in with the drum beat.

We don't always have the time now to pay attention to the individual. Nevertheless we must find an individual approach to everyone. I am certain that in the future everything will not be rationalized as some think it will be. They say that we will not differ from cybernetic machines which can solve everything in the most rational way.

That's nonsense! The person of the future will be an example of the flourishing of individuality.

How do I visualize the man of the future? He will have two vocations, two specialties: one will be a

technical, medical, or some other specialty, and the second will be in the sphere of art. Every person must have a "divine spark," for art enlivens everything! Art is akin to love; it makes a person sensitive, responsive and good. The person who loves is more tolerant, is gentler to people, and that is something which, at times, we lack. The man of the future will be a very rich man, a "gold-mine," a bright bouquet of talents! And still, the man of the future will think critically, for man must think!

•

The chairman gave the floor to Oleg Tikhomirov, a worker of the "Electrosila" Plant:

In life we come across people of different characters. And as we look at them we wonder: Who lives correctly?

At the construction of the railway Stalinsk-Abakan, where I worked, I met people who preferred a simple way of life: they came, worked, went to the cinema, and engaged in other such nonsense. Others came there with lofty ideas. I, for instance, went to that construction project with the idea of checking up on my views on life. There are, without doubt, many clever things in books; one cannot deny that. But, books cannot be a substitute for life, and I want to experience everything, to find the answer to all the questions I don't understand. That, most likely, constitutes our duty.

When we arrived there we really did find romance: an out-of-the-way place and snow all around.

I felt that since I had gone to the construction site, I had to work well, to show what I could do. But it

turned out to be a case of: "Do what you want."

Chairman: I've received the following note: "Your friends go to the cinema and engage in other such 'nonsense,' you say. What do you do in your free time?" Please answer.

O. Tikhomirov: I spend my free time at home. I have my own world, the world of my thoughts. At home I think and read. Doesn't one have to do that?

Voice from the hall: He's probably a sectarian!

O. Tikhomirov: I have my own ideas about life. . . . (The hall became very noisy. Several people rose from their seats, said something, and those around them argued with them.)

Indeed, there is something to argue about here. Life is so interesting. . . . Is it true that one must taste a bit of everything, without devoting oneself entirely to anything? Are they right who say that the time for sacrifice has passed, and that to live today only with one's duty is quixotism? How can we, in our day, combine duty to one's family with duty to society? Must one be harsh and uncompromising in one's demands of man?

Chairman: I have just received the following note: "Highly Respected Presidium: Please let me have the floor." I can't make out the signature. Whoever wrote that note, please come up.

A young man in a dark suit and with his head closely shaved, impetuously came up to the stage. He refused to give his name or place of work. The young man spoke as follows:

I wonder what we shall be like, say in fifty years, under communism.

All traits characteristic of our time will be consigned to history. This is why the speech made by the undergraduate of the Polytechnical Institute struck me as rather odd, coming as it did from one who is going to work as an engineer. I think that emotional exuberance is a feature of today. Later on this trait will give place to emotional rationalism.

Why? Because the pace of life depending on high efficiency quickens at a breath-taking rate. A well-equipped factory of the future will give no room for emotions and knowledge will be our only asset. In the future rationalism will assert itself on an incredible scale.

A questioning attitude will continue to be a human trait. This is man's inborn feature in fact.

But habit is also human. I am sure that the speakers here also spoke out of habit. I bet they speak at their trade union meetings exactly in the same way. They lisp and gush, chiding some and praising others.

A voice in the audience: You're such a crystal-gazer that it really makes one envious!

Another voice: The speaker has predicted with great certainty what things will be like under communism: rationalism, concern and so on. Please tell us whether it will be proper to do one's hair at a hair-stylist's under communism?

The speaker: I don't think it will be advisable: it is unhygienic, you know.

After the laughter that followed the last remark had subsided, Yury Yakimenko, a student of the Polytechnical Institute spoke:

I would like to say a few words about the preceding speech. According to the "unknown speaker" everyone will be a rationalist under communism and there will be no room for emotions.

My opinion is: give emotions a fair chance! As for myself I like emotionally responsive people.

But there are, of course, those of a calculating type, those who are afraid of their feelings and seem to be always weighing everything on their mental scales—like that young man with a notebook who was described by Comrade Shakhidzhanyan. Where does this rationalism come from?

I don't think it is typical of our society or will be typical of the society of the future. Why? Because rationalism arises when one has to conceal his emotions—when one cannot show them for fear of appearing ridiculous or pitiful. Rationalism in one's emotions is justifiable to a certain degree in those who were born in the capitalist epoch and lived under very hard conditions. But why should our young people be ashamed of their feelings—conceal them, until some of them become emotionally barren?

A voice in the audience: In short, you want everyone to wear his heart on his sleeve?

Yury Yakimenko: Why put it like that? Suppose a young fellow gets a job at a works and some old-timer says to him: "You'd better stop that, brother—let's make some money on a side line, take my tip because

I know people better than you do since I've lived longer." And so the young man says to himself: "Perhaps this is how they feel about it at the works." He is already ashamed of his fine impulse.

I think the problem is clear enough. Each young man has much that is fine in him. I call upon everyone to cultivate and educate the ability to respond to the world around us with spirit and spontaneity and not to be afraid of appearing too emotional!

The floor was given to Lyubov Petrova, a quality inspector at the Oktyabrskaya Factory:

I would also like to say a few words in defense of emotions.

For some reason or other there are young men who think it old-fashioned and sentimental to bring some flowers to their girls. But really just one spring flower will tell a young girl a lot more than even the finest words.

For some reason or other there are some who think it just the thing to speak about their wives or the girls they like with a sort of scornful condescension.

What is especially striking is that more often than not a person of this kind is merely pretending—he seems to be ashamed of still loving his wife after several years of their marriage or being fond of a young girl because she is affectionate and devoted and not just because she has slender legs.

I think this degrades our emotions. This nonchalance may stamp out the brightest spark of love in anyone's heart. I think this is a crime against one's own self. If one

begins to starve one's emotions in youth instead of cherishing them one will never have an emotionally rich life and thus will lose one of the chief sources of joy. I think we should give more thought to our emotional education.

The man of the future should have a big loving heart and human relations will then be kind and natural.

•
Vladimir Dvorkin, a research worker:

I've come to this forum by a happy accident. I was afraid I'd be bored because it would be something like scientific discussion on psychology, but now I am glad I've come.

It has been said here that formerly the young people worked as if possessed, so to speak, and now there are loafers, some of them even loafing about in tapering trousers.

But things were probably simpler before. One had just to determine his place in the struggle of classes: if you are a poor peasant, go to the front and fight your class enemies, and if you are a worker, join the Twenty-Five-Thousand Course to set up collective farms and fight the kulaks. Everyone's line of activity was clear enough. Nowadays it is harder to locate the "front line" of the struggle and it is harder to find one's place in it.

I don't think we should insist today that everyone should be "work-crazy."

For the time being the living standards are not high enough for everyone to choose an occupation to his own liking. Quite often a person chooses his or her line of

activity by accident. There are such engineers, for instance. But they are doing their bit in good faith, asking no laurels for it and working as much as they can.

What should be our attitude towards those who are not "work-crazy"? I'm afraid that many speakers here have been too intolerant in this respect. Intolerance is a passing trend. This is something like War Communism. The latter was useful as long as it was needed. But later on there was no use for it.

The same applies to intolerance, which is also just a feature of the period. Intolerance is a kind of Philistinism too. A Philistine is always egocentric, imagining himself the hub of the universe. An intolerant person reasons exactly the same way: he is the hub of the universe, his are the only correct views, and no one exists outside him. This is a point of contiguity between Philistinism and intolerance.

A voice in the audience: What should we then do, in your opinion, with those who are interfering with our life?

V. Dvorkin: They should be educated properly, in my opinion. Teachers should educate children better, and whenever anything goes wrong it is the teachers who are to blame. I'm expressing my personal opinion.

•
Alexander Kapustkin, a student of Leningrad University:

We all know that even among our young generation there are some who have memorized their opinions and now reel them out like a mechanism. For example, in childhood they were told now and

again that Repin is a great painter. Whenever conversation turns on art they will repeat it. But just ask them why Repin is a great painter, which of his pictures are their favorites, and what appeals to them in his art? They will never say anything sensible, but will reel out what was said about Repin in a calendar or a textbook—what was hammered into them back at school.

Now why are there such robots? Is this intellectual automatism an inborn trait? I don't think so.

I think that their schooling and general education in childhood is largely to blame.

Take, for example, esthetic education, since this problem is especially vital for me as a philologist. In school we teach children to be able to get their bearings in the basic ideas of a work, but we do not teach them to appreciate the beautiful. We do little to teach them to think independently.

•
Elmar Sokolov, a young teacher of the Leningrad State Pedagogical Institute:

The entire course of today's forum and even the very fact that we have gathered today to discuss the problems of psychology is encouraging, in my opinion, because cases of sceptical attitudes towards the humanities, towards psychological problems have been quite frequent in my experience. Engineering, cybernetics, physics and so on have gained much fresh ground, while numbers of obscure problems remain open in psychology and other "human sciences."

Everyone is interested in psychological and ethical problems.

As for the contemporary generation I think it is rather difficult to draw any generalizations.

The heroes in our literature and the theater sometimes merely hint at what we can see in life. There is no arguing that our young people possess courage and other fine qualities, but whenever we try to personify these in, say, a builder on a construction site or in the virgin lands, something rather schematic emerges as a result. Sometimes these heroes look even grotesque.

For all that, we should try our best to study the hero of today and to study modern man in general to be able to see what is harmful and useful to us.

Let us turn again to these general problems, taking our experiences as the point of departure. What is the origin of scepticism—what soil is nourishing it?

To understand it I shall try to sketch two types in our midst.

One of them is characteristic more of technically trained people. A man has chosen his career and is striking out in his line with enthusiasm and imagination. He is appreciated by his colleagues and his work is a success: on that score he is satisfied. Yet his spiritual life is poor, his personal experiences frustrating, though he often cannot understand why. The fact is that he has neglected the versatility of his spiritual development. For example, he does not appreciate art and thus impoverishes his spiritual life. In private life, a person of this type is often ill at ease, one-sided, boring. Why? We fail in ethical and esthetic education—in harmonious human development.

Scepticism in the other of the two types can be traced to his failure to find his place in society—to find an occupation cut out for him. As a result, he is “taking it easy”—flirting with life, so to speak. He works like others but his work fails to grip him. Thus he deprives himself of the thing that really matters: the joy of creative work, without which the personality cannot develop either.

A speaker here has said: “I accept every characteristic of Korchagin’s.” If it comes to discussing the problems of how we should live I cannot agree with him entirely. Korchagin was a devoted man and imposed many restrictions on himself deliberately. The epoch warranted the attitude. He was ascetic precisely because of his love of life. Korchagin was a hero because he was in the front line of his epoch—he was bearing the brunt of the battle. But if our contemporary begins to starve his spiritual and emotional impulses on purpose he will never come level with the epoch.

I repudiate the opinion expressed by some alleging that our generation as a whole has some essential failings. Please remember that each generation has its own problems. The older generation coped with the problems of its own and so we should cope with ours, with the older generation helping us.

Chairman: Comrades, the Presidium has received a note for Comrade Sokolov.

E. Sokolov: Here is the question: “What is your attitude to asceticism? Is it a good or bad quality? Can a fine man or woman be truly ascetic—be dry-as-sand?”

I don’t think one is right if he is an ascetic because he believes he must give everything he has to others and practice absolute altruism. One should not neglect his own personality either. On the other hand, there are some who are ascetic because of poor emotional education. These people should be helped.

Now what is my attitude towards asceticism? I don’t think it is right. I don’t believe Rakhmetov* can now be an example for emulation. One can take a sleep on nails for the sake of experiment, but sleeping on nails throughout one’s life is nonsensical, especially in the communist society which is not meant at all for sleeping on nails.

About six p.m. the hall was as packed as at the beginning of the forum. The list of those wishing to speak was actually longer.

Many questions were merely touched on and no conclusions were final. Some stimulating ideas were expressed in a general rough-and-ready way: Is it right or wrong today to be above all practical? What should be the attitude towards the widely current expression “practical man”? What should be our attitude towards ambition? Is any kind of ambition useful to mankind? Can all cruelty be discarded? Would it be a crime to be uncritical towards those mean and harmful people who still exist in our society?

The motion carried at the end was: no conclusions to be drawn, and the forum be resumed in the columns of the newspaper, all readers being invited to take part.

*A character in Chernyshevsky’s *What Is To Be Done?*

PEACE ESSAY CONTEST AWARDS

We print below the decisions of the three judges—Prof. Royal W. France, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman and Gen. Hugh B. Hester—in the second New World Review essay contest.

The subject for this year's contest was: "YOUTH'S STAKE IN PEACE."

The contest, which closed on May 1, was open to young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

Although ten honorable mention awards were announced, only five of the essays merited this prize, according to the scoring of the three judges.

The winners are:

ROBERT A. WOLFE, student, First Prize—\$200

STANLEY SILVERZWEIG, student, Second Prize—\$100

W. G. ANDREWS, artist and student, Third Prize—\$50

Honorable Mention—\$15 each:

Michael Olu Adeeko, student

Helen Augenlicht, student

Michael J. Hallberg, laboratory worker

Albert F. Lannon, Jr., worker and student

Barbara Saks, student

We are printing the essay winning the first prize in this issue.

FIRST PRIZE --- ROBERT A. WOLFE

ON THE most immediate level, youth's stake in peace is simply a stake in survival itself. In this era of intercontinental missiles and hydrogen bombs, there can be no doubt that nuclear war threatens all mankind with global annihilation. Nor is this danger a remote or distant one. The spark of war, once ignited in Cuba, in Laos, in the Congo or elsewhere, can easily set the whole world on fire. Wherever young and vigorous peoples confront old and corrupt colonial regimes, the cold war threatens to transform itself into a nuclear catastrophe. Even if such conflicts produce only a so-called "brushfire war," the youth of America will still be called upon to fight and die in the service of crumbling dictatorships which repudiate every principle for which American democracy claims to stand.

For all those who reject global suicide and international adventures alike, the struggle against the cold war and in favor of a genuine peace is the most important issue of our day.

For the most part, it has been this aspect of youth's stake in peace, the stake in survival, which the advocates of peace in this country have most strongly emphasized. Yet important as it is, survival is only part of the story. If a mass peace movement is to come into being in the United States, American youth must also learn to recognize the day to day implications of the peace question, the relation between the issue of war versus peace and every aspect of their personal and social existence. The defense of peace involves more than the simple rejection of war; it is also a positive

program for economic, political and even cultural progress in the United States today.

One of the chief obstacles to the further growth of the American peace movement has been the belief of many workers that defense contracts help to guarantee full employment. This unfortunate illusion is now rapidly disappearing largely as a result of the 1958 and 1961 recessions, which demonstrated among other things that arms spending does not insure prosperity. This is especially true for young workers, who make up a large percentage of the unemployed today, and do not possess the necessary qualifications for the increasingly complex and specialized manufacture of modern weapons of mass destruction. What workers of all ages are now beginning to realize is that not only do defense contracts not bring prosperity; they actually prevent prosperity. In the fight against unemployment and job insecurity, young workers today need more schools, more unemployment compensation, an end to job discrimination, more welfare benefits of every kind. They realize that money which is spent on defense is for the most part of benefit only to IBM and the big corporations, while money spent on schools and housing benefits the great majority of the American people. But as long as the Kennedy Administration continues to spend upwards of \$40 billion a year on armaments, it cannot, even with the best will in the world, provide an adequate welfare program for the needs of young and old alike. For these reasons, the fight for public welfare is a fight against guns and missiles; economic

progress is an integral part of the program of peace.

One of the main reasons why so little has been accomplished in the fields of public welfare in the last 15 years is that the cold war has virtually stifled all independent and progressive thought in this country. The myth of the Soviet menace has been used as a club with which to beat not only Communists and radicals but also liberals and New Dealers. Dissent was equated with treason; civil liberties were brutally suppressed in the name of "national security." As a result of these pressures, most young people were cut off from the long and distinguished American tradition of independent and critical thought; for years, youth in this country was shoved into the narrow mold of cold war conformity and political apathy. Today, the young people who attempt to stand up for what they believe are met by the slanders of the un-Americans and the vicious attacks of such "patriotic" organizations as the White Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society. Fortunately, the youth in recent years have proved that they do not scare so easily; it would be nice to say the same for their elders in SANE and elsewhere. So long as the cold war continues, political liberties in this country will be threatened by the big lie of the Russian Peril. The fight for intellectual and political freedom is another essential part of the program of peace.

At the same time as the cold war has helped to produce economic stagnation and political conformity, it has also had a serious effect upon the cultural and psychological

life of American youth. The post-war generation grew up in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, violence and hypocrisy; this experience did not fail to leave its mark. Juvenile delinquency and the beatniks, Rock-and-Roll and "On the Road" have reflected the violence and nihilism, the indifference to human life and human values, which is so characteristic of the cold war era. In the past few years, a reaction to this trend has set in; today, in the struggle for Negro liberation and for peace, American youth have once again found ideals worth

fighting for. But aside from the Negro youth, these movements have until now affected only a small minority.

If the enormous vitality and creative potential of young Americans is to find real outlets, if the self-destructive spirit of the past is to be overcome, then the cold war itself must be brought to an end. In short, the struggle for peace is much more than a fight for survival; it is also a struggle for economic, political and cultural progress. In the final analysis, it is a struggle for the right to struggle itself.

WORLD YOUTH FORUM IN MOSCOW

THE WORLD YOUTH FORUM which opens in Moscow on July 26 will be a broad discussion on all aspects of the life and work of the younger generation.

The Permanent Secretariat of the Forum said in a recent statement that the aim of the meeting "is to give youth the possibility to hold free discussions of the problems which today agitate young men and women all over the world, to enable the various trends in the youth movement to express their views and, by comparing them, to determine the platform which can and must serve as a basis for the development of international cooperation of youth in the name of peace and progress."

A questionnaire in connection with the Forum has been circulated to young men and women of all countries. The questions follow:

1. What, in your opinion, are the most vital problems of our century requiring joint efforts and cooperation of the youth of the world?
2. What youth problems in the fields of work, education, culture, technical and social progress, etc., do you consider most important for your country?
3. What do you think should be done to consolidate peace on earth? What is your attitude toward the idea of general and complete disarmament?
4. What do you think of the idea of establishing broader contacts among young people of different countries?
5. What is your opinion of the younger generation of your country and its activities?
6. What do you believe is most characteristic of the young people of your age—purposefulness, sense of duty, absence of aims, enthusiasm, skepticism, etc.?
7. Have you personal goals in your life?
8. What are these goals and how do you intend to achieve them?
9. Are you sure you will achieve your goals?

Please indicate your age, education, occupation, political creed, sex, address (country, town, village). Address your replies to:

World Youth Questionnaire, Moscow, USSR

Red Banner for Foshan

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

THE city of Foshan is very ancient. It lies on a tributary of the Pearl River, not far from Canton, but it was a trading port before Canton. It is seven times as old as the United States of America; a thousand years before the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, Chinese sailors were putting out to sea from Foshan with wares. The city made fine metal work, silk weaving, pottery and delicate work in paper. You can still buy exquisite paper-cuts inlaid with thin copper, and paper lanterns, tiny ones and giant ones in many colorful stories, and enormous paper dragons a block long for parades.

In the days of Emperor Chien Lung, Foshan counted a hundred thousand families of artisans and merchants, but in the long century after the Opium Wars the city declined. The forced influx of foreign manufactures ruined its handicrafts; it slowly became a city of paupers. Long ago its ancient drainage system ceased to function. Then every year the rains and river flooded the poorer part of the city for weeks, and mixed the filth of

open toilets and garbage piles with the mud of yards and lanes. Foshan became a pest-hole where epidemics carried away the people. The Japanese occupation further destroyed it. By the time of liberation Foshan was one of the worst slum towns of South China where 27,000 households somehow clung to life.

Foshan today has a banner for public health work. It is famed for one of the best sanitation campaigns in China. This is what one goes to Foshan to see.

We drove out about an hour from Canton, over the great new bridge across the Pearl River, and through farmlands where spring vegetables were showing green. At times we saw bright clusters of buildings in stucco which marked the new centers of rural communes. Then we entered Foshan's narrow streets and they were certainly far from modern. The wider lanes were ten or twelve feet wide, the narrower only six feet. But all were neatly paved with blocks of rock and cement that shone almost as if polished, and the house-fronts, two or three stories high, were painted in pale and tasteful colors which reflected the light of the sky down into the street.

Down every street there seemed to be a pleasant vista as if an old-world artist planned it. Irregular nooks formed by a jutting building were tastefully ornamented with shrubs or small trees. Storefronts,

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, world famous correspondent and author of many books on the USSR, China and our own country, has been visiting in China for over a year. Miss Strong flew to Laos in April from which she sent us the story of Prince Souphanouvong's escape from jail that was printed in our June issue.

open to the street, seemed like living rooms set on a corridor. Looking into courtyards, one saw a series of hallways and arches and steps at different levels, with walls in different colors which somehow made a picture into which thought was put. The first impression was that Foshan, while old and rather crowded, was somehow a cherished home.

Then we came to a wider space where our auto could turn in a courtyard of the city's hostel, and were ushered into a sitting room for a talk with Fang Lan, secretary of the City Party Committee. The room was airy and light, the chairs comfortable and the tea hot. But what most struck me was the little dwarf orange tree that stood in a pot on the table, not more than twenty inches high, but bearing a golden cluster of thirty or forty actual mandarin oranges, no bigger than plums. It was the room's chief decoration; and it must have taken some time and thought to create. Everywhere in Foshan one ran into things like that.

Fang Lan was a woman of medium size in her late thirties, with dark, serviceable trousers and a black jacket, under which one glimpsed a print blouse with touches of orange and black. A pleasant efficiency seemed her chief characteristic. She got down to business and told me how the city is organized.

"FOSHAN has 150,000 population," said Fang Lan, "organized into four urban communes. Around these is a suburban population of 50,000, which has a commune of its own. Beyond these are two rural communes from which the city also draws vegetables and grain."

"Who owns the factories and who runs the schools?" I asked. "What is the relation of the urban communes to these?"

Fang Lan replied that the bigger factories belonged to the city or even perhaps to the province, but they became members of the urban commune in which they stood. The commune coordinated the factory with the life of the local population; it organized small workshops or small factories to do processing work for the big factories, or to use up scrap from the big factories. It kept the big factories in touch with the housing and sanitation problems of the workers.

Each urban commune, she said, had also an Agricultural Production Team, which grew vegetables on any vacant places within the city, and raised pigs and poultry from city garbage scraps. When the rural communes near by needed extra help at harvest, they secured it from the city through these Agricultural Production Teams which could expand by calling for volunteers. The vegetable supply of Foshan, said Fang Lan, comes entirely from the suburban population and through the Agricultural Production Teams.

"Who runs the schools?" I asked.

Fang Lan replied that there are at present two systems. The city and province run as many schools as their budget can support. But they have not enough money, buildings or teachers to supply all the schools that the people want. So the people organize additional schools through the factories and through the communes, especially the lower grades of primary schools and the special classes for adults.

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These "people's schools" follow the same general educational program as the regular schools but their buildings and teachers are usually below the desired standard. The city helps them, and year by year takes over some of these schools on the city budget.

"For instance, in a given factory, the nearby city school will not hold all the workers' children. So the workers get a room or two from the factory and get teachers, part-time or volunteers. These may even be housewives, but at least they keep the children off the streets. The city gives training courses to raise the qualification of these teachers. The city plans to take over this factory school, but first, the city must find premises and trained teachers. This double system of education will continue until the country has means to meet from its budget all the people's demands."

"Will all the schools now run by communes be taken over by the city and province?" I asked.

Fang Lan replied that it is too soon to predict how all schools will eventually be run. "The commune itself is a unit of state power, and is in transition. At what level of power the kindergartens, primary schools and middle schools can best be run cannot be entirely predicted. But, as our economic system improves, I think we shall not have a dual system of education."

WE TURNED to the sanitation drive that made Foshan famous. If you come from the West, you are rather horrified to learn that Foshan, despite its fame for public health, does not yet have a city water system. The water still

comes from wells in back yards. But the filth that used to run into these wells from local privies and cess-pools now runs into a municipal sewer system which the citizens of Foshan proudly built. This sewer system is the main achievement of the town.

"Our hygiene campaign could not begin before liberation," said Fang Lan. "Its first prerequisite was a rise in the worker's living standards."

"Some 36,000 industrial workers live and work in Foshan. Formerly the textile workers slept, ate and used night-pots under their machines. The sanitation could not be anything but bad."

"Or take Liang Chen, who carried goods on a shoulder-pole or by pulling a cart. The family sold his two brothers in order to live; Liang Chen and his mother survived. He ate food remnants, dirty with other people's spittle and fishbones. What could he know of hygiene?"

"After liberation, Liang Chen got a steady job and set up a simple home, in one or perhaps two rooms. He earns 80 yuan a month, his wife earns 40 or more, his mother earns a bit at odd jobs in a commune workshop. The family income is about 140 yuan (\$56) a month for six people, three adults and three children. But every person in the family, including all the children, has his own wash-basin, towel and tooth-brush. This is the beginning of good family hygiene. Liang takes part also in the hygiene of his street."

"The second prerequisite was ideological education. People were formerly very superstitious. All epidemics were thought to come from the gods. Every family had its pic-

ture gods and every street its small temple. People died in these streets from diseases; they made offerings to gods. We sent a medical team to one such street and showed them that the disease came from dirty water which had no exit from the street and so infected the wells.

"This ideological campaign took time. By slow improvements, the people learned the relation of filth to disease.

"The third need was to define the main problem. We decided that our first need was a sewer system, to drain away dirty water and to abolish the privies. The city engineers drew up a plan. They estimated that they could build 20 kilometers of sewers with modern materials, and it would take ten years and cost 1,500,000 yuan. Even then it would not cover the whole city but only the most urgent sections. Nor could we get the modern materials they demanded.

"We hadn't the money and we hadn't the time. The people were already impatient. So in 1958, when the Big Leap started and everywhere in China people were organizing new, quicker ways to get their desires, we organized in Foshan too.

"We organized street by street and in just 60 days we built our sewer system, 60,000 kilometers, three times as much as the engineers planned, in 60 days instead of ten years and at a cost of 150,000 yuan instead of ten times as much!

"The designing was done by the engineers and the people together. The cost was low because the materials were found or made locally and most of the labor was volunteer.

We paid wages to specialists but the digging was done by the people in their own streets. Everyone hunted materials. Some sewage tubes came from the local pottery. Others were made by tearing down ancient ruined walls, including some of the useless street temples, and making them into tubes, held by cement. We began the work in mid-July 1958 and finished in mid-September, in time for the October National Day."

THIS was what won the red banner for Foshan: the building of a sewer system three times as long as the engineers planned, in two months instead of ten years and at a cost one-tenth the engineers' estimate. But Foshan knows that the task of making their city a healthy and beautiful home is only begun.

Nor is the cleanliness yet mechanized; it is still a struggle every day.

Because they have as yet no city water system, they also have no system of pull-toilets, except for some public toilets. The two-story houses still use ancient chamber-pots. As you go along the street in the morning, the housewives come out with covered pots, open a hole in the street and dump the night's refuse directly into the sewer, and quickly close the opening again. The method is primitive but it works.

The houses and the streets are clean. After the sewers were in, the lanes were paved with blocks of stone and cement. The local street committee sweeps them twice a day. That is why when you walk through the streets of Foshan today they gleam as if polished.

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Czechoslovakia:

Some Facts and Figures

by ELEANOR WHEELER

PRELIMINARY census figures for 1961 are being worked up in Czechoslovakia just as the Second Five-Year Plan results are published and studied. This new type of census, which is aimed primarily at finding out how the population lives, rather than counting heads, will help in spotting some weaknesses in housing, transportation, facilities, etc., and give a basis for modifying the 1961-65 plan and for drawing up the 1966-70 plan. By 1970, for instance, the housing question is to be solved, say Czechoslovakia's planners.

During the Second Five-Year Plan the structure of the economy has changed considerably, as can be seen from the following table on percentage of national income derived from different sources:

	1955	1960
Total national income	100	100
Socialist sector	89	96
Proportion of this from non-farm co-operative enterprises	7	8
Private farming, etc.	11	4

Tentative figures show that the total national income went up 41 per cent in the same period. Industrial production rose 66 per cent,

with engineering going up even faster (94 per cent), as compared with the planned 54 per cent. A rise in productivity of labor accounted for 73 per cent of the growth in industrial production and increased employment accounted for the other 27 per cent. Half of the new employees were women, increasing their share in the gainfully employed from 35.8 per cent to 37.9 per cent. A great number of them took office jobs, either to release men for heavier employment or to perform new types of work.

If industrial production is compared with 1937 instead of 1955, the figures are, of course, much more impressive. Over four times as much total industrial production, over six times as much electrical energy, almost six times as many machine tools, with almost three times the productivity of labor — these figures tell part of the story. And in 1937 Czechoslovakia was already considered a well-developed industrial nation. The total picture of increased production would require a whole pamphlet, not a short article.

These figures on the increase in heavy industry indicate an improvement in the essentials for a future steady rise in living standards, and are satisfying for the nation's planners. Immediate consumption figures also chalked up increases, however. Personal consumption as a whole

ELEANOR WHEELER, who has lived in Prague for over a decade with her husband and children, frequently writes articles for NWR about life in Czechoslovakia.

increased 36 per cent in the 1955-1960 period. After the government resolution calling for 1.2 million new flats to be built by 1970, the number built in 1959 and 1960 was 145,000, and as already indicated, the new census will enable planners to put their fingers on weak spots, cut down on excessive commuting from dwelling to job, improve allocation of new housing and the quality of the old.

AMONG other indices of living standards, production of television sets went up over fifteen times the 1955 figure during the Second Five-Year Plan, refrigerators in home use over five times, and washing machines up 35 per cent. My personal prejudices make me reluctant to list a doubling of motorcycle production as a rise in living standards — or the 52-fold increase in motorized bicycles — but there the figures are. Passenger cars do not yet satisfy the demand and are high in price, but still the 56,200 produced in 1960 meant that 4.5 times as many were manufactured and sold as in 1955. On the home market 17 times as many cars were sold.

Meat consumption went up 35 per cent, butter consumption 26 per cent, coffee 95 per cent, and clothing purchases 66 per cent. Since sales of durable goods doubled or tripled the 1955 figures, however, this was where the startling jumps occurred, so that their proportion in total retail trade rose from 43.6 per cent of the total to 46.5 per cent in five years' time.

Per-capita clothing purchases rose 83 per cent in the same time, and use of cleaning establishments and laundries almost the same

amount. Other services that free women from housework, such as communal dining rooms or factory canteens, also increased markedly. There were almost 40 per cent more customers in various public canteens, and 57 per cent more in factory canteens.

Health care is almost one hundred per cent free in Czechoslovakia and any improvement in this means a rise in standard of living that is not reflected in consumption or wage figures. In this short time, life expectancy of men was prolonged 8/10ths of a year to 67, and of women 1.2 years to 72.3. Infant mortality was reduced from 34.1 per thousand in 1955 to 23.5 in 1960. One of the most spectacular health successes was achieved in the fight against polio (as well as diphtheria and whooping cough). By March 1960 free polio inoculations had been given to 93 per cent of the children from two months to 15 years, and in the latter half of that year not one case occurred.

CCULTURAL institutions have grown along with the material things of life. There are ten more schools of higher learning than there were in 1955-56, and 20,000 more students in them (94,040 instead of 72,426). Theater attendance had about reached the saturation point in 1955, and remained at that level in 1960. But attendance in cinemas and houses of culture increased by 65 per cent, and concerts more than doubled their "box office".

For years visitors to Czechoslovak towns and villages have remarked on the ubiquitous bookshop, and it would seem that book pur-

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chases had also reached saturation point by 1956, but they increased 32 per cent in the Second Five-Year Plan, and magazines and newspapers over 50 per cent.

The weakest link in the economic chain is the world-wide sore point—agriculture. Instead of the planned rise of 27 per cent, there was an increase of only 11 per cent. There was a decrease in number of people engaged in agriculture, however, so the production per worker increased by 37 per cent. Land in the socialist sector now amounts to 88 per cent; it can be cultivated in a rational manner that was never possible on the small parcels, and the machinery available to agriculture has doubled, tripled and quadrupled. Otherwise some of the gains in industry must be canceled

out by imports of agricultural products if these possibilities for improvement in agriculture are not fully utilized.

Intangibles, which should somehow be counted in standard of living, we have seen with our own eyes improve in the first two Five-Year Plans, and are seeing the basis laid for a greater leap ahead. These are things like smoother organization, greater feeling of job security, a reduction in red tape. It is hard to measure or describe such things, but they add to the feeling of well-being.

Every Czech or Slovak we have ever talked to ends the conversation with some variation of: "If there were no West German revanchists, no nuclear weapons, no cold war, we'd get along fine ourselves."

"PRAGUE SPRING 1961"

THE "PRAGUE SPRING 1961" Music Festival ended on June 4 with a brilliant performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

This year the Festival offered 47 concerts, 19 opera performances and two evenings of ballet. More than 60,000 persons attended the concerts and millions listened over the radio and watched the concerts on television.

Some of the world's best conductors and musicians were among the foreign artists who performed at the Festival: Leopold Stokowski, Paul Hindemith, David Oistrakh, Antonio Pedrotti, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Jacques Beaudry, the Quartetto Italiano, and the USSR State Symphony Orchestra.

Audiences were delighted with the performance of the American Negro singer Lucretia West who sang compositions by Handel, Brahms, Schumann and Mahler as well as Negro spirituals. In an interview Miss West said, "All those who organized the Festival were extremely helpful to me and everything went along perfectly. The audience at my concert was particularly enthusiastic about the spirituals."

Miss West also sang concerts in Brno and Ostrava before going on to sing in Vienna.

The Canadian conductor Jacques Beaudry made his first appearance before a Prague audience. He had conducted in Brno last year. Mr. Beaudry conducted the Symphony of Prague Radio in a Symphonic Prelude by the contemporary Canadian composer Jean Papineau-Couture.

"With music for peace and the friendship of nations," the motto of the Festival, was fulfilled richly during the course of this year's performances.

"Prague Spring 1962" is being planned with special consideration for the works of the French composer Claude Debussy and the Czech composer Leos Janacek.

Soviet Criminal Law

Conclusion of a series of three articles on new developments in Soviet legislation

by **PROF. BORIS NIKIFOROV**

BEFORE CONCLUDING this presentation of recent developments in Soviet criminal law there is one more question to be answered: does not the conclusion to be drawn from the changes described mean that a slackening of the struggle against crime has taken place?

The answer is no. On the contrary, the struggle against crime and law-breaking has been heightened, but heightening the struggle against crime is by no means the same thing as heightening restraint.

It is no accident that we attach such great importance to drawing the public into the struggle against crime, in particular to the work of the Comrades' Courts. We regard this work as a form of organized expression of public opinion. The experience accumulated in this sphere already warrants the assertion that with respect to persons who have committed offenses of little significance and who are first offenders, in other words, the overwhelming majority of offenders, the bringing of influence to bear on

them by the public is a highly effective measure; it is far more effective than punishment.

We attach great importance also to improvement in the work of the courts and investigation bodies so that, to quote from Article 2 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Procedure of 1958, "every person who commits a crime shall suffer just punishment and not one innocent person shall be arraigned and punished." Experienced criminologists and psychologists know very well that the prospect of inevitable punishment, though the punishment may not be stern, is much more effective than the prospect of cruel punishment, which can be escaped.

Corrective and Educational Measures

Of great interest too is the organization of the work in places of confinement; it underwent a radical reorganization between 1954 and 1956. During this period educational work in penitentiaries acquired even greater importance, and as a consequence, these institutions are accomplishing results in a far briefer time than was possible under the old system.

Within the limits of a magazine article I am unable even briefly to dwell on different aspects of the work of Soviet corrective-labor institutions at the present time. All I can give is a general description.

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.

As we have seen, a penalty under Soviet criminal law is a punishment and at the same time a complex of measures having as its aim the correction and re-education of the offender and the prevention of new crimes.

Places of confinement are, of course, not purely educational institutions. The inmates are subjected to certain restrictions and hardships by virtue of the deprivation of their liberty; deprivation of liberty remains a severe punishment.

Next, the punitive aspect of a penalty is expressed too in the regimen obtaining in the places of confinement, which may differ. Depending on the gravity of the crime committed and his conduct in the place of confinement, the convict may serve his sentence in a colony with a strict or mild regimen, or in prison. In colonies with a strict regimen and in prison, convicts are kept under a heavier guard and under surveillance and are strictly segregated.

But it must be remembered that the stern punishment of deprivation of liberty is always combined with corrective and educational measures.

This can be seen above all from the fact that in all corrective-labor institutions the principal means of bringing influence to bear on the inmates are socially useful labor, instruction (general and vocational) and inculcation of the social and cultural habits of community life.

Working Conditions

Every able-bodied convict, irrespective of the nature of the crime he has committed or the length of his sentence, has to work. Working

conditions of the convicts are the same as those prescribed by labor legislation for people generally. To them apply the general rules covering working hours and days of rest and safety engineering rules. Officials are duty bound to give the convicts jobs as far as possible according to their trade or profession and skill.

Better working conditions, every kind of material incentive for top-rankers, careful setting of work quotas, the application of different forms of piece rates, and other measures, stimulate the personal interest of the convicts in their work.

Inmates of corrective-labor colonies do not get paid in cash. Their entire pay and money received for them from outside are credited to their personal account. While they do not get cash they can buy things they need in the colony's stores and take meals in the lunch or refreshment rooms and have the bills charged to their account. They may also send money to relatives, and so on. This system prevents the convicts from buying alcoholic drinks, from gambling and from other abuses.

Much attention is given in corrective-labor institutions to vocational training, to teaching the inmates a trade and improving the qualifications of those who have one. Instructors are selected from among skilled workers, and instruction is given at the bench as well as in classes. Theoretical instruction is given by experienced engineers and technicians.

The principal forms of improving the convicts' skill are: 1) schools for studying progressive working methods; 2) production technique

courses to raise technical knowledge and production skill; 3) teaching another trade if there is no work in the shops in the convict's regular trade; 4) courses for mastering new technology and learning to operate new machines, and 5) advanced training courses for junior technical personnel, set up for instructing practical workers who do not possess theoretical knowledge.

On finishing their training, all convicts take examinations before special commissions. Those who pass are given a pay category rating in accordance with labor legislation provisions. They also get a certificate for their personal file which serves as a document for getting a job at the trade acquired.

There are a good many convicts, chiefly among the younger, who have not finished a ten-year or even a seven-year school, and these are given the opportunity of acquiring a secondary school education in the corrective-labor institutions. Functioning at these institutions are elementary, seven-year and secondary (ten-year) general educational schools, and all inmates, irrespective of age, the term to which they were sentenced, and so on, may attend.

Instruction in these schools follows the curriculum and programs set for evening and correspondence schools of the public education system, and on completing the course of study the convicts get the proper diplomas or certificates like graduates of regular schools. During the period of examinations those attending school are released from work.

Other cultural work is conducted among the inmates. They have available Moscow and local news-

papers and magazines, including papers and magazines in their native language. They may also subscribe to papers and magazines at their own expense. Many of these institutions have arrangements for the sale of all kinds of books and periodicals.

These institutions, far from forbidding the reading of books, encourage it in every way. Inmates may buy books, get them in parcels brought by relatives or by mail, and they can borrow books, magazines and newspapers from the library.

Each colony has a library with an adequate number of books (more than three per inmate). In the acquisition of books provision is made for literature in the native language of the inmates. Books in foreign languages are also found on the shelves.

Incentives for Inmates

Corrective-labor institutions have an extensive system of incentives to encourage exemplary behavior. These include permission to write an extra letter and receive an extra parcel (this applies to colonies with a strict regimen and prisons); extra time for walks (for those in prison); permission for an extra visit from relatives; remission of a punishment, and so on. In colonies with a milder regimen the incentive may be the right to spend rest days outside the colony.

Inmates who regularly fulfill or overfulfill their output quota are given extra credit for their working days against the terms of their sentence, provided they show exemplary behavior. The basis for those convicted of particularly dangerous crimes against the state, or other grave

crimes, is two days of work counting for three days of the sentence, and for those convicted of other crimes, one day of work for two days of the sentence.

Particularly dangerous habitual criminals get no extra credit for working days.

Extra credits for working days, clearly indicating an honest attitude towards work and exemplary conduct, are good grounds for recommending release on parole.

Penalties applied to convicts are: a warning; a reprimand given in the line-up or in an order; up to three days of extra duty of cleaning the cell (in prisons); deprivation of regular visit by relatives (in prisons and colonies of general and strict regimen); deprivation of visits by relatives for a period of up to two months (in colonies with mild regimen), and so on. The punishment for a particularly grave violation of regulations is up to 20 days in disciplinary barracks with appearance at work, or up to 15 days without appearance at work. These punishments are inflicted in all three categories of colonies. Another penalty that may be imposed is to cancel the extra credit for working days, but for no more than six months. As has been stated before, particularly malicious infringers are transferred from the colony to prison by order of the court.

Corrective Labor Colonies

It is necessary to dwell also on the general character of the regimen in corrective-labor colonies, which are the main link in the Soviet penitentiary system.

There is no solitary confinement at corrective-labor colonies. The in-

mates live together, and are assigned by the administration to work on production or in a medical, cultural, or other establishment of the colony.

Inmates are allowed once a month to have a visitor, to correspond, receive parcels delivered in person or sent by parcel post, and also to send and receive money by post.

Those who behave well and work conscientiously (except particularly dangerous habitual criminals) may, after serving a third of their sentence, be transferred to a colony with a mild regimen. For a serious violation of discipline they may be sent to a colony with a strict regimen or to prison.

When the sentence comes into force, less dangerous categories of convicts are sent from jail to corrective-labor colonies with a general regimen. Some inmates of colonies with strict regimen or of those with a mild regimen are transferred to these colonies in the interests of their reformation and re-education.

There are no guards in colonies with a milder regimen, but the inmates are kept under surveillance. Among other rights, inmates in these colonies enjoy the right of unrestricted visits and correspondence. Those sent to these colonies are persons convicted of less dangerous crimes and sentenced to deprivation of liberty for not more than three years.

Inmates of mild-regimen colonies who have shown by their conduct and attitude to work that they have firmly chosen to reform may, after they have served one-third of their sentence, be permitted to live outside the colony. They may also be permitted to have their family come and live with them, and to work in

the colony or outside in a factory, on a construction job or other establishment.

Those permitted to live outside the colony are helped to find living quarters and needed furnishings, and so on. They are required to report to the administration of the colony once a week. Violation of the rules fixed for living outside the colony may deprive a convict of this right.

Thus, the feature of the regimen in corrective-labor colonies is that the convict's conditions in the colony change in accordance with his conduct, and this helps him to choose the road of reform.

Finally, I wish to note that a certain system has been established for the convicts' release. On release they get a document testifying to this fact, a certificate showing the specialty acquired, qualification and

length of service; they also get the balance of their account, and, at their request, references. They also get back their personal documents, valuables and personal effects. Besides paying their fare to the place where they live, the colony gives them provisions or money to buy provisions for the trip home. Those who do not have clothing suitable for the time of the year receive such clothing free of charge.

Where necessary they get an allowance of a lump sum of money. If the released person, because of his physical condition, requires care on the way to the place he has chosen to live in he is accompanied by a member of the colony's personnel.

Soviet laws oblige heads of factories, offices and other establishments to hire released convicts if there are openings.

The May 5, 1961 Decree:

"On the Intensification of the Campaign Against Particularly Dangerous Crimes"

PROFESSOR Nikiforov, author of the series on recent developments in Soviet Criminal Law just completed in this issue of NWR, commented in Moscow News for May 20 on the new decree adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on May 5. We reprint his comments below.

THE Decree adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on May 5 "On the Intensification of the Campaign Against Particularly Dangerous Crimes" provides for long terms of imprisonment

(up to 15 years) and the death penalty for such crimes as embezzlement of state or public property on a particularly large scale, counterfeiting money, or securities or selling them as an occupation. Such sentences may also be given to specially dangerous habitual criminals and convicts sentenced for grave crimes if they terrorize fellow prisoners who have begun to reform, if they attack prison staffs, organize criminal groupings for such a purpose or take an active part in groupings of this kind.

The May 5 Decree has attracted the attention of bourgeois press com-

mentators who speculate variously as to the reasons behind the Decree. Most of them allege that the main reason is a growth of crime in the USSR.

Such an explanation of complex social developments has at least two features: it is very simple and it is absolutely wrong.

Numerous measures attesting to the development of Soviet democracy in all spheres of social and political life have been implemented and have won popular approval in the past few years.

Broader rights have been given to the Union Republics and to the local Soviets in economic management. The rights of the trade unions have been widened with the aim of drawing the people still more into the management of the state. A number of measures have been taken to consolidate socialist legality, and to extend the principle of public participation in administration in all fields of culture and the economy.

One of the basic reasons for the great successes achieved in our country in the past few years in all spheres of life is precisely this broadening of Soviet democracy, and the increase in scope for the people's initiative.

Under these conditions compulsion is resorted to with less and less frequency, and in some cases in milder forms than was formerly the case. The effect on the Criminal Code should be that with our advancement, the number of punishable criminal offenses should be shrinking and the punishment itself, in some cases, should be less severe.

Of late, Soviet criminal law has been developing precisely along these lines. Many offenses are recognized as criminal only if they are repeated.

The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation gives the right to the Public Courts and the procurator's organs, to refer first and minor offenses to Comradely Courts. In graver cases when the crime and the person guilty of it do not represent a serious danger to society, the guilty person may be released provided the collective to which he or she belongs takes responsibility for his or her conduct.

SOCIALIST humanism in the Criminal Code does not merely mean "the minimum of reprisals" and the "maximum leniency in punishment." Such a "minimum" and "maximum" are compatible with the main and supreme aim of the Soviet Criminal Code—to protect society and its member Soviet citizens—from crimes and criminals. If in the interests of such protection it is necessary to mete out severe punishment, or to broaden the sphere of application of reprisals in a particular field, the punishment in question should be used and the sphere should be widened. Do those who seek to take advantage of the humanistic spirit of our society, who try to use it in a criminal way to live on the labor of other people, deserve this lenient attitude? Of course they don't.

It is precisely the interests of the individual, the social and personal interests of the overwhelming majority of the members of socialist society, working people, that demand the curbing of criminal activity and the meting out of rigorous punishment for habitual criminals. It should not be forgotten that we are speaking of the *Criminal Code*, and that the Criminal Code

quite frequently deals with very dangerous actions of very dangerous people.

A parasitic mode of life, and parasites themselves have always been and remain the deadly foes of socialism. The parasitic mode of life is organically alien to the socialist principle of distribution of the national product — among the working people only—in accordance with the quality and quantity of work done by them; the deeper this principle is inculcated in our life, the deeper the roots it puts down in the minds of the people, the more intolerable become the manifestations of parasitism. In our country social production proceeds hand in hand with social forms of appropriation. The time has come when we can no longer advance confidently without a profound realization on the part of all the people that personal welfare is and can be nothing but part of the welfare of the entire country.

Large-scale embezzlement, counterfeiting as a trade, the disorganizing activity of habitual criminals who at places of deprivation of freedom avoid doing socially useful work and by terroristic methods force other convicts to do their work, with all the differences between these crimes and their actual results — each of these, in a certain sense and a very important sense too, is in its own way a vicious manifestation of cynical parasitism.

The great scope and volume of construction work, of trade transactions, transportation, storage operations, the work of procurement centers, etc., result in a situation in which vast material wealth — construction materials, consumer goods,

food, equipment, funds of socialist state and public organizations come into the hands of the responsible individuals. So embezzlers of socialist property can do greater damage to the interests of the people.

Some time ago, a certain person Volkov by name, was apprehended selling stolen flour at a market in a town in the Russian Federation. On the same day Mikhail Maly, an inconspicuous goods-receiver at a flour mill, fled from the town. The man always wore a nondescript flour-stained quilted jacket and only on holidays was he seen in an ordinary suit. When his home was searched money and valuables were found there to the tune of 120,000 rubles in new currency. Maly and his accomplices had built up a tremendous stock of stolen grain. At the moment the investigation started there was enough grain in it to supply bread for the entire population of Moscow for 24 hours. Maly and his gang had been stealing grain for several years. Severe punishment for the criminals — in defense of the interests of society — will in this case be a manifestation of the humanistic spirit of the Soviet Criminal Code.

IN prescribing punishment for the grave crimes envisaged in it, the May 5 Decree gives the court the option, depending on the circumstances of the case, of sentencing the criminal either to a long term of deprivation of freedom or to capital punishment. In this case, too, capital punishment should be regarded as an exceptional measure of punishment to be used when there is particular aggravation in the nature of the crime.

Khrushchev's Notes on Germany

And Nuclear Tests and Arms

We are reprinting the full text of the two important notes—On Germany and On Nuclear Tests and Arms—given to President Kennedy by Premier Khrushchev at the Vienna Conference.

We believe that our readers will be glad to have these two statements on Soviet policy for reference.

ON GERMANY

1

THE peace settlement with Germany, dragged out for many years, has largely predetermined the dangerous development of events in Europe in the postwar period. Highly important Allied decisions on rooting out militarism in Germany, which the Governments of the United States and the U.S.S.R. at the time regarded as an earnest of enduring peace, were implemented only in part and are now virtually not observed on the greater part of German territory.

Of the governments of the two German states that took shape after the war, only the Government of the [East] German Democratic Republic recognizes these agreements and adheres to them. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany openly expresses its negative attitude to them, fosters saber rattling militarism and comes out for a revision of the German frontiers, a revision of the results of World War II.

It seeks to build up a strong military base for its aggressive plans to foster a dangerous hotbed of conflicts on German soil and to set at loggerheads the former Allies in the anti-Nazi coalition.

The Western powers permitted the Federal Republic of Germany to set about stockpiling weapons and building

up an army obviously exceeding defense requirements. Other dangerous steps by the NATO powers were their permission to the Federal Republic of Germany to build warships of up to 6,000 tons displacement and also to use British, French and Italian territory, for military bases of the Federal Republic of Germany.

2

The Soviet Government sincerely strives for the elimination of the causes engendering tension between the USSR and the United States and for a change-over to constructive friendly cooperation. Conclusion of a German peace treaty would bring both countries much closer to this aim. The USSR and the United States fought shoulder to shoulder against Nazi Germany.

It is their common duty to conclude a German peace treaty and thus create a firm guarantee that forces which could plunge the world into another still more destructive war will never rise on German soil. If the Soviet Union's desire to strengthen peace and to prevent the unleashing of another world war in Europe does not differ from the intentions of the United States Government, it will not be difficult to reach agreement.

3

Proceeding from a realistic assessment of the situation the Soviet Government advocates the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The question of a peace treaty is the question of the national security of the USSR and many other states. It is no longer possible to leave the situation in Germany without changes. All conditions for the conclusion of a peace treaty have

long since matured and such a treaty must be concluded. The essence of the matter is by whom and how it will be concluded and will there be unnecessary outlays involved.

4

The Soviet Government does not aim at prejudicing the interests of the United States or other powers in Europe. It does not propose any changes in Germany, or in West Berlin which would benefit only one state or one group of states. The USSR deems it necessary for the sake of consolidating peace to record the situation that took shape in Europe after the war, de jure to formulate and consolidate the immutability of the existing German frontiers, to normalize the situation in West Berlin on the basis of reasonable consideration for the interests of all sides.

For the sake of reaching agreement on a peace treaty the Soviet Union does not insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Federal Republic of Germany from NATO. Both German states could for a certain period remain after the conclusion of a peace treaty members of those military alignments to which they now belong.

The Soviet proposal does not link the conclusion of the peace treaty with the recognition of the German Democratic Republic or the Federal Republic of Germany by all parties to this treaty. To recognize or not to recognize one or another state is a matter for each Government.

If the United States is not ready to sign a single peace treaty with both German states, a peace settlement could be effected on the basis of two treaties. In this case the states, members of the anti-Nazi coalition, would sign a peace treaty with both or with one German state at their discretion. These treaties must not have identical texts but they must contain the same provisions on the major questions of a peace settlement.

5

The conclusion of a German peace treaty would also solve the problem of normalizing the situation in West Berlin. West Berlin, deprived of a firm international status, is now a place where Bonn's revenge-seeking elements constantly maintain extreme tension and stage all kinds of provocations very dangerous to the cause of peace. We must prevent such a development under which the strengthening of West German militarism might lead to irreparable consequences due to the unsettled situation in West Berlin.

At present the Soviet Government sees no better solution of the problem of West Berlin than its conversion into a demilitarized free city. Implementation of the proposal for a free city would normalize the situation in West Berlin with due account for the interests of all sides. The occupation regime preserved there has long since outlived itself, it has lost any connection with the aims for the sake of which it was created and with the Allied agreements on Germany on the basis of which it existed.

The occupation rights, of course, would discontinue with the conclusion of a German peace treaty, no matter whether it would be signed with both German states, or only with the German Democratic Republic inside whose territory West Berlin lies.

The Soviet Government advocates that the free city of West Berlin should freely effect its communications with the outside world and that its domestic order should be determined by the free expression of the will of its population. Of course, the United States, like all other countries, would have every opportunity to maintain and develop its relations with the free city. In general, West Berlin, as the Soviet Government sees it, must be strictly neutral. It must not be tolerated, of course, that West Berlin should be further used as a base for provocative hostile activity against the

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USSR, the German Democratic Republic or any other state and continue to remain a dangerous seat of tension and international conflicts.

The USSR proposes that the most reliable guarantees should be established against intervention in the affairs of the free city by any state.

As a guarantor of the free city, token contingents of troops of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union could be stationed in West Berlin, nor would the USSR object to the stationing in West Berlin of troops of neutral countries under United Nations auspices for the same purpose. The status of the free city could be appropriately registered at the United Nations and sealed with the authority of this international organization. The Soviet side agrees to discuss any other measures which could guarantee the freedom and independence of West Berlin as a free demilitarized city.

The West Berlin settlement must, of course, in every way take into consideration the necessity of respect for and strict observance of the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, which is known to have expressed its readiness to adhere to a relevant agreement and to respect it.

6

The Soviet Government proposes that a peace conference should be called now, without any delay, and that a German treaty be concluded and the question of West Berlin as a free city settled on this basis. If for one reason or another the governments of the United States and other Western powers are at present not yet ready for this, an interim solution could be adopted for a definite period.

The four powers will urge the German states to agree in any way acceptable to them on the questions pertaining to a peace settlement with Germany and reunification. The four powers will declare in advance that they recognize

any agreement which the Germans would reach.

In case of a positive outcome of the talks between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, a single peace treaty would then be agreed to and signed. If the German states are not able to agree on the aforesaid questions, measures will be taken for the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states or with one of them at the discretion of the countries concerned.

In order not to drag out the peace settlement it is necessary to establish deadlines within which the Germans must explore the possibilities of agreements on questions falling into their internal competence. The Soviet Government regards a period not exceeding six months adequate for such talks. This period is fully adequate for contact between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Democratic Republic of Germany and for talks between them, since in the sixteen years after the war the understanding has matured of the necessity of liquidating the remnants of World War II in Europe.

7

The Soviet Government is ready to examine any constructive proposals by the United States Government on a German peace treaty and normalization of the situation in West Berlin. The Soviet Government will show the maximum of goodwill in order to solve the problem of a German peace treaty by mutual agreement between the USSR, the United States and other states concerned. Signing of a German peace treaty by all parties to the anti-Nazi coalition and a settlement on this basis of the question of the neutral status of West Berlin would create the best conditions for confidence between states and the solution of such major international problems as disarmament and others.

If the United States does not show an understanding of the necessity of con-

cluding a peace treaty, we shall regret this, since we would have to sign a peace treaty, which it would be impossible and dangerous to delay further, not with all states, but only with those that want to sign it.

The peace treaty will specifically record the status of West Berlin as a free city and the Soviet Union, like the other parties to the treaty, will, of course, strictly observe it and measures will also be taken to see to it that this status is also respected by the other countries.

At the same time this will also mean the liquidation of the occupation regime in West Berlin with all consequences arising therefrom. Specifically the questions of using land, water and air communications across the territory of the German Democratic Republic will have to be settled not otherwise than through appropriate agreements with the German Democratic Republic. This is but natural since control over such communications is an inalienable right of any sovereign state.

8

The conclusion of the German treaty will be a major step toward a final post-war settlement in Europe the Soviet Union has invariably been striving for.

ON NUCLEAR TESTS AND ARMS

The Soviet Government deems it necessary to present its considerations on the question of ending atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. As known, negotiations between representatives of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain at Geneva have been going on for more than two years and a half. However, there still are great difficulties on the road toward the conclusion of an agreement.

The USSR has done and is doing everything it can to come to terms with the United States and Great Britain on a treaty to end nuclear weapons tests. In order to remove the obstacles

toward agreement it has made substantial concessions to the Western partners in the talks, having accepted a number of proposals submitted by them.

The position of the Soviet Government at the Geneva talks is simple and clear. The Soviet Union wants nuclear weapons tests of all kinds to be ended everywhere and for all time. But the Soviet Government cannot agree and will never agree to the test-ban treaty becoming an empty scrap of paper which could be used as a cover for further experiments with nuclear weapons for the purpose of improving them and developing new means of mass destruction. There can be no exemptions from the treaty: All kinds of nuclear weapons tests must be banned—in the air, under water, underground and in outer space.

IN VIEW of the present unsatisfactory position at the Geneva conference, the Soviet Government should like to state once more its position on fundamental issues which remain unsolved to this day.

The Question of a Moratorium

As is known, the Soviet Government agreed to the American proposal that the treaty should temporarily exclude from the ban underground tests of nuclear weapons below a definite threshold value. Now we must reach agreement on a moratorium on underground nuclear explosions temporarily not covered by the treaty. It goes without saying that the agreement on a moratorium must be of such a nature that no nation could violate it arbitrarily and resume test explosions of nuclear bombs. In view of this, the Soviet Government is firmly convinced that at the expiration of the moratorium, an agreement which would be reached by the parties concerned should not automatically absolve nations of their commitment not to set off underground nuclear explosions.

The Question of Control

The Soviet Union, just as the United States, considers that strict international control must be established over the cessation of the tests. However, it is quite obvious that this control can be effective only if it rests on the mutual consent by the sides and not on the desire to take advantage of the control machinery to impose the will of one group of states upon another group.

The Soviet Government has examined all aspects of the question on how to safeguard equal rights of the sides in the implementation of control, and it drew the firm conclusion that the staffing of the control agencies must be based on equal representation of the sides. It is precisely in conformity with this principle that the Soviet Union proposes that an understanding should be reached on the composition of the chief executive agency, the Administrative Council.

The refusal to accept the proposal on instituting an Administrative Council of three equal representatives, one each from the principal groups of states—the Socialist states, the countries belonging to Western military blocs and the neutralist states—is justified by the allegations that the Soviet Union seeks to obtain some special rights in the control organization. This assertion, of course, has no foundation whatever. What is the real meaning of the Soviet proposal? It is precisely to preclude the possibility of one side obtaining any special advantages or prejudicing the security of one or another group of states. We want to safeguard not formal but real equality of the sides while putting into effect the treaty on a ban on nuclear weapons tests.

THE control commission, on which all principal groups of states will be represented, can adopt sound, just decisions, taking into consideration the interests of all states. However, it is not enough to take such decisions.

It is imperative to guarantee their impartial implementation. Impartiality cannot be guaranteed if the implementation of the decisions is entrusted to one man alone.

The history of contemporary international relations knows many instances when one man, being under the influence of some alignment of states or acting for its benefit, carried out already agreed decisions in a wrong way. Of course, this benefitted only one group of states, whose interests this man furthered, but harmed other states. For it is well known that, while there are neutral states, there are not nor can there be neutral men.

Agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests directly affects the interests of the safety of states, and the Government of the United States undoubtedly will agree that maximum caution must be observed in solving such kinds of problems. In present conditions, when the world is divided into military blocs, when large armies are maintained, when the threat of a nuclear conflict continues to hang over the world, it is impermissible that questions affecting the interests of the security of states and the destinies of peoples should depend on the decisions of one man.

Furthermore, the appointment of one man for implementing adopted decisions on control can be regarded as dictatorship, a desire to impose one's will. Indeed, it can hardly be expected that the Western powers would consent to the appointment of this man from some Socialist country. They would rather suggest for this post a man from a neutral country.

But is there any guarantee that such a man will take a neutral, impartial stand with regard to the Socialist countries? We cannot agree to such an approach. The Soviet Union cannot tolerate dictatorship from any side. We want to have equal conditions for all and we shall never consent to being placed in an unequal position.

WE ARE confident that the Government of the United States subscribes to the opinion that any international agreement must contain guarantees precluding ill-intentioned and unjustified actions against a state, party to the agreement. This is the inalienable and lawful right of each state, each government. Proposing that a collegial executive body of representatives of the three groups of states should be instituted, the Soviet Union proceeds from the desire to guarantee to the states the implementation of precisely this right.

Objecting to the Soviet proposal of the composition of the Administrative Council, the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom at the Geneva conference alleged that it is tantamount to establishing a right of "veto" with regard to inspections. But such allegations cannot be assessed otherwise than as a continuation of the old line of distorting the position of the USSR on control questions.

ONE might recall in this context that the Soviet Government, as early as May, 1959, explaining its proposal on the establishment of quotas of inspections, emphasized that on-the-spot inspections within the limit of the agreed quotas must be effected at the request of the side interested in the inspection without any voting in the control commission or any other agency.

All that is needed are objective readings of instruments at control posts indicating that a phenomenon took place in some part of the given country which might be suspected as nuclear explosion. If there is such objective reading, the Soviet proposal envisages that neither the Control Commission nor any other body of the control organization can interfere with the satisfaction of the demand of the side for an inspection. Hence, no obstacles to inspection, to which the United States representatives refer, speaking of the so-called "veto," can be created by the Administrative Council.

Of course, there are other nuclear weapons tests, on which the executive agency will have to take decisions. This situation cannot be tolerated in which unilateral decisions would be taken under conditions for arbitrariness created. The danger of arbitrariness increases severalfold times over if there is a single administrator. The possibility of arbitrariness and unilateral decisions is fully precluded if the structure of the executive agency proposed by the Soviet Government is adopted. It follows that the question of the "veto" is artificially conceived.

The Soviet Government is convinced that adoption of the Soviet Union's proposal on the composition of the Administrative Council would remove one of the big obstacles to agreement on the treaty.

THERE is still another question on which there are divergencies. This is the question of the size of the quotas of inspections. The Soviet Government hopes that the Government of the United States will also adopt a realistic approach to the question of the number of on-the-spot inspections. Our proposal on three inspections each on the territory of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom a year provides quite adequate guarantees against violations of the treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. The demand for an excessive number of inspections on which the United States and the United Kingdom insist, cannot but suggest the idea that in this case concern is shown by no means for the establishment of effective control.

Assessing the position of states on questions of inspection, one cannot, of course, disregard the circumstance that while there are military alignments of states in the world, inspections can be used for intelligence purposes. Such is the position with regard to the talks of the cessation of nuclear tests.

We have set forth with utmost frankness our considerations on the ways of

overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. Our approach provides a sound foundation for the conclusion in the near future of a treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. At the same time, assessing the situation obtaining around the problem of banning nuclear tests, one should, evidently, acknowledge that the parties to the Geneva talks, as it seems, now find it difficult to agree on the cessation of nuclear tests.

WOULD it then not be better for our countries to take up the main cardinal question—the question of general and complete disarmament? In this context we welcome President Kennedy's statement in his latest message to Congress to the effect that the conclusion of a treaty on an effective ban on nuclear tests would be the first major step toward disarmament. Indeed, let us solve both problems in their interdependence, then the main obstacle will be eliminated which the Western powers now see in the Soviet proposal for setting up a three-member Administrative Council.

The Soviet Government, as is well known, has already more than once emphasized that the Soviet Government, on its part, is willing unconditionally to accept any Western control proposals if the Western powers accept the proposal for general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Government reaffirms its readiness and in this case agrees to sign a document which will include the Western proposals on the cessation of nuclear tests.

We can take this step because the question of security of states will be on a different level in conditions of general and complete disarmament: There will be no armies nor will there be threats of attack by one state on another.

WHEN all states disarm and have no means for attack on other countries, then conditions will indeed be

created under which each country will have proper guarantees of its security. No state will have the possibility secretly to set up armed forces which will threaten any other state or group of states. In these conditions we are ready to accept any control proposed by the Western powers.

Now, when an arms race is under way in the world and antagonistic military alignments exist, we must preserve our armed forces in the interest of the security of our country and our allies. If the armed forces of states are maintained, no control can be separated from intelligence. Control will not be associated with intelligence only when armed forces are abolished and armaments destroyed. Then, indeed, universal control will be necessary to see to it that no state nor group of states could secretly manufacture arms or arm themselves to prepare aggression against other states. Strict and effective control against the arming of states cannot be avoided.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that, in present conditions, control does not in the least guarantee against attack on some country by another country because arms and armed forces are not only maintained but also strengthened, strengthened especially in the field of nuclear weapons, which the United States President himself admitted. Cessation of nuclear weapons tests does not mean cessation of their manufacture and stockpiling. The risk of war is not reduced. In these conditions each state has the right to suspect that intelligence agencies are to be set up on the plea of control.

If general and complete disarmament is effected, the states maintain only agreed, restricted contingents of militia or police necessary for maintaining internal order and protecting the personal safety of citizens. These forces cannot create a threat of attack on other countries.

In necessary cases, these contingents can be used by the Security Council if

some state, nevertheless, takes aggressive actions. Of course, all main groups of states must be equally represented on the leadership of such international forces, i.e., it must be, indeed, an international leadership.

THE Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that in our time the most realistic way of solving the disarmament problem is general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This has been acknowledged by the majority of the world's

states, as borne out both by the resolution of the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly and the discussion of disarmament problems at the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will take into consideration the ideas set forth in this memorandum and on its part will facilitate a solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament including the tasks of discontinuing for good all nuclear weapons tests.

SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD ON BERLIN

SENATE MAJORITY LEADER Mike Mansfield in a speech to the Senate on June 14, said that continuation of the status quo in Berlin could lead only to the threat of nuclear war:

"I have long questioned and I continue to question a status quo which places us in the position, in effect, of pleading with or urging the Russians not to withdraw their military forces from the Westernmost point of penetration which they reached in Europe in the wake of World War II; yet our present position on Berlin requires that we do precisely that. Furthermore, Mr. President, I do not think we can safeguard most effectively our own interests or advance the interests of peace when we insist upon remaining directly under a Communist sword of Damocles, as is now the case in Berlin, if a rational alternative may be found to that position through diplomacy. Further, Mr. President, I have long questioned a position on Berlin which was assumed immediately after World War II and has been maintained unchanged despite the enormous changes which have occurred in both parts of Germany and in Europe since that time. Finally I question a position which, through subordinate irresponsibility, error or provocation on either side invites the precipitation of a nuclear conflict."

The *New York Times*, June 15, summarizes other sections of Senator Mansfield's speech as follows:

"The West's position, as characterized by Senator Mansfield, is that the status quo at Berlin must be maintained and that the West must refuse to be 'driven, pushed or barred' from fulfilling its responsibilities there until Germany is reunified.

"The full meaning of the Western commitment, Mr. Mansfield said, carries the 'ultimate implication' of American willingness to pledge the lives and fortunes of every man, woman and child in the nation to Berlin's defense.

"What is needed, he said, is 'a third way' between the Soviet and United States positions . . . negotiated along the following lines:

"By converting all of Berlin—Soviet and Western sectors alike—into one free city that would be held in trust by an international authority.

"By garrisoning Western access routes to the city with 'international peace teams.'

"By having Berlin's status as a free city guaranteed by the North Atlantic Treaty and Warsaw Pact countries, with both the West German and East German Governments subscribing to the arrangement and paying its costs.'

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THE GDR AND BERLIN

Professor A. J. P. Taylor, distinguished Oxford University historian and television commentator, advocated a free city in West Berlin and recognition of the GDR in an article for the London Sunday Express of May 21st. Here are excerpts from the article:

SOVIET Russia has every right to take precautions against a united Germany. Once we recognize this . . . the problem of Germany can cease to divide Soviet Russia and the United States.

Eastern Germany exists. Its existence is of vital importance for the Russians. The Americans need deny its existence no longer.

Who is going to complain? Certainly no sane person in Great Britain should do so. No one wants to fight a war for the reunification of Germany. No one in his senses wants to keep British forces in Germany at vast expense to the taxpayer and grave detriment to our balance of trade.

The question of East Germany can be settled by a stroke of the pen. Berlin presents a more burning problem. Mr. Khrushchev has made it clear that he will raise this question in the course of the summer.

We shall be in terrible difficulties if we let things drift. We shall be faced with a bitter choice between humiliation and provocative action.

For what? For a position which is untenable in theory and practice. The Western troops in Berlin could be arrested by a corporal's guard of Soviet police. Indeed, West Berlin can be made unworkable merely by economic pressure.

Does this mean that we should abandon the inhabitants of West Berlin unconditionally, after protecting and encouraging them for so long?

By no means. On the contrary, we can give West Berlin greater security once we recognize Eastern Germany.

West Berlin is useless in itself. It has been kept going only as a symbolic gesture towards a united Germany. We have no interest there, only a point of honor: our repeated pledge that West Berlin should not be absorbed into the Communist East.

The Russians are prepared to meet this point of honor. They have proposed repeatedly that West Berlin should be made a neutral Free City, detached from their bloc as from ours.

It could even be administered by the United Nations, an experiment likely to be a good deal more successful than the UNO effort in the Congo.

What is wrong with the idea of West Berlin as a free city? This solution would free us from an impossible responsibility. It would remove, at a blow, most of the tension from Central Europe. It would strengthen enormously the prospects for world peace.

But it demands the recognition of Eastern Germany as a preliminary. Once that is settled, everything else falls into place. Eastern Germany will accept the Soviet line. It will gladly pay the price of leaving West Berlin alone.

This solution is the best for us. It is also the best for the Germans, though many of them refuse to admit it.

Germany, East and West, will cease to be a stumbling block between the Great Powers. The Germans will be free to prosper undisturbed, which is what the sensible ones among them want.

More than this, recognition of Eastern Germany and security for West Berlin open the door to German unity in the only form in which it is tolerable to others. The three States can form a German confederation with every independence except the independence to threaten others.

Here is a bold constructive policy which President Kennedy can put forward when he meets Mr. Khrushchev. It is a policy which meets very reasonable Russian anxiety.

REVOLUTION IN CUBA

a review by MURRAY YOUNG

History Will Absolve Me, by Fidel Castro. Translated from the Spanish. Lyle Stuart. New York, 1961. 79 pages. \$1.00.

Guerrilla Warfare, by Che Guevara. Translated from the Spanish. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1961. 128 pages. \$3.50.

The Cuban Revolution, by Blas Roca. Translated from the Spanish. New Century Publishers, New York, 1961. 127 pages. \$1.25.

Cuba: Hope of A Hemisphere, by Joseph North. International Publishers, New York, 1961. 95 pages. Hard cover \$2.00. Paperback 95 cents.

Reflections on the Cuban Revolution, by Paul A. Baran. Monthly Review, New York, 1961. 28 pages. 35 cents.

Sartre on Cuba, by Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated from the French. Ballantine, New York, 1961. 160 pages. 50 cents.

90 Miles From Home, by Warren Miller. Little Brown, Boston, 1961. 279 pages. \$3.95.

The Crime Against Cuba, by Corliss Lamont. Basic Pamphlets, Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25. 39 pages. 10 cents.

BOOKS, pamphlets, articles about Cuba are now pouring from the presses in a ceaseless stream. The heroic island that dared to take its own path has captured the imagination of the world. Especially since its brilliant defeat of the attempted invasion on April 17, Cuba has become an inspiration to all those millions of people throughout the world who are rallying their forces against imperialism.

What made the Cuban revolution possible, who are the amazing young men and women who planned and executed the overthrow of the Batista regime and who are now directing their country's swift reorganization in a socialist direction? What are their future plans? What is life like in Cuba today?

Here are some of the recently published books and pamphlets that will help to answer these questions.

History Will Absolve Me is a verbatim transcript of Fidel Castro's speech in his own defense at his trial in 1953. In a closed courtroom from which the public and the press were barred, Castro spoke without notes for five hours. This extraordinary speech that outlines in full detail the revolutionary program that was to bring Castro and his comrades to victory in December 1958, also reveals the remarkable character and mind of the man who today symbolizes the revolution. This is an essential document.

Equally essential reading is *Guerrilla Warfare* by the chief planner and administrator of the Cuban economy. Che Guevara. In this brief book Guevara sums up the experience of the revolution and clearly points the lessons to be learned by other peoples who are still struggling under cruel and oppressive regimes. This book has had the widest distribution throughout the whole of Latin America.

Blas Roca, General Secretary of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba (as the Communist Party is called) in his report *The Cuban Revolution*, made to the eighth National Congress of his party in August 1960, gives a Marxist analysis of the revolution, stating in detail the relationship of the Communist Party to the revolution from its earliest days. Anybody seriously interested in Cuba will want to read this book.

Joseph North's report *Cuba: Hope of Hemisphere* is both a vivid picture of the revolutionary changes in Cuba and at the same time a strong plea for America to understand why the revolution occurred, what its ends are and what it means to the rest of Latin America. North makes a special plea to the American people to influence their government not to take action (such as the fatal invasion) that would blindly attempt to prevent the further development of Cuba's revolutionary progress towards a good life for its long-suffering people.

Paul A. Baran's *Reflections on the Cuban Revolution* is a Marxist analysis reprinted from *Monthly Review*. Professor Baran's penetrating observations range widely, setting the Cuban revolution in revealing historical, economic and political perspective. He says of the help given to Cuba by the socialist countries:

... This [help] corroborates the crucially important proposition that every new arrival in the socialist camp finds the going easier than the country which preceded it, that the strength of socialism in the world is cumulative, that socialist "dividends" will become more frequent and more ample as the number and the power of the socialist countries increase. Just as the cost of modern industry and technology was paid for during the Industrial Revolution by the lives and health and happiness of generations of English and Indian and Irish workers and peasants, so the sweep of socialism in our time is the fruit of the heroism, endurance, and toil of the Russian workers and peasants in the era of the Five-Year Plans.

Jean-Paul Sartre visited Cuba in the winter of 1960. His report, *Sartre on Cuba*, is an intensively subjective analysis of the revolution and its leaders. Brilliantly written, it is full of evocative scenes and original ideas and opinions more stimulating perhaps than convincing. But he states the significance of the revolution eloquently:

These men, hard at work, without dropping their vigilance for an instant, are fighting under a foreign menace to safeguard their two most precious conquests: freedom, unknown until now in Cuba, which they brought to life and which legalizes their reforms and the New Ark of the Revolution, the confidence and friendship which unites them. I do not see how any people can propose today a more urgent goal nor one more worthy of its efforts. The Cubans must win, or we will lose all, even hope.

Warren Miller's *90 Miles From Home* is none the worse for being on the surface amusing and rather detached in the fashionable *New Yorker* magazine style. Beneath this clever surface Miller has much to say about Cuba and the people he met there—writers and ordinary people—that throws considerable light on the great social changes the revolution has effected.

Perhaps the most interesting part of his book is his visit with a group of anti-Castro Cubans in Miami with whom he spent some time on his return from the island. Pity the CIA did not read this revealing account of these wretched "freedom fighters."

This is an excellent book to give those people who still have "doubts" about the revolution.

Corliss Lamont's timely pamphlet is a scorching indictment of our government's role in the invasion of April 17. Outlining the background of events leading up to that fatal day, Lamont is unsparing in his criticism of the whole miserable adventure which he calls *The Crime Against Cuba*.

Dr. Lamont ends his pamphlet with a series of positive recommendations of action for the Kennedy Administration if it "will reconsider in the light of what is to the greatest advantage of the American people and lasting peace."

The nine steps he recommends to the Administration should have the most serious consideration as the basis for popular pressure on the government by all Americans interested in peace in our hemisphere and in the world.

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THE TRAIN GOES TO KIEV

Coming:

THE SUN SHINES FOR EVERY
BODY
THE QUEEN OF SPADES
FOMA GORDEYEV

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