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# NEW WORLD REVIEW

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If Mothers of All Lands . . .  
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# Ban the Neutron Bomb Early in 1978!

In the next few weeks there is no more important task than banning the neutron bomb! Everyone concerned with the future of life on our planet should make this the first priority this spring. Now is the time to catch it, before it is deployed. And the people of the United States bear the heaviest responsibility, for it is the Carter administration and the Pentagon which seek to introduce it.

Why is this particular weapon so dangerous? After all, since 1945 the Pentagon has pioneered a host of increasingly dangerous weapons, starting with the atomic bomb, nuclear-armed strategic bombers and submarines and more recently the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV). The Soviet Union has been obliged to follow these developments, Britain, France and China have far more limited weapons systems and a growing list of countries have the potential to develop them. In the interests of a secure peace, and of devoting scarce financial and human resources to people's needs, they should all be eliminated. Why concern ourselves so intensely with this particular weapon?

The neutron bomb is especially dangerous because it blurs the distinction between conventional and nuclear war. Its effects, say President Carter and the Pentagon, can be controlled and limited, and it can therefore be used without inducing the massive retaliation recognized as the inevitable sequel of using other nuclear weapons. Gen. Alexander Haig, NATO Supreme Allied Commander, says: "The neutron weapon system provides greater discrimination, greater military effect with less collateral damage to innocent civilians and structures" (*London Sunday Times*, Dec. 18, 1977).

Though it is referred to as a "bomb," the neutron weapon is a warhead usable with Lance carrier missiles or eight-inch artillery shells, which makes detection and control almost impossible.

Ever since the bomb's existence was announced last July, President Carter and the Pentagon have been trying to gain the NATO countries' acceptance for its deployment on their territories. So far, massive popular protest has prevented any government from agreeing. The US was unable to force a positive decision at the December meeting of NATO's Political Committee; the weapon, however, has not been rejected.

The Pentagon is therefore stepping up the campaign to create an acceptable image for the neutron bomb, including changing its designation from "enhanced radiation weapon" to "reduced blast-radiation warhead." Because there is such a determined effort to cover up the real nature of the weapon, it is worth considering its effects, as described by British physicist E.H.S. Burhop, president of the World Federation of Scientific Workers:

In the neutron bomb, the energy release is much slower [than in the A or H bomb]. As a bomb it is something of a damp squib. But the same nuclear reactions that produce the neutrons and the radioactive byproducts go on. Comparable quantities are produced, but spread over a longer time. In the absence of a strong blast explosion the radioactive byproducts remain close to where the bomb was dropped and are not spread over a wide area so there is no fallout. The neutrons, however, go just as far as in the ordinary A and H bomb so that people found within one or two kilometers of the bomb center receive terrible and usually lethal injuries. It does not kill instantly except at the point of impact but cause people to die a slow, lingering, often terribly painful death....

One of the most telling indictments of the bomb is that of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which in a report leaked to *The New York Times* early in February, said the bomb "will increase the chances for a full scale nuclear war."

The worldwide campaign of protest has, of course, included the Soviet Union. Soviet President Brezhnev observed in his interview with *Pravda*, published December 23:

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If such a weapon were developed in the West, developed against us, a fact which nobody even tries to conceal, it must be clearly realized that the USSR shall not remain a passive onlooker.... In the final count, all this will raise the arms race to an even more dangerous level.... We do not want this to happen and that is why we move to reach agreement on a mutual renunciation of the production of the neutron bomb....

There is another sinister side to the neutron bomb. Though the US is urging its deployment in Europe, its relatively localized effects, the simplicity of its use, and the primacy of its anti-people characteristics make it a natural for localized wars in any part of the globe. This is exactly the strategy which has received repeated emphasis recently from Defense Secretary Harold Brown. Dangerous as the weapon would be in Europe, its potential use against national liberation forces in Africa, in the Caribbean, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America adds a new and potentially devastating dimension.

The neutron bomb is having a decidedly negative effect on current arms control and disarmament negotiations. After the disastrous US proposals last March stalled the SALT II talks, the world was encouraged by US and Soviet reports of progress during the fall. Unfortunately, a counterpoint to these reports was provided by renewed trumpeting concerning an alleged Soviet drive for military dominance, led by such cold-war congressmen as Sen. Henry Jackson, Sen. Sam Nunn, and Rep. Samuel Stratton, who joined Secretary Brown and CIA spokesman Gen. Keegan in claiming that US Military capabilities were

or soon would be threatened by Soviet buildups.

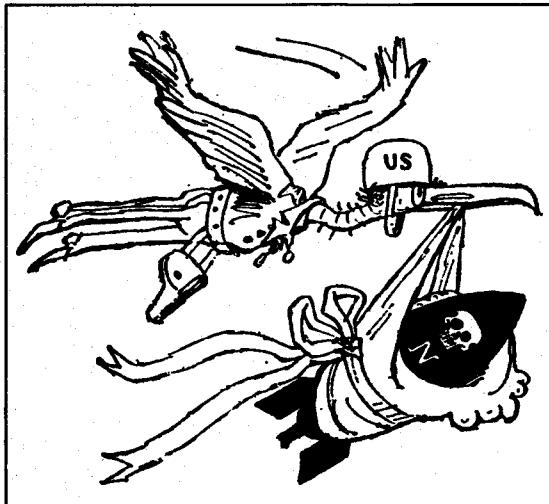
Planned deployment of a new weapons system earmarked first for Europe also has a negative effect on the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna. It is an obvious violation of the agreement to strengthen military detente contained in the Final Act of the European Security Conference, compliance with which is now being evaluated at Belgrade. (Perhaps now it is clear why the US delegation there places so much emphasis on its distorted interpretation of human rights!)

Joined with President Carter's announcement of the decision to mass produce cruise missiles, the administration efforts to promote the neutron bomb seriously call into question US sincerity in reaching a SALT II agreement, which is essential to stabilize the strategic arms situation so that steps leading to real disarmament can begin.

**O**n February 11, *Pravda* published an authoritative commentary entitled *The Task of Limiting Strategic Arms: Prospects and Problems*. *Pravda* calls attention to the one-sidedness of US proposals concerning cruise missiles — the US would permit them not only on heavy bombers but on any sort of aircraft, would exempt sea- and land-based cruise missiles from limits and permit transfer of cruise

missiles to other countries, including its NATO allies. *Pravda* also makes clear that US proposals to ban all new types of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), omitting submarine-borne missiles, heavy bombers and cruise missiles, greatly favors the US. Sub- and bomber-borne missiles comprise a far larger proportion of the US force than of the Soviet, and the USSR doesn't even have long-range cruise missiles yet.

One should not forget that ever new mass annihilation weapons are being created in the USA, including the neutron weapon. The Soviet Union has proposed a comprehensive ban on new kinds of mass annihilation weapons and new systems thereof, as well as the reciprocal renunciation of manufacturing, concretely, the neutron weapon. We shall resolutely work for the realization of these proposals. A really lasting peace and international security... can be ensured not by talk and declarations, but by concrete practical steps towards ending the arms race and towards disarmament....



American and world opinion should clearly realize that those who are trying to frustrate or drag out its conclusion [a new SALT agreement] are acting contrary to the interest of strengthening peace and security, are leading matters to a new spiralling in the race of the most dangerous means of warfare, which can have only one outcome — the steeply mounting danger of a nuclear missile holocaust.

A central question in this whole matter of arms control and disarmament is the nature of Soviet attitudes toward war and peace. It has been repeatedly stressed in the pages of this magazine that there is nothing in the Soviet Union's socialist

system which makes war or the preparations for war a desirable thing. There is no class or group which derives profits from arms manufacture and sale. On the contrary, the spending of billions of rubles for arms (and at 17-plus billion rubles each year, it's far less than what is spent by the US) directly impedes that social and economic progress of its 260 million people which gives the socialist system its validity.

In his recent pamphlet, *The Counterforce Syndrome: A Guide to US Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine* (Transnational Institute Pamphlet Series: No. 7) Robert C. Aldridge, a former Lockheed engineer who worked on submarine ballistic missiles, provides a history of the post World War II arms race and an analysis of the arsenals of the two countries. He observes that, for example, the US launched the first Polaris sub in 1960, and it was not until five years later that the Soviets fielded a comparable sub. The US first tested MIRV in 1968 and deployed it in 1970; comparable dates for the Soviets are 1973 and 1975.

Aldridge concludes:

This brings us to the question of whether the Soviet Union has a counterforce capability [ability to destroy another nation's

(Please turn to page 19)

# *The World Peace Council Comes to Washington*

*For the first time in the World Peace Council's 30 year history, members of its Bureau came to the United States in January to meet with a broad range of US participants in a three-day Dialogue on Disarmament and Detente. Speaking at the luncheon which opened the Washington, D.C. sessions, WPC President Romesh Chandra said, "We meet at a moment of crucial significance for the future, when we can turn the tide, reach out, achieve disarmament and consolidate detente. The main trend in the world has become the trend toward peace." A central thread throughout the dialogue was the essential interrelation between efforts for peace and struggles for national liberation, for overcoming fascism and racism, and for achieving economic justice throughout the world.*

*The extreme danger posed by the neutron bomb, and the urgent necessity to act in the immediate future to prevent its production and deployment received special emphasis throughout the session, as speaker after speaker cited its potential for making nuclear war "thinkable" and "do-able," and the probability of its use against people's movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Another fundamental theme was the importance of detente and disarmament to the success of the peoples' struggles in the Middle East, Southern Africa and elsewhere in the world, and the impossibility of achieving world peace without successful conclusion of these struggles.*

*National organizations and movements from more than 125 countries are represented in the World Peace Council. Its Bureau draws members from 40 countries on every continent, and includes ministers of state and members of parliament from ruling and major opposition parties — left Christian Democrat, Communist, Socialist, Labor and others. US participants in the dialogue included members of Congress, state and city legislators, representatives of major peace, women's, solidarity and anti-repression organizations, national liberation and economic fightback movements, professional, trade union and student groups.*

*The Washington gathering was marred by the refusal of the US State Department to allow Dinh Ba Thi, Vietnamese Ambassador to the UN, and Zehdi Labib Terzi, Permanent UN Observer from the PLO, to travel from New York to participate.*

*At the dialogue's conclusion, many of the Bureau members toured cities in the US.*

*In this issue and the next, we will present excerpts from a few of the vitally significant presentations made in Washington and elsewhere in conjunction with this historic visit of the World Peace Council to the United States.*



## Romesh Chandra

### President, World Peace Council

The campaign against the neutron bomb can attract the biggest mass movement ever organized against a particular weapon. This campaign has begun to make itself felt, in the sense that the US could not get a decision to deploy the bomb through the last meeting of NATO. Nevertheless, NATO did not say, "No." On the contrary, they said, "Give us more time. Let's think it over, let's examine whether it's very necessary." This was because there was considerable hesitation among several of the European governments. And their spokesmen have indicated that their opposition or hesitation was due to the campaign inside their countries.

The US will now do everything possible to sell the neutron bomb. As you know, they have even attempted to change its name, and now simply speak of it as a "reduced blast weapon," for that might make you swallow something easier than the words, "enhanced radiation."

And in this whole campaign they are clearly trying to suggest that it is less dangerous, it will not lead to a world war, it is clean because you don't have to mess with a lot of debris. Another argument is that this is not really a serious proposal. All that is being done is to increase our bargaining capacity in the strategic arms limitation talks. As you know, this is not a new way of selling new weapons. Of course, this must be answered, because a certain measure of fatigue may also come in the campaign. You know, we campaign against a weapon and after a short while, we begin to live with that weapon.

The third argument will be, "You accept the neutron bomb as a weapon which can be used, but if you like, say that it won't be on your soil." I suppose it's good as a first step if any government says it won't be on its soil and hesitates. But the opposition now has to be to the bomb itself.

It is now within our reach to present the slogan, "Let's make 1978 the year of the banning of the neutron bomb." Well, some people said, "What's the point of that? We want it banned now!" Of course we want it banned now. This weapon can now be banned because the opposition is so great. But it can be banned only if the campaign is continued in spite of all new obstacles. Therefore we must build up this campaign for the point of view of arguments and new kinds of action.

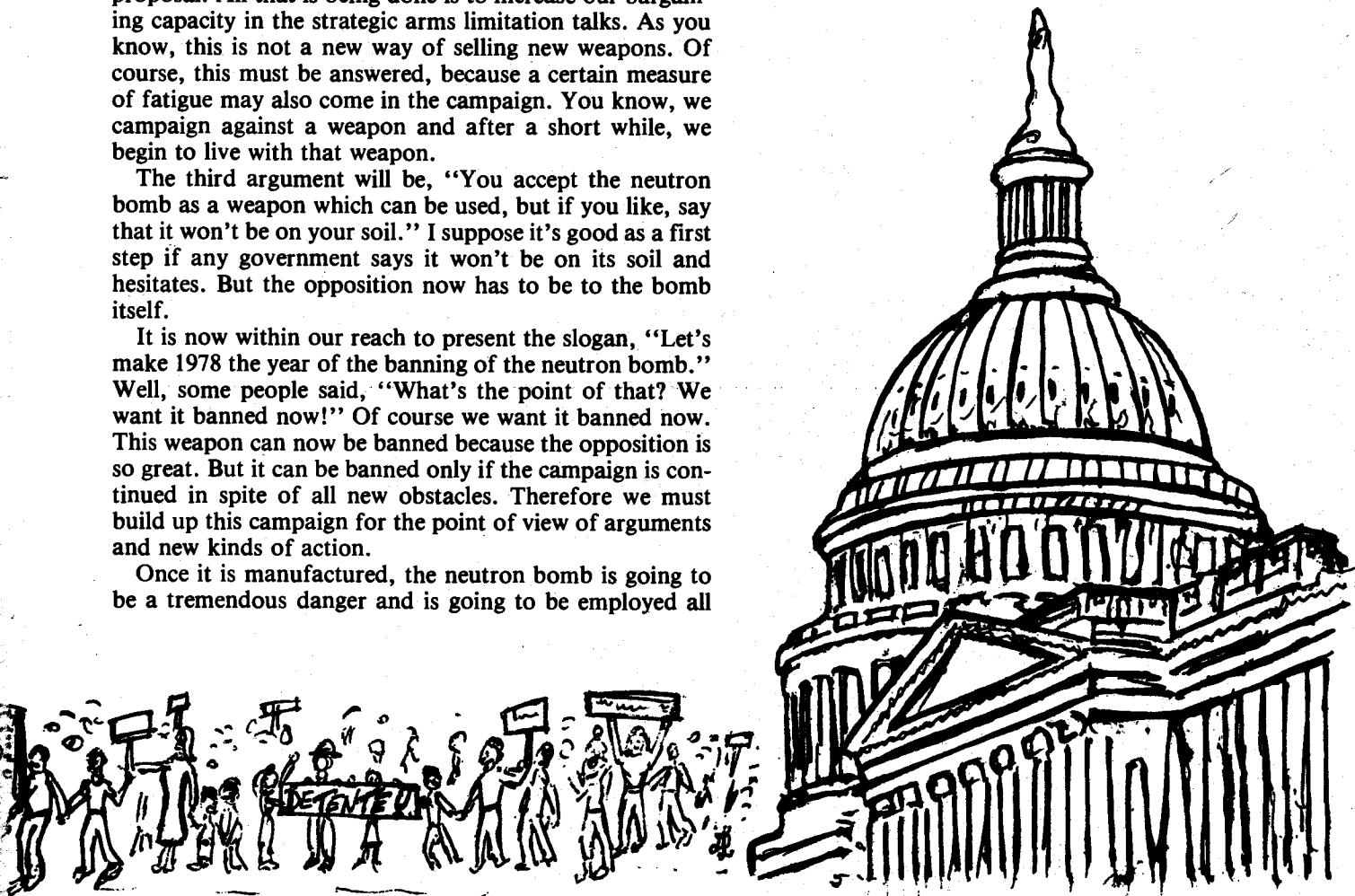
Once it is manufactured, the neutron bomb is going to be a tremendous danger and is going to be employed all

over the world. It will be used in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East, in Africa and Latin America.

Of course, a key role is played by the American peace movement. There have been very important actions — particularly the demonstrations in Washington.

We visited the Congress today and talked with a number of members of Congress who are against the neutron bomb. But you may find that if 109 voted against the weapon in September, don't be terribly shocked if you don't increase the number but might even have a few less, unless there is a big campaign inside the country.

The question of the neutron bomb is not something opposed to the banning of all nuclear weapons. These two things go together. When we are campaigning against the neutron bomb we are campaigning for the New Stockholm Appeal, which includes the whole question of banning all nuclear weapons, as well as general and complete disarmament. But at a particular time you have to take up a particular weapon. This is absolutely essential — this is something which is going to be decided in the next two or three months. And it *can* be decided against us. On the other hand, we are powerful enough to have prevented





Left: the Panamanian delegate; inset, below, Romesh Chandra. Opposite page: a portrait of assembled delegates; insets, left to right, John Conyers, Jr. and Alex Laguma.

deployment so far, and we are powerful enough to prevent it entirely.

If we can ban the neutron bomb we can go forward to banning all nuclear weapons. At this moment, this is the central task above everything else.

It is realizable; it must be done.



## **John Conyers, Jr. Member, US House of Representatives (D-Michigan)**

I bring you greetings from the entire Congressional Black Caucus — 16 men and women whose sympathies, whose concerns and commitments I think are yours, and yours are theirs.

In his State of the Union address, the President made several key observations about the state of this country and indirectly about the world. America is nominally at peace — a state of affairs which is relatively unusual. The American economy is in a relatively healthy state. And the President pointed out that this government is limited in how much it may do to improve the condition of life for its citizens.

I am here to present a slightly different view — one which would indicate that while the United States is not directly involved in armed conflict, much of the troubles of the world have arisen out of our involvement militarily and otherwise, in Southeast Asia, in the Horn of Africa, in Southern Africa.

As a Member of Congress, I have voted against every military appropriation that it has been my opportunity to pass judgment on. And I feel even more constrained to enlist the support of my colleagues, for in this new budget a defence outlay of \$117 billion — an all-time high — has now been recommended to the Congress. The greatest share of that increase will go toward modernizing weapons and forces in Europe, additional strategic weapons at home, additional research and development on neutron weapons. Thus we may feel that many in the world have

correctly judged that we are inching toward what has been called "national security insanity." We cannot bring peace in the world if we continue to spend increasing amounts of our budget on military weapons — especially when we argue that the cities, the minorities, the housing situation and national health are the real issues of America and the real test of where our strength will occur.

The most important part of this conference is, can we break down the complexities of the subject so that ordinary people may understand and dare enter into the debate with those who claim to be experts in the field. Will we be able to make people see that the most important, central, critical decision that has to be made by everyone in and out of the governments of the world, is whether or not we will turn away from this inexorable march toward international nuclear destruction, which I argue is inescapable at the rate of military buildup that is now under way. Each country looking at the United States, of course, has the absolute argument as to why it should devote more of its budget to military matters.

We must act on this issue as if we are saying to ourselves and to our governments and to all citizens, we will no longer let new weaponry decide for us the question that is too momentous for us to decide for ourselves — whether we should have war or whether we should have peace.

The working people of this nation want peace. The Black people of America want peace. The whole people of this country yearn for peace. The masses cannot understand why there is not peace. In the present and in the long run, the voices assembled here from the United States to participate in this conference, the voices of the public officials that will join you, the leaders from the ranks of the labor movement who are here, are all speaking to the true

feelings and yearnings of the American people. Because we do speak for that vast majority, this conference holds out hope in a way none other could. And so I am here not because I could fit it into my busy schedule, but because in truth, this is the first order of business!

## James Robertson Aide to Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon)

We believe the neutron bomb is among the most inhumane of weapons. The neutron bomb carries with it a precision previously unknown in delivery systems of major weapons. It would reduce the threshold of nuclear war to the point where it become thinkable and then do-able. We feel that world pressure brought both in Europe and in this country can result in nondeployment of the neutron bomb.

Is the neutron bomb any less immoral than the atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima? Or than the hydrogen bombs we now possess? That kind of judgment may not be made. They are all immoral.

But with respect to the neutron bomb it is Senator Hatfield's opinion and that of a number of senators that the bomb blurs the distinction between conventional and nuclear war, and therefore could promote a limited nuclear war in Europe.

The neutron bomb was never debated in the House of Representatives before it came to the Senate. Members of the very committee which was suggesting its application to

the Senate knew only to a limited extent its practical capability, and what's more, the possibility that it would cause much larger conflagrations was never discussed.

I think now the world understands the question, and the importance of controlling this technology. In the months ahead, we hope the world will be a much safer place. Senator Hatfield will certainly lend every assistance and I think we should all work together for ending the threat of extinction of life on this planet.

## Alex Laguma African National Congress, South Africa

You might ask what identification we have with the search for detente, or the cause of international disarmament, since we are engaged in training our people for armed struggle against those who uphold the *apartheid* regime. The African people, nevertheless, are peaceful and industrious folk. We want to establish a state of society in South Africa based on peaceful coexistence with our neighbors, both immediate and those abroad. But of course, we are not prepared to accept the peace of slavery.

Our program says South Africa belongs to all—Black and white. We stand for equality of all racial and national groups in our country. And in the future society, foreign policy will be based upon negotiations rather than aggression.

Unfortunately, we have witnessed a long alliance between our enemies and countries, among them the United States



of America, who are interested in maintaining the status quo of oppression, racism and apartheid in our country. The maintenance of the prevailing regime has involved the arming of the South African regime by the Western countries over many decades. We believe that the dismantling of the arms industry all over will seriously reduce the capability of the South African regime to continue its terrorism. In addition, reduction of arms throughout the world—general disarmament indeed—will contribute to the lessening of tensions between those countries which have in terms of South Africa taken up positions of support for one or the other side. What is important to us and to all right-minded people throughout the world is that the continued support of the *apartheid* regime must end, so that the oppressed people of South Africa speedily gain victory over those forces which constitute a threat to the peace of the African continent and consequently to the world.

On November 4, 1977, the United Nations Security Council unanimously imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. It was the first time the Security Council has taken action against a United Nations member under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, which provides for mandatory sanctions against regimes which represent a threat to international peace. It was due to pressure from African and other states, aware of the danger of the *apartheid* regime that the United States, Britain and France were finally forced to agree to a mandatory arms embargo. The threat to world peace posed by the South African regime has therefore been acknowledged.

The Soweto events and the upsurge of resistance effectively upset any plans to decrease world pressure against the *apartheid* regime. The people of South Africa showed with astounding heroism that their right to freedom cannot be ignored simply because South Africa is considered important to Western security. Gunned down by NATO-supplied weapons, our youth nevertheless demonstrated the fortitude of people determined rather to fight than to live in servitude.

The Western countries have contributed heavily to turning South Africa into a nuclear power. In 1976 Vorster disclosed that he has the capability and that it is possible for the South African regime to produce atomic weapons in a very few years' time. Will Vorster be allowed to use the neutron bomb against Angola, Mozambique or Zambia, or against the people of Soweto? Will Vorster be allowed to launch nuclear missiles over Africa? All of this is part of the struggle not only of the South African people for their liberation, but part of the struggle of the people of the world for peace.

We, the South African people, call on the peace movement internationally and on the American people to see to it, first of all that the arms embargo be strictly implemented. Secondly, that all the new licensing agreements for manufacture of military equipment be stopped and existing licenses revoked. And thirdly that grave penalties be imposed against those contravening the arms ban. In addition, let us make it clear that it is no use instituting the arms embargo while countries continue to trade with South Africa. Can anybody claim that distribution of fuel by United States firms in South Africa has nothing to do with military equipment? A few days ago, the head of the Ford Motor Company assured Vorster that his firm would con-

tinue doing business with South Africa. Is that not a violation of the arms embargo? And for this reason, we insist that economic weapons become part of the struggle to isolate the regime and enforce the arms embargo against the white minority regime.

## Rogomir Bogdanov

Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada, USSR Academy of Sciences

The founder of our state, Lenin, said that disarmament is an ideal of socialism. It has been the main ideal of our foreign policy for the last 60 years. The first state act of the Soviet Government was the Decree on Peace. In our new Constitution, disarmament is one of the main goals of our foreign policy. Over the last ten years, the Soviet Union has submitted 104 proposals on disarmament in different fields. And I am proud to tell you that no state in the world has ever suggested as many peaceful proposals. Unfortunately, many were rejected.

We are aiming at complete disarmament, and we think the best way to do it is in one act. But for various reasons, it is not possible. We are ready to move step by step, but to get positive results which will lead the world to complete disarmament. Of course, it is a very slow way, and it is a fact that the tempo of the arms race is much faster than the tempo of the political talks we are having on disarmament.

When we were having the SALT I talks, the USA was planning the MIRV system, which made the whole problem much more difficult and made the talks drag on for almost seven years. During the SALT II talks, cruise missiles appeared. If they had not, we could have achieved SALT II much faster than we are going now. Now the neutron bomb makes the whole process of disarmament talks much more difficult.

That is why we are of the opinion that first of all we should make a law: no production of new weapons systems.

## Announce Plans to Honor Peace Movement Founders

During the World Dialogue on Detente and Disarmament in Washington, World Peace Council President Romesh Chandra announced plans to honor three Americans who played a central part in founding the world peace movement:

- Observance of the 110 birthday anniversary of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on February 23, 1978.
- A series of tributes to Paul Robeson in honor of his 80th birthday, April 9, 1978.
- Activities honoring Dr. Martin Luther King on his fiftieth birthday, January 15, 1979.

These observances, sponsored by the World Peace Council, will be held in each of the more than 125 countries whose peace organizations are represented in the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra indicated.

We should ban new systems of mass destruction, and the neutron bomb belongs to that.

We feel really helpless how to explain, to convince our American colleagues that a nation which lost 20 million people during the war, which was devastated by the war, is not going to attack them. Sometimes we are really amazed at the position of the mass media in the United States, how they are manipulating public opinion and misinforming the American people about Soviet intentions.

To my mind the tragedy of Soviet-American relations is that your government's policy has been based since 1945 on one presumption—what the Soviets might do against the United States. But at the same time, we have stated many times and very clearly that the Soviet Union would never start a nuclear war.

This gathering is very important just to explain to public opinion our real aims, because if you don't do that, I think situation may become more acute and more difficult.

recognised as the main basis for international relations.

Never have the opportunities for peace been greater. People everywhere are tired of wasting their precious resources in war arsenals and of piling up new devastating weapons that increasingly threaten their security and life.

Never before in history has there been such a mighty, all-embracing movement against war and for peace and the ending of the arms race, for disarmament. This movement is at the same time directed towards achieving a new international economic order, and against colonial bondage, old and new, against hunger and poverty, against exploitation, discrimination, racism, fascism — against all the evils which accompany the arms race.

All the progress achieved in changing the international climate and making it healthier is endangered by the speeding up of the arms race.

A billion dollars are being spent every single day on armaments, while every single day a billion men, women and children suffer the death pangs of starvation and hunger.

The arms race devours the flesh and blood of millions.

It is a principal cause of the economic crisis which sweeps many countries, bringing with it the scourges of unemployment, poverty and disease.

The arms race grows with every hour — not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Ever more deadly weapons of mass destruction are being perfected.

Desperate at the successes of the peace forces, the war makers have launched new attacks.

We call for vigilance against these new conspiracies by the military-industrial complexes, the transnational corporations — all those who profit from the arms race.

We proclaim our determination to fight for the slashing of military budgets, for the stopping of all arms supplies to fascist and reactionary regimes, for an end to the destabilisation operations, which threaten so many countries today.

The World Peace Council proclaims its full support for the efforts of the United Nations, of the governments, political parties and organisations dedicated to peace, of the peoples, to end the arms race, to ban all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, to adopt effective measures for the reduction of arms and to move towards general and complete disarmament.

We condemn and are totally opposed to the development of the immoral and deadly neutron bomb.

We proclaim our full support for the calling by the United Nations as soon as possible of a World Disarmament Conference.

Detente, the easing of tensions, and all that it means for the world is threatened by the arms race.

We proclaim our determination to intensify our efforts for the ending of the arms race and for disarmament — vital conditions for the consolidation of detente, for making the process of detente irreversible. We invite all who stand for peace to join hands in these efforts.

A new world *can* be built. Hunger and poverty *can* be banished. Fascism, racism, discrimination *can* be ended for all times. Independence and equality for all peoples *can* be ensured. The people *can* be assured their sacred right to live without fear.

The struggle for disarmament and detente is the struggle for the building of a new world.



*The following is drawn from the presentation made by Tandie Rankoe of the African National Congress (South Africa) to the International Committee on the United Nations Decade for Women, at its meeting held in Prague, Czechoslovakia in October 1977.*

**A**s in the past, the struggle of the women of South Africa today cannot be divorced from our national struggle against a system which has been correctly described as a crime against humanity, a threat to peace and security in Africa and the world.

The declaration of August 9 as South African Women's Day, more than twenty years ago, is a symbol of the revolutionary spirit of the fighting women of South Africa and indeed, the whole oppressed Black South African nation. It was on August 9, 1956, when more than 20 thousand women of South Africa marched to Pretoria, the citadel of the apartheid regime, to protest against renewed attempts to extend the inhuman pass system to women. This mass national demonstration by the fighting women of South Africa climaxed decades of resistance beginning in 1913 when the white regime first attempted to legislate carrying of passes by African women as well as men. Led by the multiracial Federation of South African Women, women from all corners of Africa and different racial groups, some with children on their backs, converged on Prime Minister Strijdom's administrative center to deliver their protest personally. They came to tell the fascist Nationalist Party regime that they were no longer willing to live as slaves in the land of their birth—that they could no longer tolerate the daily arrests of thousands of Africans for infringing the regime's criminal and inhumane laws.

In order to come to Pretoria, these 20 thousand women



Left to right: Winnie Mandela; Helen Joseph with Thayanaygi Pillay and Lillian Ngoyi; a student demonstration, Johannesburg, 1972.

## Women Three Sketches

TANDIE

## Women in In the Forefront

had overcome the great difficulties of their personal situations and the most ingenious forms of intimidation by the authorities. They had saved and organized to raise money to hire trains, buses and cars to bring them thousands of miles. All processions were banned in Pretoria that day, so the women walked to the government headquarters in groups of never more than three. All Pretoria was filled with women—women wearing the green and black blouses of the African National Congress, Indian women in brilliant saris, Xhosa women wearing ochre robes with elaborate headscarves.

Though the women's protests continued and spread throughout urban and rural areas, the all-pervasive power



# *In a Changing World*

*In Honor of International Women's Day*

RANKOE

## **South Africa: Of the Struggle**

of the authorities made the ultimate extension of the hated pass system to women inevitable.

Pass laws, which require all Black South Africans to carry a sheaf of documents including identity cards, authorization to be in an urban area, current tax receipt, employment permit, and employer's name, address and monthly signature, are among the most oppressive pieces of legislation that the white minority have at their disposal to maintain themselves in power. In fact, one may rightly say that they are the cornerstone of white racist rule in South Africa. The struggle waged by the women against the extension of the pass system was, and still is, an integral part of the overall national liberation struggle. South African women are not only taking part in this struggle through women's organizations, but are among the ranks of the African National Congress of South Africa (declared illegal in 1960) and its military wing,

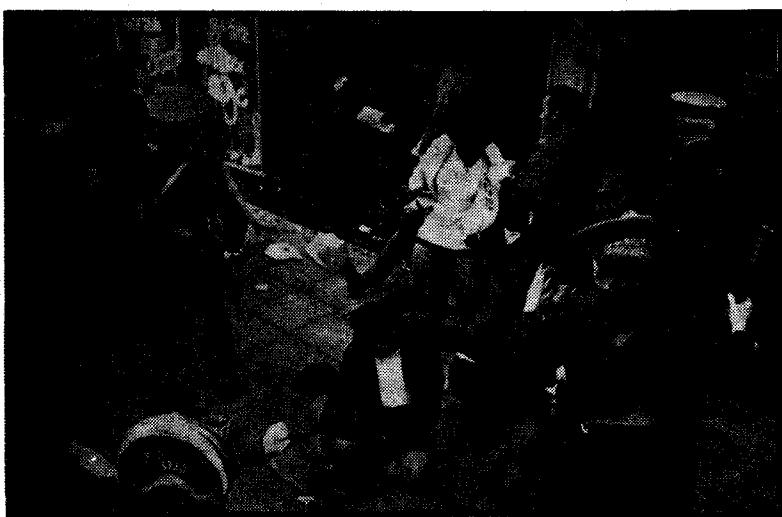
*Umkhonto We Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation). Women are also taking part in the underground activities of the liberation movement.

Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Florence Matomela, Dorothy Nyembe, and many other women patriots among the leaders of the Congress Alliance who were arrested in 1956 and charged with high treason. As is well known, that trial of 156 people's leaders dragged on for four and a half years before all the accused were acquitted, and during its course, these women conducted themselves magnificently.

Dorothy Nyembe, who spent the best part of her life either in prison or under banning orders, exemplifies the sustained courage exhibited by so many women in the freedom struggle. An ANC leader since the early 1950s, she led the women from Natal to the Pretoria demonstration in 1956. Repeatedly arrested and banned during the late 50s and 60s, she was charged in 1969 under the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, with harboring freedom fighters and assisting two co-defendants. Her 15-year sentence is due to end in 1984. Dorothy Nyembe's revolutionary optimism is a continuous inspiration to all her comrades, even those who would have bent under the weight of vicious persecution in Vorster's prisons.

Helen Joseph, born in England, became active in the freedom struggle through her work with the Medical Aid Society of the non-racial Garment Workers' Union after the Second World War. As Secretary of the South African Women's Federation, she played a key role in organizing the protests of women against apartheid and against passes for women. Helen Joseph was the first person to be put under house arrest in South Africa. She lived alone, and endured ten continuous years of stringent conditions—no visitors, confinement to her home all evenings and weekends, and silencing by bans. Released from house arrest after a cancer operation, she has since renewed her outspoken participation in the struggle.

One of the best known South African women leaders is Mrs. Nomzamo Winnie Mandela. A longtime activist in the ANC Women's League, she caught the attention of the security police through her own activities and as the wife of Nelson Mandela, outstanding ANC



leader imprisoned since 1964 on the notorious Robben Island. Banned, she lost her job. She has been repeatedly arrested and charged with breaking restrictions of her banishment. Arrested in 1969 under the Terrorism Act, she was held in prison for 491 days, mostly in absolute solitary confinement, before being acquitted. In the recent period, Mrs. Mandela, who was president of the Soweto Parents' Association, was jailed after the uprisings in the summer of 1976. After several months' imprisonment, she was released and banished to the small town of Brandfort, 200 miles from Johannesburg, and placed under extremely severe restriction. Even under these conditions, the Vorster regime apparently considers her still too dangerous, for she has recently been arrested again and tried for supposedly violating the conditions of her banishment.

The struggles of women in south Africa are an integral part of the liberation struggles of the non-white majority of the South African people. At the present time, a revolutionary situation is rapidly maturing in our country. The social, economic and political factors contributing to this have been developing over a long period of time and were often not easily discernible on the surface. To some extent, this contributed to the pessimism with which many have viewed the revolutionary prospects in South Africa. The illusion of the stability of the fascist regime began to be shattered after the militant strikes waged by the Black working class in the period following 1969, which culminated in the strike wave of 1973. The ripeness of the hour began to become abundantly clear during the massive uprisings that have shaken South Africa since the events in Soweto in June 1976. These events clearly demonstrated that our people had risen above the obstacles that had for so long tended to stem the movement by the firepower of the enemy. A revolutionary situation had matured and the people were ready for the final confrontation of seizure of all power.

This situation is maturing at a time when the white racist regime faces serious political and economic crises — products alike of the regime's criminal repressive policies and soaring military spending and of the economic recession gripping the entire capitalist economic system. Unemployment and inflation hit hardest at the oppressed people. The severity of Black unemployment increases daily and has now reached about two million.

Over the last five years the Black working class has intensified the fight for higher wages and better conditions, and against the apartheid system. In 1975 alone there were more than 139 strikes involving African workers' demands for high wages. Trade union activity of African workers has gathered momentum and spread to all parts of the country, bringing alarm to the board rooms of local and multinational companies which had become accustomed to the relative inaction of the working class after the dark days of 1964 and 1965. Employers have spared no efforts in their stubborn resistance to the workers' demands for change. Their methods have included mass victimization, inciting the intervention of the security police to suppress the workers' movement, imposing puppet bodies such as works committees and liaison committees, and selective dismissal of active trade unionists. That all of this has fail-

ed dismally to cow the workers into submission was amply demonstrated by the impressive response of the urban working class to the general strike called in the aftermath of the Soweto massacres.

The uprisings which spread across our country like a wildfire from June 16, 1976, were the culmination of smaller mass actions in the preceding years. The uprising was sparked by the strike action of secondary school students protesting against the state-imposed system of inferior education, and the attempt to impose Afrikaans as the language of instruction. After the initial massacre of June 16, it spread to the other sectors of the Black community and assumed the character of a generalized revolt against the apartheid system. Three resounding general strikes were called, incidents of sabotage, arson, armed actions and mass demonstrations piled up. The unleashed anger of the people struck terror into the hearts of the white minority which responded with violent desperation, slaughtering hundreds, and adopting desperate measures to incite sectional violence among the oppressed themselves. In spite of all, it soon became clear that Vorster and his cronies were unable to contain the situation. The flames lit in Soweto blazed on for a full six months and the smoldering embers even now continue to flare up into a conflagration that will sweep away all those opposed to it.

The major external factor contributing to the mass upsurge was the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism in 1975. The energies released by this momentous event reverberated throughout the Southern African region. The immediate response of our people was to organize demonstrations in solidarity with the victorious struggles of the Mozambican, Angolan and Guinea-Bissau people. For that terrible crime dozens are still being arraigned before the fascist courts.

The immediate effect of the victory of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau was that it breached the unholy alliance which had until then enveloped South Africa's borders with a cordon of white racist and colonial states. This breach in the white minority rule increased the racist regime's isolation.

Desperate moves were accelerated by the knowledge of the growing armed liberation struggle which was engulfing the illegal Smith regime, South Africa's last remaining ally on the African continent. In one last despairing gamble, the white racist minority launched its provocative invasion of Angola. In so doing, Vorster virtually dug his own grave, for the routing the fascist forces received at the hands of the Angolan people, assisted by their allies, had the most profound impact on the morale of the oppressed people.

The Vorster regime has unleashed a reign of terror, arrests and atrocities, murder and secret burial of little school children, torture and assassination of militants in the prisons. The country is currently experiencing widespread trials. In the coming months, there will be at least 53 different trials throughout the country involving hundreds of African National Congress militants. In Port Elizabeth, two the biggest trials involving about 138 ANC members are now in progress. In Pretoria, 12 militants of

the ANC — one a woman — are being tried under the Terrorism Act. Among the 78 counts with which they are charged are possession of arms, furthering the aims of the ANC by printing and disseminating propaganda. This particular trial, with its threat of a death sentence, may well be the most important since the Rivonia trial of ANC leaders including Nelson Mandela in 1963.

The all-pervasive nature of the repression with which the *apartheid* regime seeks in vain to freeze the South African people's struggle was expressed by one South African woman freedom fighter:

Detention is that midnight knock when all about you is quiet. It means those blinding torches shone simultaneously through every window of your house before the door is kicked open. It means the exclusive right of the Security Branch to read each and every letter in the house, no matter how personal it might be. It means paging through each and every book from your shelves, lifting carpets, looking under beds, lifting sleeping children from mattresses and looking under sheets. It means no longer having the right to answer your telephone should a call come through, no right to speak to anyone who might come to find out if you need help. It means interrogating your employer, questioning fellow workers to find out what you discuss privately, planting informers at work, around your neighborhood, amongst your friends.

Ultimately it means your seizure at dawn, dragged away from little children screaming and clinging to your skirt, imploring the white man dragging mummy away to leave her alone. It means the

haunting memories of those screams of loved ones, the beginning of that horror story told many a time and that has become common knowledge, yet the actual experience remains petrifying.

It means as it was for me, being held in a single cell with the light burning 24 hours so that I lost track of time and was unable to tell whether it was day or night. Every moment of your life is strictly regulated and supervised. Complete isolation from the outside world, no privacy, no visitor, lawyer or minister. It means no one to talk to each 24 hours, no knowledge of how long you will be imprisoned or why you are imprisoned.

The frightful emptiness of those hours of solitude is unbearable. Your company is your solitude, your blanket, your mat, your sanitary bucket, your mug and yourself.

Despite the horrors of arrest, torture, detention and banishment, the struggle of the heroic women and men of South Africa gains strength with every day. The rising surge of people striving to eliminate forever the inhuman repression of the Vorster apartheid regime gives testimony to the fact that no force can long hold back the tide of change, of victory for the people of South Africa. With the support of truly democratic and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, victory will be ours!

Long live the forces of freedom, peace, independence and democracy in Africa and all other parts of the world where millions of people have risen in arms against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and other evils which are a threat to peace in the world! □

ELAINE MENSCH and HARRY MENSCH

## Women in the GDR: New Family Relations in the Making

*The following is an excerpt from the book Behind the Scenes in Two Worlds, by Elaine Mensch and Harry Mensch, just published by International Publishers.*

*In three visits to the German Democratic Republic, the Menshes sought to answer the question, "What is the quality of life in the GDR—materially, culturally, spiritually, humanly?"*

*In their book, the authors start from the premise that a nation's performance can be seen in its relationship to the performing arts, compare the status of theater art and artists, as well as films and television, in the two social systems. As they probe the connections*

*between working people and the arts, they explore various spheres of life. They examine the fundamental issues of democracy, human rights, attitudes and practices regarding racism, intellectual freedom and dissent.*

*The book's chapters on women combine a serious analysis of conflicting theories on achieving women's equality, with exploration of the status of women in the two societies, and their media images.*

*In line with our desire in this issue to celebrate the struggles and achievements of women, we have chosen a segment from the second of the two chapters on women.*

"And this is proven every day in school," agreed one of her teachers, Annette Meinherz.

"We're not satisfied to sit home and take care of children and the house," asserted Gisela Kanus, 24, who was home in the GDR on vacation: She had been in the Soviet Union as a member of one of the youth brigades constructing the Friendship Pipeline that will carry oil through the socialist nations. "We've gotten used to the idea that men should share household duties so women can function in society, improve their knowledge and training and exercise their equal rights in reality."

One need not talk with GDR women long to learn about their attitudes toward women's equality. "I know that in the GDR women's level of consciousness of their role shows an awareness of their own value. I've never heard any girl or woman say, 'I'm only a woman,'" declared Elke Bitterhof of the Free German Youth's Departments of Culture and International Relations, who is in her twenties.

"I have no fear of not being able to play my part or of not being an equal to men," said eighteen-year-old economics student Elke Gutmann.



Daddy and baby look on ...

Young GDR women's interest in a career by no means implies an intention to sacrifice motherhood. "Women in the West are confronted with the question of either working or giving up their work to have a child. A society that confronts a woman with those alternatives is inhuman," said novelist Irmtraud Morgner. "Here even if a woman is alone with a child she is not treated in a second-class way. She can be absolutely sure of getting special help from the state. One really has a feeling of security based on these facts."

Nor does combining a career with motherhood make motherhood less important. "The important work in a society is not only done in the plants and political life but also in the home and family," noted Morgner. "This is done for human beings, small human beings, who need the feeling parents have for them, the feeling that they are taken seriously. You need strength to have the patience to answer questions. And also time. If all this is not done well, children do not grow up in a healthy way. I find it very good in women that the norm men have acquired over centuries — which is a load on their shoulders and has deformed them — that women don't really recognize this norm. Women don't want to acquire this traditional male norm and consider children less important." What is required, of course, is a new norm.

To achieve this new norm, "it is again necessary to forget old ideas about man's and woman's place in life," states Marlis Allendorf in her book, *Women in Socialist Society*. "So far the greatest share of looking after children rests on the woman's shoulders. Yet these children are as much the father's and equality of the sexes demands that both partners share the joys and sorrows of

child-rearing." One of socialism's most complex tasks is bringing about this new norm.

Except where physical strength is a consideration, there is no vocation or profession a woman cannot handle as well as a man. On the other hand, a man can do everything a woman can do, except have babies and nurse them. But it's much easier for women than men to recognize the difference between innate and acquired characteristics, because women want to do things once considered the province of men only. But men are not so readily convinced of their equal ability to do "women's work." While socialist society asserts there is no such thing as "women's work," the voices of the past are not easily stilled. Yet a new norm is being brought about—based on a socialist concept of personality.

Dr. Herta Kuhrig, deputy chairperson of Women in Socialist Society, an advisory council of the GDR Academy of Sciences, states:

For the socialist society it is not in the first place a question of bringing up "girls" or "boys," but of developing socialist personalities conscious of their rights and responsibilities in all spheres of public life and acting ever better in accordance with the objective laws of nature and society. In this way one or more important contribution is being made to the equality of women.

Steps toward realizing this concept of personality are begun in a child's first years.

"There's no difference whatsoever as to boys' and girls' roles in the whole life in kindergarten. Every child can take every toy—boys don't take only locomotives or girls only dolls," said Erica Strube who heads a Berlin kindergarten/nursery. "And there's no difference in regard to work—the boys set the table the same as the girls."

Of course, the child's education doesn't proceed without conflicts. "There are still effects on children from parents and grandparents, even sometimes from young parents," commented Doris Wetterman of the Ministry of Education. "It's astonishing what an effect it will still have on a child when the parents or grandparents say, 'A boy doesn't cry' or 'This isn't a toy for a boy.' Survivals sometimes live

on for generations. We have to fight against them all the time, as well as influences from the West." The results of this struggle are clearly discernible.

"Today there are a lot of things we take for granted that we had hot discussions about in the past," said Potsdam Mayor Brunhilde Hanke. "Twenty years ago a man would have felt ashamed to push a baby carriage or take a child to the nursery under the eyes of others. Now men do both."

Young Elke Gutmann sees this development in much the same way. While she feels considerable progress has been made with the older generation, "the young men are more advanced—the idea of equality is deeper, it has expanded more. The younger men feel more responsibility for the children than the older ones did. We're making progress toward sharing."

That fathers are playing a much greater role in the child's education can be seen in the composition of parents committees: They are now 50 percent male (as contrasted with the mostly female makeup of parents committees in the US).

In the US it's assumed that if children get sick, mothers take care of them. But GDR law guarantees that either parent may stay home for this purpose without loss of pay. If a US mother had this assurance (instead of running the risk of being fired), she might well prefer staying home to going into a hateful job. But with the fusion in the GDR between working for one's own and society's benefit, more and more women want their husbands to share in caring for a sick child. "But it's very complex to convince him," pointed out Liselotte Thoms-Heinrich.

Nevertheless, men are beginning to share in this responsibility. And a special role in bringing this about is played by women in leading posts. Although it's hard to imagine the mayor of a US city showing any concern about who'll stay home with a sick child (it's easier to think of him firing mothers for "absenteeism"), this is a matter that interests Mayor Hanke.

"In the past only the mother stayed home with a sick child, no matter what responsible work she did. Today it's often discussed in the family," stated Hanke. "The wife of our chief architect works as assistant manager of a drug store. In case their child is ill, they've decided the wife will stay home one week, the husband the next."

How do male managers react when a husband wants to stay home instead of a wife? "Some managers have old-fashioned ideas," responded Hanke. "They'll ask, 'Why are you staying home? Your wife can do it.' But that's changing."

One of the factors accelerating change is "the initiative of the individual—the laws are there but you have to use

them," noted Ruth Bergnaus of the Deutsche State Opera. "If the man is aware enough of the importance of the work the woman does, he says, 'I'll stay home.' There are many men in the theater who take turns with their wives in caring for a sick child.

"The conditions for emancipation," she emphasized, "have been created. And emancipation isn't only for women. If the husband loses his job while caring for a sick child, he can't be emancipated."

**A**s these steps toward co-responsibility in raising children suggest, the changes in society as a whole are reflected in the home—where family ties of a new kind are coming into existence.

"Patriarchy is giving way to a new relationship which might be called 'biarchy,'" states Soviet writer Yuri Ryurikov. Formed from the Latin "bini" (both) and the Greek "arche" (ruling), "biarchy" means the rule of both sexes. "Biarchic changes in our country are part of the Communist revolution. They affect every man-woman relation in economic, family, social and sexual terms," points out Ryurikov. The number of families with biarchal relationships is "on the increase," signifying that biarchal families are "the families of the future in the Soviet Union"—and in the other socialist countries as well.

The biarchic family is supported by socialist law, as this GDR law shows:

The equality of husband and wife decisively determines the character of the family in socialist society. It binds husband and wife to shape their mutual relations in such a way that both are able fully to exercise the right to develop their abilities for their own benefit and for that of the society.

...while Mommy crams for exams.



Other GDR laws stipulate equality of responsibility for raising children, for assisting a marriage partner in pursuing educational and career goals, etc.

A prerequisite for the biarchal family is the woman's economic independence—which assures that a woman can marry for love. "I wouldn't think of accepting a man for economic reasons," declared Elke Gutmann, expressing a view typical of women in socialist society.

At the outset, then, marriage in socialism is on a different plane from marriage in bourgeois society—where even marriages entered upon for love are continually broken up by economic difficulties. (On the other hand countless marriages in the US are held together for economic reasons only. "When a husband goes, he takes his credit rating, his medical plan, his insurance and his pension," the president of the National Association for Divorced Women points out.)

Since socialist marriage is on a different plane, so are the conflicts. "The old conflicts have been overcome and the new ones appear," noted Ursula Hafranke. "In the past man was king. Even when he was silly he was considered the talented one in a marriage. Today the wife may be recognized as the more talented one. A woman doesn't care if a man is better developed, but many men still care very much if it's the other way around."

At the same time, "There are now quite a few men who don't resent having a wife with better qualifications," pointed out Liselotte Thoms-Heinrich.

A woman's desire to work and advance in her work also creates conflicts in other ways. As Thoms-Heinrich said, socialist society is working to transfer the maximum amount of housework "out of the home and put it on society's shoulders." Much progress has been made toward this goal, and it's continuing—step by step.

Yet at this stage much work remains to be done in the home. Therefore, "It can hardly be stressed often enough," states Marlis Allendorf, "that sharing the 'slavery' is very necessary for the time being, with each member of the family encouraged to play a part." To "halve woman's work at home," she points out, is "not just a matter of righting a wrong"—"much bigger issues are involved. The creative power of millions of human beings must be freed to allow them to live a fuller life."

Young GDR women in particular accept the idea of "halving the work" quite literally. "I know many men who say, 'Of course I help my wife do the housework.' But I've never heard a wife say, 'Of course I help my husband do the housework,'" declared Elke Bitterhof.

Today the mass media are an important factor in encouraging couples to share family responsibilities. "You can see the difference between our TV commercials and the ones in the FRG," noted poet and film writer Paul Wiens. "On their soap commercials the husband or son says, 'My shirt itches.' The mother says, 'I washed it but maybe I should have used such and such a soap.' In our commercials you see a man standing at a washing machine with the very best soap and putting it in to do the laundry."

*Für Dich*, which goes into every fourth home and is read not only by women but many men (one-third of the letters to the editor come from men), helps overcome old ideas about "women's work" by featuring stories on men who participate in household tasks. "For example, in the shop-

ping centers we see many husbands—with their children—doing the shopping," said Liselotte Thoms-Heinrich. "By praising men who play a good role we advance the understanding of others." Although "we prefer to acknowledge rather than criticize," *Für Dich* will sometimes encourage criticism.

"We got a letter from a woman whose husband did nothing in the home. We published it without her name—and we got a huge number of letters. Fifty percent of them were from men. First these men swore at the husband who did nothing. Next they described how they organized housework and solved problems. They gave this woman advice on how she could get her husband to begin to help. We published these letters over a period of weeks to stimulate discussion. Then we brought the letters to this woman and her husband. He couldn't believe they were real. But at least he started to think."

In advancing women's equality there's an important link between the workplace and the home.

"With women qualified for more and more responsible jobs, there must be a new way of thinking about women," said Hannelore Lehrman, director of economics at VEB NARVA, a lighting equipment plant with 10,000 workers. "At the plant we continue to reappraise our thinking—and there must also be a change of thinking in the family. Higher responsibilities for women not only mean more money for them. It's the question of implementing equality at all levels, in all aspects of our life."

"At home there was no difficulty in the process of rethinking when I took over an executive position," said Lehrman, who has five departments under her direction, and has been a member of parliament for almost a decade. "I have two sons, fifteen and eleven, and all three men in our home must do more work. There's a certain strain if I'm away for a week, but no conflicts. It's very hard for a woman to carry out her responsibilities if the waves go high at home . . ."

Since women's equality is more advanced in the workplace, its influence may be used directly to advance equality in the home.

"It's easier for women to have equal rights on the job because there's the Party and the trade union. But it's more difficult at home because women don't have the Party and the trade union there," said Dieter Neumann, a trade union leader at the Berlin Housing Construction Combine. "If problems arise in a family when a wife is trying to qualify, we see it as our responsibility to go with our cadre instructor and talk to the husband—so that he'll support what his wife is doing instead of coming home, demanding supper and sitting in an armchair. But," he admitted, "sometimes I'm also an egoist at home."

"Husbands forty and fifty years old and older are lazybones," exclaimed Cadre Instructor Alexandra Martin. "And wives will do everything for these husbands without complaining. But my twenty-seven-year-old daughter won't give her husband supper if he doesn't shop. Once he came home without potatoes. The store was crowded. 'Will it be any less crowded,' she asked, 'if I shop there?' They went to a restaurant."

Commenting on a man's role in bringing about biarchal

relations, FGY leader Heinz Schuldt said, "I think I have a good attitude toward women's equality. My father? Not so good. But not entirely bad. Once he thought it beneath the dignity of a man to peel potatoes and dust. Now he does it. As for me, if I have a good attitude, I have to try and live accordingly. My wife and I have a plan at home, who does what job—cooking, cleaning and taking care of our son."

**T**he dynamics of a wife's advancement in her profession also speed equality in the home. "My wife is a dentist who must continue her studies for five years so she can specialize," said Joachim Brueckner, a member of the FGY's International Department. "My main task is to help her complete her studies. We have a three-and-a-half-month-old son; this means additional problems. In six months he'll have a place in a nursery. If he gets sick, we've decided I'll stay home. My wife and I must help each other very much." He paused, then added, "I'm not trying

to show my personal development or achievements." What he did show is that the GDR laws obligating husband and wife to assist each other are taking effect because of people's growing consciousness.

A similar development could be seen in what Wolfgang Reuter, of the FGY's Department of Culture, told us. When his wife went to the Soviet Union to study for six months, "I had to do everything. I lived fifty kilometers from my job and it was very difficult."

But he wasn't without help. In each GDR residential development there's a house committee. "They were wonderful—they picked up my daughter at kindergarten and took her home and put her to bed. Otherwise I would have had to go home ten times a day. During this time I changed many of my attitudes. Now I understand how difficult these things are, and I do much more at home. But I'm thirty-three and I'm of the opinion that the younger generation is already better than mine—they've absorbed the idea of equality from infancy." □

## A Woman Who Cares

*This story, based the autobiographical work, One of You, by Lyubov Parfyonova, is a graphic portrayal of Soviet life, as experienced by a woman textile worker. It originally appeared in Sputnik, No. 4, 1977.*

**T**hat time Alexey Kosygin visited the exhibition as a private individual—at least to the extent that the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers can manage this. Textile industry machines have always interested Kosygin, who is himself a trained textile engineer.

The Soviet head of government was approached by a short woman in a light-colored suit who looked to be a little over 30. "Take a look, Alexey Nikolayevich," she said conversationally, "the Ivanovo weavers themselves have improved the standard STB-175 machine. Now it is much easier to work on."

Kosygin examined the loom and agreed: what the mechanics of the Ivanovo worsted mill had invented removed extraneous operating loads.

"But it is a disgrace!" the woman continued. "On new looms, fresh from the plant, the textile workers themselves have to rivet extra handles, replace rollers and improve electric circuits—only because the engineering workers refuse to do the work. They manufacture the machines serially and find it unprofitable to stop and do jobs that must be done by hand. But isn't it more expensive for us to complete the making of the tool for them?"

The Chairman agreed once again: it really was more expensive and therefore unreasonable from the standpoint of the state. Kosygin inquired if she had expressed her views anywhere else. It turned out, only at the "Proletarka" weaving plant in the city of Kalinin, where she lived, and here, at the exhibition. "Why don't you write about it to the mass-circulation press?" Kosygin suggested. "The matter is worth raising."

A week later the woman wrote an "Open Letter to the Engineering Workers" of the Soviet Union and sent it to the magazine *Rabotnitsa* (Woman Worker), which has a circulation of 13 million. She reminded readers that most Soviet weavers are women. Even a simple attachment to a machine that helped lift off a heavy roll of finished fabric merited attention. She invited loom-makers to come to Ivanovo, where they might learn a thing or two from its mechanics, and emphatically asked: "What does Comrade Doyenin, Minister of Machine-Building for Light and Food Industries, think about the situation?" —

The letter was signed: "Lyubov Parfyonova, weaver of the Kalinin 'Proletarka' Weaving Plant, Hero of Socialist Labor." The author then proceeded to wait for the minister's reply, which, according to law, had to come within ten days.

**I**n Cuba, where she worked in 1972, she was nicknamed Camarada Amor, the Spanish for "Lyubov" (her Russian name means "love").

The USSR Ministry of Light Industry sent her to Cuba to teach textile workers methods of operating modern weaving equipment. As one of the women who went to Cuba with her observed, it was not so much a workers' delegation as it was a *working* delegation. Of course, Parfyonova also had to deliver ordinary lectures. But the Cubans confessed: we come to the lectures only because we have seen the speaker work with her hands.

At the Kalinin textile plant, the morning shift begins at six a.m., so the workers have to be up very early. The unmarried girls who live in the hostel begrudge every minute of sleep and never make breakfast in the morning. For that matter, at that hour, they aren't hungry.

But the brisk walk to the factory whets the appetite. However, with just a few minutes left till the start of the

shift, they have no time to go to the canteen. As a result, they start work on an empty stomach.

One day a weaver went to see the plant superintendent and stated that the catering situation at the factory had to be changed, and at once. The girls were too inexperienced to know what to do about it. They needed an open-access buffet right in the factory entrance hall for the quick sale of tea, coffee, sandwiches, hot milk. "At 5:30 in the morning?" the chief exclaimed. "That's interesting! Have you any idea what the director of our canteen would have to say about your open-access buffet?"

The weaver took the receiver from the telephone that stood on the desk and said: "Why don't you call up the canteen and find out." A minute later the superintendent discovered, with some surprise, that a buffet could be opened even the next day, if desired, that his permission alone was required. What he did not know, was that the weaver (our Lyubov Parfyonova) had previously been to the canteen and asked with an innocent air: why hadn't they thought of a simple necessity like a buffet in the entrance lobby?

In her childhood Lyuba had set her sights on becoming a schoolteacher. But circumstances led her to become a weaver. However, the teaching instincts of this woman triumphed: she is now teaching young workers in her factory.

The movement of worker-teachers, or counsellors, is a curious phenomenon of recent years. These people very seldom occupy administrative positions: they simply work alongside others. However, it has been noticed that when a foreman attempts to teach something to young weavers and then the same lesson is taught by a weaver like themselves, for some reason they are more inclined to believe the worker. A point of psychology!

Proud, rather prickly girls (many arrive from nearby villages) first come to Parfyonova as apprentices during their practical training period. Their first encounter is always in the entrance hall, at the buffet counter with a huge samovar. In the few minutes before the start of the shift, she has tea with them, discussing — for a beginning — last night's dance and who wore what. Then they walk together to their machines.

On holidays she frequently invites all her wards to her place, introducing them to her daughters, husband and mother, treating them to home-made jam and showing them family snaps and souvenirs, which she has brought back from the whole world.

"Oh, goodness!" the girls exclaim. "Lyubov Ivanovna, you in pigtail! And what an ancient loom! And the dress!" That was what she looked like when she was their age. In the difficult early postwar years the situation with clothes was not so good. And here is her first honorary certificate for diligent work and her diploma of a secondary technical school. Here is her Star of Hero of Socialist Labor — made from real gold. Here are letters from her weaver-friends in Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba. Souvenirs. The autograph of Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, the first woman-cosmonaut, once a weaver herself. And in this picture Parfyonova was photographed with Marshal Budyonny, at the 23rd Communist Party Congress.

Such occasions are to some extent a teaching device. Parfyonova wants to show these factory girls that in addi-



Lyubov Parfyonova, with Premier Alexey Kosygin.

tion to earnings and fatigue toward evening, work brings joy and the respect of others.

**L**yubov Parfyonova, nee Yevtikhova, had four brothers and two sisters. Ivan Yevtikhov, her father, lost his life during the Second World War and as the eldest daughter, she had to help her mother look after the young children. Because of this, her schooling was curtailed to seven years. In the harsh postwar years, when everything was in short supply, she went to work in a weaving factory: no better job could then be found in Kalinin.

In the hostel she continued to play her habitual role of "little mother," looking after her taller but less assured girlfriends. Many thought that that explained why she had no private life of her own.

But that was not exactly the case. Besides, in the evenings, ever since she can remember herself, she had always studied: after all, she could not be satisfied with her seven years' education.

She even met Nikolay Parfyonov, her future husband, at the evening school. Nikolay was then doing his army stint, so he could not marry without the permission of his unit commander. He introduced his fiancée to the commander. Looking at Lyuba, the colonel said: "You are so young. Why should you hurry with marriage?" He thought that she was 18 at the outside. She was 25.

Lyuba enrolled at the textile technical evening school when she already had two little daughters on her hands. The conditions for study and simply ordinary life were then far from the best: they had a room of 13 square meters for four in the factory hostel for married workers. Her husband, a builder, was often away on jobs, so she would take Faina and Sveta with her to school. While she was in class, her daughters would be left in the care of the cloakroom attendants. That present-day Kalinin, with its large percentage of working mothers, has no problem with kindergartens, nurseries and polyclinics, is partly due to Parfyonova, a Communist and well-known public activist.

She proudly says that she can weave 1,200 meters of fabric in one shift. She does 2.5 meters a minute—exactly a dress length. In one week she thus produces the material for more than 2,000 women.

So Lyubov Parfyonova is an ordinary woman. Only the eldest daughter in a large working-class family whose father went to the front never to return. But what a woman!

## Ban the Neutron Bomb!

(Continued from page 3)

strategic nuclear arsenal — M.B.] Since counterforce is a matter of degree we must say that they do. That is largely academic, however. The real question is who has the *most* counterforce capability now and who is adding more the fastest, for the ultimate goal of counterforce improvements is the ability to inflict an unanswerable first strike. I must reluctantly conclude from the evidence that the United States is ahead now and is rapidly approaching a first-strike capability — which it should achieve by the mid-1980s. The Soviet Union, meanwhile, seems to be struggling for a second best. There is no available evidence that the USSR has the combined missile lethality, anti-submarine warfare potential, ballistic missile defense, or space warfare technology to attain a disabling first strike before the end of this century.

These conclusions are certainly consistent with the policy of a nation which has presented 104 proposals for peace since the conclusion of the Second World War!

If there is no "Soviet threat" — if the threat to world peace is coming rather from the US military-industrial complex — what can we do to turn the situation around? In recent weeks, another poll, conducted by Cleveland State University for the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and released by the State Department, confirms that three-quarters of us really do want arms control agreements with the Soviet Union.

First, there is the campaign against the neutron bomb itself. Banning this weapon, currently possessed only by the United States, not yet deployed, and bringing a radical new quality to the arms race, is the key to further advances in banning systems of weapons now deployed. In this worldwide campaign of hundreds of millions of people, the World Peace Council is giving outstanding leadership. While emphasizing the primacy of the anti-neutron bomb campaign at this time (see remarks of WPC President Romesh Chandra on p. 5), the WPC links it to the New Stockholm Peace Appeal calling for banning of all nuclear weapons.

Next there is pressure for the speedy and equitable conclusion of the long-delayed SALT II agreement.

One of the greatest tools we have to curb the soaring US military budget is the Transfer Amendment, which will shift some \$12 billion from arms to human needs (see NWR, Jan.-Feb. 1978). In its "Save Our Communities Week," March 26-April 2, the Mobilization for Survival will press for the amendment's adoption this spring.

And coming the end of May is the month-long Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly, which is expected to convene a World Conference on Disarmament. It is essential that we ensure a positive position by the US delegation at this session.

All these demand immediate and massive pressure on the President and on members of Congress. The simplest place to start is with letters and telegrams.

A variety of organizations and coalitions are active in all these fields at the present time. For anyone who is not yet in touch with a local group, we have prepared a list of national addresses for several of these organizations.

The opportunities have never been greater. The gains from joining with the overwhelming trend for peace throughout the world have never loomed larger. But the possibilities for destruction, too, are growing every day — especially every day the neutron bomb is not defeated.

Let us work wherever we can — as individuals reaching out to other individuals, as part of the growing organized peace movement, as members of unions, economic fightback, church and neighborhood groups who convince co-workers that only with peace can other human needs be met.

Together we can make this year — this spring — the time the neutron bomb was banned and the turn was made toward nuclear disarmament.

M.B., February 28

## A Handful of Peace Organizations

*The following are national office addresses for a few of the groups involved in one way or another in the struggle for arms control, for cutting the US military budget, for banning the neutron bomb. They, in turn, can give you information on local societies:*

Mobilization for Survival  
1213 Race Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19107

US Peace Council  
156 Fifth Ave., Room 232  
New York, NY 10011

National Council for American-Soviet Friendship  
156 Fifth Ave., Suite 304  
New York, NY 10011

American Friends Service Committee  
1800 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20009

Clergy and Laity Concerned  
198 Broadway  
New York, New York 10038

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom  
1213 Race Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Women Strike for Peace  
145 South 13th St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Excellent information on a variety of peace-related matters including the Transfer Amendment may be obtained from:

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy  
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

### WE ERRED

Two errors crept into Miriam Morton's article on Camp Artek in January/February issue. The photo on page 9 depicts an event on August 10. And on page 10, 1979 will be the 20th anniversary of the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

LINCOLN WHITEHALL

## Why Soviet Farmers Don't Need a Title

**A**lbert Law, who has farmed at Backdoor, Texas for 35 years, and whose father broke out prairie land here, has turned the town on its ears. He's gone down to the courthouse and asked the judge to grant him the title, "Albert Law, Bwd." The "Bwd," Albert told the court, is an honorific which ought to be allowed American farmers, even though farmers haven't ordinarily wanted decorations behind their names—and none has ever heard of this one. The judge reserved a ruling on the request, as judges always do, pending a review of case law on the matter of professional titles. Albert went ahead and painted the "Bwd" on his rural route mailbox anyway.

As long as I've known him, Albert has been a sober, hard-working sort, and an outstanding farmer in the community. He's not easily impressed or enraged by anything, and has always been far from pretensions. "Albert Law, Bwd" is out of character with the Albert Law we've all seen underneath stalled harvesters and driving a grain truck down to the gin. But last spring, Albert won a state-wide corn growers' contest by producing a record yield on an irrigated plot of ground. Part of his prize was a farmers' tour of the Soviet Union, which wound up in late August, at wheat-cutting time. Albert went straight to work, and in mid-harvest, Jimmy Carter gave Albert and all the farmers a new economic program. That's when Albert put the "Bwd" behind his name and began explaining.

"When I was younger, still a boy," Albert says, "they told us that the farmer was the backbone of the nation, but that he was behind the times. So I took agriculture courses in high school and college, and studied up on my own. My generation brought irrigation and fertilizers to the Plains. We helped pioneer chemical weed control in corn and the development of high-protein wheats. We learned nearly everything there is to know about water use and soil conservation. And look at my tractor—it's as big as the house Dad lived in."

"American farmers have become the most successful in world history. We have the knowhow to out-produce anybody in the world, including the Soviets. And year-in, year-out, we produce bigger yields per acre than anyone on

LINCOLN WHITEHALL writes on breaking developments in Backdoor, Texas — and on the world as seen from Backdoor, Texas — for the *Daily World*, and now for NWR as well.

the globe. We're so successful, we've worked ourselves right out of a job."

Albert points down the road to the home of his neighbor, Joe Bell. Bell is 25 years younger than Albert, and only a few years ago was he able to borrow enough money to lease a farm of his own. Now Bell is packing up, moving off the land. His grandfather plowed by mule, his father worked dryland with 4-row tractors, and now Joe is turning his \$60,000 combine and \$30,000 tractor back to the implement house. His master's degree in agronomy won't do him any good in the steel mills at Houston, where he plans to move. The economic system which supported Joe's forefathers in an era of petty production with tiny instruments, can't find room for a generation of family farmers who are competent with technology.

The nation's wheat production statistics explain Joe's demise. The 1975 American wheat harvest was respectable, and the following year brought a harvest of more than 2 billion bushels—breaking all prior production records. By the time 1977 cuttings were weighed in at elevators, another 2 billion bushels were available, the third largest harvest in history. Grain is spilling out of the silos from Wyoming to Texas because there's no more storage room. And the result for farmers is an unpleasant one: wheat prices are down to about \$2.50 a bushel, from about \$5 three years ago. Many farmers aren't breaking even, and government estimates say that farm income is off 25 percent from its level three years ago.

"Success means failure in this system we're living under. The more we produce, the more we invest and improve our technology, the more we find ourselves swimming in unpaid notes at the bank. The farmer who can't finance himself is finding that bankers won't back him—because he's too good for the job. So these past three harvests have been times to shake the little farmer out of the business," Albert contends.

Farmers would not have plowed themselves into that fix had there been any choice. The Nixon administration abolished price supports, and told farmers to plant fence-to-fence in readiness for export trade. To meet the new economic conditions, farmers borrowed heavily: additional acreage under the plow means additional plows, which aren't cheap today; farm equipment prices have doubled and tripled since 1970. But in 1976, the Ford administration embargoed shipments to the socialist coun-

tries for a period, and grain prices began to ease downward.

With no hopes but that of an expanded free market, and with locked-in costs for fixed capital, farmers planted fence-to-fence again for the 1977 harvest. Now the domestic market is glutted. President Carter, instead of encouraging exports, has asked Congress to constrain farmers to reduce wheat acreage by 20 per cent. Farmers are in a bind: nothing is going to reduce their machinery payments by 20 per cent, and the grain they are now holding can't be sold.

"In the Soviet Union, things aren't that way. The government is helping the collective farms to mechanize. And over there, if a collective farm produces more than its quota, the extra production is bought for a price 50 per cent better than quota crops. Or in other words, successful farmers are rewarded over there, while here, we are punished at the market."

**A**lbert is old enough to remember the Depression, when big-time vegetable and fruit producers dumped produce into streams in order to force market prices up—while thousands stood in soup-lines in the cities. The acreage reduction policy called for by Carter has similar ends, and Albert has a title for it, too. He calls the new Carter policy "New Hooverism." "When the Depression farmers burned their crops, people protested, and rightly so. Now our government is asking us to do practically the same thing the crop-burners did."

Nor do farmers look to higher food prices as a salvation. "Look at what happened with bread. When wheat prices went up, the cost of a loaf of bread went up. But now wheat prices are down to half what we need—and bread prices are the same." In the Soviet Union, Albert points out, bread prices are stable as they have been for 20 years, and farm income has gone up 25 per cent in the last decade. "Another thing they've got is planning. Over there, farm policy is set five years in advance. Here, we never know what a crop is worth until the harvest is in. They set prices before the harvest, not after. In comparison, we're only gamblers."

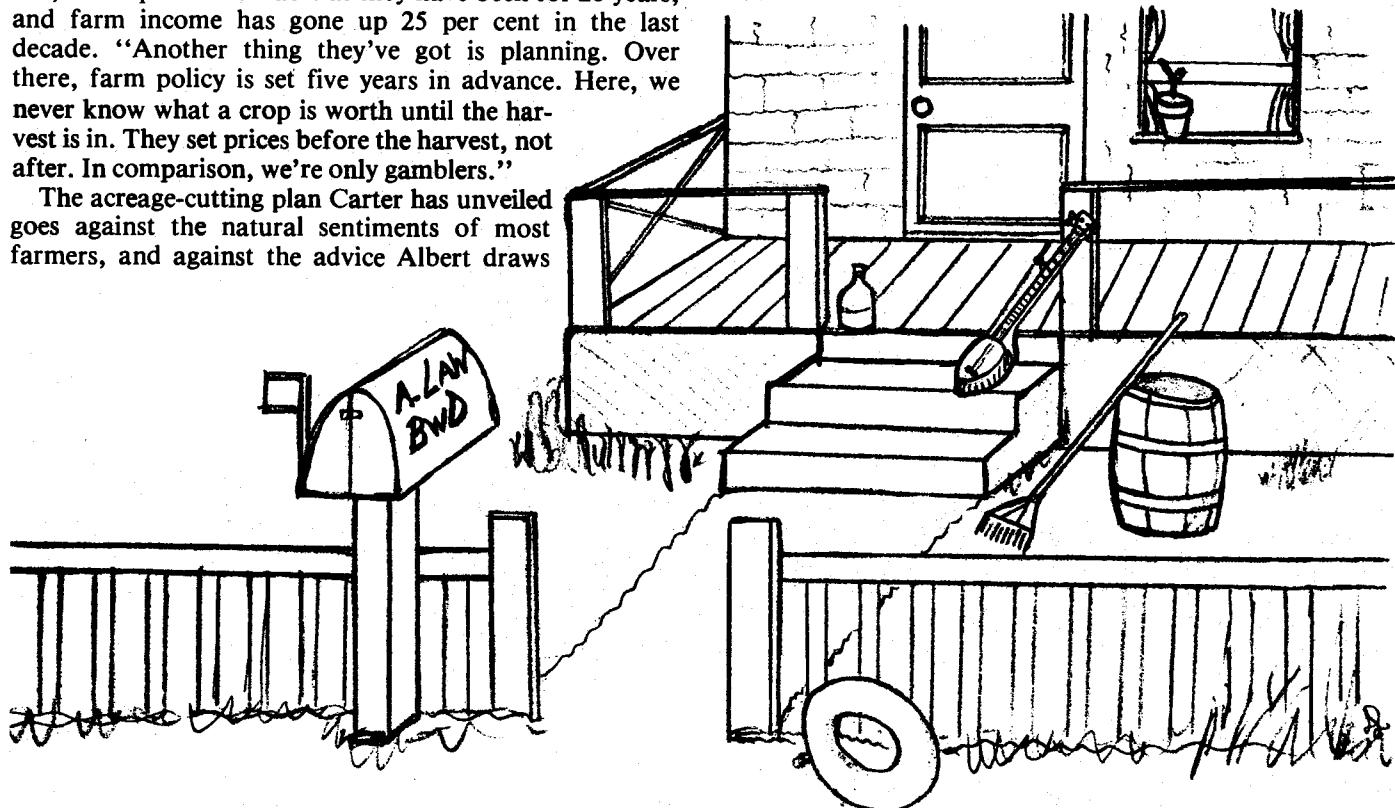
The acreage-cutting plan Carter has unveiled goes against the natural sentiments of most farmers, and against the advice Albert draws

from the news magazines "From what I've read, most people on earth are hungry, and very few countries have enough meat or milk, even if their basic diet is sufficient. Farmers used to be the backbone of the nation, because we supplied the very most elemental product, the hard goods of survival. Now they tell us we're producing 'surpluses,' and that they're are too many of us farming too much acreage. I think those politicians wake up in a different world every morning," Albert declares. "But one thing is for sure. They don't wake up hungry, or thinking about those people who are."

Farmers around Backdoor subscribe to an adage: "If the drouth don't get you, the greenbugs will. If the bugs don't get you, the banker will." Albert's Soviet trip confirmed the strength of that wisdom for Americans. "In the Soviet Union, only 10 per cent of the land is arable, and most of what they've got under cultivation is far from what we'd call good farmland here. Half the Soviet Union is too frozen or too dry to farm, and the southern parts are usually too wet. The collective farmer in the Ukraine looks across his grain fields into the sky with fear.

"But we look across the desk at the banker with fear. The Soviets haven't got nature under control as well as we have, but they're on their way. Their farm budget is twice as big as their defense budget, for one thing. And they've already got the banker whipped; there are no farm financeers or profiteers over there. Men like Joe Bell are nearly heroes when they break production records."

There is another advantage to socialist farming which Albert now wants to have. State and collective farmers are guaranteed pensions, vacations, sick leaves and medical care. Despite the tremendous technical progress in American farming since the Depression, 19th Century work conditions are still predominant. "Look what hap-



pened to Troy Caufield down at Comal. His harvester went up in flames while he was putting gas in the tank, and he wound up a year in the hospital with third-degree burns. While he was in that condition, the bank called his mortgage. It seems to me that since Troy didn't produce any 'surplus,' Jimmy Carter should have gone and given him a medal."

But if there's anything that harries Albert Law, Bwd, it is the future of his two school-age kids, who are already driving tractors and combines on the farm. "The kids want to be farmers when they grow up, but I'm afraid it's too late. The little farmer is being driven out of business, like Joe Bell, and the door is shut to a new generation. I was always told that free enterprise was the best friend a farmer had, but that argument falls dead on my kids. Private farming means they won't be farming at all, however much they want it. When the banks and the government tell us to reduce acreage, what they are saying is that they want to reduce the number of farmers."

Albert sums up the farmers' troubles with a parable that

explains "Bwd." "The Lord took a handful of fish and a loaf of bread and fed the multitudes, and they called that a miracle. The American farmer has done practically the same thing, and they call that 'overproduction.' So if farmers are smart, we'll learn to work miracles in reverse. We'll start turning crops into stone. Our backwards miracles will make farm prices go up.

"When I was young, they told us farmers were backwards because we hadn't mastered technology. Now Carter tells us we're backwards because we can produce scientifically. He wants us to work in reverse, and that's why I'm not calling myself a farmer anymore. Farmers, like in the Soviet Union, try to feed people. But American farmers have to try not to feed people. We should be called 'bassakwardsers,' because our jobs are all turned around now.

"I figure that a modern job like 'bassakwardsing' needs a title, and that's why I came up with 'Bwd.' I'm keeping that title, because in a few years more, it may be all I have left." □

## ROBERT DAGLISH

# A New Place to Live

**F**ew things bring past and present together so effectively as a city's skyline. Anyone who wants to ponder the changes that have occurred here in the past sixty years should go up on one of Moscow's hills and look down. Partly for that reason and partly because we are going to move shortly, I have been looking down from Taganka Hill, which is where our new home is to be. Our windows face north and south. The view north is impressive, to say the least. If you crane your neck a bit, you can see the gleaming domes of the Kremlin, looking quite small beside the elaborate tall building that was put on the riverside in the 1950s. Still in the east you can see several more old churches, in which the Taganka area seems to be rather rich. Typically, one of them, on Pryamikov Square, is a massive shell; another, St. Martin's the Confessor's, has been restored but no longer functions as a church; a third is a small but immaculate place of worship; and the architectural gem among the old buildings, the Adronikov Monastery, built in the 16th century as a stronghold on the outskirts of Moscow, now guards not the Orthodox faith but a precious collection of Rublyov frescoes. Behind it, due north of us, looms another high-riser of the '50s—the thirty story apartment building at Red Gates. Amid these landmarks are clusters of tower blocks of the seventies, which have sprung up out of the wooden buildings and

stucco mansions of the 18th and 19th centuries. The wooden houses are, of course, doomed to extinction, but many of the old mansions have been freshened up with heavy emulsion paint (a godsend against the Russian winter and now being used all over Moscow) and their graceful pillars, whimsical balconies and dormer windows often put modern functionalism to shame.

On the east and south lie the *vals*, the earthworks that once formed the boundaries of the old city, which means that anything within them is now considered to be the center. Of course, in modern times they have become busy circular roads whose trams and trolleys bring thousands of workers every day to the factories along their edges. This is Moscow's industrial heartland and many a factory chimney belches smoke on "our" skyline. Fortunately the Hammer and Sickle Works, a main iron and steel producer of the thirties, now runs on electric furnaces, which is probably one of the reasons why the monastery walls not far away are still so remarkably white.

Well, it all looks interesting enough; the apartment, in one of the new blocks, seems to be a good one, and I shall have a room to myself to work in, but what a wrench to be leaving dear old Prospekt Mira, which over fifteen years we have seen growing up into a very pleasant park-bordered residential-district. Surely the air is fresher in the new place? And what about the decibels? Admittedly, the avenue itself, once a huge, deserted-looking stretch of macadam, now has eight lanes of traffic moving solidly along it at rush hours and its reputation as a shopping center attracts hundreds of visitors (there are some people who will come right across Moscow just to buy the

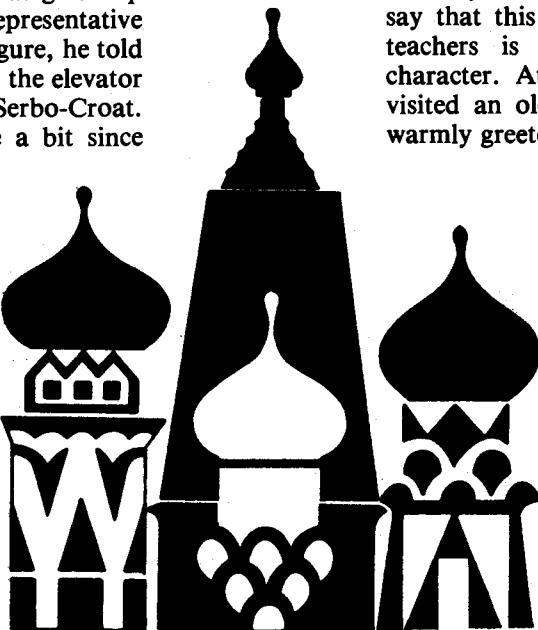
ROBERT DAGLISH, a Briton long resident in Moscow, is a writer, critic, and translator, and also plays English and American parts in Soviet films. A profound observer of the Soviet cultural scene, Mr. Daglish is a regular correspondent of the *Anglo-Soviet Journal* in England; his writing appears frequently in NWR.

Vologda butter at the local dairy). But somehow that great stream of traffic has been contained and kept moving and we in our massive block with its tall narrow windows and thick walls, built in the early fifties, were not really troubled by the noise, except in summer when we wanted our windows wide open.

All of a sudden it seems that every little thing that was once wrong is being put right. Excavators have appeared digging a pedestrian crossing from the Metro. Our own staircase was painted only last week. The big office next door is opening a restaurant on its ground floor and our rather untidy courtyard is to be turned into a garden round it.

And besides, there are all the neighbors we have gradually got to know over the years. A whole generation of children has grown up before our eyes. Sasha, whose mother served in the local baker's, has given up ice-hockey and become an Intourist representative at the airport. Now a tall, bearded figure, he told me in English as we were going up in the elevator the other day that he is busy learning Serbo-Croat. And Volodya has sobered up quite a bit since the day he asked us for a lift and then jumped out of our car with its correspondent's license plates to let off a couple of carrier pigeons right in front of a passing patrol car. And Anya, whom I used to pick up with her parents from the nursery school, is just growing up enough to be interesting to talk to.

What shall we do without all these hullos and chats on the staircase or in the elevator? How long will it take us to get to know people like this in the other place? And what are the people really like there anyway?



So we sniff the air anxiously as we approach our new home and our ears quiver alertly. How those trams clank along their icy rails! The Kompressor plant seems to be belching a lot of smoke today, or is it steam? Six hundred thousand people come to work daily in the Kalinin District. But, at last, the shops seem remarkably uncrowded compared with those of Prospekt Mira, so presumably they don't all live here. Then who does?

It's a bit too early to answer all these questions. In fact, it would be difficult to state the make-up of the population of any one district in Moscow. The south-west is considered mainly residential and certainly most of the factories are in the east of the city. Probably intellectuals tend to congregate round their universities and institutes, and the workers round their factories, but that leaves out of account the large number of scientists and engineers who are employed at factories and the large staff of workers who man the plant at institutes, not to mention the schoolteachers and doctors who are distributed pretty

evenly all over the city. So much depends on the history of a district and this is what really gives each one its individual character.

The Rogozhsky Val, which borders our district on the south means Sackmakers' Wall. On what was once the fringe of the city there used to be a huge market, where hundreds of carts from neighboring towns and villages would assemble. Obviously the sackmakers did a thriving trade here and the merchants got rich and built their mansions on the hill. Industry changed all that, though there is still a collective farm market on the val. After the revolution large numbers of teachers came into this "east end" of Moscow to bring literacy and culture to the new proletariat of the district. Many schools were built and a theater soon appeared that has now become the world famous experimental Taganka Theater of Drama and Comedy.

If I were to hazard a wild guess I would say that this combination of workers and their teachers is what gives our new district its character. At any rate in the first bookshop I visited an old lady came in with a stick to be warmly greeted by the shop assistant. "Ah, here you are, Natalia Ivanovna. I've been keeping it for you since Monday. The old lady took the book lovingly, as if it were the hand of an old friend. Glancing over her shoulder, I spotted the title—Makarenko's *Pedagogical Poem*, recently reissued.

The new residential districts, I feel, are different. Much further from the center than Taganka, they were little more than sprawling villages before the war and in the postwar housing drive they literally disappeared under a sea of bricks and mortar. Only now that they have been through

two or three changes of architectural styles are they beginning to acquire a character and variety of their own. And the people there are largely newcomers from other parts of Moscow who have flooded in since the war, attracted by the new housing. Much of the building round Prospekt Mira, for instance, is now done on a cooperative basis, initiated by the research institutes that are springing up there. Building sites are very much in demand and recently I was witness to the following characteristic scene. In a side street several cooperatively built garages have been put up and all of a sudden, in the course of one weekend, an extra garage appeared. The following Monday the chairman of the cooperative was in a great flap about it. "We can't have this, you know," he told me. "This fellow had permission to put up a temporary structure and he's gone and built a proper brick one. If the local planner see this, they'll say we're an eyesore and have us all pulled down. They'll give the site to one of these new institutes or electronics factories. They've got lots of money to spend on housing, those institutes have." Somehow I don't think that kind of conflict is likely to arise at Taganka yet.

**B**ut the process of intermingling goes on apace. With our move in the offing we have been comparing notes with friends who are themselves taking part in the great game that one half of Moscow seems to be playing with the other—the exchange of apartments. The official minimum accommodation is nine square meters per person and the aim and upper limit at present is for each member of a family to have his own average-sized room. You cannot exceed this limit even if you join a cooperative and obviously the state won't give you more. Admittedly there are a few ways round the regulations. If, for instance, you built a large cooperative flat while your mother and father were alive, you would not be expected to give it up when they passed on, and quite a lot of inlaws have become reconciled in later years for this very reason. This is one of the seamier sides of the exchange business, which was exposed in Trifonov's fine story *The Exchange*. Incidentally it has now been brilliantly staged by Lyubimov at the Taganka Theater. But there are many thoroughly respectable reasons why people should want to exchange their flats and one of the main ones is to increase your accommodation to the maximum, even at the expense of a nice view or a quiet location. Official agencies have been set up to cope with the demand, the papers publish advertisements and regular bulletins of available accommodation are on sale at the book stalls. Extra space in exchange for some personal preference is the controlling factor. Families divide and combine. Someone is offering a three-room flat for a one-room plus a two-room. Somebody else is ready to give up a big flat on the outskirts for a smaller one near the center. The *Literaturnaya Gazeta* said recently that it is nearly always the young people who want to move in to the center and the old ones who prefer the outskirts. Some large families will barter a variety of accommodation with the individual members of an old communal flat in the center, which they will then convert into a large family dwelling. Now that there is more time and money available for decorating, the old houses in the center are much sought-after for their gracious boulevard locations and architectural originality. On the other hand a re-evaluation of some of the dull-looking but rather solid buildings of the late forties and fifties is taking place. People who moved out of them into the stylish highrisers on stilts are finding that such buildings sometimes have the sonic qualities of a giant tuning fork. Others prefer the scale and view and don't bother about the noise. The five-story walkups of the late fifties are very much looked down on nowadays and the amount of space you would have to offer to get out of one into something better is correspondingly larger.

Even the new twelve and fourteen-story apartment houses that look very much the same as each other en masse have subtle and important differences that reveal themselves to the experienced eye. The house we are moving into, for instance, is a good option because it is one of the "cold balcony" type. This means that in addition to its loggias on the sunny side it has an open balcony on the other side leading to the staircase, which is used only in emergencies because there are two high-speed elevators, one large enough to take a full-sized wardrobe. But actually the advantage of the "cold balcony" type has nothing to do with elevators or balconies. The point is that this design of building, unlike the panel blocks of seven or eight years

ago, has panels 16 cm. thick instead of the former 14 cm., and thus provides much better heat and sound insulation. The experienced flat exchanger knows all these points and takes them into consideration in making his choice.

Another important factor is what is going to happen to your particular district in future. Since Moscow is being reconstructed according to a coordinated plan it is often

## The New Soviet

**M**illions of exploited and oppressed peoples, especially those of the Black liberation movement, now have before them a social document of universal significance. The new Constitution of the USSR, reflecting the interests of the entire Soviet people, is the property of the oppressed of the capitalist world as well. In the light of their critical economic, political and social conditions it should not be disregarded, for it answers many of the perplexing economic, political and cultural questions they confront, and to which their present representatives in government have no forthright answers.

A study of the amazing achievements of the Soviet people since their historic 1917 revolution warrants the conviction that under the far-reaching provisions of the new Constitution, if peace is maintained, the people of the Soviet Union will make startling advances in every sphere of social activity, which must redound to the benefit of all progressive, peace-loving mankind.

Analysis of this document by those struggling for national liberation, peace and national security becomes vitally important because the Constitution emerges at a most critical moment in world history. The programmatical lessons to be learned by the world at large can be of inestimable value, especially to those seeking unity in the struggle for profound social change.

Study of the Constitution cannot but inspire the world's exploited. It testifies concretely to the victory over imperialism with its exploitation, racism, illiteracy and hunger. This outstanding achievement will help further the struggle for detente and peace in the world and the cause of anti-imperialism in particular. The Constitution of the USSR is but one more example of its proletarian internationalism. It gives assistance to all people fighting against oppression and against imperialism, as exemplified by the South African

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, "Mr. Civil Rights," has won world recognition as a leader in the civil rights movement, as a founder of the Council on African Affairs and the Civil Rights Congress, and the author of "We Charge Genocide," a petition presented to the United Nations in 1951. He is a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA and Co-Chairman of its Black Liberation Commission. His autobiography, *The Man Who Cried Genocide*, appeared in 1971.

possible to find this out with a surprising degree of accuracy. After my first visit to the new district, for instance, when I realized that a good many of the old buildings under our windows would eventually be pulled down, I did what people in the know usually do and rang up the district architect to find out what was in the pipeline. He was very helpful. The whole of the Ilyich Gate road junction at the

end of Rogozhsky Val is to be reconstructed and the street running parallel to this street will be widened to take the increasing traffic from the east. Well, that means that when the main road is widened we shall have additional protection from the traffic noise, but we are also hoping that not too much of our splendid northern view will be eliminated. □

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

## Constitution and Black Liberation

masses struggling under conditions of a revolutionary situation for independence and freedom from the Vorsted apartheid regime. That is its specific world-stirring feature.

Let us look at some assertions in its preamble. It asserts (and is supported by history) that: "In the USSR a developed socialist society has been built. At this stage, when socialism is developing on its own foundations, the creative forces of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are becoming increasingly evident, and the working people are more and more widely enjoying the fruits of their great revolutionary gains."

The document, in setting forth the relations of the state to the individual citizen to whom that state belongs, reaffirms the provisions of the Constitutions of 1918, 1924 and 1936: "Enjoyment by citizens of their rights and freedoms *must not be to the detriment of the interests of society or the state, or infringe the rights of other citizens.*" (Emphasis added.) And further, it is stated that: "Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights. Exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. . .

The document includes 172 provisions seeking only the welfare of mankind.

And so from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comes at this grave hour in the lives of untold millions a Constitution, all of whose provisions can be emulated and used as a guideline by every progressive legislator in these United States. Its provisions are not illusory. They are not dreams. They reflect reality. The Constitution gives a panoramic view of what a free people can accomplish in terms of social advancement in a few decades of relative peace.

The Black liberation struggle has been waging in our country for a period of four centuries. We have passed through two revolutions, in each of which the task of achieving human freedom was assigned by history and the objective conditions, but skillfully evaded by our nation's leaders, its ruling class. Contrast the rewards of 60 years of development under the science of society in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the 400 years under ruthless slave and wage exploitation.

It can no longer be denied that the Black liberation strug-

gle has become through time and environmental conditions, by local and national conflicts, and by virtue of the impact and lessons of the Soviet revolution, an affair of international proportions, and the concern of all who seek a people's democracy. It now finds a place beside the national liberation struggles of Africa, Asia, Latin America, of humanity of every color and creed, and the struggle for peace. It has now become a potent force against the hypocrisy of the "democracy" of America's ruling class and the decay of US morality, the fumes from which pollute the atmosphere of the Western world, except the People's Republic of Cuba.

The mythology of racial superiority must be overcome. That mythology, with its dehumanizing ideology, has now become a policy of government accepted in schools, churches and in many social institutions by exploited whites who do not see the imperative necessity in struggle—whites who have been hoaxed by a media controlled by ruthless billionaires. For this, the Constitution of the many-colored peoples of the Soviet State stands as a guide to action the world over.

No Constitutional provision was ever attached to and made a part of the Constitution of these United States that guaranteed to American citizenry of color, or the indigent and poverty wracked whites, the enjoyment of life and liberty, and while happiness can be pursued, only the very few catch up to and embrace it.

The road to transition from the "democracy" of racism, class differentiation and war to a science controlling social growth and development is spelled out in the Constitution of the USSR. It is not a dream. That is the very essence of socialist democracy—its anti-racism, anti-bigotry and peace. We are in a new stage in human history. It can be raised to higher levels through study and utilization of the provisions of this Constitution.

Today, millions of youth of color are suffering from lack of employment, an inadequate education, a decent place to call home—none of which are guaranteed by the Constitution or the ruling class of this system of society.

Those who vocalize about the lack of human rights abroad are guilty of the sins they ascribe to others.

The most profound change that can be made in the Constitution of these United States is to make it the property of the whole people. □



## Labor Songs, Labor's Story

*American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Philip S. Foner. University of Illinois Press, 1975. 356 pp., \$13.95.

**F**rom his lifetime of research into American labor history, Philip Foner gives us an extraordinary collection of over 1,000 protest songs. The volume starts with the late 18th Century and doesn't end until the early 20th.

It's true that nine out of ten songs here would only seem quaint to modern Americans. This is from the Knights of Labor in San Francisco in 1882.

Labor's noble! Labor's holy!  
Type of the eternal cause  
Still achieving, surely, slowly  
Sub-creating without pause.

Labor for our wants or pleasures  
Climbs the mountain, tracks the plain  
Bridges oceans, grasps their treasures  
Fills the fields with golden grain.

That's a song? Yes. In those days it was quite stylish to sing that way. People did it in church, and some still do. Remember, a lot of lyrics look silly on paper, but when sung with enthusiasm sound quite different. Anybody putting on a program of songs of American history should research this book. It covers the early labor unions, also the early attempts to get freedom of speech, and wider suffrage in elections. For the record, it's also got racist, chauvinist songs. Unions in California were anti-Oriental. Some of the unions in New York were anti-Black. But it also records early attempts of working people to struggle against racism, and against sexism. Here in this one book are the early Socialist songs, as well as early anarchist songs, songs of the Greenback Party, populists, and so on.

In spite of the fact that there are over 1,000 songs in the book, probably Philip Foner would be the first to agree that there are large areas he did not cover.

Some of the songs in the book are not unknown now, such as the verses printed in the preamble to the old American Miner's Union charter.

Step by step, the longest march can be won, can be won  
Many stones can form an arch, singly none, singly none.  
And by union what we will can be accomplished still,  
Drops of water turn a mill, singly none, singly none.

But anybody who likes to try fitting a tune to lyrics, could spend a creative week going through this songbook. For example, see what you can do with some of the lyrics on this page.

*"Closing Ode,"*  
by Ellis (*Knights of Labor, 1880's*).  
Tune—*Auld Lang Syne*

Again we meet, again we part,

*"An Original Song In Favor of Trades Union," anon. 1829 NYC*

Behold the Trades Union, a God on our side  
It buoys up our heart to be strong in the cause  
Shall we then fail our homes to provide?  
Too long have we failed by oppressor's curst laws

Chorus:  
Awake to your rights, all ye scabs of the last  
Knock off your shackles and swear you'll be free  
Oppression's expiring and soon will be past  
Employers must give in, for never shall we

Ye mule-hearted screwers, unfeeling, purse-proud,  
Are our ribs and our offspring less dear than your own?  
Why then withhold what our wants claim aloud  
But your days, ye usurpers, will shortly be gone  
(repeat chorus)

Following the defeat of Nat Turner's slave rebellion of 1831, these verses were made and sung by Blacks. Collected in the 1930's by Lawrence Gellert.

You mought be as rich as cream  
And drive you a coach and a four horse team  
But you can't keep the world from moving around  
And Nat Turner from the gaining ground

You mought be reader and writer too  
And wiser than old Solomon the Jew  
But you can't keep the world from moving around  
And Nat Turner from the gaining ground

And your name might be Caesar sure  
And you got cannon can shoot a mile or more  
But you can't keep the world from moving around  
And Nat Turner from the gaining ground

Again our work is done;  
Again we pledge each heart to heart  
Until the victory's won.  
Our cause is just, and win we must,  
Our Union Label band  
Will not forget when last we met  
And clasped the honest hand.

About three hundred fifty thousand workers in 11,562 establishments throughout the country went out on strike May 1, 1886, for the eight-hour day. The following song explains better than dozens of resolutions why they struck.

**"The Strikers' Story" (Anonymous)**

I've got a baby ten months old,  
Till I went out on strike  
I swear I never had a chance  
To see what she was like.

At any rate, it's solid fact —  
And doubtless will surprise  
You — that till now I never knew  
The color of her eyes.

All day and half-way through the night  
The company would keep  
Me, and, when I was home, the kid,  
Of course, was fast asleep.

'Twas seldom, ever, that I got  
A good look at her ma;  
And baby, bless her little heart,  
She never saw her pa.

Folks say there's compensation for  
Most every ill in life:  
The strike gave me the time to get  
Acquainted with my wife.

And she has introduced me to  
The kid. I tell you what  
I just begun to realize  
The blessings I have got.

For them I'll freeze in Winter's cold  
Or broil in Summer's sun:  
For them I'll stand in rain or hail,  
Though, 'tisn't such great fun.

But working all the time, that is  
A little bit too rough:  
And wife and I and baby think  
Eight steady hours enough.

PETE SEEGER

Reprinted from *Sing Out!*, No. 2, 1976.

## Poems to Live With

*Time for Dreams: Poetry from the German Democratic Republic.* Ed. by Gunther Deicke. Trans. by Jack Mitchell. Seven Seas Publishers, n.d. 179 pp., paper, \$2.00. Distributed through Imported Publications, Chicago, Illinois.

**S**oon after the Red Army entered a devastated Berlin in 1945, posters with the following inscription were put up everywhere: "HITLERS COME AND GO, BUT THE GERMAN PEOPLE GO ON FOREVER."

For those who have been interested in the culture of the German Democratic Republic since the war, this volume fills an important gap, especially as the poets of other East European countries have been more accessible in translation (from Poland and Czechoslovakia through Penguin Books, and Hungary through *New Hungarian Quarterly*).

This anthology presents the work of what I would call the second generation of progressive German poets in this century—those who lived through the holocausts of depression, total war and genocide, and who have experienced the hope of revolution and the establishment of socialism at last in their tragic country. It does not include, explains editor Deicke, the writers of the older generation who like Brecht or Becher had already published an important part of their poetry in the period of the Weimar Republic, nor "does it introduce to the reader the very young poets who are so much in evidence in the pages of our magazines and anthologies, but who, however, have not yet brought out their poems in book form."

Having said this much, I'd like to add at once that I have not read such a rich and rewarding anthology for a long time, and I can only give some concise impressions in a short review. First of all, there is a consistently high level of craft and sensitive technique, which is intimately related to the poets' familiarity with the techniques of work and the life of the people: a village gardener, seafarers, an old

classical composers (Mozart) to modern writers (Lorca, Eluard), from satire and humor to myths and legends (where we learn that difficult and rewarding images are not the exclusive property of obscurantist poets), from political to intensely personal poems, this book presents a thoughtful and problematic challenge: the answers are not simple, but there *are* answers! It is one of those books to find, to buy, to live with, and to share with dubious and demanding friends.

The only deficiency I wish it supplied would be some brief biographical notes about the lives of these poets (many of whom are women), who clearly have passed intriguing and precarious events.

FRED WHITEHEAD

PAUL WIENS

### Time for Dreams

*Over the tanktops  
they stream in the wind's riot.  
They are the rest in storm,  
unrest in the quiet.  
Their smouldering shimmer gleams  
amid bloody affrays.*

*When is it time for dreams?  
Never  
And always.*

woman at rest, the dangerous and so often fatal work of those who fought underground: these strong faces of labor and peace.

We are shown unexpected complexities, such as Franz Fühmann's amusing (and profound) treatments and reconstructions of folk-tales, or Jens Gerlach's moving tributes to American jazz and blues musicians like Charlie Parker, Blind Lemon Jefferson, and Billie Holiday. From

### AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

LEON BAYA, college instructor and labor activist, contributes frequently to our book review section.

PETE SEEGER, who has been known to do some labor song singing himself, is author of *The Incompleat Folksinger* (Simon and Schuster, 1973).

FRED WHITEHEAD comes from a Kansas railroad and farming family. He studied at the University of Kansas, University College in London and Columbia University, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1972. He now works as a welder in Kansas.

# Kathe Kollwitz

*Kathe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist*, by Martha Kearns. Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, N.Y. 225 pp., paper, photos and reproductions, \$5.50.

**K**athe Kollwitz (1867-1945), the great graphic artist as well as sculptor, was a socially and politically conscious artist who, as she herself said, "was gripped by the full force of the proletarian's fate." Among her very first works was a series of etchings based on the subject of a weavers' strike and another series showing militant farmers who rebelled against the landowners in the Peasant War in Germany in the 16th century. Her mature works include posters demanding bread for the starving people of the post World War I period as well as her powerful drawing called "Never Again War!", which is still often used in antiwar demonstrations. She protested against the degradation of poverty, and against the psychological effects of unemployment, which at times led to adult suicide and the early death of infants and children.

Kollwitz lived and suffered through the horrors of the two world wars: she lost a son in the first and a grandson in the second. She was a harassed victim of nazi terror. She wrote in the last years of her life: "Every war already carries within it the war which will answer it. Every war is answered by a new war, until everything is smashed . . . That is why I am so wholeheartedly for socialism . . . Pacifism is simply not a matter of looking on; it is hard, hard work" (p. 224, emphasis added).

Kollwitz recognized that only under socialism could the world be rid of war. In 1927, she and her doctor husband were invited to the Soviet Union to attend the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution. Of this exhilarating experience she wrote in her diary: "This is not the place to discuss why I am not a communist. But it is the place for me to state that as far as I am concerned, what has happened in Russia during the last ten years seems to be an event which both in stature and significance is comparable only to that of the great French Revolution. An old world, sapped by four years of war and undermined by the work of revolutionaries, fell to pieces in November 1917. The broad outline of a new world was hammered together" (p. 194).

Kollwitz' enthusiasm for socialism and

for the Soviet Union was based not only on the achievements of the world's first socialist country, but also on the many similarities between her artistic credo and that of the socialist concepts of art. Ms. Kearns, the author of this fine, carefully-documented and well-researched book, indicates that Kollwitz chose graphics as her chief medium because these could have a much wider distribution among the masses than could any other medium. Secondly, Kollwitz believed in creating art with a definite moral purpose. "Some may say," Kollwitz is quoted, "that to make a poster against war is not pure art. But as long as I can work, I want to be effective with my art" (p. 172). Thus, Ms. Kearns writes with perception when she says: "The Bolsheviks appreciated art that sought to unify people by portraying common social experience; they held that this moral principle of art is essential. Education, too, was based on the ethic of community rather than that of the individual" (p. 194).

Kollwitz's personal life and that of her equally sensitive and highly principled husband, Karl, remained intimately in-

volved with the lives of the poor, the unemployed, the oppressed and the economically depressed. She and her doctor husband spent 50 years in the same tenement in the working class quarters of North Berlin. As a doctor who cared for workers who were covered by the inadequate governmental medical insurance, Karl attended to the victims of an unjust social and economic system which had cynically instituted minimum aid in order, in Bismarck's words, "to kill socialism with kindness." Kollwitz witnessed, at close quarters, the domestic and health problems that afflicted her husband's patients. Her graphics portray, with such profound understanding and sorrow, harried women, workers with tightly-drawn faces, children with pinched cheeks and, too often, young and old snatched by death because of their poverty.

Yet, realistic and somber as her art often is, it is not literally so. She distorts hands and mouths to create unforgettable effects, and she creates symbols, such as scythes and drums to heighten the effect of her themes. Thus, in the profoundly touching woodcut, "The Volunteers," one of six in a series of antiwar woodcuts, she depicts an emotionless, mechanical figure of Death, poised to pound on a circus drum. Five volunteers, mindless, misshapen and distorted, slavishly follow the grim drum roll. Surely this woodcut is one of the most powerful antiwar works ever made, and Ms. Kearns is correct, in

## Communication

DENNIS BARTELS

### On Current Varieties of Anti-Sovietism

**D**uring the 1950s and early 1960s, the population of North America was constantly assured by government and the public news media that the Soviet Union was hopelessly behind the US economically. While it was sometimes noted that the Soviet economy was growing faster than that of the US the public at large was told that the hopeless bureaucratization and inefficiency of a socialist economy would insure that the Soviets would continue to lag behind the US economically.

But then, the US threw away billions of dollars in Indochina, and triggered the worst economic crisis since the 1930s. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union began to outstrip the US in production of cement, steel, chemical fertilizers, dairy products, and other items (*Oxford Economic Atlas*, Fourth Edition). Recent estimates by eminent "Sovietologists" indicate that, in

terms of comparative economic growth, the situation has not changed much since the 1950s. Rush V. Greenslade, in an anthology on the Soviet economy published in 1976 by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, shows the Soviet GNP increasing at an average rate of 5.2 percent over the quarter century from 1950 to 1975, as compared with 3.2 percent for the US. In light of this situation, the emphasis in the US and Canadian media has shifted from economic issues, such as the lack of consumer goods in the Soviet Union, to issues of "intellectual freedom" and Jewish emigration. However, as Jerzy F. Hough recently pointed out, there may be a "group bias" among Western social scientists (and perhaps among Western journalists as well)—viz., "...the outspoken and perhaps unconscious belief that a political system should be judged solely on the

my opinion, when she places it alongside Picasso's harrowing "Guernica."

Kollwitz's art is often permeated by introspection and despair. Though she may have had a tendency to melancholy, she never yielded to anti-humanism. She had a constant faith that humanity would move upwards and onwards; as she said, "the seed for planting must not be ground." Her self-portraits, of which there are so many, show a woman who is thoughtful and dignified. Her features may be half in shadow and half in light, and they may show furrows made by age, but never does she surrender to nihilism nor to the grotesque.

It is to the credit of socialism and of the Soviet Union that Kollwitz supported both. The conditions of misery and of class struggle, in which the proletariat was victimized, have been replaced by socialist societies in which the working class enjoys full employment, excellent medical care, and free education; women get equal pay for every type of work and they are employed wherever men are. Infant mortality and the exploitation of one class by another have been eliminated. One wishes it were possible for her, and her husband, to see the socialist lands, especially the Soviet Union, today. And we are certain that she and Karl, hating war as intensely as they did, would be firm advocates of detente — for detente alone is the road to peace and the total elimination of war.

LEON BAYA

basis of how it treats intellectuals who share their own values" (Jerzy F. Hough. "The Soviet System: Petrification or Pluralism?" in *Communist Systems in Comparative Perspective*, L. J. Cohen and J. P. Shapiro, eds., Anchor, 1974).

If we make a serious attempt to avoid this bias, we find that, at the present time, it is no exaggeration to say that almost all Soviet citizens are better off materially than at least one third of all Canadians and Americans who live below the poverty line. Unlike the poor in North America, Soviet citizens do not have to worry about exorbitant rents, medical and dental costs, education costs, availability of day care facilities, unemployment, insecurity in old age, or inflation.

In terms of the status of women and living standards for minority groups, the Soviet Union is far ahead of North America. As William Mandel has recently argued (*Soviet Women*, Anchor, 1975), in North America a small percentage of women have made progress, but there is no basis for the achievement of equality for all women; in the Soviet Union, the basis for the establishment of real equality between the sexes has been laid, and can be built upon. A comparison of the social and economic conditions of Native

Peoples in the Soviet Union and in North America yields similar results. Native Peoples in Siberia are among the highest-paid workers in the USSR, and occupy many high posts in education, politics, science, and industry; this has been accomplished without loss of Native languages and distinctive cultures (Nelson Graburn and Stephen Strong, *Native Peoples*. Goodyear, 1973). Meanwhile, in North America, Native Peoples are subjected to economic destitution and cultural genocide.

By the most conservative estimates, the Soviet GNP will be at least 80 percent as large as the US GNP by 1980. Between 1990 and 1995, barring a Third World War or immense natural disasters, this gap will close and the Soviets will forge ahead. When this occurs, it will not be long before the majority of Soviet citizens will be better off economically than most Canadians and Americans.

And Soviet economic superiority in living standards will not be achieved at the expense of the Third World. Even such an anti-Soviet author as Michael Barratt Brown notes that Soviet economic growth, unlike Western economic growth, has not been achieved at the expense of the Third World. Brown also claims that, contrary to usual Western reports, the Soviet Union has not enriched itself at the expense of Eastern Europe (*The Economics of Imperialism*, Penguin, 1974). In fact, if one believes that the Soviet Union exploits Eastern Europe economically, it is difficult to explain why the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and Czechoslovakia have higher living standards than the Soviet Union.

**U**nfortunately, few Canadians and Americans are aware of these facts. This is mainly because the North American news media, intellectuals, and politicians constantly focus on Soviet treatment of dissidents (e.g., Bukovsky, Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov) and on the alleged desire of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel. Furthermore, in many cases, horror stories in the Western media regarding persecution of Soviet dissidents either come from ultra-right sources, or are based on other sorts of questionable evidence. For example, the alleged ill-treatment by Soviet authorities of the Ukrainian historian, Valentyn Moroz, has received much attention in the Western press, particularly in Canada. One of the main sources of information in North America regarding the alleged ill-treatment of Moroz is John Kolasky, who is well-known in Canada for his anti-Soviet views. Kolasky edited the English edition of Moroz' book, *Report From the Beria Reserve* (Peter Martin, 1974). But can we trust Kolasky?

Kolasky, for example, neglected to mention that Stepan Bandera, in addition to being "leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine," was also a nazi collaborator and a killer of Jews in Lvov. Did Moroz allow such an omission to be included in *Report From the Beria Reserve*? Kolasky does not tell us. This omission raises serious questions about Kolasky's credibility, especially regarding his claims about the ill-treatment of Moroz. Unfortunately, it appears that "information" regarding alleged ill-treatment of Soviet dissidents often comes from such questionable sources.

Stories about ill-treatment of Soviet Jews are standard fare in the Western media. On the other hand, favorable reports regarding the social and economic conditions of Soviet Jews, and the plight of those who wish to return to the Soviet Union, are few and far between. The conclusion of the late eminent journalist, Alexander Werth, that Soviet Jews are better off in many respects than Jews in most Western European countries, was simply ignored by the Western news media (*Russia, Hopes and Fears*, Simon and Schuster, 1969).

Media coverage of the alleged lack of freedom to emigrate for Soviet Jews was used by the US Congress to pass the 1974 Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which links most-favored-nation tariff status for the Soviet Union to relaxed controls on emigration of Soviet Jews. According to the December 6, 1976 issue of *Business Week*, this amendment has cost the US approximately \$1 billion in trade with the Soviets. (*Business Week* did not attempt to estimate the number of jobs for US workers that this \$1 billion in lost trade represented.) Yet similar scruples regarding lack of individual freedom in such "free world" countries as Chile, Paraguay, and South Korea do not seem to trouble too many US journalists or lawmakers.

During the Vietnam War, millions of North Americans learned to distrust reports from major news media about Indochina; however, they did not usually go on to consider that if they were being misled about Indochina, perhaps they were also being misled about the Soviet Union. Sadly enough, this sort of myopia is not limited to the "Establishment Press," but can be found among the most vocal liberal critics of the "Establishment." This distortion of news about the Soviet Union is a serious problem not only for the major US media, but also for the American people because the impact of Soviet economic and social progress on the US and on the world may well be of decisive importance in the next decades. The American people have a right to know about this. □

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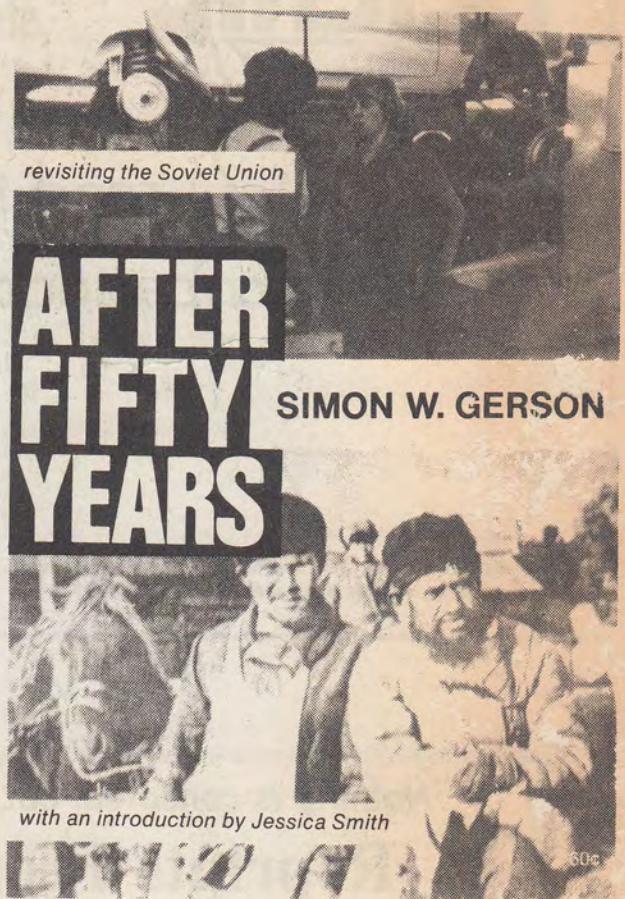
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In 1927, Simon W. Gerson visited the Soviet Union as a member of the American Student Delegation to Russia, the first such group from the United States. In 1977, Gerson retraced that journey from Moscow down the Volga and through the Caucasus, with stops at Kazan, Kuibyshev, Saratov, Volgograd and Ulyanovsk, as well as Tbilisi and Baku.

In this pamphlet he contrasts those early years — when the Soviet people were resolutely tackling problems born of centuries of oppression — and the rich social, cultural and material achievements the Soviet people have built on those foundations in the ensuing fifty years. Gerson pays particular attention to developments in the lives of the peoples of the Tatar Autonomous Republic, Georgia and Azerbaidzhan, among the most oppressed of peoples under the tsars.

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