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OUR COVER: *Members of a women's
surveying team to help New China's large
construction program.—Eastfoto.*

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In Defense Of—

Our Right to Publish— Your Right to Read

Our readers are asking why the September issue of this magazine did not reach them until the latter part of the month.

The answer concerns not only you, our readers, but all Americans concerned with preserving our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press.

The issue was delivered to the New York Post Office on September 2. It was held there until September 18 under orders from the Postmaster General's Office in Washington.

This action was taken, as we assume from a previous communication, on the basis that certain issues of our magazine, mailed out by the post office many months before, were alleged to be non-mailable under section 36.5 of the Postal Laws and Regulations which has to do with matter "advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States."

The September issue was finally released. **There was nothing in it, as there has been nothing in any other issue we ever published, that advocated any of these things.**

This is a form of censorship which threatens our right to publish and your right to read. To the difficulties our magazine has already experienced in the general atmosphere of war hysteria, is now added a threat of putting us out of existence by interference with mailing.

Readers familiar with the contents of NWR are in a position to judge for themselves the fantastic nature of the pretext under which our magazine is being harassed. Far from advocating, we are utterly opposed to the type of activity covered by the section which the Post Office Department seeks to apply to us.

New World Review and its predecessor, *Soviet Russia Today*, have a proud record of almost twenty-two years of uninterrupted publication of material designed to promote international understanding and peace.

From its first issue in 1932, *Soviet Russia Today* took the

position that the highest interests of our country could be served by a policy of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union, a socialist country covering one-sixth of the earth.

To this end SRT reported the true facts about the Soviet Union, the life of its people, its economic and cultural activities, its consistent efforts for peace. It reported on the advantages to our country of peaceful cultural and scientific interchange, and above all of mutually beneficial trade—such as that which, in the Hoover depression, had meant jobs for hundreds of thousands of American workers.

To the same end it opposed the propaganda and actions of those groups who, fearing the rise of a new type of society, from the beginning sought its destruction in a war that could only mean disaster for our own country.

The establishment of diplomatic relations which *Soviet Russia Today* advocated became official government policy by action of President Roosevelt on November 16, 1933.

The fruit of this action was the grand alliance against the fascist powers in the World War which led to the military defeat of our common enemies.

In the war years many American public figures, Democrats and Republicans, government and military officials, commended the role of *Soviet Russia Today* in cementing the alliance which the real un-American forces, even in those days, were trying to disrupt.

When, in order to win public acceptance of the cold war policy that replaced the Roosevelt policy of cooperation, every means of modern communication was used to build up the myth of a threat of Soviet aggression, *Soviet Russia Today* consistently presented facts showing that no such threat exists.

When the cold war front was extended to the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the Chinese People's Republic and the people's liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, the question of peaceful co-existence could no longer be confined to American-Soviet relations, although this remained the key issue. This determined our decision whereby in 1951 the magazine became the *New World Review*, broadening its scope to include the third of the world's people who have taken the road to socialism, and the peace movement everywhere.

Through correspondents living within the countries of which we write, through reliable students, through careful combing of a vast number of publications reflecting many political viewpoints from all over the world as well as our own country, we

have sought to bring our readers as truthful as possible a picture of the actual developments in those countries, and above all of the peaceful aspirations of their people and governments. We have welcomed expression in our magazine of varying political viewpoints if sincerely presented to promote international understanding and peace.

We have stressed especially developments in the Soviet Union, its unremitting peace efforts, and especially its new great peace initiative in recent months.

The September issue, for example, which the postal authorities held up, had as its main feature a condensation of a report by Soviet Premier Malenkov (taken from the full text printed in the *New York Times*, August 10) which stressed the need of the USSR for peace to carry out its program of higher living standards for the Soviet people. Malenkov again emphasized that there are no grounds for conflict between the United States and the USSR, that the interests of both countries and the world can best be safeguarded by the development of normal relations and trade, and proposed negotiations on outstanding issues to ease international tensions.

Presenting the positive grounds for peace, we have at the same time opposed those policies of our government based on the idea that solutions to world problems can be found through force, mounting armaments and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Our opinions on these matters are shared by millions of Americans, by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

The policy of negotiations which we have consistently advocated is supported by a majority of the world's people. It is today finding increasing support among our government's allies.

American visitors abroad note with dismay the disastrous depths to which America's prestige has sunk. This fall in prestige comes from our government's unwillingness to enter upon the high level negotiations with the Soviet Union which today even Prime Minister Churchill, one of the original instigators of anti-Soviet war, sees as the only alternative to a course which threatens the measureless disaster of a new world war.

Distrust of the United States is intensified by the domestic counterpart of our foreign policy, as exemplified by the growing suppression of all voices for peace and civil rights, the McCarthyite inquisitions, the book burnings.

The revulsion against the latter led President Eisenhower

to say, "Don't join the book burners!", and Vice-President Nixon to declare before the American Legion Convention, "We must all recognize the right to advocate unpopular ideas is part of our American tradition."

But the burning of books goes on in many forms, belying these expressions by our government leaders. Books are put on trial. People are persecuted for what they read. Books, periodicals such as the *Nation* as well as our own, have been banned by certain libraries and schools. Editors of progressive publications are threatened with jail and deportation. An issue of *Vet's Voice for Peace* (organ of American Veterans for Peace) is banned, also under section 36.5 because—and these are the only grounds stated—post office officials objected to its "general tenor."

Thus not only the expression of unpopular ideas but of ideas that have wide acceptance by the masses of the people, may be banned by the arbitrary decision of someone in Washington. What, then, happens to the precious American right of criticism and dissent, the right of freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution? Will America's prestige be enhanced by such methods, its leadership of what our government calls the free world be strengthened thereby?

The book-burnings, of which the threat to *New World Review* has become a part, are a grave threat to the right of all Americans of access to all the facts and the expression of varying opinions.

We reaffirm our right to continue giving the American people facts which are generally ignored or distorted in the American press—facts about a vast area of the world which we must know about in order to find the path to international friendship and cooperation on which our country's security and well-being depend.

We reaffirm our right to advocate peace, which is our deepest and most passionate concern. We reaffirm our right to do our part in pointing the way to avoid the unimaginable horrors of an atomic war, to help build a world in which the precious fruits of man's thought and labor throughout the ages can be preserved and not destroyed, in which science will be used to save and enrich human life instead of developing ever more horrible ways of ending it, a warless world in which our children and young people everywhere can live and love and create and enjoy ever increasing material and cultural abundance.

We reaffirm our position that the only road to enduring

international peace and well-being is through negotiations instead of force, and urge that this goal be pursued by our government both through the United Nations and through a top-level conference among the great powers.

We reaffirm our right as loyal Americans to advocate this course through the pages of *New World Review*, and to present the facts which support it by showing that the third of the world that is presented as our enemy offers no threat, but an opportunity for peaceful competition, interchange and trade, the only condition which will allow people of all countries to develop freely their own ways of life.

We urge our readers and other American citizens, whether or not they agree with everything that appears in our pages, to defend their own right of freedom of access to all the facts and to varying opinions, by supporting the continued publication of *New World Review*. You can do this by renewing your subscription, by getting others to subscribe, and above all by continuing and increasing the financial help you have given us in the past and which is more than ever essential right now.

We are preparing to take whatever steps the situation requires to defend our right to publish and distribute *New World Review*. We shall keep you informed of further developments. We know that we can count on your loyal support in whatever action is necessary. This is *your* magazine, for only your help keeps it going, and in defending and helping *New World Review*, you are defending your own democratic rights.

—THE EDITORS

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The Opinions of Mankind

What the Korean debate in the UN showed

by FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE KOREAN armistice recommends to the governments of the countries concerned a political conference to be held within three months of the date of the signing of the armistice. The subject matter of the conference is to be the question of "withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea," "the peaceful settlement of the Korean question," and an "etcetera" of undetermined scope.

Since these recommendations were agreed to by the military commanders of both sides of the Korean war a controversy has been raging inside and outside the United Nations as to how this political conference was to be organized and, once brought together, conducted. The controversy has served to draw aside, if only momentarily, the curtain which so often obscures political maneuvers on an international scale. It is well worth while to take a careful look at what was to be seen during this brief moment of clarity. Especially so since Secretary of State Dulles chose to remind his listeners at the recent American Legion convention in St. Louis that the United States has traditionally shown what the Declaration of Independence calls "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

Mankind did express its opinion

on the Korean political conference in a very definite and overwhelming manner, and yet the American government appears not to have regarded this as a decent opinion for it has certainly not respected it. To do the Secretary of State full justice, however, we should explain that a few paragraphs after his breast-thumping reference to the Declaration of Independence, he took it all back by explaining that "We do not now have to be constantly taking international public opinion polls to find out what others want and then doing what it seems will make us popular." While popularity was never a criterion of undemocratic rulers it does seem that Mr. Dulles might have enlightened us on his conception of the difference between "the opinions of mankind" and "what others want." However he did not and, to turn to what is of real moment, he continues to guide the United States in a direction opposite to that expressly desired by most of the rest of the world and away from the path of peace which is earnestly desired by almost all Americans.

After the Korean armistice events and public discussion around them developed in such a way that the key point on which mankind was able

to register a vote governing the kind of political conference to be held over the Korean question was the inclusion or exclusion of India in that conference. From the beginning of the war India had not only been a non-belligerent but a persistent influence toward ending the conflict. In the latter capacity it had on several important occasions taken the initiative in proposing or exploring solutions. By no stretch of the imagination, however, could India be classified as a communist or pro-communist nation.

Other issues came into the picture making the vote on the participation of India a crucial test of world opinion. India is a vast nation on the continent most directly affected by the Korean war and most vitally concerned with an over-all settlement of issues in the area. It is, moreover, a nation which because of its close and extensive contacts with the so-called "western world" and its simultaneous relations with the People's Republic of China must in its own interests find a way of easing tensions, particularly in Asia.

Still other issues were involved. Either the political conference could be used to work toward mutual solutions of the Korean and related questions, or it could be used by one of the belligerents to try to impose its will upon the other by threats of renewed war on a more extensive scale. The first type of conference came to be known in diplomatic language as a round table conference, the second as a conference of the two sides. If the non-belligerent, India, were included, the plain inference was that the conference would be composed of all nations, belligerent and non-belligerent, concerned with a settlement of these great Asian issues. If India were

not included the inference was that the conference would be composed of the two sides of the war carrying on with words where they had left off with arms and without benefit of the participation of a very large portion of the area whose problems they were purportedly to solve.

The opinion of mankind was expressed on these issues in two ways. In the first place, most nations' opinions were registered in the UN vote, and India, the one UN member which refrained from voting, made its position abundantly clear. In the second place, several non-UN members, notably China and the two parts of Korea, registered their opinion outside the UN.

The results were extraordinarily decisive. They should cause every American to pause and ponder the role his government is playing. For on August 27th, when mankind thus expressed itself a chilling wind of resentment blew over our country and it came to us from all directions.

Let us first look at Asia, the area most intimately concerned with a settlement of the issues of the Korean war. In it there are twenty nations, (for the sake of tabulation it should be noted that in the above, North and South Korea are counted as two political entities and Formosa as another; that the USSR is included with Asia rather than with Europe; and that the Ukraine and Byelorussia, while registering two independent votes in favor of India at the UN, are here lumped with the USSR.) with a combined population of 1,348,700,000. (Population figures are taken from the latest United Nations Statistical Yearbook and relate mostly to 1951, except for the USSR which because the Yearbook gives no up-to-date figure is taken from the Nineteenth Congress

of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

Of these twenty only three, Formosa, South Korea and Pakistan, with a combined population of 103,500,000 were against the participation of India. They represent 7 per cent of the population of Asia. In other words, governments representing 93 per cent of the people of the continent most immediately concerned voted in favor of Indian participation.

It might be supposed that the nations of Europe, a large section of them directly tied to American policy, would have reacted quite differently from those of Asia. But actually the European vote as registered at the United Nations was even more overwhelming. Of twelve nations with a combined population of 189,000,000 only one, Greece, with 4 per cent of the total, voted against the inclusion of India.

Perhaps the opinion of mankind on the issue is most dramatically set forth by noting that of the twelve nations comprising the North Atlantic Treaty Organization only Greece in addition to the United States voted against India, while the ten others voted affirmatively or abstained.

The rules of the United Nations required a two-thirds vote to place India in the Korean political conference. A majority was obtained, but with a large number of abstentions under United States pressure, it failed of the necessary two-thirds. The count was 27 for India, 21 against, and 11 abstentions.

The nature of the outrage is evident upon examining the composition of the 21 negative votes. The United States was naturally one of them. And we have already noted that Chiang's Formosa, Greece and

Pakistan were three others, as a matter of fact the only negative non-American votes. The remaining 17 came from Latin America, in what Kumar Goshal has described as "about the crudest display yet of American steamroller diplomacy." Eleven of these 17 votes came from countries with populations of under five million.

It is not surprising that shortly thereafter the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the lower house of the Indian Parliament, noted the vote of the Latin American bloc and said that because of this an "Asian question" was ultimately decided by "some people who are really not concerned so intimately." He pointed out that India had been backed by "nearly the whole of Europe and nearly the whole of Asia." "Somehow it is not realized," he went on, "by many of the great powers of the world that the countries of Asia, however weak they might be, do not propose to be ignored, do not propose to be bypassed and certainly do not propose to be sat upon."

Having been thus coerced by the United States into ignoring the decent opinion of mankind the United Nations, following the crucial vote on India, proceeded to set up a two-sided Korean political conference almost as Mr. Dulles told them to. Almost, but not quite. For Mr. Dulles had to accept the participation of the Soviet Union and in doing so destroyed the validity of his own position against the inclusion of non-belligerents. China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were not permitted to participate in the debate. In an unprecedentedly arrogant performance the Secretary of State bludgeoned a majority of the delegates into refus-

ing even to take a vote on an alternate plan for the political conference which had been introduced by the Soviet Union.

And what are the results of all this? The United Nations, against its will, has been coerced into putting forward the United States plan for the Korean political conference. China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the other side in the war, have proposed a different plan, one that provides for a round table type of conference of belligerents and non-belligerents. The United States refuses to permit the United Nations to consider the merits of it. Therefore, as of the first of October, another impasse over Korea has been reached. The impasse over the armistice was prolonged for two years. Must the world suffer another period of desperate danger because of the U.S. delegation's stubborn intransigence? Cannot the decent opinion of mankind be made to prevail?

To do so it will have to expose a good many carefully prepared tricks Mr. Dulles is keeping only partially concealed up his sleeve.

In addition to having molded the form of the political conference to his particular pattern and to no one else's, Mr. Dulles has prejudiced the principal issues which it is supposed to take up.

In the first place, under United States leadership the sixteen UN members having military forces in Korea signed in Washington a declaration to the effect that the armistice agreement being not quite all they desired, they would resist a renewal of armed attack in Korea and that in such an eventuality it would probably "not be possible to confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea."

The United States Secretary of State then negotiated a draft treaty with Syngman Rhee, pledging mutual defense, and among other things granting to the United States the right to dispose its armed forces in and about South Korean territory as determined by mutual agreement.

Mr. Dulles' third step was to issue a joint statement with Rhee, the salient feature of which was that if after the political conference had been in session ninety days "it became clear to each of our governments that all attempts to achieve these objectives [the unification of Korea, by inference under Rhee] have been fruitless . . . we shall be prepared to make a concurrent withdrawal from the conference."

Syngman Rhee is thus given, as far as the United States Government is concerned, carte blanche to provoke another outbreak of war in Korea—and this time beyond its borders—and to drag along with him through this system of commitments those members of the UN who participated in the war* just concluded. Even for those who still entertain certain doubts as to Rhee's guilt in originally starting the war his bellicose actions and threats in recent months should be convincing evidence that Mr. Dulles is leading our country and those others whom he can still drag after him into an exceedingly dangerous situation.

In the latter part of September official sources in Washington leaked out to the press a plan it was said to be considering for the Korean political conference. The plan calls for the unification and neutralization of North and South Korea, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and safeguards between Korea on the one side and China and the USSR on the other against future aggres-

sion. On the face of it the plan, of which there are as yet no details, is suspect. The United States Government has made it plain, for instance, that its conception of Korean unification is the absorption of North Korea into the Syngman Rhee dictatorship by political coercion, or if that fails, by a renewal of the war. Let Mr. Rhee, to whose government Mr. Dulles is completely committed, speak for himself. On September 28th he said to a reporter of the *New York Times*:

"By agreement with the United States, the Government of the Republic of Korea has postponed its determination to unify North and South Korea by military means in order to see what may come out of a political conference. We have also entered into a mutual defense treaty with the United States.

"If ninety days after the political conference opens it has failed to achieve the objective of Korean unification, then naturally we shall re-

sume the battle for our national independence and unity . . . Any plan or program entered into by a friendly nation which is contrary to this determination of ours will not be accepted or respected by us."

In speaking to the Legionnaires in St. Louis, Mr. Dulles heaped praise upon the government of South Korea to which he claimed seventy-five percent of all Koreans were loyal. He said "Their attitude cannot prudently be ignored." He explained that one of the main reasons the United States voted to exclude India from the political conference was because of South Korea's "profound distrust!" In a light vein one can wonder, with the *London Times*, which is the puppet? But the stakes are war or peace. And until great sections of the American people speak out more forcefully than they have thus far, the decent opinions of mankind will continue to be ignored.

VYSHINSKY PROPOSES BANNING A- AND H-BOMBS

ON September 21, Andrei Vyshinsky introduced a resolution in the UN General Assembly, calling for unconditional prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, under strict international control.

The resolution also recommended a reduction of the armed forces of the five big powers by one third within one year; elimination of military bases on the territory of other nations; and condemnation of propaganda aiming to incite enmity among nations.

Ill-taken were comments from the

U.S. Delegation belittling the resolution as offering nothing new and failing to provide for international control. The importance of banning weapons of mass destruction is not lessened by the fact that it has been proposed before—and the new thing added is hydrogen weapons. Furthermore, Mr. Vyshinsky specifically proposed immediate steps regarding strict international control. On record are the numerous Soviet concessions going far to meet Western demands for such control, including the rights of inspection to insure against violation.

The Truth About Indo-China

by

KUMAR GOSHAL

SINCE the Korean armistice, the United States has switched priority to the Indo-China war.

Washington spokesmen have indulged in incredible pro-French and anti-Indo-Chinese propaganda to confuse the American public, to gain popular support for the billions of dollars spent to support France's attempt to recover its juicy colony.

The creation of confusion continues to this day, as the U.S. prepares to completely take over the conduct of the war. J. J. Servan Schreiber, the Paris *Le Monde's* top political commentator, recently documented his charge that Bidault has handed over control of the Indo-China war to the U.S., depriving France of any power to negotiate peace as the whole of France wishes to do. The *Wall Street Journal's* Ray Cromley supplied evidence that Schreiber was right when he wrote Sept 15:

Secretary of State Dulles is even

KUMAR GOSHAL, journalist and lecturer, is author of "People of India," and "Peoples in Colonies." He is the UN correspondent for the National Guardian.

more determined to win the Indo-China war than he was to end the Korean war.

And Paris' left-wing but anti-Communist *Combat* recently found

... the role assigned to France [was to serve] the grand world strategy of the Pentagon for an anti-Communist crusade, to send our youth to the slaughter in Tonkin for the sake of preserving a base against China.

One of the most important reasons for U.S. interest in preventing Indo-Chinese freedom was expressed by President Eisenhower himself. The Indo-China war, Eisenhower told the Governors' Conference on August 4, has been "described variously as an out-growth of French colonialism" and "a war between the Communists and other elements in southeast Asia." Then he gave his own view of it:

"Now, first of all, the last great population remaining in Asia that has not become dominated by the Kremlin, of course, is the subcontinent of India, the Pakistanian Government.

"Here are 150 million people who are still free. Now let us assume

that we lose Indo-China. . . . several things happen right away. The peninsula, the last little bit of land hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. *The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area, would cease coming*, but all India would be outflanked. Burma would be in no position for defense.

"Now, India is front [sic] on that side by the Soviet Empire. . . . You read in the paper. . . . Mossadegh moved toward getting rid of his parliament . . . supported by the Communist Party of Iran. All of that position there is very ominous to the U.S.A., because finally if we lost all that, *how would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia?*

"So, you see . . . this must be blocked. . . . So when the U.S. votes \$400 million to help that war, we are . . . voting for the cheapest way that we can prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the U.S.A., our security, *our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesian territory and from southeast Asia.*" (Emphasis added)

The reaction of the Governors to this fabulously confused and confusing survey has not been reported. (The population of the subcontinent of India is about 430 million: 360 million—the most recent estimate—in the Indian Republic, about 70 million in Pakistan. Indonesia is a republic, not an empire—unless Eisenhower considered it a part of the American Empire! Mossadegh's government has been overthrown by the powers behind the Iran Shah, with what seems more and more like U.S. assistance.)

Between the lines of Eisenhower's twisted geography and tortured language, there emerged almost embarrassingly the U.S. colonial

approach with which Asians have become familiar. The President was saying, in his own way, that the main U.S. concern was to maintain southeast Asia as a cheap raw material source for U.S. industry—to Asians, the classic imperialist pattern, which the peoples of Indo-China are fighting to overcome.

Beginning in 1857, either by outright conquest or by establishing protectorates over the Indo-Chinese princedoms, France conquered the whole of Indo-China, began to gnaw at the border of Siam (Thailand), and almost collided with Britain, which had reached the other side of Siam through the conquest of Burma. Conflict was avoided when France and Britain signed their *entente*

THE U.S. GRANT FOR INDO-CHINESE WAR

A JOINT communique issued by the United States and France on September 30 announced support for French General Navarre's plan to use more French troops and to arm more Indo-Chinese to speedily "break up and destroy the regular enemy forces in Indo-China . . . [with] U.S. aid." The "aid" referred to is in the form of an additional U.S. grant of \$385,000,000.

Earlier in the month, the Paris *Tribune des Nations'* astute military analyst, Colonel X, commented (Sept. 4):

"The new strategy of the French expeditionary corps heralds the final act of the Indo-Chinese war. . . . Not a single one of our Indo-Chinese collaborators, this is true of the military even more than of the others, is unaware of the weakness of the regimes maintained by the French and of the inevitability of an accord with the Vietminh."

cordiale in 1904 and each allowed the other to cut off generous slices of Siam on either side; what was left was designated as a buffer state between their respective colonies. Thus came into existence pockets of Thai people in Indo-China and Burma, and also in China, where some of the Thais escaped.

France made huge profits from the rice, coal, rubber, tin, zinc, tungsten and other resources of Indo-China, from the government monopoly of salt and the opium trade. The Indo-Chinese were reduced to being rice-growing farmers and workers in French-owned mines and plantations, 95 per cent illiterate, with the appallingly low per capita income of less than \$10 a year.

The French rulers of Indo-China meekly surrendered to the Japanese in 1940, happily collaborated with the conquerors in squeezing "from Indo-China the last possible pound of rice, ton of coal, sack of cement to help Japan win the war" (N. Y. *Times* correspondent Foster Hailey in *Half of One World*, p. 107). The Indo-Chinese under Ho Chi Minh organized an effective underground movement, cooperated with Maj. William Donovan's American OSS and saved the lives of many Americans parachuting from damaged planes. When the war was over, the resistance movement was in de facto control of a great part of Indo-China.

On August 19, 1945, four days after Japan's surrender, the Viet Minh (the democratic coalition party of Indo-China) proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (the ancient name of Indo-China) with Ho Chi Minh as President; set up regional governments throughout Viet Nam; and asked for admission to the UN and requested a UN commission to supervise a plebiscite and

national election in the Republic.

Soon after this, citizens of the other states of Cambodia and Laos held plebiscites, renamed their territories Khmerland and Pathet Lao, repudiated the French protectorates and set up free governments closely tied with their Viet Nam neighbor.

The Indo-Chinese were bitterly disillusioned when British Gen. Douglas Gracey—on behalf of the French—arrived to take charge on September 13, 1945. French Col. Cedile immediately rearmed the French troops released by the Viet Minh from Japanese internment camps and, with the assistance of British and Japanese troops, attempted forcibly to recover the colony for France. Foster Hailey has reported (*Half of One World*, p. 110) that soon "British and American ships were unloading shiploads of French soldiers, many of them in American uniforms they had worn in France, at Indo-Chinese ports." Thus, the U.S. intervened in the Indo-China war from the very beginning—long before the present Chinese government, then confined to North China, sent any assistance to the liberation forces—and has continued at an accelerated pace ever since.

For a long time Ho Chi Minh patiently attempted to negotiate an understanding, agreeing to maintain political and economic ties with France. In a long resume of the Indo-China war, Claude Bourdet (*L'Observateur*, July 9) bitterly pointed out that

"on March 6, 1946, the French government signed an agreement with Viet Minh leader Ho Chi Minh, recognizing the Republic of Viet Nam as a free state . . . forming a

part of the Indo-China Federation and of the French Union.

"After the atrocious massacre [by the French troops] at Haiphong, war began again on Nov. 23, 1946, and continued despite Ho's repeated appeals for stopping hostilities and resuming negotiations. . . .

"While there were recent signs of a willingness [on the part of France] at last to negotiate with Ho—the only real power—this could not be done because of dollars needed to plug a hole in France's budget; the decision must now come from America, the America of McCarthy, I had almost written the America of Syngman Rhee.

In his major policy speech before the UN general assembly on September 17, U.S. Secretary of State Dulles blandly declared that Indo-China was no longer a colony, having been assured complete independence by France on July 3; and that "the Communist-dominated armies in Indo-China have no shadow of a claim to be regarded as the champ-

ions of an independence movement." Dulles said this after nearly all the French newspapers and most French political leaders had admitted otherwise. Even the *N.Y. Times* conceded on Sept. 13 that

Communist forces, inferior to the French in numbers and material, are sustained by peasants who tend their paddies by day and turn guerrilla at night. . . . [French] promises of self-government for Indo-China have not materialized.

The *N.Y. World-Telegram* of Sept. 14 admitted that the Indo-China "conflict began in 1946 as a war for independence from France and it remains that in the eyes of most Asians despite the Communist affiliations of the . . . leaders," and remarked: "Why our policy-makers should be so anxious to pin an American label on this war is beyond all understanding."

In an article bitterly denouncing France's failure to recover Indo-

U.S. ECONOMIC INTEREST IN INDO-CHINA

IN AN ARTICLE entitled "American Interest in Indo-China," the *Tribune des Nations* (Sept. 11) reported that the U.S. has exacted a series of advantageous economic concessions in Indo-China in return for aid to France. The New Market Manufacturing Company and the American Metal Company secured important concessions at the end of 1951 to exploit Indo-Chinese tin and tungsten; the Chibuluma Mines Company and the Oliver Manufacturing Company gained tin and zinc exploitation rights; the American Smelting and Refining Company now controls the Indo-Chinese silver mines; in 1952 DuPont's U.S. Rub-

ber Company secured 65 per cent of the Michelin Company, Goodrich Company took over rubber enterprises in Laos and Cambodia. Americans thus have taken over 72 per cent of Indo-China's non-ferrous metals exports and 20 per cent of its natural rubber exports.

Also, Atlas Contractors and Morrison-Knudson of U.S. have monopolized all strategic road, airport and port construction in Indo-China; and the Morgan-controlled International Telephone and Telegraph Company has taken over Indo-Chinese communications development by securing control of the French Matériel Telephonique Company.

China even with lavish U.S. aid, *Life* correspondent David Duncan reported on August 3 that Ho Chi Minh's liberation army

is led by Communists and supplied from Red China but inspired by deep nationalist feelings of the Indo-Chinese. . . . If the Indo-Chinese must fight—and die—they prefer to fight and die for Indo-China, not for France. . . .

Duncan quoted former Tuskegee star tackle Herman Holiday, working in Indo-China for the U.S. Mutual Security Administration, as remarking about the French puppet governments of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos:

We are supporting a government here which does not represent the majority of the people. It is difficult to be on a losing team . . . worse to be on a losing team and know it . . . unforgivable to be on a losing team and to know it and to do nothing about it.

But the Eisenhower administration did something about it; it added another \$375 million to the \$400 million already earmarked for 1953 for the Indo-China war, issued another blast at China while the U.S. practically took over the conduct of the Indo-China war, and sent Senate Majority leader William Knowland (R-Calif.) to coerce the French puppets who were wavering in their loyalty to France and the United States.

While the United States was building the Indo-China war into a second Korean war, the socialist world was recommending ways to peace in Indo-China. The Peking radio suggested Sept. 14 that the "same power [that brought about a Korean truce] can be used in Indo-China to force the

imperialists to abandon their weapons in the same way." Moscow's *Pravda* advocated direct negotiations between Indo-Chinese leader Ho Chi Minh and the French, "rightly describing this as the only way to end this disastrous war" (London *New Statesman*, Sept. 12.) But Ray Cromley revealed (*Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 15):

The U.S. is going to act fast to head off Red moves to 'end' the war in Indo-China. U.S. diplomats are mustering all their arguments to convince the French they shouldn't accept the Chinese. . . offers. . .

No wonder the London *New Statesman* distrusted Dulles' Asian policy, and described it Sept. 19 as a doctrine

to keep Asians fighting Asians . . . in Indo-China and Formosa as well as in Korea. Indeed, as though to advertise this intention to the Chinese, [Dulles] has chosen this moment to persuade a tottering French Government to send another 15,000 metropolitan troops to Viet Nam and to disregard the plea from M. Renaud and M. Mendes-France for an effort to end the hopeless war by negotiation with Ho Chi Minh. . . . It is American policy to close any road which could possibly lead to a negotiated settlement or even a relaxation of tension. . . .

But the U.S. was counting without that deep, worldwide feeling for peace and freedom, for the settlement of conflicts by peaceful negotiation, that resulted in halting the slaughter in Korea. In Indo-China, as in Korea, American policy of maintaining docile puppet regimes, of controlling the destinies of the Indo-Chinese and exploiting their resources, is doomed to failure.

PAUL ROBESON RECEIVES STALIN PEACE PRIZE

PAUL ROBESON was presented with the 1952 International Stalin Prize for Strengthening Peace at a moving and beautiful ceremony in the Hotel Theresa in New York on September 23. The ceremonies, attended by a large group of friends of Mr. Robeson and of peace, had to be held in this country because of the U.S. State Department's denial of a passport, preventing Mr. Robeson from going to Moscow to receive the award.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the great Negro scholar and leader, told of the origin of the award in connection with the 70th birthday of Joseph Stalin in December, 1949. At that time an international committee of leading democratic figures from ten countries was established to decide each year on the award of the prizes "to citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace." The award consists of a peace diploma, a gold medal, and a money prize of 100,000 rubles (\$25,000).

Dr. Du Bois read the shining roster of the names of the leading world figures who have received the award since 1950, and then said:

From these facts I think this audience will easily understand how great an honor has thus come to America, to the Negro race and to Paul Robeson. He is thus placed among the great men of the world and recognized as a prime mover in

the greatest cause of our day, PEACE. He is without doubt today, as a person, the best known American on earth, to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South America and in the islands of the seas. Children in the streets of Peking and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakartha, greet and send him their love. . .

Howard Fast, who had been requested by the award committee to present the citation of the prize and the gold medal to Paul Robeson on their behalf, then read messages from many world figures, and a telegram of greetings from Academician Dmitri Skobeltsyn, chairman of the committee. The message said that in giving the award the committee wished to express the love and honor in which Paul Robeson is held throughout the world for his tireless struggle for peace and his international understanding and added:

We should also like to express our friendly feelings for the great American people. We are convinced that the people of your great country, as of other countries, do not want war and are striving for peace and friendship with all peoples.

In making the presentation, Howard Fast declared:

It is no accident that almost all the world regards Paul Robeson as one of the grandest and bravest sons of the United States of America. He exemplifies what is best in our land

... He has consecrated his life, his career, his heart, and indeed his whole future, to the cause of the peace and welfare of humanity. . . . How fitting it is that today he receives this beautiful award, the highest award which the human race can bestow on one of its members . . . He is joined with the great immortals of our time who consecrate their lives, not to this people or that people, but to the oneness of mankind—mankind looking forward to the day when as a single community of love and brotherhood, it shall occupy this earth in peace and happiness.

Paul Robeson began his response by reading in part his eloquent tribute to Stalin at the time of his death which we were privileged to publish in the April issue of *New World Review*, ending with the reaffirmation of the friendship he has always had and always will have for the Soviet Union. He spoke of the great demands made by the fight for peace, for the coexistence of many ways of life of every section of humanity, and especially in this America of ours. He told of the grave concern among many thousands of the American people he had seen in travelling back and forth across the continent in recent weeks, that a comparatively small band of those in a powerful position in our country are talking peace, while clearly rushing toward war. He went on:

The Soviet peoples, as we see, stand on guard, unbending. They will go on building their socialist way of life—fast moving to the stage of plenty in contribution and distribution. Peoples of many other lands, inspired and guided by the experience of the Soviet Republics, have now been building new ways of life—the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Po-

land, Rumania, East Germany, North Korea and mighty China stand on sure ground—they are nations indestructible in spirit and in fact, their future path charted with wisdom and certainty. Surely we as Americans can and must understand this, and this understanding must be brought to millions more of our fellow citizens.

Other peoples also have their beliefs in their historic destinies, in their human dignity, in their love of and belief in their fellow men—in the oneness of humankind. Any embarking on the path of trying to loosen the bonds of these new societies can only lead to the destruction of all we hold dear.

Declaring that he was proud to stand by the side of those who are in the struggle for peace today, and those like the Rosenbergs who in making the final sacrifice, "are hal- lowed by the hopes of peoples of every culture, of every color, of every belief, of every clime," Paul Robeson pledged:

We shall not fail in our historic task. And this award to the peace fighters of America supports this faith.

The great Russian poet Pushkin was accurate in his prophesy—when he wrote in 1835:

'Arise, welcome to you, my greetings to a new race, a new people, young, unknown, not will I see your powerful later growth.'

So the great leader in whose name is this sacred peace award, knew that by the last turn of this century all these people for whom he labored, black and white, yellow and brown, would well deserve the greeting of the immortal Pushkin. Hail to you, a new people, young but known by your mighty heroic deeds, in the building of a new life, a new dignity, taking one of the final steps in humankind's long, hard, toil-laden but triumphant quest.

The Catholic Church in Poland

by

DOMINIK HORODYNSKI

The recent trial of several members of the Polish Catholic clergy has been used by the American press, and by persons in high posts, to charge Poland with religious persecution. The clergymen involved, as the trial revealed to everyone willing to face the facts, were tried and convicted for acts against the Polish state, and not because of their religion. The article below amply proves that there is religious freedom in Poland. The author of the article, Dominik Horodynski, is himself a Catholic. He is the Chief Editor of the Catholic Weekly *Dzis i Jutro* and a member of the Polish Sejm (Parliament).

POLAND—along with Spain, Italy and Austria—belonged to those European countries in which the Counter-Reformation completely won out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a result, the Catholic Church for several centuries was privileged in Poland. During the twenty years of the inter-war period the Polish Constitution guaranteed the Catholic Church a privileged position in comparison with other religions such as the Protestant, the Orthodox and the Jewish. The Polish-Vatican Concordat of that time confirmed this position.

In other countries of the People's Democracies the Catholic Church was never so privileged. In Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, the Orthodox Church dominated; in Hungary and Czechoslovakia reformist religions were mainly connected with the national movements of those countries, for the Catholic Church was the official religion of the Hapsburg mon-

archy which had long been oppressing both nations.

It is therefore not surprising that there is so much interest in the way the Catholic Church—accustomed to a privileged position and so closely linked with the semi-feudal system of pre-war Poland—functions today when the Polish nation has entered upon the road of people's democracy and is building socialist forms of public life.

The Catholic Church in Poland is comprised of 22 dioceses. A Primate of Poland heads an Episcopate of more than 60 persons. There are over 12,000 priests and about 24,000 monks and nuns. Conferences of the entire Episcopate are held several times a year, often accompanied by public processions.

Training of new Church officers is conducted in Church colleges in diocesan towns, the bishops ordinaries being in charge. Higher courses are given at the Catholic

University in Lublin and in the theological departments of two major State universities—Warsaw University (where the Department of Catholic Theology now has some 500 student-novices) and Cracow University. There is also a Department of Protestant Theology at Warsaw.

The Church conducts religious education for the youth in some of the State elementary and secondary schools. Attendance at lessons, given in the school buildings, is voluntary. The teacher-priests are paid by the State.

The Episcopate is in charge of Lublin university, one of the most important Catholic universities in Europe. Before the war approximately 1,000 were enrolled, mostly in the Theological Department. Today, there are more than 3,500 students attending the following departments: theological, arts, canon law and Christian philosophy. Unlike Catholic universities in West European countries, as in France or Belgium, graduates of Lublin are entitled to the same rights as graduates of State universities and are not required to take additional examinations. The fact that the university's library, destroyed during the war, already has a beautiful new building and 500,000 volumes is indicative of the university's development.

Book and periodical publication is a separate field of Polish Catholic activity. The weekly *Dzis i Jutro* (Today and Tomorrow), of which I am the chief editor, is published by "Pax," a Catholic association. Pax also published a daily newspaper, *Slowo Powszechne*, with a circulation of over 100,000. It runs its own Publishing Institute, and operates a secondary school for Catholic youth. In recent years the Institute has issued several score basic works

in the field of Catholic philosophy and literature. In addition to valuable reprints, such as St. Augustine, writings of the Fathers of the Church, like the Letters of St. Hieronymus and many others, have for the first time been issued in Polish.

The organization and stimulation of current journalism is likewise important. The weekly *Dzis i Jutro* every June grants a scientific, literary, journalistic and youth award for the best Catholic work of the preceding year. Generally it can be said that the level of books and particularly Catholic periodicals is considerably higher than in pre-war days.

In connection with the general growth of reading in Poland today the demand for strictly devotional publications has also increased. A new translation of the New Testament made after the war by the well-known Polish Biblicist, Father Professor Dabrowski, was published by Pax in 250,000 copies.

These few examples should suffice to illustrate the great scientific and cultural activity of Polish Catholics and how religious life is developing and flourishing. Anyone who has been to People's Poland knows how full the Churches are and the frequency of public processions and pilgrimages. Indeed, the Catholic Church has rights in Poland lost in other West European countries and never known in the United States: the right, for example, to teach religion at State expense, or the right to have departments of Catholic theology at State universities. The question then arises why in certain Western circles are there such frequent accusations of persecution of the Church in People's Poland?

Before replying, let us examine

the formal aspect of relations between Church and State. The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic guarantees its citizens freedom of conscience and religion. The Catholic Church, like all other religious denominations, is guaranteed freedom to execute its religious functions. The State spends large sums on the building and restoration of churches destroyed during the war. Hundreds of historic churches have been restored not only through State financial aid but through provision of architects, materials, and so on.

In addition to Constitutional guarantees, the relation between the Catholic Church and the State are defined by a special bilateral agreement concluded between the Episcopate and the Government in April, 1950.

Since 1945, those at home and abroad interested in restoring capitalism in our country have tried to utilize the Catholic Church to impede our progress. They have assumed that the Catholic Church, so closely connected before the war with the old system, was the most suitable weapon to fight the new system since it could use the religious sentiments of the faithful for political ends.

But the Church has disappointed those who placed such hopes in it. It did not let itself be turned into a weapon of political struggle against its people, a struggle contrary to the essence and mission of the Church.

There were some cases, however, though few in number, in which individual priests became linked up with espionage and subversive activities to the detriment of their priestly duties. The Cracow trial is an example. Those priests were ar-

rested and brought to trial—not as priests, but because of their criminal activities. The Polish Episcopate sharply condemned the criminal activity of those priests and Catholic opinion throughout the country reacted indignantly against their behavior.

It is significant that just such trials are made much of in the propaganda of the very same circles in the West that encourage anti-State activity in Poland. This propaganda speaks of "persecution" of religion, but never quotes authoritative statements of the Episcopate on the criminal activities of the priests involved, nor does it reflect the unanimous opinion of Polish Catholics in condemning such activity. The "Voice of America" broadcasts are typical of the falsification of truth and the misuse of religion for ends contrary to it and most injurious to the mission and interests of the Church.

There cannot be religious persecution in People's Poland because that would be contrary to the system which our country is building. No one maintains that the mission of the Church is not accompanied by difficulties. But they are not greater than in any other historical period. The structure of the country is changing, people are changing, their problems and way of thinking change, too. All this requires new forms of activity, a new type of apostleship. Catholics in Poland understand that they will serve well the lasting values of religion only when they honestly participate in the building of the new system.

It is no blow to the interests of the Catholic Church in Poland to have lost its position as a "state" religion. On the contrary, the long-held position had no beneficial influence on the nature of the develop-

ment of the Polish Catholic Church, for religious matters were becoming more and more tied up with political matters. Today, relations between the faithful and the non-believers, as well as between the adherents of various religious denominations, are based on mutual respect. Pre-war intolerance, for instance, between Christians and Jews, has disappeared.

The attitude of the Vatican toward our country creates special difficulties for the Catholic Church in Poland. We are aware that in general the Vatican is not well-disposed to the countries of people's democracy and, in the case of Poland, this lack of friendliness is shown, among other ways, in the repeated refusal to institute dioceses and appoint bishops ordinaries in our Western territories. One of the oldest Polish dioceses, that of Wroclaw, has previously, in its thousand year's existence, been deprived of bishops ordinaries only a few times, and each time for not more than two or three years. But now the Vatican has refused nomination for nine years. This attitude encourages the revanchists in the German Federal Republic in their anti-Polish campaign, it impedes the Church administration of these territories, and loosens the ties between the faithful and their priests.

In the light of the interests of our entire country, or those of the inhabitants of these territories, and in the interests of peace, the Polish Government cannot condone this attitude of the Vatican. All Polish Catholic public opinion supports the attitude of its Government in this matter.

It is significant that Polish Catholics, and in particular Polish priests, were among the first in the

world to join the ranks of the defenders of peace. Why?

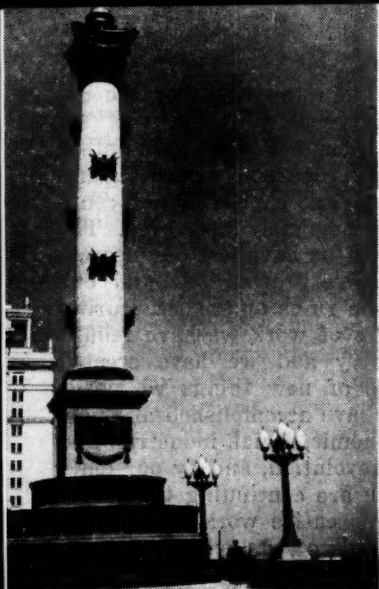
First, because Poland, as no other country, has learned what a calamity war is. The capital of our country was completely destroyed. The majority of us have lost our nearest relatives. We started to build our new life on ruins and ashes. During hard years of work we have rebuilt our country and we have created thousands of new things we never had. We have accomplished an enormous economic, social, industrial and cultural revolution, and by our daily efforts we are continuing that revolution. Our entire work is peaceful, and we think of war with the greatest abhorrence.

Second, because we have learned, better than the people of the West, the truth that all countries building socialism, and foremost the Soviet Union, do not want war and will continue to defend peace. Through our daily experience we have learned how greatly beneficial the participation in this world of peaceful building of a new system and new relations among people and nations is to our homeland and to each one of us.

And third and this particularly concerns the priests, because the need to be present with and a part of the whole nation is a natural phenomenon—all our nation desires peace. The Catholics go with their nation. That is why representatives of the Polish clergy are present at various national and international conferences devoted to the cause of peace.

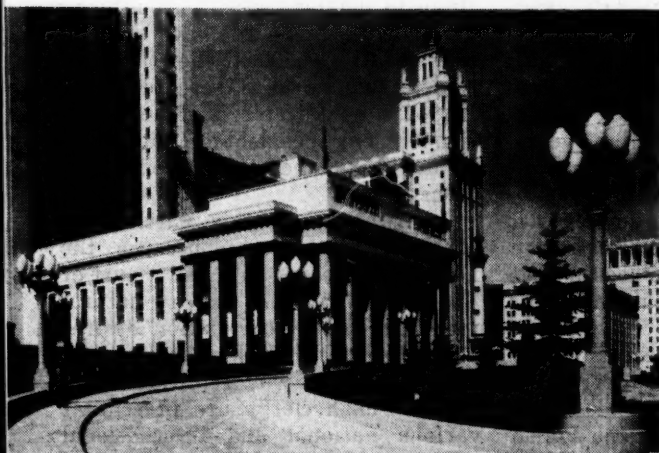
Let me take this opportunity to send your magazine and its readers best wishes that by our common effort the cause of peace, the cause of friendship and fraternity among all nations, will win once and for all.

MOSCOW'S NEW UNIVERSITY

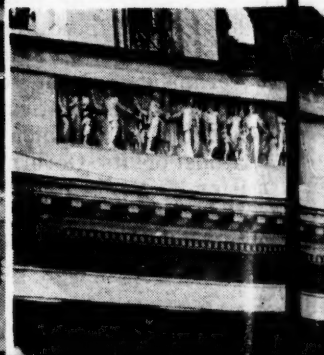
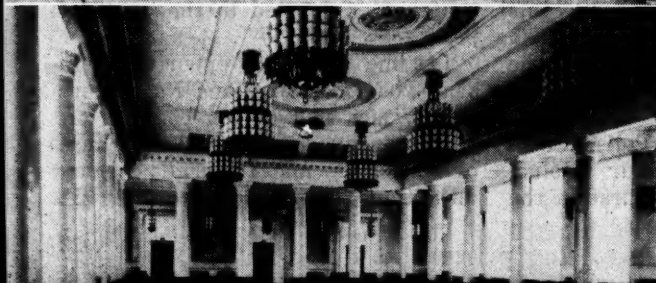


Not just a device. This column, one of several, contains a device through which purified air enters the assembly hall.

On September 1 the magnificent new group of buildings that house Moscow State University's five natural science departments opened. The unit consists of a main building that rises 36 stories to a tower, flanked by 18-story wings and 9-story buildings. The grounds are laid out in rose gardens, orchards, botanical gardens and experimental farms. In addition to laboratories, auditoriums and other study facilities, there are comfortable dormitories for students and faculty.



Left: View of the main entrance to the university. Below, left: The assembly hall that accommodates 2,200. There are more than 100 auditoriums, a large library and several smaller ones, a soil science museum, an astronomical observatory, numerous laboratories and other facilities for the study of science.

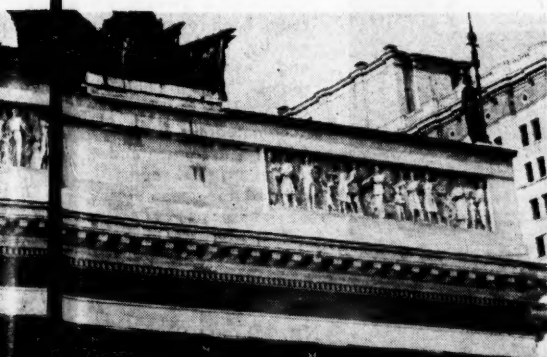




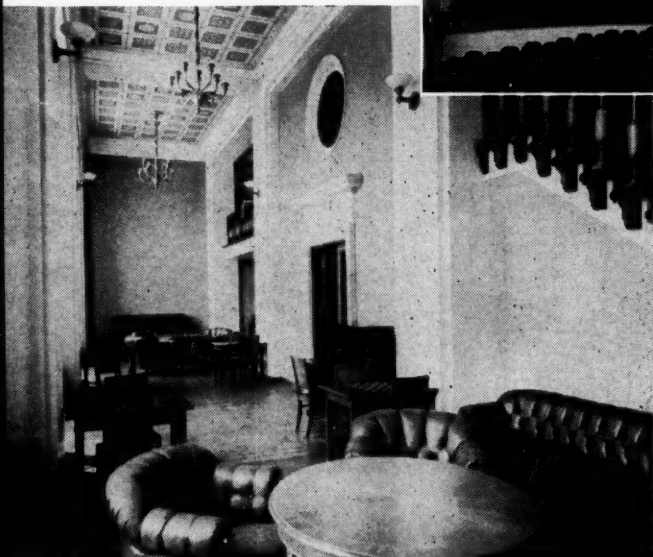
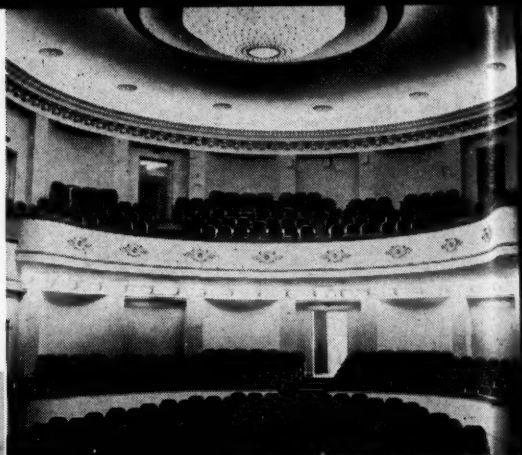
A general view of the new Moscow University. In the main building there is a library containing a million and a quarter volumes, and each department has its own specialized library.

They helped build the University and now have enrolled as students. They are Victor Repin, who was a mechanic, Mikhail Badyayev, an electrician, and Maria Davydov, a granite dresser.

Close-up of the portico to the assembly hall building. Bas reliefs depict the friendship of the peoples.



The students' club auditorium—seating capacity, 800. In addition, the residence quarters has a gymnasium, swimming pool, dining room and other facilities for recreation and comfortable student living. For more details, see Ralph Parker's article beginning on the opposite page.



One of the parlors in the residence quarters for the students. Here they may receive guests, play chess, read and associate with their colleagues.



Corner of a dormitory room. Each room, shared by two students, and every pair of rooms has a bathroom. The residence accommodates about 6,000 students and there are 184 apartments for members of the faculty.

—Sovfoto

A UNIVERSITY TO SING ABOUT

by

RALPH PARKER

A COUNTRY where the ordinary people greet the opening of a new science building at a university with songs is, obviously, not an ordinary country. But then this, of course, is not an ordinary university. That I recognized the moment I joined the throng of people walking across the campus to the granite steps where the opening ceremony was to take place.

The men and women who had spent the past four years in building the vast new science block of Moscow University came to the opening, not only to mark the completion of their work but to speed thirty of their number on their university studies. Many were the youths who came to the building site in 1949 with the idea of completing their secondary education at the end of the job. Not all of them, of course, reached the standards required by Moscow University, where the majority of students are gold medalists—all-round excellence at general or technical school—but these thirty did, and many more went to institutes of higher education.

When we passed into the lobbies of the Assembly Hall we were at once re-

minded of the function of this building. The marble walls are lined with marble-mosaic heads of the world's greatest scientists. No attempt is made to arrange them in such a way as to claim a superiority for the scientists of one nation, civilization, continent or race over another. The names run chronologically: they form a record of a science that is universal. Euclid, Archimedes, Tsu Chun-Chi, Avicenna, Ulugbeg, Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus, Newton, Dalton, Faraday, Darwin, Mendeleyev, Maxwell. . . .

The Assembly Hall is designed and decorated in neo-classical style and with its 2,200 seats becomes the largest public hall in Moscow, with the sole exception of the Supreme Soviet Hall in the Kremlin. It was in there that we were provided with some information about the new science block. It included, we were told, the entire five natural science departments of Moscow State University's 13,000 students. One of its features was the abundance of laboratories. It was the aim of the authorities to have students spend most of their time in practical laboratory work, with a minimum of attendance at lectures. That, largely, explained the high proportion of teaching staff to pupils. (In the University as a whole 1,500 teaching 13,000.) The new block contains a hostel, or dormitory, for about 6,000 students and post-graduates and all the

RALPH PARKER formerly represented the "New York Times" in Moscow and now covers the Soviet Union for newspapers and periodicals in England and America.

necessary amenities for their social life.

We soon found ourselves among these students who were just then assembling in the lecture theaters.

There was an atmosphere of high excitement about the first morning. Neatly uniformed women attendants dashed about with pots of flowers, a hubbub of conversation rose from the restaurant, professors who had been drawn into the business of showing distinguished visitors round had to excuse themselves when a bell summoned them to face their students, a rumor swept through the corridors—25 miles of them, we were told—that the water was being pumped into the new swimming pool in the basement. . . .

One brought only fleeting impressions away from the rapid tour of lecture halls, laboratories and club rooms. Of a beautifully designed theater that would grace many a capital as a national theater, highly successful use of fluorescent lighting in chandelier form, the high proportion of girls attending a lecture in the mechanical mathematics department, the high standard of equipment in the laboratories of the geography department.

It was when we reached the terrace on the 22nd floor that we discovered how important the new science block is going to become for the further development of southwest Moscow. From this terrace, five or six hundred feet above the university park, we could see the intricate system of new roads, the big temporary building-workers settlement, the mass of several huge new blocks of apartments and other evidence of the work afoot for building an entirely new neighborhood.

Finally, we visited the hostel, a somewhat inadequate word for the students' quarters. The corridor we entered from the elevator was reserved for girl-students. There were 106 girls living on this 10th floor corridor, a few of them post-graduates. They share a common-room, a high ceilinged room with an interior balcony, furnished with an upright piano, upholstered chairs and tables. Here they may receive guests from outside up to 11 at night. There

is no locking-up time; students can enter or leave the hostel at any time of the day or night.

The students' quarters are arranged in pairs of bed-sitting-rooms opening off a common hall and each has a small but well-fitted bathroom. Each corridor has a common kitchen with refrigerator. Students are not discouraged from preparing their own food and eating it in their own rooms, but the prices in the dining room are so low (three rubles for a three course meal, the average student having a grant of about 15 rubles a day) that it seems pretty certain that most will confine their own cooking to light suppers and parties.

Students are expected to make their own beds, but their rooms are cleaned for them every day.

Each room has a bed with chromium plated frame, which can be used as a sofa, a smallish table, a good sized writing desk with desk lamp, bookcases and several roomy cupboards. There are rugs on the parquet floor, the walls are glossy finished Lincrusta. For this room plus service, heating, light and linen the student pays less than one ruble a day.

It is clearly the intention of the Soviet authorities to enable students to pass their five years at college in the most comfortable surroundings possible without having to worry at all about cost.

One of the rooms I entered belonged to a girl student of geology. She had not occupied the room long enough to have laid much personal imprint on it but I noticed the dahlias in the pot on the table, the embroidered runner she had laid along the top of the dresser—with a little bottle of perfume on it—the rock-specimens behind the glass doors, propping up a copy of *Alitet Ges to the Hills* and the poems of Mayakovsky. . . .

It was only afterwards that I discovered that this student had been a building worker by trade until that memorable First of September when she walked past the status of Lomonosov and entered the new University building, not in overalls but in the neat dress of a first year student.

Behind Adenauer's Victory

by

GORDON SCHAFFER

OUR PREMIER has no principles, but he has intuitions. And if his instinct tells him that the British people are absolutely resolute for peace, he will change his policy in a moment of time.

"It is the task of the English people to make the Premier forget the diplomats and remember democracy."

The words might have been written today. They were in fact written July 7, 1920. They were applied to Mr. Lloyd George who was being forced by the logic of events to call off the war of intervention against the young Soviet Republic. The paper in which they appeared was the *Daily Herald*. In those days the Labor and trade union movement was pushing the Prime Minister into action; today, trade union and Labor leaders and their newspaper fight a rear-guard action in favor of cold war and trade embargoes when even the Tory Prime Minister and the City of London are beginning to yield to the logic of history.

But the pattern of events is the

same. In 1920, Denikin, Wrangel, and the other White Guard generals backed by interventionist forces of 14 nations had been fought to a standstill in Russia, just as the forces of Syngman Rhee, and the interventionist forces of 16 nations have been fought to a standstill in Korea. Then the demand of the British working class for peace and friendship found expression in the Councils of Action; today the same demands are put forward by the peace movement. Then, the Labor Party and the T.U.C. were reluctantly forced to accept the policy of the Councils of Action, while repudiating its leaders. Today the peace movement is persecuted, but its key policy of great power negotiations is being accepted by the Trade Union Congress. Then, as now, many business men were willing to put trade before political prejudices.

In 1920, the British secret service printed bogus copies of '*Pravda*' in an effort to stir up hostility to the Soviet Government: Today the United States Government allocates 100 million dollars for similiar activities.

After the collapse of the war of intervention in 1920, Britain and other countries were forced to accept the existence of one-sixth of

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the world outside the orbit of capitalism and imperialism. They had to trade with this part of the world, to save their own economies. But they never gave up. They built a cordon-saitaire of hostile states round the Soviet Union. They broke the Treaty of Versailles to make possible the re-arming of Germany as a "bulwark against Bolshevism." They used the links of the international cartels to facilitate the rebuilding of German armies and the war machine of the Ruhr. They encouraged Japan to attack China as a stepping stone to war against the Soviet Union.

And in the end Hitler attacked France and Britain, while Japan turned on the United States.

We must understand that background if we are to see the real meaning of that scene at Bonn on September 7, the morning after the elections in West Germany when Adenauer, darling of the American State Department, took over the role of Hitler. Adenauer is back as the "bulwark against Bolshevism." He is to be re-armed as Hitler was re-armed, to supply the cannon fodder for the next stage of the war of intervention.

How is it conceivable that eight years after the collapse of Nazi Germany, eight years after the British, United States, and Soviet leaders had re-affirmed at Potsdam their united determination to destroy Nazism, Adenauer is ready to start again where Hitler left off? How is it possible that after the fiasco of the last time the *Economist* (Sept. 12th) is able to declare, "Dr. Adenauer is established as the most powerful statesman on the Continent. . . . All the portents suggest that for some time to come Western Europe will be led by the German nation. . . . Dr. Adenauer will not

be likely to tolerate tutelage in internal German affairs, and he will give increasingly forceful expression to the German view on European defence and economic collaboration."

The answer is that these developments followed inexorably from the abandonment by the allies of the policy of Potsdam. Public opinion forced the Western Powers to announce their determination to destroy Fascism. They did not want to. Moore Brabazon, British Minister of Aircraft Production, at the moment the Russians were holding the front line of civilization, expressed their real hopes when he said he would like to see Germany and Russia destroying each other. Truman did the same early in the war when he said that if Germany is winning America ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning America ought to help Germany.

Trade union leaders in Britain like Mr. George Gibson, and Mr. Charles Dukes reflected the same policy when they backed the Vansittartists who discovered that all the Germans were bad, for by so doing they sought to deny the war against Fascism and turn it into a war against all Germans, fascist or antifascist.

Very soon after the Potsdam agreement was signed the Western powers were faced with the dilemma that Nazism could be destroyed only by destroying the economic basis on which it was built. To remove the Nazis from industrial and political power meant turning to the anti-fascists, above all to the Communists. To break up the cartels meant nationalization of industry, and in the hands of genuine anti-fascists that would mean laying the foundations of socialism. To break up the great landed estates meant another step

toward breaking the power of not only the Nazis, but of the monopolists.

Yet all these measures were pledged in the Potsdam agreement. The signal to break these pledges came in Churchill's Fulton speech of February, 1946, and in his next speech at Zurich when he called for an alliance against Russia of France and Germany. The supreme betrayal was not in the Fulton speech, for Churchill was already repudiated by the British electorate; it was in the deliberate refusal of the Labor government to repudiate the Fulton policy.

From that time events in Germany have marched step by step to the finale of September 7. I wrote an article in those early days when Mr. John Hynd was Minister in Charge of German Affairs, giving details of how the Nazis were being restored.

Mr. Hynd was furious, and sent for me to deny my report. But when he checked up he found it was true. Today, it is accepted as a matter of course that in the Bonn Republic those who hold Nazi cards are eligible for high office, while anti-fascists are persecuted.

The cartels were restored. The American who was placed in charge of decartelization, James Stewart Martin, has told the story of of that betrayal with a wealth of detail in his book "All Honorable Men." Land Reform was abandoned. British military government vetoed measures of nationalization passed by provincial German parliaments. At the moment when a four-power committee had reached agreement on an all-German currency reform, General Clay, United States Commander-in-Chief, forced unilateral currency reform in Western Germany, thereby precipitating Russian

measures to protect Eastern Germany, and providing the excuse for the air lift.

John Foster Dulles on his own admission in a speech in Paris advocated the prolonging of the air lift until the Western nations accepted the United States demands for re-armament. The World Federation of Trade Unions was split after it had gone on record in favor of building a united German trade union movement.

And on the other side of the world the China Lobby moved into action to stop Acheson carrying out his promise to restore Formosa to China and to prevent him from following Britain in recognition of People's China. The McCarthy witch-hunt was used to discredit all in the State Department who were willing to accept the Chinese people's victory. John Foster Dulles, who had never disguised his sympathy for the Nazis in the pre-war years, was forced into the Truman administration as bi-partisan advisor on foreign affairs. General MacArthur and Syngman Rhee saw the Korean war as the first phase in the new war of intervention. With tragic irony, millions of sincere men and women were persuaded by propaganda (which all the evidence now disproves) into believing that in Korea they were supporting collective security against aggression.

It is equally ironical that the real truth has now been proclaimed by Clement Attlee, whose government backed the Korean war.

He gave a warning in the last big debate on foreign affairs about the activities of the Chiang Kai-shek Lobby in the United States and he denounced the section in America which wants "all out war against communism."

The difference between Mr. Attlee and those of us who opposed the foreign policy of his government and the present Labor Party policy of backing the cold war is that we are convinced the section in America which wants all out war against communism has been dictating the policy of the Western Powers from the beginning.

(If I had the space I could prove this contention from the wealth of American documents now available.)

What of the future? History does not repeat itself. The Germany of 1953 is not the Germany of 1933. One-third of Germany has taken the path set out in the Potsdam agreement. The German Democratic Republic has passed through difficult times. It did not have the dynamic of a social revolution from below but its people have learned from their experience. They have made too great progress for further attempts at intervention from outside like that of June 17 to succeed. Their living standards will rise steadily; in the Federal Republic, for all the facade of prosperity, the conditions of the people grow worse.

The mass of the people of Western Germany in the main accept the anti-Soviet propaganda which the Western Powers took over from Dr. Goebbels, but they also meet every day a far more powerful propaganda. They see in their devastated towns the reality of war. Hardly a family was spared from the losses of Hitler's adventure. They know that rearmament as designed by the Americans is the prelude to civil war, and a new war against the land which smashed Hitler's armies.

The countries of Western Europe have also learned. France knows that if the Americans have their way, and make Western Germany the most

powerful military power in Europe, they will be faced with a demand for the return of the Saar, and almost certainly Alsace-Lorraine as well. Britain, which under Chamberlain's leadership sent Lord Halifax to bargain with Goering for the abandonment of Germany's claim to colonies in return for British agreement to the German drive eastwards, must know that a re-armed Western Germany will demand lebensraum.

Adenauer's return is a setback for the forces of peace, but it is not defeat. He has already exposed the real plans of the interventionists. Millions in the Western world who were led along the path of a new war of intervention know now that they must be in the wrong camp if they have to accept the Nazi Generals, Franco, Syngman Rhee, and Chiang Kai-shek as their allies. They know too, that the campaign to build up new armies of intervention began in the years when America thought it had the monopoly of the atom bomb. Today, Churchill has declared that a new war would bring immeasurable catastrophe to both sides.

In 1920, it was mainly those who sought to save the socialist revolution who stopped the war of intervention: today the whole of mankind is involved in the struggle because the issue is life and death for us all. The socialist system which now embraces 800 million men and women can never be destroyed.

The task of the world peace movement is to isolate the minority, mainly in America, who plan war, who would commit suicide and drag their dupes with them, just as Hitler committed suicide. For the moment, they can celebrate their victory in Western Germany, but in the end it will recoil on them, for more and more their policy is exposed.

Two Approaches to the German Question

NEW PEACE PROPOSALS were contained in the Soviet note of September 28, sent in answer to the United States proposal for a Foreign Ministers' Conference on limited aspects of the German question.

The Soviet Government, in its latest note, repeated a previous proposal for a five-power conference to consider measures to ease international tensions. It stressed the importance of including the Chinese People's Republic in such a meeting, along with the United States, Britain, France and the USSR, as well as the necessity of admitting China to the United Nations.

The note said that such a five-power conference had taken on additional importance in the light of the difficulties over the nature of the Korean political conference and increased dangers to the peace of Europe arising from recent political developments in West Germany.

It also said that the continuing arms race, especially the stockpiling of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, made it all the more urgent for such a conference to consider the prohibition of such weapons, under effective international control, and agreements on limitation of armaments.

In addition to such a conference, the Soviet Government agreed to participate in a four-power foreign ministers' conference on the German problem, adding, however, that the Soviet proposals for a peace conference to consider a peace treaty, a provisional all-German government to prepare for all-German elections and measures to relieve German financial and economic obligations resulting from the war, should be considered as well as the limited point on elections proposed by the three Western powers.

In view of the State Department charges that the note was "evasive" and only a tactic to delay discussion on

Germany, it is important to review the exchanges that took place on this subject in the months before the West German elections.

Last July 15, the U.S. Government sent a note to the Soviet Union proposing a conference of Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union, to take up the question of "the organization of free elections in the Federal Republic, the Eastern Zone of Germany and in Berlin" and "conditions for the establishment of a free all-German Government with freedom of action in internal and external affairs."

It presented these as essential conditions for the opening of the discussions, long urged by the Soviet Government, on a German peace treaty. It also stated that the conclusion of an Austrian treaty should be considered at this meeting.

This action, joined by Great Britain and France, was taken as a result of the July meeting of the three Western Foreign Ministers in Washington. (At this meeting the British and French representatives had acceded to U.S. demands to press forward with the European Defense Community based on a revived German Wehrmacht, and to insist that any future unified Germany must be allied with the NATO powers.)

Replying to the Western note on August 4, the Soviet Government pointed out that this separate agreement on an agenda by the three Western powers without the participation of the Soviet Union was contrary to international custom and could only hamper subsequent negotiations.

The Soviet note declared that the armistice in Korea had created favorable conditions for new efforts to ease international tensions. It suggested that reduction of armaments should be included in the Foreign Ministers' considerations and the desirability of including the

Chinese People's Republic in such overall discussions.

On the specific proposals regarding Germany, the USSR recalled that the United States had already made clear its position that the holding of "free elections" was to be dependent on the appointment of an "impartial commission" for "investigation with the view of creating the conditions necessary for such elections." The Soviet Government held that this would reduce the whole matter to long drawn out negotiations on what groups would participate in such investigations, and humiliated the German people in excluding them from participation. Thus it would only delay unification and the conclusion of a peace treaty, leave Germany divided, while remilitarization of Western Germany proceeded.

While rejecting the prior conditions which the Western Powers sought to impose, the Soviet Government stressed that it nonetheless attached great importance to a discussion of the German question. It suggested that the proposed Foreign Ministers' Conference should give specific emphasis to re-establishment of German unity and the conclusion of a peace treaty. The note said that progress in settling the German question would aid in settling the Austrian question. (A later note expressed readiness to continue discussion of the Austrian question through regular diplomatic channels.)

On August 15, the Soviet Union sent a new note on Germany to the United States, Great Britain and France, presenting again the draft principles for a peace treaty with Germany which it had first submitted in March, 1952 as a basis for discussion.

It pointed out that instead of responding or presenting counter-proposals the Western powers had gone ahead with the conclusion of the Bonn agreement and the European Defense Community treaty, which linked the Federal Republic with the North Atlantic Powers bloc for a period of fifty years, and provided for retention of Western forces on the territory of West Germany. This, it said, could only keep the latter in the status of a dependent state and lead to the

re-emergence of German militarism, in direct contradiction to the Potsdam agreement to assist the reestablishment of Germany as a peaceable and democratic state. This basic principle, said the note, continues to conform to the interests of all European nations including Germany itself, although changes that have taken place in the eight years since the Potsdam conference would have to be taken into consideration.

The efforts to get the Bonn and European army treaties ratified, in order to accelerate the creation of West German armed forces and their integration into the European army and NATO, would, on the contrary, mean that West Germany could no longer be regarded as a peaceable state, and prevent the unification of Germany. In the Soviet view, these treaties themselves, making West Germany a dependent state, and the proposal for a preliminary investigation by foreign representatives, simply meant putting the conduct of German elections in the hands of foreign powers.

The Soviet Government then proposed a number of practical measures to assist in the solution of the problem of uniting Germany and forming an all-German government.

The first step should be the convening within six months of a peace conference to examine the question of a peace treaty with Germany, with the participation of representatives of Germany, both West and East, at all stages.

To meet the Western argument that no peace treaty can now be considered because there is no all-German government, the Soviet note proposed that a provisional all-German government be set up by the parliament of the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. Such a provisional government might be set up even while the present two governments remained in existence, with functions limited at this stage to preparations for free all-German elections to establish an all-German government. This method would make it possible for the German people themselves, without the interference of foreign powers, to decide on the social

and political structure of a democratic Germany.

The note further proposed that Germany be relieved as of January 1, 1954, of all further reparations payments, and of repayment of government post-war debts to the four powers, with the exception of debts arising out of commercial transactions; also that expenditures for occupation forces should not exceed five per cent of the annual national revenues of both East and West Governments, and that back debts for such purposes be cancelled.

Main points in the draft peace treaty proposed by the USSR as a basis for discussion include: reestablishment of Germany as an integral state; withdrawal of all occupation forces and liquidation of military bases on German territory within one year of entering into force of peace treaty; full democratic rights to the German people; freedom of activity for democratic parties and organizations within Germany; prohibition of organizations hostile to democracy and peace; civil and political rights for former army personnel and ex-Nazis, with the exception of those serving court sentences, "thus enabling them to participate in the building of a peaceable and democratic Germany"; a pledge by Germany "not to enter into any coalition or military alliance directed against any country whose armed forces took part in the war with Germany."

The Soviet draft further proposes confirmation of the territorial boundaries set for Germany at Potsdam; no restrictions to development of a peace economy, trade with other countries, navigation and access to world markets and that Germany should be permitted such national armed forces as required for defense, and to produce war materials and weapons limited to defense needs.

Finally the draft treaty provides that its signatories shall support the application of Germany for admission to the United Nations.

On September 2, the United States, Great Britain and France sent notes rejecting the Soviet proposals for a peace conference and a provisional all-

German government. They proposed that the USSR join a four power foreign ministers conference in Lugano, Switzerland around mid-October. Instead of making any effort to meet a single one of the points raised by the USSR, the notes reiterated the former pre-condition that the conference should consider only the question of free elections and reach final agreement on the Austrian Treaty. The notes added nothing new, and placed conditions which were known in advance to be unacceptable to the Soviet Union. It would seem that the purpose of issuing such notes three days before the elections in West Germany was to influence the elections in favor of Adenauer and give him ammunition for demagogic last minute protestations of his own desire for peace and unification. His call to his supporters the day after his election "to think not of the reunion of Germany but of the liberation of the East," demonstrated that, like Syngman Rhee, the only kind of unification desired by Adenauer is forcible unification to extend his own rule over the entire country.

In its September 28 note, referred to in the opening paragraph, the Soviet Government commented that the United States, according to its note of September 2, had apparently given up its previous proposal for a neutral investigation commission on elections. In this case, it said, there should be no further objections to the Soviet proposals that the elections should be in the hands of the German people themselves without any interference or pressure from outside powers. The Soviet Union made quite clear its readiness to discuss the question of elections, which it has been charged with evading. Its suggestion that the other matters of fundamental importance to any solution of the German problem which it had raised should also be discussed was a wholly reasonable one, since the very basis of any negotiations must be that they provide an opportunity for the participating sides to bring forward their viewpoints. Thus it is quite clear where responsibility for any further delay in consideration of the German question must be placed.

The other Soviet proposal, for a five power conference on broader issues of international importance, is in line with the demand for big power negotiations voiced by increasing numbers of government spokesmen of many nations as well as by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

USSR - GDR Negotiations

In order to prepare the way for the eventual emergence of a united and peaceful Germany, a delegation from the German Democratic Republic headed by Premier Otto Grotewohl was invited to Moscow, where negotiations took place August 20-22 with high officials of the Soviet Government headed by Premier Malenkov.

Agreement was reached on the necessity in the near future, of a peace conference such as proposed by the Soviet Government and the formation of an all-German provisional government by direct agreement between East and West Governments to prepare and carry out free all-German elections.

A protocol was signed providing for the following measures:

An ending of all reparations payments to the Soviet Government, (also agreed to by the Government of the Polish People's Republic) as of January 1, 1954. This cancels payment to the Soviet Government of reparations amounting to \$2,537,000,000 (in 1938 world prices) which had remained after previous reductions.

Transfer to the German Democratic Republic by the same date, of Soviet enterprises in Germany without compensation. This includes 33 machine-building, chemical, metallurgical and other enterprises to the value of 2,700,000,000 marks, which the USSR had received in payment of reparations. Release of the GDR from its debt of 430 million marks in connection with the transfer of 66 Soviet enterprises in Germany in 1952.

The Soviet Government agreed to reduce the expenses of the GDR connected with the presence of Soviet troops so that the total annual expenses shall not exceed 5 per cent of its national

revenue and relieved the GDR of repayment of back debts for such purposes, as well as of all postwar debts to the Soviet Union.

In addition, the Soviet Government agreed to deliver during 1953, over and above existing trade agreements, 590,000,000 rubles worth of goods including foodstuffs, coal, rolled ferrous metals, copper, lead, aluminum, cotton and other commodities and to grant the GDR a loan of 485,000,000 rubles, at 2 per cent annual interest, repayable in the course of two years beginning with 1955.

The USSR agreed to release all German war prisoners serving sentences for war crimes, with the exception of those whose crimes were particularly grave.

Both governments agreed to elevate their diplomatic missions to the status of embassies and to exchange ambassadors.

Premier Malenkov, in a dinner at the Kremlin honoring the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, emphasized the importance to all Europe and to the German people themselves of a peaceful, unified Germany. He reviewed the national disaster that militarization had brought to Germany in the past, its cost in dead and wounded and crippled to their own people as well as to others. He pointed out that the Bonn rulers were again impelling Germany along the same suicidal path, and that the German people themselves must prevent this. He declared:

"The German people have the opportunity of creating a new era in their history, an era of peaceful development and prosperity for Germany. It is for such a future that the finest minds of Germany have striven. The great Goethe dreamed of seeing his country a free land in the splendor of its strength, and his people a free nation. . . .

For a long time many achievements of the German intellect and labor were used by the militarists for war. In conditions of peaceful development the German people will apply the might of their highly developed industry, all the achievements of science and engineering, all their creative

energies and abilities to improving the living conditions of the population, and securing the country's progress. Germany will be able to establish close economic relations with peace-loving states, to receive the necessary markets, to resume traditional trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and with other states. Only by following this path will Germany rise again as a great power and take her proper place among the nations of the world. . . .

In his reply, Premier Grotewohl expressed gratitude on behalf of his delegation and the German people for the cordial reception and the concrete results of the negotiations, the assistance of the Soviet Union, and the respect for the rights and national dignity of the German people exemplified in its proposals.

Grotewohl pledged continued efforts for German unification and the establishment of a peaceful German state.

AMERICA'S PACT WITH FRANCO

AT A press conference on October 1, President Eisenhower pointed to the enforced retirement of Cardinal Wyszyński in Poland as evidence of the difficulties of reaching agreement with the "other side," and that "the absence of freedom of religion and thought cast doubt on their readiness to observe agreements."

Aside from the fact that the events in Poland have nothing to do with religious freedom but were concerned only with anti-state activities of certain religious figures, it can be noted that no such yardstick was applied in the new military agreement — with Franco Spain, where there is no religious freedom for Protestants; or even for certain sections of the Catholic Church.

Rev. Dr. John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary and Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, said, after a visit to Spain summer before last:

. . . Freedom was dead. . . . Overt persecution has been transformed into a subtle, sadistic, inexorable policy of making the social and cultural life of Protestants as intolerable as possible. . . . The present Fascist regime, with its doctrine of a pure unified nationality undisturbed by political dissent and untainted by religious heresy, constitutes a sadistic theocracy.

Echoing world wide disapproval of the U.S. military agreement with Franco, the *New York Times* said editorially, September 28:

. . . The General Assembly resolution of Dec. 12, 1946, stated among other things that "In origin, nature, structure and general conduct, the Franco regime is a fascist regime patterned on, and established largely as a result of aid received from, Hitler's Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Fascist Italy." That regime has not changed in any way since 1946, and the condemnation—which is a moral as well as a political one, still stands. . . . We fought World War II to defeat fascism, and are now making a pact, if not an alliance, with a fascist government. . . .

Military commentator Hanson Baldwin wrote of the agreement in the *New York Times*, Sept. 29, that its cost was still impossible to assess:

. . . the obligations of both countries in the case of actual war are mentioned only in secret codicils. Thus, the base agreement commits the United States to courses of politico-military action unknown to the American people at an unestimated cost in men, military equipment and dollars, without the ratification of the Senate.

The New World Market

by

JOHN CARTER

POST-WAR HISTORY has seen few more spectacular and significant failures than that of the attempt by the U.S., Britain and France to impose an economic blockade on the Soviet Union, China and the people's democracies. As Stalin pointed out, the effect has been "not to strangle, but to strengthen the new world market." In fact, the new world market has been strengthened to such an extent that Stalin was able to predict with confidence that, in view of the present tempo of industrial development in the Soviet Union, China and the people's democracies, "it will soon come to pass that these countries will not only be in no need of imports from capitalist countries, but will themselves feel the necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus products."

There are, of course, countless facets to this crucial question of the new world market, a decisive factor in present international relations, but the aim here is to concentrate on only

one of them—the economic relations that have developed between the new China on the one hand and the people's democracies on the other.

Since 1950, these constantly expanding trade relations have supplemented key Sino-Soviet and Soviet-East European economic cooperation and have been of tremendous importance to the plans of all the people's democracies, and the remarkable progress made by China since the establishment of the Central People's Government in October, 1949.

If one thing above all others serves to underline the fiasco of the Western embargo it is the fact that large-scale economic construction has begun in China and that, in the words of Chen Yun, "mammoth, complex modern enterprises of key significance to China's industrialization will be built one after another from now on." This clearly portends future Sino-East European trade exchanges on a scale that will by comparison dwarf even the present all-time record volume of commerce taking place between the people's democracies and China.

Already China's foreign trade has exceeded the highest pre-war volume, and the Soviet Union and the people's democracies account for the largest share of it—something like 70 per cent last year compared with

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26 per cent in 1950 and 61 per cent in 1951. At the present time Soviet long-term credits are making it possible for China to import over two-thirds more industrial equipment and machinery each year from the USSR alone than she was importing from all the capitalist countries before the Second World War.

In 1951, for the first time in more than 70 years, China recorded a favorable balance of trade with exports exceeding imports by more than 9 per cent. Moreover, the entire former pattern of China's foreign trade based on semi-colonial dependence on imperialist countries has been completely transformed through what Stalin described as the chief characteristic of the new world market—"a sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress of all."

With the Soviet Union, the people's democracies are now China's best customers for a number of traditional exports, such as tea and silk. The important silk and tea producing area of East China, for instance, sends about 80 per cent of its raw and processed silk output to these markets and 70 per cent of its tea as well as large quantities of meat, eggs, oil, sausage casings, fruit and feathers.

Chinese handicrafts and a score of other special local products—peppermint, lacquer, wax, ginger—are now selling in East European markets for the first time. Last year, China began exporting tobacco to Eastern Europe and regular shipments have followed ever since. The value of tobacco imported into China from the U.S. between 1905 and 1949 has been estimated at \$830,000,000.

China's huge northwestern province, Sinkiang, is also sharing in trade with the people's democracies

and is exchanging wool, sheepskins and hides for equipment needed in the vast program of making the Northwest one of the great industrial bases of China.

The importance of trade with China to the people's democracies and the advantages that China enjoys through access to expanding markets and growing sources of industrial supplies can best be seen by considering the bilateral exchanges that are taking place.

Undoubtedly because of the great advantage she enjoyed with a merchant shipping service trading to China ports, Poland was first among the Eastern European nations to enter into trade relations with the new China. Under the agreement her exports to China included mining machinery, rolling stock and railway equipment, textiles, steel products and chemicals.

By the end of 1950, deliveries were being made on an increasing scale and in October, 1952, a Polish vessel arrived at Tientsin with a cargo which included in addition to Polish goods, automobiles and machinery from Czechoslovakia. Sugar was also an important Chinese import from Poland and by early 1951 shipments had made possible a 40 per cent reduction in the retail price in China.

In 1951, Sino-Polish trade was six times the 1950 volume and many times larger than the peak pre-war figures. Further expansion is foreseen in the latest agreement signed between the two countries in July last year. Under it China exchanged ore, asbestos, graphite, textile raw materials, hides, grain and agricultural products, tobacco and tea for Polish rolling stock, machinery, metals, chemicals and paper.

It was clear from the outset that Czechoslovak heavy industry would

play an important complementary role to plans for the industrialization of China. In turn China's raw materials early began to meet some of Czechoslovakia's most urgent requirements. Under the 1950 agreement Czechoslovakia's principal imports were vegetable oils and other raw materials. Deliveries from China, together with supplies from the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies, have since been adequate for the production of artificial fats in Czechoslovakia.

Other imports from China included wolfram, lead, mercury, silk and bristles. The bulk of exports to China consisted of heavy engineering goods, precision instruments and cars and trucks. The exchange of goods between the two countries began immediately and within a few days of the signing of the agreement, ships had left Poland and China. Even though sea transport between Stettin and Tientsin takes some two and a half months, the exchange of goods had been fully developed by the end of 1950.

In May, 1951, China participated in the Prague Fair, and following the discussions which then took place between the Chinese delegation and Czechoslovak trade officials it was announced that Sino-Czechoslovak trade was to increase fourfold compared with 1950. A month later Chen Yun, Chairman of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs of the Central People's Government of China, was able to tell a Czechoslovak correspondent in Peking that Sino-Czechoslovak economic cooperation was effectively countering America's blockade.

The two notable developments in the 1951 agreement were prices fixed independently of those ruling in the world market and provision for Cze-

choslovakia to deliver to China steel plants and iron foundries.

The third Sino-Czechoslovak agreement for the exchange of goods was signed in Prague in July, 1952, and machine tools and factory equipment were included in the list of scheduled Czechoslovak exports. China will continue to supply key raw materials for heavy and light industry, reflecting the constantly rising output of ores and metal concentrates and vegetable oils.

As Premier Grotewohl pointed out when referring to the signing of the first Sino-German trade agreement, commercial relations between the two countries "have, for the German people, importance far beyond the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic." He explained: "Broad sections of West German businessmen see in the close friendship of the German Democratic Republic with People's China bases and possibilities for the increase and expansion of all German foreign trade with China. This fact is of great significance for relations between Eastern and Western Germany. It raises the authority of the German Democratic Republic in Western Germany and contributes essentially to the bringing together of Germans from the East and West in their struggle for the creation of a united, independent, peace-loving and democratic Germany."

Sino-German trade exchanges are now greater than the record pre-war volume of trade between China and a united Germany. As long ago as the beginning of 1951 it was reported that heavy machine tools comprised one-half of the German Democratic Republic's exports to China. Production has expanded since then and machine tools, needed to supplement the products of China's own growing machine tool industry, will undoubtedly

continue to occupy an important place in German Democratic Republic exports to China.

Mining machinery, precision instruments and textile equipment, all outstanding products of German industry, are also aiding China's industrialization. Under recent agreement a complete sugar factory for China is being built in the German Democratic Republic for delivery before the end of 1953.

Among products of light industry being exported to China one of the most interesting is a Chinese typewriter with over 2,500 characters on each of three keyboards. It is made by the nationalized "Optima" factory near Erfurt and is superior to the Japanese model hitherto most widely used in China.

Apart from raw materials, Hungary has been sending a wide range of the products of her heavy industry to China—tractors and other agricultural machinery, power-driven pumps, heavy electrical equipment, chemicals and machine tools. Trade between the two countries is on a far greater scale than ever before and virtually everything that Hungary is producing in growing volume for export is finding a market in China in return for traditional Chinese exports.

Hungary's exhibits at the Bombay and Karachi fairs early last year and at the Leipzig Fair in September made it clear that the extent to which she can contribute to the carrying out of China's gigantic development projects could scarcely have been imagined a decade ago.

Indicative of the astonishing progress that the people's democracies have made within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid is the fact that industrial products are among the goods now being sent

to China by two countries that were formerly among the most backward in Europe, Rumania and Bulgaria. Rumania's exports include industrial equipment, electrical products, oil products and chemicals; and imports from China consist of metals, chemicals, vegetable oils and tea.

A Sino-Bulgarian agreement, also concluded in the summer of 1952, was the first in Bulgaria's history. Before the Second World War, Bulgaria did not even have official trade relations with Kuomintang China, and Chinese imports were purchased on the West European market. Under the current agreement Bulgaria is to supply China with machine tools, electrical products, nitrogen fertilizers and chemicals, in return for non-ferrous metals, cotton, silk, tea and hides. Bulgarian machine tools going to China include lathes, shapers, presses and pneumatic hammers, some of which were shown at Leipzig last year.

Since goods from the people's democracies have to travel more than 14,000 miles by sea to China, shipping is of crucial importance. The steps being taken to solve this huge problem are of special importance in view of the considerable extent to which shipping monopolies have been able to hinder the development of East-West trade. The noted Indian economist, Mr. Gyan Chand, who acted as chairman of the group at the Moscow Economic Conference concerned with the trading problems of under-developed countries, was only one of many Asian speakers who drew attention to the concentration of shipping in the hands of a few countries and international cartels.

As the *Batory* has fittingly symbolized on several especially notable occasions, the Polish mercantile marine is already a challenge to those

THE LEIPZIG FAIR

TOTAL export and import contracts concluded at this year's Leipzig Trade Fair early in September were approximately \$250,000,000, nearly double the figure at last year's fair. More than one quarter of the export contracts signed were with Western countries.

The international importance of the fair is indicated by the fact that more than 5,000 businessmen from 51 countries attended, that traders from East and West came together.

who would make shipping a barrier instead of an aid to the development of peaceful international trade.

From two ports of world importance, Gdansk-Gdynia and Stettin, two Polish shipping companies—Polish Ocean Lines and Polish Steamship Company—are operating no fewer than 17 regular lines linking Eastern Europe with the major ports of Europe, the Americas, North Africa and the Far East.

At the present time Poland's ocean-going fleet is about three times the pre-war size. In 1947, it consisted of 42 vessels with a total carrying capacity of 155,500 tons. Two years later it had been increased to 190,000 tons, and the target for 1955 is in the region of 580,000 tons, which will probably mean between 150 and 200 ships. Some of these are being built in Danish and other foreign shipyards, and some would have been built in British yards if the British government had not submitted to American pressure and refused to fulfill Polish orders.

Similarly the German Democratic Republic is building a merchant fleet, a large portion of which will be en-

gaged in the China trade. Under the Five-Year Plan, 50 ocean-going ships are to be completed, most of them for the German Democratic Republic's own use. Since, like Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the German Democratic Republic has the use of Stettin at the mouth of the Oder River, a deep-sea port for the Democratic Republic is not planned. Other ports such as Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund are, however, being enlarged and a program is well advanced to make Wismar an important trans-shipment port for potash going to China and other Far Eastern countries. When finished, the port will be able to receive ships of 10,000 tons and over.

Hungary and Rumania are also carrying out shipbuilding programs that will have an important bearing on future sea communications between Eastern Europe and China. The Hungarian Five-Year Plan provides for the construction of modern motor tugs, large barges and three Danube sea-going ships. Large investments are being made in the ship-building industry under the Rumanian Five-Year Plan and vessels to be built include large cargo ships and sea-going tugs.

A Czechoslovak merchant fleet is also now in existence. The Czechoslovak vessel *Republika* docked at Tientsin in July, 1952, with a cargo of goods being delivered under the Sino-Czechoslovak agreement.

Not to be overlooked either is the tremendous development of internal water transport in the people's democracies. Undertakings such as the projected navigable waterway linking the great canals of the Soviet Union with the rivers of Poland and the German Democratic Republic will aid still further the vast exchange of goods between the Soviet Union, China and the people's democracies.

China's own ship-building program is going ahead and models of big river boats shown at Leipzig suggested the tremendous potentialities of an industry now being modernized and developed on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Of great importance too is the completion of the new Tangku harbor linking Tientsin with the sea and providing accommodation for ships of 10,000 tons. In the past, vessels over 3,000 tons could not sail up the shallow Hai Ho River which connects Tientsin with the sea, and had to discharge their cargoes onto lighters.

The tremendously important point about present trading relations between the people's democracies and China, and their certain future expansion, is that they do not, and will not, exhaust the capacity either of China or the people's democracies to trade with the rest of the world. The fact is that at a time when Sino-East European commercial exchanges have reached a volume never attained or even approached in the past, all the countries concerned have declared their willingness and their ability to trade with the West.

Without exception their delegates

to the Moscow Conference listed specific goods that could be supplied to the West and named Western products that would be acceptable as exports. As Dr. Chen Han-seng, one of the Chinese delegates, wrote after the conference, in spite of the huge deliveries of industrial equipment China is receiving from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, "we will need more than what these countries can export to us." A German Democratic Republic foreign trade representative made the same point when he declared at Leipzig that "orders are immediately possible from China for three generations."

The plain lesson of the trade that has developed between the people's democracies and China is that countries engaged in industrialization, development of their entire resources and improving living standards make not only possible, but imperative a freer exchange of goods than the world has ever known. There is in fact no more telling argument for full, equal and peaceful trade than the daily-mounting achievements of those countries that are at present so engaged.

Recent Soviet Trade Agreements With Capitalist Countries

A NUMBER of trade agreements have recently been concluded between the Soviet Union and France, Finland, Iran, Denmark, Greece, Norway, Sweden, Argentina and Iceland, and trade negotiations with several other countries are now making headway. These agreements point the way to the mutual advantages of East-West trade.

The recently concluded agreements are a welcome relief to the Western countries for they impose no heavy obligations nor political stipulations, and

the clearing, or barter, arrangements agreed upon with the Soviet Union are of untold value to the Western countries suffering from a shortage of foreign exchange.

The nature of some of these agreements and the mutual advantage that they spell for the signatories can be seen from the brief descriptions that follow:

Finland: as a result of a series of agreements, Soviet-Finnish trade in 1951 was nine times the trade in 1938

(reckoned in comparable prices), and this year it will be nearly double that of 1952. In February of this year a Soviet-Finnish agreement enlarged the range of commodities involved. The growth of Soviet-Finnish trade has helped Finland maintain employment levels and meet her problems of supply and foreign exchange. Goods that she buys in the Soviet Union would require large amounts of Finnish foreign exchange from limited resources. In addition, Finland is able to sell large quantities of goods to the USSR that cannot now readily be marketed elsewhere.

Iran: Development of Soviet-Iranian trade is based the commerce and navigation treaty of 1940 and a large increase in trade is expected this year based on an agreement which became effective in June. The Iranian press has estimated that the new barter agreement will enable Iran within one year to economize foreign exchange valued at 1.1 billion rials.

Sweden: On April 9 the Soviet Union and Sweden signed a protocol governing trade between the countries for this year; the negotiations had revealed a mutual desire to expand trade between the two countries.

France: On July 15, the USSR signed a trade agreement and a payments agreement with France. Covering a period of three years, the value of goods to be delivered by each country in the first year is to be approximately 12 billion francs. The USSR is to supply France with maize, anthracite, pitch, chromium and manganese ore, asbestos, oil, furs and other commodities in exchange for French artificial silk yarn and fabrics, woolen cloth, cocoa bean, citrus fruits, lead and essential oils. France also agreed to build 5,000 ton merchant ships, hoisting and transport equipment and steam boilers, to be delivered to the USSR in the second and third years of the agreement. Settlement on mutual deliveries is to be made in French francs.

Denmark: Larger trade than in previous years is envisaged in a protocol on commodity deliveries in the year ending June, 30, 1954, signed by the Soviet

Union with Denmark this past June. Including traditional items of Soviet-Danish trade, the Soviet Union will supply wheat, oilcakes, timber, fertilizer, pig iron and other commodities, in return for Danish butter, pork, lard, herrings and other goods. Denmark will also build refrigerator ships and do ship repairs for the USSR.

Greece: The USSR signed a trade and payments agreement with Greece this July, to run twelve months. Settlements are to be made by clearing arrangements. The Soviet Union will supply oil products, anthracite, timber and other commodities in exchange for Greek tobacco, cotton, rice and other items.

Iceland: In August a trade and payments agreement was signed with Iceland. It was a twelve-month barter agreement under which the Soviet Union is to supply oil products, flour, cement, metal goods and other items in return for filleted fish and salt and frozen herrings.

Argentina: In August the USSR signed a trade and payments agreement with Argentina, the agreement to be renewable each year unless terminated by one of the parties. Under it, the Soviet Union will supply Argentina large quantities of coal and oil, as well as equipment (to be paid for in installments) for the oil, coal and power industries, railway equipment, tractors and farm machinery. The USSR will also send raw materials and metal products, including blooms, pig iron, sheet steel, rails, tires and axles, boiler pipe and boiler iron, tubing for the oil industry, chemicals, medicaments, asbestos, precision instruments and oil products. Linseed oil and wool will account for more than half the value of the goods Argentina will export to the USSR in the first year of the agreement. Other items from Argentina include cowhide, sheepskin, bacon, cheese, canned meats, pork and mutton.

Several of the agreements, such as the ones with France, Greece and Iceland, resulted from negotiations that began as the result of contacts made at the Geneva conference on East-West trade that was sponsored by the UN.

A Deeply Moving Human Document

DEATH HOUSE LETTERS of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. *Jero Publishing Co., New York, 1953. 168 pp. \$1.00.*

YOU CANNOT read the letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg without feelings of humility, anger and courage: humility before the agony that that wonderful woman and her husband suffered in being torn from each other and from their lovely children; anger at the mockery called justice and the legal murder that followed; and courage that stems from their remarkable fortitude which in turn flowed from the knowledge that they were innocent and that the principled stand that they took involved more than the life that they were so eager to live.

"Our own stamina is possible not only because of our innocence, but our understanding of the issues at stake. We have been clear, forthright and outspoken as always, because we have nothing to hide. It is our accusers and prosecutors who are in mortal fear of the truth," writes Julius in one of the letters to his wife.

And Ethel, in a letter to their attorney, writes:

"My husband and I shall die innocent before we lower ourselves to live guilty!"

The letters in this small volume form the most moving human document of our days. Buried alive in their death house cells they nevertheless succeed in fanning their spark of life into a blazing flame, a roaring affirmation of life. Permitted to see each other only two hours a week, their pens became their tongues and their letters their voices.

And what voices! With death literally

facing them, they are able to comfort each other, to express their fears, doubts, hopes—their love. They are able to plan for their children's welfare, to arrange that friends outside remember the little boys' birthdays, to prepare themselves so that on visiting day the children will see some semblance of parental gaiety. They are able to comment with remarkable clarity and incision on the events of the day. And they are able, always, to see how their own tragic plight fits into a vast miserable scheme devised by monstrous minds.

These letters, tender, wrathful, thoughtful, will be read by generations that will bow their heads at the shame of a great country. Today, every American, must read them, must read them at once in order to learn the lesson that they tell before it is too late.

The Rosenberg Case is not ended—though the victims have been charred into everlasting silence. The case is still being fought through the attempts to have the case of Morton Sobell reviewed. The way to vindicate the Rosenbergs is to support the fight for Sobell.

But what about Robbie and Michael Rosenberg—whose parents were torn from them? A trust fund has been set up to give them the care, the attention and at least some of the love that should have come from a mother and a father. Proceeds from the sale of this book go to that trust fund. Buy the book, be sure to have your friends buy it, for you will not only enrich yourself beyond measure from the pages of this deeply human record, but you will, in a small way, help two beautiful little boys on the path to life. —ANDREW VOYNOW

NOTE TO OUR READERS

We regret very much the delay in getting out this issue. Aside from any further unforeseen delays in mailing which are beyond our control, our whole publication schedule has been thrown off by the holding up of the previous issue for two weeks by the Post Office, as explained in our opening statement.

FALL SPECIAL—LEWYT Vacuum Cleaner—Reg. \$89.95—SPEC. \$54.95—Standard Brand Dist. 143 4th Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.) GR. 3-7819. 1 hr. free parking.

For Peace Through Negotiations

While Washington is reported "holding firm" to its position that the time is not ripe for a top level great power meeting, mounting pressure rises here and everywhere for peace negotiations by chiefs of state as proposed repeatedly by the Soviet Union.

ADLAI STEVENSON urged peace talks with the Soviet Union in a television broadcast from Chicago, September 15, during a Democratic Party rally. Reporting on the "sobering experience" of his world travels, the 1952 Presidential candidate said:

"... There is universal anxiety and impatience to ease the tensions, to explore every possibility of settlements and conference by negotiations. . . . There is uncertainty abroad about America and our objectives. Is our objective to discover through negotiations the way to relax tensions, or is it the intensification of the 'cold war'; is it co-existence or is it the extermination of Communist power? . . .

"The door to the conference room is the door to peace. Let it never be said that America was reluctant to enter."

FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN, in an address in New York, September 28, suggested as one of the pillars of American foreign policy (along with stronger defense and support of war alliances):

"The willingness, in firm agreement with our allies and from a position of united strength, to seek in all sincerity solutions of our differences with the Soviet bloc through patient and peaceful negotiations."

DEAN ACHESON, in a speech in New York, October 1, urged the Eisenhower Administration to engage in negotiations with the Soviet Union. The former Secretary of State declared:

"Negotiation is asked, is possible, is desirable, and may—but only may—be productive."

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, according to the *New York Times*, October 6, said in a speech at Des Moines, "she believed that a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union was possible if the United

States had the patience and perseverance 'to live in uncertainty' until such an agreement was completed."

THE UE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, the end of September, adopted a foreign policy resolution calling for a lasting peace in Korea, end of the cold war and abolition of barriers to free trade among all nations. The resolution of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union declared that "instead of building prosperity, the arms program has brought us to the very edge of economic crisis and job insecurity," and called for a crusade for "peace through negotiations."

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS international union, meeting in convention in St. Louis, September 20, unanimously adopted a statement directing the Union officers to continue on the path of a peace policy, welcomed Adlai Stevenson's support of peace negotiations, and declared:

"... Peace is important to the members of our union. It is important because our jobs, our constitutional liberties, the security of our families, is so dependent on peace."

JACOB POTOVSKY, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, told the New York CIO Convention at the end of September, that while not minimizing the difficulties of negotiations,

"... there are no international conflicts which in the last analysis, cannot be resolved by negotiations. . . . If we are resolved to deal with others in terms of human dignity, have regard for their problems as well as our own, I think we can make this progress toward peace. This may call for co-existence with nations whose philosophy we abhor. It may mean dealing with them as equals. . . ."

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE, expressing the rising demand of the American people for peace, continues its campaign for "Negotiations—Path to World Peace." Meetings on this issue were held in various cities during the summer. On August 26, the APC organized a delegation of prominent people to the United Nations, who urged that U.S. representatives support the idea of a round table political conference as the best way to "help fulfill the great hopes aroused everywhere by the truce in Korea for the achievement of lasting peace between nations."

DAG HAMMERKJOLD, UN SECRETARY GENERAL, at a meeting held in his honor September 14, said:

"Look anywhere in the world today. Is there any solution in sight except peacefully negotiated agreements? What is the alternative? Only the attempt to establish 'one world' by force of arms. And that is no alternative. Such an attempt would lead to a catastrophe just as fatal to the presumed victor as to the vanquished."

INDIA'S UN DELEGATE, V. K. Krishna Menon, told the General Assembly September 28: "There can be no settlement in this world except by agreement among the great powers which have the material strength and in which largely lies the power of decision. Hence we should like to submit to the Assembly, at the appropriate moment, that it is necessary for the heads of state—or whoever speaks for them at the highest level—to meet together in the context of an informal gathering."

BRITAIN TRADES UNION CONGRESS, representing 8,000,000 workers, at its annual meeting in September unanimously adopted a resolution declaring:

"The Congress, in affirming its desire for peace throughout the world, is of the opinion that an early meeting between the heads of the Governments of Great Britain, France, the United States and the USSR will assist to that end. It therefore calls upon the Govern-

ment to take the necessary steps to insure that such a meeting takes place without further delay."

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, at its 52nd annual conference at Margate, on October 1 overwhelmingly adopted a foreign policy resolution calling for a Big Four meeting of heads of state.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, is still in favor of a Big Four meeting. The New York *Herald Tribune* reported September 28 on a British Foreign Office statement issued with the British Prime Ministers approval: "Sir Winston has in no way changed his mind about the proposals contained in his speech of May 11."

THE FRENCH CABINET decided October 7 to urge a five-power conference such as proposed by the USSR in its September 28 note, at which Far Eastern questions would be considered by the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the Chinese Democratic Republic.

CANADIAN DELEGATES to Congress of Labor Convention in Montreal Sept. 14-18 passed a foreign policy resolution calling on their government to take the lead in settling the cold war and "support the British proposal for a Big Four Meeting to reduce world tensions."

BRAZIL'S FEDERAL CHAMBER, in overwhelming majority, on August 31, signed an appeal which declared: "... the conclusion of an armistice in the Korean theater of war shows that there is no international question at issue which cannot be solved through negotiations, understanding and agreement between the countries concerned."

THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE, representing the desires of the whole Soviet people, passed a strong resolution at a meeting in Moscow August 31, declaring "Full support for the decisions of the World Peace Council which demand the settlement through negotiations of all differences between states."

China's New Creative Age

by HEWLETT JOHNSON

Dean of Canterbury

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