

NEW WORLD

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THE BERLIN CONFERENCE—AND AFTER

Canadians in the USSR • A Woman of the New China

NEW WORLD *Review*

MARCH

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OUR COVER: Hungarian mother and child in traditional native costume. For article and photos on Hungary see page 8 (Sovfoto)

JESSICA SMITH, Editor

FREDERICK V. FIELD, Far Eastern Editor

ANDREW VOYNOW, Managing Editor

DONALD SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager

ESLANDA ROBESON
Editorial Consultants on Negro and Colonial Questions

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The Berlin Conference—And After

by JESSICA SMITH

THE great and positive significance of the Berlin Four-Power Conference was in re-establishing the principle of negotiation as the only way to settle disputes among nations and lead the world toward peace.

Because the big powers have been talking things over and will talk some more, people everywhere are breathing more freely. There is a palpable lessening in the tensions already eased by the armistice in Korea and the series of moves made by the Soviet Union during the past year for better world relations, pursuing what has always been the basic aim of its foreign policy.

The very fact that the conference was held despite the long and determined efforts to prevent it—marked a great victory for the peace forces of the world.

And it can be counted an even greater victory that out of this conference came the decision to meet at Geneva with the participation of the Chinese People's Republic. This second conference, which will discuss a peace settlement for Korea and the question of restoring peace in Indo-China, will provide a further opportunity for reducing world tensions. Already Indian Prime Minister Nehru's call for an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China has received wide endorsement.

While agreement could not be reached on having the Geneva conference consider over-all issues of

common concern, it is of the utmost importance that it will bring the People's Republic of China into consultation with the other great powers. Because of the inter-relation of all world problems today, the discussions will inevitably include broader questions.

The agreement to hold an exchange of views on disarmament, even on a limited basis, opens the way to discussions on reducing the terrible and wasteful burden of the armaments race which is diverting the wealth of nations and the strength and talents of people everywhere from all the things they might be doing to raise living standards and increase human happiness. Even the first step towards arms reduction will immensely lessen the danger of war.

Although it is regrettable that no agreement could be reached on Germany, on problems of European security and on the Austrian treaty, there is no question that many issues were clarified in the debates on these subjects which will help in bringing about the eventual peaceful unification of Germany.

The conference revealed that there can be no solution to the German problem apart from the question of the security of Europe. It raised sharply the question of whether the security of Europe as a whole can be solved by a divisive policy which turns Europe into opposing armed camps, which would be the

inevitable result of pushing through the European Defense Community and the remilitarization of Germany. The Soviet proposal for a fifty-year Collective Security Pact for all European countries focused attention on an alternative plan in which all the countries of Europe, regardless of differing social systems could co-exist peacefully.

Finally, we can count as a positive result of the conference that it afforded the opportunity for Secretary of State Dulles and Foreign Minister Molotov, in private conversations, to pursue further the procedural arrangements for the talks on President Eisenhower's proposal for an atomic pool for peaceful purposes, and the Soviet Government's suggestion for a pledge by the great powers not to use atomic or hydrogen weapons or other weapons of mass destruction, as an interim step toward agreement on their final banning.

The voices of ordinary Americans who want peace, of the working people who understand the connection between peace and jobs, were not heard in Berlin.

It was not that America Mr. Dulles was representing when on the eve of the conference he unveiled the "new look" military policy "... to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our own choosing," which was understood everywhere as a threat to atom bomb the cities of the Soviet Union and China if some local conflict might break out which the Administration might choose to interpret as "Communist aggression."

This was not an auspicious way to enter upon a new era of negotiations.

But already, from many quarters, questions are being raised here at home at the dreadful and momentous

implications of this policy for all Americans, and demands are rising for a great national discussion of our foreign policy.

The Berlin Conference has already made its contribution to that discussion. It has brought home more clearly than ever that there is no threat of aggression from the Soviet Union or China whose leaders are doing everything in their power to bring about the substitution of the conference table for force and threats of force in world affairs.

Nor was it auspicious that during this period there should have been new threats of war against China; that the first U.S. unit of B-47 atomic jet bombers was sent to Moroccan bases from which, newspapers reported, "potential targets in European Russia and the Black Sea oil region are brought into range"; that preparations advanced for air bases in Spain; that the United States-Pakistan military alliance and the related Turkey-Pakistan Pact, both bitterly opposed by India and other Asian countries, were announced; that additional air mechanics were sent to Indo-China, and that plans were made to spend another \$1,200,000,000 of the U.S. taxpayers money to keep the war in Indo-China going.

And, finally, the surrender of the Administration to McCarthyism has raised new, grave doubts and fears among the American people and around the world as to the future course of U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. Dulles, on his return, was met by a barrage of criticism from the McCarthy camp for having agreed to a conference with People's China, which was said to amount to "virtual recognition." Senator Knowland (R-Cal.) charged him with "appeasement," and preparing "an Asian Munich." Mr. Dulles defended him-

self by placing the responsibility on M. Bidault, French Foreign Minister, who, he said, had given him a grim warning that unless his [Bidault's] conference plan was accepted, "his government would collapse by March 1, and be followed by 1) the withdrawal of French troops from Indo-China and 2) the wiping out of any chance of French ratification of the European Defense Community."

After being grilled by members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, according to Doris Fleeson in the *New York Post* (February 26), Mr. Dulles' lips quivered and his eyes filmed, as he complained:

We won every point from the Russians in Berlin. I don't think it is right that when we come home after making such a record we should have to face this kind of criticism. It hurts us and it hurts what we are trying to do.

Whereupon Senator Humphrey (D-Minn.) remarked that Mr. Dulles was just reaping the whirlwind of bitter partisanship his own party had introduced into foreign affairs.

As to winning every point from the Russians, it is interesting to note that the only question on which agreement was reached, that of a conference including the Chinese People's Republic, was one which Secretary Dulles had fought desperately to exclude from consideration altogether. It was Russian insistence on including this point—because they knew that the deep differences on Germany would be difficult if not impossible of solution as long as over-all world tensions continued—that led to the one most fruitful result of the conference.

The fact that pressure from Allied powers compelled Mr. Dulles to yield on this point indicates that the

realities of the world situation and the pressure of the people may in the end prevail over the destructive efforts of the McCarthyite cabal, which will certainly do everything in its power to hamper the Geneva conference.

With the question of East-West trade becoming increasingly urgent for America's allies, Mr. Dulles must know what difficulties will face American foreign policy if McCarthy and the China Lobby should be permitted to take it over. On his recent speaking trip, McCarthy is reported to have called upon Republicans to ask of every candidate for Congress one question: "If we send you to Washington will you continue to vote our money to allies who are using that money to strengthen our mortal enemy, Red China?" How long could our country hope to retain allies if such a policy should prevail?

In his radio and television report on the Berlin Conference, Secretary Dulles declared that one of the important results of the conference was that "As far as Europe was concerned, we brought Mr. Molotov to show Russia's hand."

Yet, again and again during the conference, Secretary Dulles had complained that Mr. Molotov was saying "nothing new." The Soviet Union in the long discussions that preceded the conference, had in fact, showed its hand very openly, and expressed with the utmost clarity its opinion that a unified and peaceful Germany and the European Defense Community were incompatible, and had never hidden its position that the question of German rearming is fundamental. At the same time, the proposal of a system of collective security for all Europe was widely hailed as a new and constructive suggestion, and Mr. Dulles' interpre-

tation of this plan as a "Soviet scheme to get control of all Europe" was not shared by the people whose main fear is domination by revived German militarism.

We cannot agree with Mr. Dulles' conclusion that he had achieved his main purpose and that "Berlin cleared the way for other things to happen. The unification and strengthening of West Europe may now go on."

We believe that the pushing through of the European Defense Community will now be more, not less, difficult as a result of the peaceful alternative that has been offered by the Soviet Union.

Mr. Dulles reported as a great victory over the Russians the fact that he had succeeded in getting Russia to accept a resolution "which spelled out the U.S. position that Red China might . . . be dealt with where necessary, but not as a government recognized by the United States." He said that Mr. Molotov had resisted that provision to the last, trying to get the United States to meet with China as one of the five great powers, only agreeing to accept the United States formula at the very end of the conference.

"A Soviet concession of that magnitude," declared Mr. Dulles, "ought not to be ignored."

With regard to the decision to discuss Korea and Indo-China, Mr. Dulles in his report also made an admission of great magnitude, considering that the basis of his foreign policy is the supposed threat of Soviet aggression everywhere. He declared:

"... I do not exclude the idea that the Soviet Union might, in fact, want peace in Asia."

As to the prospects for pushing ahead with the European Defense Community it seems most unlikely

that M. Bidault will be able to deliver on his promise to get the French Assembly to take up the question of ratification. The attitude he met on his return to France was that with the possibility of further easing of tensions through the Geneva conference, it would be better to let the whole matter rest until then. Opposition to EDC among the French people and in parliament has intensified as a result of the conference, which showed so clearly that there is another alternative. Opposition has increased even in conservative French circles as a result of the declarations by the three Western representatives that a unified Germany would not be bound by the agreement, contrary to the binding provisions in the EDC treaty itself. This raises the specter of a remilitarized Germany which would not be controlled by the 6-nation army as the French have been assured would be the case.

In England opposition to EDC is mounting daily. Both the executive and the parliamentary groups of the Labor Party are sharply split on the issue. A resolution to get parliamentary support for the Government's policy of proceeding at once with the rearming of Germany squeaked through the Labor MP's by a margin of only nine votes, and rank and file support for the Bevan position that an alternative must be found to EDC is growing.

Even Mr. Churchill, in a speech during the House of Commons debate on foreign affairs on February 25, while he went along with the idea of building up the EDC, indicated that the Berlin Conference had made "discussion of all these questions less delicate and dangerous than it was before." He underlined the importance of the Geneva meet-

ing with People's China, and declared it has an even better chance of fruitful results than the one in Berlin.

Sir Winston made a strong plea for more trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies:

The more the two great divisions in the world mingle in the healthy and fruitful activities of commerce, the greater the counterpoise to the purely military calculations.

He also indicated that he was still in favor of top level meetings of heads of governments.

The question of East-West trade has become of paramount consideration in Great Britain. Increasing demands for the lifting of the embargoes which are cutting Britain off from lucrative orders from China, the USSR and the People's Democracies are being made by influential business and official quarters in England, who are feeling the pressure of the competition of the American-fostered industry of Germany and Japan.

In Italy, too, opposition to EDC is growing, both popular and parliamentary, and it is not likely that the shaky Scelba government could survive a vote on the issue.

There is also widespread opposition to EDC within Germany. Adenauer rushed through the Bundestag a constitutional amendment which would speed the process of ratification of EDC by permitting rearmament and conscription. But the measure was vigorously opposed by the large German Socialist Party, headed by Erich Ollenhauer, which has stiffened its opposition to EDC. At the recent Brussels conference of the Socialist International, the German Socialists opposed the rearmament of Germany on the ground that

it would make the division of their country permanent.

The American people have unfortunately not had access to adequate accounts of the proposals and discussions at the Berlin conference. Press reports were limited and biased. Correspondents in Berlin did not attend the sessions, but had to be content with copies of the main speeches and briefings from each delegation after the sessions. Of U.S. briefings, M. S. Handler reported in the *New York Times* for January 26:

Correspondents complained that the American officials had employed psychological warfare tactics rather than having provided objective analysis and appraisal of Mr. Molotov's statement.

This no doubt was the special contribution of C. D. Jackson, Administration psychological warfare adviser, who was a member of the U.S. delegation.

Yet the proceedings of the conference, the proposals and the discussions, have a vital importance to all Americans. They affect the security and well-being of our country, the future of our children, the peace of the world.

NWR, therefore, is preparing a pamphlet giving as detailed as possible an account of what happened there, from the reports and documents at hand.

These facts are essential in order that Americans may be able to make up their own minds on the significance of the conference. They are essential to all who wish to play an effective part in helping to determine the future direction of our country's foreign policy, and to guarantee that our country shall regain its falling prestige and once again play an honorable and peaceful role in the world.

NEW ERA FOR HUNGARY

Past half year has witnessed a slash in living costs as well as a new program for plentiful consumer goods

by LAWRENCE KIRWAN

OVER the past six months a tremendous change has been going on in Hungary. The concept that raising the material standard of living is the basic principle of socialism has resulted in a new era of slashed living costs and bountiful consumer goods.

Hungary finished the war, spent for the most part as a vassal of Germany, economically on her knees. She had never been a very rich country. "The land of three million beggars," they called her before the war, because out of season the huge number of the landless peasantry who made up the bulk of the population just had no means of existence.

The arrival in 1945 of the Soviet armies sent domestic and foreign overlords packing. The Hungarian

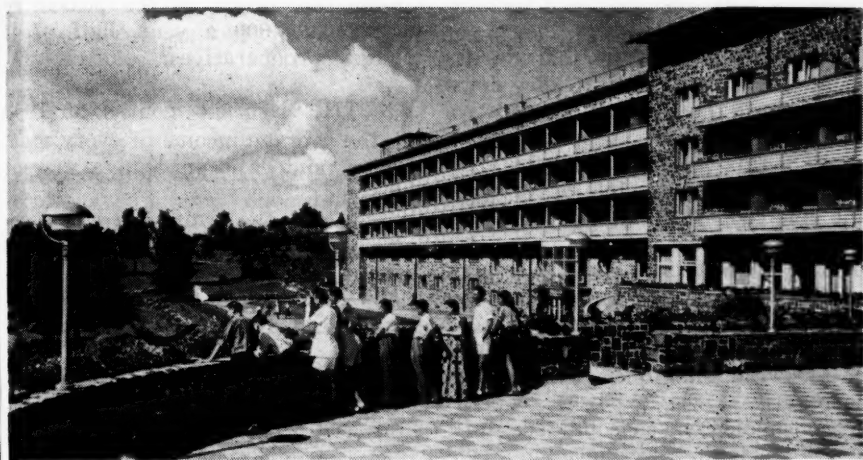
people had to start to rebuild their country from scratch.

Determined that Hungary would never again be a dependency, the new leaders distributed a third of the agricultural land to 642,000 landless families and set about making the country industrially strong.

For eight years the nation kept its nose to the grindstone. Industry was built up where none existed before. Whole new towns like steel-making Sztálinváros were created in the wastelands. Great development projects like the Tisza-örs hydro-electric and irrigation barrage and the Budapest underground railway were begun. New factories, mostly manned by new-trained workers, began to turn out things never made in Hungary before—automobiles, giant machine tools, mining and farm machines, penicillin and other drugs, chemicals and so on.

At the same time a social insurance scheme, with health services only dreamed of before, and an entirely new education system were set up. Today five times as many university students (61 per 10,000 population)

LAWRENCE KIRWAN is a British journalist with many years of experience in the large Fleet Street news agencies. He has made a study of conditions in the Hungarian People's Republic and his articles on the subject have appeared in England and in other countries.



—Eastfoto

Vacation spot. These Hungarian workers are gathered on the terrace of their rest home. The trade unions operate such vacation facilities.

and two and a half times as many secondary school pupils as before the war are being taught.

Inevitably these, and other developments involving considerable capital investment, put a great strain on the country. Something had to wait. And that something was the standard of living — comparatively speaking.

In some ways the tempo of the program was too quick, the leadership sometimes over zealous. Mistakes were made. Perhaps mistakes were inevitable in a country trying in a hurry to transform a war-ruined land from feudalism to self-sufficiency in a decade.

And mistakes were frankly admitted. It was last July, just after the general election, that both Premier Imre Nagy and Mátyás Rákosi, first secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party, told the country that the time had come to change the economic emphasis.

Broadly speaking, the pace of industrialization had been too fast and

conversely not enough investment had been made in farming. Reorganization of the thousands of tiny peasant farms into cooperatives had been over rushed. Peasants must be given time to learn by example, and the state must ensure that sufficient machines, seeds and fertilizers were provided to make the change-over possible.

And, as the leading newspaper *Szabad Nép* put it: "While we were working on the perspective of socialist development and a brighter future, we neglected the present. . . . We must now not only build the country for our children but for ourselves as well."

In short, too much investment in long-term heavy industrial development and not enough in projects bringing immediate consumer benefits, an improved standard of living. Planning experts got orders to remedy the unbalance.

First steps were on the land. A whole series of Government decrees made sweeping concessions to the

farmers, both collective and individual.

When Premier Nagy told Parliament it was "necessary to slow down the pace of the farmers' cooperative movement" many people abroad thought this was the signal for a retreat from the principle of working the land cooperatively.

But that was not the case. Almost all the decrees, while helping all farmers, put the cooperative farmer in a more-favored position. What the Premier meant was that instead of hurrying individual farmers into cooperatives, the existing cooperatives should be consolidated until such time as their example and a better flow of farm machinery provided the conditions for more advance.

The "New Deal" for farmers took three broad forms:

1. Lowering the quotas of products which have to be sold to the state at fixed prices, thus leaving the farmer more to sell on the free market;
2. Increased loan assistance for development, and the relaxation, or even wiping out, of existing loan repayment obligations;
3. Provision of free and cheaper services, such as a free state veterinary service, free seeds and cheaper machine help.

Cuts in the quantity of produce to be sold to the state ranged from 25 per cent in the case of the big cooperatives to 10 per cent for individual farmers.

In one stroke \$16,800,000 worth of short-term loan debts by the cooperatives were wiped out. Repayment of longer-term loans was suspended for two years and then spread over up to 17.

Measures taken at this stage, the Minister of Agriculture announced at the end of September, would in-

crease the income of the peasantry by \$250,000,000 a year, half of it going to cooperatives.

IN THE last six months of 1953 the average income of every man, woman and child in Hungary went up some \$37 a year.

This was the fruit of a whole series of decrees, including price cuts over a range of 10,000 consumer articles, issued soon after the measures aimed at stimulating food production.

These decrees, said Mr. Béla Szalai, President of the National Planning Office, when he presented the 1954 economic plan to Parliament on January 22, put \$378,000,000 into the pockets of Hungary's ten million people in 1953.

The stimulus to consumer demand of price cuts coupled with a bumper harvest was enormous. Retail trade turnover in the second half of 1953 was boosted 27 per cent above that of the first half.

Cash turnover in state shops at Christmas was about 65 per cent above that of 1952. And when it is remembered that these increases are in spite of reduced prices it is seen that in actual sales the increase in business is even higher.

But before we go on to examine in more detail what is happening to the consumer, let us complete our examination of what is going on on the land.

The measures announced last autumn were but first steps, to get more food flowing into the towns. For at Christmas a further order came out setting out a three-year farming program involving the investment of more than a billion dollars of state funds over the next three years—that is \$33 per head of population per year, man, woman and child.

"We must achieve a guaranteed abundant supply in the next few years of bread and flour, meat and fat, sugar and milk, potatoes, greens and wines," the order stated.

One section ordered the Ministers of Heavy Industry and Home and Foreign Trade to guarantee 1,438,000 tons of fertilizer over the three-year period. Industry was told to turn out 14,000 tractors by 1956—doubling the present tractor park—and to import 5,000 more. Some 2,200 more combine-harvesters and 3,000 threshing machines were called for.

Farmers and farm-planners got their plan, too—by 1956 the pig population is to be 5,500,000, sheep 2,300,000, cattle 2,200,000, poultry 20,000,000.

Bread grain acreage is to go up 140,000 to 4,750,000, barley by 36,000 to 1,120,000, rice by 80 per cent.

Covering three pages of the leading newspapers, the decree elaborates details of the program—from the number of cows to be artificially inseminated to the target average annual lay of a hen, from the provi-

sion of credit to the duties of agronomists.

The wine program alone calls for the renewal of 40 per cent of the 560,000 acres of existing vines and the addition of 100,000 new acres by 1959.

A few weeks later this program was followed by an order raising the basic prices paid to growers of 51 different crops who enter into delivery contracts with the Government. Now the farmer will be paid 1.7 times more for tobacco and three times as much as before for pepper seed.

Finally, on January 22, presentation of the 1954 economic plan to Parliament showed that the Government is convinced that Hungary is now sufficiently strong to continue the policy of spending more on everyday things and putting less by for the future.

The plan, as outlined by Béla Szalai, raises the proportion of national income devoted to consumer goods and services from 75 to 82 per cent, and cuts that of capital accumulation from 25 to 18 per cent. As a result

Main hall of the Budapest Central Food Market where trucks are being loaded with fresh fruits and vegetables for stores throughout the city.

—Eastfoto





—Eastfoto

New apartment house in the Ujpest section of Budapest, Hungary this year is allocating 50 per cent more funds for housing than last year.

it is anticipated retail trade will increase nearly 20 per cent in 1954.

As a result of slowing the pace of industrialization, production of industry is planned to increase overall by 4.5 per cent over 1953. Within this figure, production of machine tools and other means of production will go down by 2 per cent but production of consumer goods will rise by 16 per cent.

Investments in agriculture will take 24 per cent of the total state investments—almost double the proportion last year—and it is intended that these shall bring 8 per cent more output this year compared to the average of the last five years.

Apartment building is to be increased considerably—the target is 40,000 completed and 10,000 more started in the 12 months—and there are to be substantial investments for educational, scientific and cultural purposes.

This year \$126,000,000 is to be spent on state apartment building—nearly half as much again as last year—and in addition private individuals who want to build their own homes will have access to loans totaling more than \$15,000,000 this year. Land is free, and credits—up

to 60 per cent of building cost—are repayable over 15 years at 3 per cent. Last year, with only a third of this amount of loan assistance, 3,853 private homes were built.

Planned output of building materials includes four times as many bricks as last year and two and a half times as much cement.

The plan provides for the manufacture of many types of consumer goods never before made in Hungary. Serial production of various kinds of domestic machinery is to be begun and test production of women's underwear in nylon and other synthetics.

Three times as many pairs of nylon stockings as last year will be placed on the market and two and a half times as many men's shoes. It is planned to increase sales 50 per cent in bicycles, crockery, furniture and radio receivers, and to double the sales of sewing machines.

People have more to spend. Modifications in the wage structure in the mining industry in December will put more than \$8,000,000 more in the miners' pockets this year.

Prime Minister Imre Nagy told Parliament on January 26 the Government was taking immediate steps to raise wage levels in the lower income groups. In addition, from April 1, annuities and pensions of all kinds will be raised. Old age and disablement pensions will go up 29 per cent for those under 65 and by 43 per cent for those over 65. About 80,000 elderly people will benefit.

Raising of pensions and allowances will cost the country \$16,800,000 this year. And the new wage adjustments will increase spending power of those involved by \$28,000,000.

Increased salaries are to be paid to doctors, agricultural scientists and village school teachers.

She Dispatches Trains In People's China

by SUN HASIAO-CHU

I WAS BORN in 1930 in a small town south of Shenyang (Mukden) in Northeast China. My father was a railway worker and my grandfather was a peasant. As a little girl I used to gather firewood and help my mother with the housework. When I was eight, we moved north to Tsitsihar, where my father was stationed. My parents found it hard to make both ends meet and I only went to school for four and a half years.

Tsitsihar was liberated in 1945. Three years later, when I was eighteen, I too went to work with the railway. My only idea at that time was to work hard and earn a living. For the next two years I was first a ticket collector and then an announcer of the times of arrival and departure at the Tsitsihar station.

One day the station master asked me whether I would like to become a coupler. I had read stories about Tien Kuei-ying, China's first woman engine driver, and Liang Chun, our first woman tractor driver, and had asked myself: "If they can do such skilled work, why can't I?" So I agreed.

When the men heard I was to do this job they made all kinds of re-

marks. "Ever since Pan Ku chiselled heaven and earth out of chaos, no one has ever heard of a woman train coupler," they said. "Can a mare go into battle?" Their talk didn't discourage me. "It's true that this could never have happened in the past," I thought. "But neither were men and women equal, as they are today."

At home, mother was set against the whole thing. She considered it improper for a young girl to run all over the railway yards. Despite her opposition, I was determined to try.

Besides coupling the coaches and wagons, I had to jump on and off moving engines. At the end of the first day I was so tired that I couldn't sleep. My hands were a mass of blisters and my legs were swollen. I had just become accustomed to the work, when the cold weather set in. It was twenty below zero. My hands were so chapped the skin cracked. I bandaged them up and worked on.

Among more than three hundred workers I was the only woman. During intervals when there was nothing to do the men used to sit in groups talking and laughing. But if they saw me coming they would suddenly become silent. I felt isolated as if I

were some sort of criminal. It was impossible to learn or to work well with this barrier in the way. So I made it a rule never to take advantage of being a girl, and tried to talk the way the men did. Gradually they accepted me as one of themselves.

After a time I was appointed a number-taker, and a young skilled worker was assigned to train me. I wanted to learn quickly and was eager to work as long as possible every day. But as soon as evening approached, he would refuse to take me down the yards for fear of gossip. I persuaded him by saying, "Why should a man of good character be afraid of what others may say?"

He was very strict and insisted on my telling him all that I had learned at the end of each day. It was largely because of this that I learned very quickly.

One day in the early spring of 1951, as I was running about in the railway yard with my pencil and pad, I noticed a stranger talking to the station master. From time to time they turned to look at me. I was puzzled. Later, I found out that the visitor was a section chief from the Railway Administration.

ABOUT TWO MONTHS later I was sent for by the head of our personnel department. He told me I was being transferred to the administration to learn to be a dispatcher. I was surprised, happy and

somewhat sad all at the same time.

I was a girl with very little education and a dispatcher is like a military commander. He gives orders to dozens of stations, has hundreds of engine drivers under his control and directs them over hundreds of miles of line. One wrong order or one badly made plan may cause serious accidents or great waste of time and money. From the moment the dispatcher goes on duty until the time he leaves, he has to concentrate hard on what he is doing.

On the one hand, I felt it a great honor to be given such a chance. On the other, I had become good friends with my fellow workers and looked on the station as my home. So I couldn't help having a good cry when I left.

I went to the administration building feeling as though I was not myself but somebody else. An experienced dispatcher named Li took endless trouble to teach me all he knew, despite the remarks of some of the others who said: "Why waste your time? She'll run back home in a few days!"

When the station masters along the line first heard my voice over the telephone, some of them asked indignantly: "Whose child is talking in the dispatching room?" So the administration called about fifty stations and explained that a woman was being trained as a dispatcher. They asked everyone to cooperate but there were still many remarks about "that girl with her milk teeth trying to do a man's job."

TO TRAIN a dispatcher generally takes at least three months. But after I had been studying for 35 days, the section chief told me, "You're fit to start work." I wanted to learn more, but when I heard that

SUN HASIAO-CHU, a young woman railway worker in New China, tells her own story in this article which we reprint from the magazine "China Reconstructs."

my teacher had volunteered to go and defend our country at the front, I said: "All right, I'll do it."

That night I worked alone for the first time. I was very nervous but got through without a hitch, and from then on I became a regular dispatcher.

I felt my lack of knowledge deeply. So I kept asking others to give me pointers from their experience. One day I telephoned to a former co-worker stationed in Kiamusze, near the opposite end of one of the lines many miles away. He promised to send me a book. When it came I saw it was all about the Zagorko method of dispatching used in the Soviet Union. I read every word over and over again.

Then one night when I was lying awake I suddenly realized that the essence of the Zagorko method was: "Know the conditions; keep on top of the situation; know the people you work with personally and rely upon them."

"This," I thought, "is the way we should work."

I talked to the head of the dispatching office and told him what I had read. I expected he would be very enthusiastic and want to introduce the new method. But he did not say whether he agreed with it or not. I also talked it over with other dispatchers. Though they were interested they were not too clear about how to apply it. Only a few were against the whole thing. "You are only twenty-one," one said. "I have worked for twenty-three years. Isn't it too early for you to start teaching me?"

A dispatcher sits at a desk in a soundproof room and gives orders by telephone. He can talk to the various station masters for years and know their voices; but if he met

them on the street he would not recognize them. This seemed strange to me. I was sure the Zagorko method would make for better work and decided to go by train, after work, to the nearby stations.

MY FIRST TRIP was a failure. Arriving at my destination, I tried to strike up a conversation with the engine drivers. But they kept their distance and were unwilling to talk. Thinking about it later, I realized that I had behaved awkwardly and talked too dogmatically.

The next time I went, I put on an old uniform so as not to look too different from the drivers in their grease-smeared work clothes.

"You are terribly busy," I said, "but still, I'd like to ask you something. I am the new dispatcher and want to work in a way that will help all of us. But I don't know conditions along the line or what problems an engine driver meets. Would you be willing to help?"

This led to a friendly conversation with the drivers and other railway workers, and soon we were talking about everything from locomotive engineering to the pranks of their children. After that I began riding with the drivers in the cab to learn the terrain. They were always glad to explain.

Other dispatchers thought my actions peculiar. Once when we were discussing our work at a meeting, a dispatcher said: "We can do our job just as well without going out. I don't like your new-fangled ideas!"

"But the work is new to me," I said. "I can't do it well without knowing how the trains run."

Then I asked this man: "Can you tell me the gradient between Yian and Hsintun?" He could not answer. "On which bridges does the train

have to slow down?" I pressed him. Again he could not tell me.

"We say that the dispatcher is like the commander of an army," I said. "What kind of commander can he be if he does not know the condition of his enemy or the power of his own forces?"

This struck the men as sensible and afterwards many of the other dispatchers began to take an interest in the new method.

THE LOAD on the line was heavy and we did not have enough engines. We had to get more work out of what we had.

One day a hot-tempered engine driver named Sung was asked to pull eighty freight cars. He protested that it was too much and the dispatcher snapped, "It's an order."

Sung shouted back down the phone, "I won't take such talk from you or anybody else. I won't pull more than the norm and that's that."

The next day I was on duty. I remembered that Sung had great self-respect and prided himself on being a man of his word. I went to see him.

"King Coal-Saver," I said jokingly, for he was good at saving fuel, "how is it that you say one thing and do another?"

"What do you mean?" he shot back.

"At a meeting sometime ago you said, 'I show my love of country with deeds, not words.' Remember?" He had a quick mind, and seeing what was coming, he couldn't help smiling.

"Well, why don't you prove it?" I continued. "You can save the nation a lot of money by pulling greater loads, but you won't do it just because you don't like somebody's tone. Suppose I arrange for other

trains to let you pass, so that you won't have to stop on the way."

Sung pulled eighty-three cars that day and managed to reach his destination ahead of time. His success was written about in the black-board newspaper. Later, others pulled a hundred freight cars.

THE STATION MASTERS and engine drivers often quarrelled with the dispatchers. The reason was that the latter gave instruction without knowing the conditions of the engines or the line. I made a point of discussing schedules with the station masters and drivers well in advance and we enjoyed working together.

Once a train was pulling into a station at 8 p.m. Traffic was particularly heavy at that time and it was necessary for it to leave after a shorter interval than usual. I knew that it would be late if the driver went out for a meal. So I asked him through the dispatcher's telephone to get a snack on the train. This annoyed him and he started the train without eating at all.

Calling the station master at the next point where the engine had to refuel, I asked him to have a hot meal ready for the driver in a comfortable room and to arrange for others to fill the engine with water and coal while he ate his supper. The driver was so appreciative that he rang me up on the phone and said: "I must see what you look like when I get back."

Working in this way, I learned the names of all the station masters and engine drivers of the areas, their abilities, history and other characteristics just as if they were members of my own family.

Some like to be spoken to gently; others prefer a plain business-like approach. I go to them with my

problems and try my best to solve theirs. Because I know the people I work with and what is on their minds, I am able to make plans that get fulfilled.

In July, 1951, the Northeast railway administration sent four model workers on a tour of all the big stations in the region. They were Yang Mao-lin of Harbin, inventor of a new loading method, Cheng Hsi-kun of Angangchi, an expert in extra traction, Li Hsi-kuei of Mukden, who worked out methods to raise shunting efficiency, and myself. We traveled for more than a month telling railway workers everywhere we went of our experiences.

IN MAY, 1952, the railway workers of China threw themselves into a big campaign for more efficient haulage.

When I first heard about this, I thought, "Raising efficiency means moving more goods more quickly for the construction of our country," and determined to have a part in it.

Going over the situation of the entire area under our administration in my mind, I concluded that the most difficult place for pulling loads above the norm was the slope between Hsintun and Yian. If we could solve this problem then it would be easy to carry out the extra-traction movement.

I went down to that section of the line to make a careful investigation. Talking the matter over with the engine drivers, I felt sure something could be worked out. The point was to find a driver willing to make the first attempt. I thought of Ma Hung-tao who was very able, had plenty of initiative and was always ready to take up a new idea.

"What do you think?" I asked him. "Is it possible to haul greater

loads on the steep Hsintun-Yian grade?" He thought for a while, then said: "We can try."

There was a dispatcher who was very dubious about our plan. "We used to haul only 700 tons of freight during the Japanese occupation," he said. "Now we pull 1,700 tons. Isn't that enough?"

I took him up. "How can we make comparison with pre-liberation days? For whom did we work then? Now we are working for ourselves! Should we always stick to the same old way? Let's work it out together." He finally agreed.

To haul an extra-heavy load up such a steep grade was something that had never been done among us before. We gave the effort advance publicity and everybody became enthusiastic.

On the morning of May 28, a large crowd, including the administration chief, was on platform at Peian Station waiting. Bedecked with red streamers, Ma's engine, No. 1159, pulled in four minutes ahead of time. It had achieved its task safely, pulling a load of 2,550 tons over the most difficult section of all.

The minute he got off the train, the driver was showered with flowers and telegrams and people rushed forward to shake his hand. Every one shouted "Speech! Speech!"

"The honor should go to the dispatcher," he said. "It's all her doing."

"If you had refused to try when I asked you," I broke in, "I could have done nothing."

It became plain that it was not the impossibility of the task, but only a too conservative approach that had kept us back. After the first success, this was proved again and again by other workers, who did even better.

THE BACKGROUND TO TODAY'S BULGARIA

by Commander EDGAR P. YOUNG, R. N., Retired

MARCH 3 is a great date for the Bulgars, not only for those living in what is now the People's Republic of Bulgaria, but also for those in emigration, in America and elsewhere. It is the anniversary of their liberation, in 1878, from Turkish domination over a period of close on five hundred years—with all that that meant in terms of brutal oppression and human degradation. This anniversary is still celebrated because, though the Bulgars have a long, and often glorious history running back to the seventh century, that liberation in 1878 may be regarded as the beginning of the history of Bulgaria as we know it today.

I mention this, not just because the anniversary will be celebrated around the time this article appears, but because that liberation was brought about by the Russians, just as was the second liberation, of September 9, 1944, and this colors the attitude of every decent Bulgar towards what is now the Soviet Union, and is bound always ultimately to be decisive of Bulgarian foreign policy.

The Russian Tsar Alexander II, whose armies, helped by Bulgarian volunteer "irregulars," inflicted defeat on Turkey in 1878, was doubtless activated by imperialist motives,

and not merely by sympathy with a suffering Slav people, but his statue — labeled "Tsar-Liberator" — still stands in Sofia, capital of a People's Republic which denounces both royalty and imperialism. His memory, and that of the Russian generals and the Russian soldiers who served him, is still honored by the Bulgarian people, with the active approval of their government, just as is that of the late Premier Joseph Stalin, and of Soviet Marshal Tolbukhin and his Soviet soldiers, whose victories over Hitlerite Germany made it possible for the Bulgars themselves to carry out successfully the popular revolt of September 9, 1944, whereby their earlier incomplete liberation was consummated and made durable.

Bulgaria is a very small country, with an area of about 42,500 square miles. It is bounded on the north by Rumania, on the east by the Black Sea, on the southeast by Turkey, on the south by Greece, and on the west by Yugoslavia, and it should be noted that of its 1,356 miles of frontier, 238 miles only are coastline, even these being on the enclosed Black Sea, direct access to the open sea (Aegean) having been precluded by the Treaty of Neuilly after World War I. It is divided by the Balkan Mountains, running east-west, into



COMMANDER EDGAR P. YOUNG, ROYAL NAVY (Retired), whose series of articles on Bulgaria begins in this issue, is eminently qualified to write on that country. In 1933, after a distinguished career and nearly 18 years service as an officer, he retired from the Royal Navy and for a few years was active in the British Labor Party. Subsequently, as one of those responsible for the organization of The International Peace Campaign, he became deeply interested in Eastern Europe where he travelled extensively. Since

World War II, he has visited all the countries of Eastern Europe, several of them repeatedly. He has a good knowledge of the Russian language and a fair working knowledge of all the Slav languages. He is one of the founders of the British Society for Friendship with Bulgaria, of which he is Chairman. His writings have appeared in publications throughout the world.

two halves, northern and southern Bulgaria, which differ from each other in climate (and consequently otherwise also), that of northern Bulgaria being continental as, for instance, in the Ukraine, while that of southern Bulgaria is sub-tropical, as in the Mediterranean, so that one finds growing there tobacco, ground-nuts, rice, cotton, sugar cane and, more recently, citrus fruits.

In this small country live just over seven million people, about 90 per cent Bulgars, the remaining being mainly Turks, with a few Gypsies, Jews, Armenians, Rumanians, Greeks and Russians (mostly immigrants since 1917, and to a large extent completely assimilated).

The Bulgars, it is interesting to note, were originally a Turkish tribe which migrated in from the north and settled in the midst of a far more numerous population of Slavs, to whom they eventually became completely assimilated and whose language, culture, habits and religion they preserved throughout five centuries of Turkish (Mohammedan) occupation, following on

their conquest by the Ottoman Turks in the year 1396. They were converted to Christianity in the ninth century by the Greek apostles, Saints Cyril and Methodius, who also laid the foundations of the Slav culture by providing them with an alphabet (the Cyrillic alphabet which, in variously modified forms, is used by all the Slav people today).

During the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Bulgars were subjected to all kinds of pressure and inducements to adopt the Mohammedan faith. That comparatively few of them succumbed to this, and became what are known as Pomaks, is shown by the fact that the 90 per cent of the population which is Bulgar contains 84.4 per cent adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church, plus small numbers who are Roman Catholics or adherents of various Protestant communities. It should be noted that the Bulgars are extremely tolerant in religious matters.

The official language of the country, Bulgarian, has been described as "at once the most ancient and the most modern of the Slavonic lan-

guages." In its groundwork, it presents the nearest approach to the old ecclesiastical Slavonic, but it has undergone more important modifications than any of the sister languages, notably in the almost total elimination of declensions and in the introduction of a definite article (in the form of a suffix to the noun). As might be expected, it contains a fair number of Turkish and Greek words.

The essential features of the Bulgaria which came into being after the first liberation of 1878 are that it was predominantly agrarian and that, in contrast with neighboring countries of a similar character, such as Hungary and Rumania, it was a country of small holdings and of small class differences. Under Turkish rule the Bulgarian aristocracy had been destroyed, but no new aristocracy had been installed in its place: the country was administered on military lines as "occupied territory," the land being almost entirely in the hands of Bulgarian small-holders. Such large estates as there were—and they were few—belonged to Turkish landlords and were consequently "for disposal" when the Turkish rule was ended, and were then split up among the landless Bulgars.

Bulgaria, therefore, came into being without a ruling class of its own. It was not long, however, before such a class came into existence, composed of army officers, small town shopkeepers, artisans and the richer peasants. This new ruling class, in order to strengthen itself against possible revolutionary forces, rallied around itself the new bourgeoisie which evolved from the villages—sons of priests, teachers and richer peasants, who were able to get secondary education in the neighboring small town and thus to qualify

for the university training which would admit them to the ranks of the civil services and of the free professions. It was further reinforced by the development of a commercial class, also of village origin, and was influenced by this element to take an interest in industry and in foreign trade.

It thus became associated with the representatives of economically more powerful countries of Western Europe, and eventually became the agent of these for the exploitation of Bulgaria and of the Bulgars on quasi-colonial lines—to the detriment, of course, of Bulgarian economic development, especially in industry, and of the Bulgarian people.

This ruling class was prevented, however, by the circumstances of its development and by the conditions it created, from achieving for itself either great wealth or security, and it remained numerically small in relation to the total population. Lacking mass support, it maintained itself in power by ruthless police measures and with support from abroad.

Under the rule of two German dynasties—first the Battenberg (now Mountbatten), and then the Coburg—forced on Bulgaria by the Western Powers "to spite the Russians," this ruling class became more and more closely linked up with Germany and involved in her imperialist designs toward the East, first under Kaiser Wilhelm II and then under Adolf Hitler, thus pursuing a foreign policy so distasteful to every decent Bulgarian and, as was proved in two world wars, so disastrous for Bulgaria, that it became completely discredited in the eyes of the Bulgarian public and lost a great many of its unthinking supporters.

Its downfall, as the result of the popular uprising of September 9

1944, in which the army, including its officers, participated, was therefore, in the first place, by no means surprising. In the second place, it may safely be considered definite and quite irreversible — especially now that the monarchy has been rejected by a nationwide plebiscite in favor of a People's Republican regime, and that the People's Democratic Government of the "Fatherland Front" has consummated its initial success by the passage (with unquestionable majority approval, both of Parliament and of the people) of economic and other legislation designed to foster the speedy and peaceful achievement of a classless society.

To complete the background against which must be viewed the transformation of Bulgaria which is in progress under "People's Democracy," as will be described in detail in later articles, it should be pointed out that the forces which rule Bulgaria today are the forces which were the allies against Hitler, not only of the Soviet Union, but also of the United States, Great Britain and France. The "Fatherland Front," which today constitutes the democratically elected Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, came into existence early in 1942 as a united front of the democratic, anti-fascist elements of all classes in Bulgaria. It was brought into being on the instance of the Bulgarian Workers' (now Communist) Party (which alone had the organization in existence for the purpose of undertaking this initiative effectively), for the purpose of organizing partisan activity against the Nazi Germans and their local stooges, of sabotage in the factories working for Hitler's war effort, and of passive resistance among the peasantry. But its main task was winning over enough of

Bulgaria's armed forces to make possible a successful popular revolt, when the right circumstances presented themselves, to destroy the existing pro-fascist regime and to replace it by one which would lead Bulgaria into the ranks of the democratic powers in their war to destroy the infamous Hitlerite regime and all its offspring forever.

It succeeded, after over two years during which the Bulgarian partisans fought heroically against appalling odds and suffered grievous losses, because it did, in fact, represent the Bulgarian people.

The Fatherland Front had in its ranks and in its leadership representatives, not only of the Communists, but also of the Social Democrats, of the Agrarians, and a progressive Conservative group known as "Zveno." Its program was drawn up and approved unanimously by all its diverse elements, was made public in 1942, and has been steadily carried into effect since September 9, 1944, naturally with considerable subsequent extension, by a series of Governments in which the original elements are all still represented. All these, since 1946, *i.e.*, ever since the holding of proper elections has been possible, have been properly elected under a democratic system of universal adult suffrage and by secret ballot.

These are facts which have been witnessed personally and can be vouched for by the present writer, and by hundreds of other reputable observers from abroad, though they are, of course, persistently denied by certain Western statesmen, and by their obedient servants among the newspapermen, who are moved by emotions and aspirations which are the reverse of the "free democracy" to which they profess loyalty.

A CANADIAN FARM WOMAN VISITS A SOVIET COLLECTIVE

by ELEANOR ASHWORTH

MOST Canadians probably think, as I did until I saw one, that a collective farm is just like any other farm, only bigger. Let me tell you right away, then, that the Kyzly-Uzbekistan collective farm which we visited fifteen miles outside Tashkent, isn't just a farm, it's a whole community.

Imagine, if you can, a farm of 4,410 acres, with a population of 3,527 people, owning and operating for its own use schools, kindergartens, hospitals, rest homes, theater, opera house, a cinema, and in fact all the institutions that go to make up a modern town. This is what makes a collective farm a collective farm—not just acres, or even just manpower, but the *form of organi-*

zation. For example, there are 24 nurseries for the small children, where mothers can leave their one-and-a-half to three-year-olds, while they are at their work. You see, the farm is divided into 24 groups, and each group has a nursery, supervised by a nurse and her attendants. Here the children play together, eat their meals at tables which seat four each, and at nap time each child has his own wee bed to sleep on. We were delighted to hear them singing an Uzbek children's song.

These Uzbek farmers were so friendly, and so ready to tell us about their farm, that we had no trouble at all in talking to them through our interpreters, and felt right at home from the beginning. The chair-

Canadians in the cotton fields of the Kyzly-Uzbekistan Collective Farm. None of them had ever seen cotton growing until their visit to the USSR.

—Photos courtesy Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society



The Canadians, dressed in traditional Uzbek costumes, gifts from the farmers, converse with the genial hosts.



man, a husky six-footer with a name as big as he is—Abdutzamil Matkabulov—became not only our host, but a good friend. Here is what he told us of the Kyzyl-Uzbekistan farm.

The farm was organized in 1929, five years after the founding of the Uzbek Soviet Republic. It began with 181 families who owned among them 237 acres of land. To this were added the 500 acres that had belonged to two rich landlords, 65 horses, 41 oxen, two small tractors and a few plows—and there was the collective farm. That was all, the entire means of subsistence of 181 families.

MRS. ELEANOR ASHWORTH, of Edmonton, Alberta, was born on an Alberta farm. She is the mother of four children, active in the Parent-Teachers Association and community organizations and Secretary of the Edmonton branch of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society. She was a member of the delegation of seven Canadians that visited the USSR in September and this article is taken from "Canadians Visit Our Northern Neighbors," a record of their trip, published by the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Today, 24 years later (of which four were war years, remember, which drained off the cream of their manpower), their 4,410 acres of land include 2,900 acres of cotton and pasture land (alfalfa) for their 600 horses and the same number of cattle. The big increase in land acreage was achieved by irrigating former desert sections, clearing bushland, but mainly by the fact that other farmers joined the collective when they saw its increasing prosperity.

The day we left Moscow by plane, N. S. Khrushchev, General Secretary of the Communist Party, had delivered a report on measures to be taken for raising productivity and living standards on Soviet collective farms. Of course, we were interested to find out how this would affect the Kyzyl farm, and inquired whether they had read the report. Read it? It was published on the Monday we left Moscow. On Tuesday the entire farm executive met to discuss how to implement the proposals made by Khrushchev. On Wednesday evening, a full membership meeting of the farmers was held. By Thursday



Children welcome the guests from Canada at one of the 24 nurseries run by the collective farm which also operates kindergartens, schools, a hospital, theater and rest home.

—the day we visited them—they had forwarded their decisions and their own proposals to the Uzbek Ministry of Agriculture in Tashkent! There's a relationship between people and government for you!

What really set our minds whirling here was the fact that prices paid to the farmers are anywhere from 200 per cent to 550 per cent higher than last year, and this with markets guaranteed and expanding, and without added cost to the consumer. Their chief crop, cotton, I should add, goes to feed the huge textile mills such as the one we had visited in Tashkent, only 15 miles away.

They will not have to build many new homes at this collective farm. Already 80 per cent have new houses to live in. But they are building barns, and what barns! Already there are six of them, each housing 100 dairy cows. Imagine how I felt, an Alberta farm woman, when Mr. Matkabulov showed us the automatic feeding and watering installations and the milking machines. Now re-



member, the main crop of this farm is *cotton*. Then they also showed us fruit orchards, vineyards, fields of vegetables and watermelon, irrigation canals, lined with trees that break the hot desert winds, electric power lines that carry electricity to every home and building on the farm. And there are hundreds of collective farms like this, in the Uzbek Republic alone.

This farm has, for the use of its members, a hospital, a maternity home, a rest home for those whose health is not up to standard, and a polyclinic where regular check-ups

are given. The emphasis here, as everywhere we traveled in the Soviet Union, is on preventive medicine. And I think one of the main contributing factors to the generally high standard of health on this farm is that people there have so few worries. The mortgage company won't seize their land or homes, the bottom won't drop out of the cotton market, and when they get too old

to work, they simply retire with an adequate pension. We met two elderly farmers, founding members of the collective, who live on their pensions and enjoy a full life, watching their children grow up to take their places.

One of them told us about his children, four sons and a daughter. One of his sons followed his father's footsteps and became a farmer himself. Of the other three, one is a doctor, one a mechanic, and the other a shopkeeper. His daughter is a technician. "My only real worry," the old man confided to me, "is that I can't go on living forever."

We visited two farm families in their own homes. The pictures we took tell more than words possibly can express, but I will say that each family has a plot of ground on the collective with an area of some two and a half acres for their own personal use. In addition, each is entitled to keep a cow, and as many sheep and bees as he wishes. On every farm plot I saw vineyards, fruit-bearing trees, and tomato plants laden with ripe fruit. Elec-



An 85-year-old retired farmer (above) helps one of the Canadians don his Uzbek costume.

The Canadian visitors gather around to examine one of the farm's automatic cotton pickers. It was invented and is manufactured in Soviet Central Asia.



Seven Canadians Report on the USSR

A GROUP of seven Canadians who have visited the USSR vividly report on their experiences in a handsomely illustrated booklet, *Canadians Visit Our Northern Neighbours*,* just issued by the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Of the seven, four are women, and the group is made up of a matress worker, farm woman, bookkeeper, advertising executive, social workers, physical training instructor, and printshop manager.

Reading the book is like taking a tour, for you see and meet Soviet men, women and children, you learn of life on the farm and in the factory, in the Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan and the Byelorussian capital of Minsk. You go on a

shopping tour in Moscow, visit the theaters, see schools and nurseries and are welcomed in private homes.

The reports are straightforward, factual, eye-witness accounts. The pictures illustrating each article are well selected and arranged. Here, indeed, is a handsome record that is most rewarding.

Everyone should be indebted to the group for sharing their experiences, and thanks are due, too, to the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries who invited the Canadians to visit their country.

* Available for 25c a copy through "News-Facts," 382 Queen St. W., Toronto, Canada.

tricity and water are provided free to every home.

For their spare-time activities, they have both a summer and a winter club, dance groups, drama groups, and music circles. I have already mentioned the theaters where their plays are performed. I had had no idea that farm folk could lead such rich and creative lives.

It would not be fitting to end this brief description without mentioning the farewell banquet tendered us by these wonderfully friendly and generous people.

Gathered around that long table, spread with delicious Uzbek foods all grown and prepared by themselves, we enjoyed one of the most unforgettable evenings of my life. The chairman of the farm proposed a toast to peace and friendship between our two great countries, and I, as

the only farmer on our delegation, was happy to bring greetings from the farmers of Western Canada, who I know share this desire.

To climax our fascinating visit, each of us was presented with a beautiful Uzbek national costume. One of my most delightful memories is that of seeing an old retired farmer helping Paul Pauk, a member of our delegation, don his costume in the proper Uzbek manner, just as a father would a son.

I am convinced from all I saw there that agriculture in the USSR is in good hands, and that unlimited prosperity is in sight for every Soviet farmer. I am further convinced that the welfare of the people is their primary concern. And that means peace, which I have come to learn is the paramount desire of the Soviet people.

Let's Look at the Record

How the UN tackles discrimination

by **ESLANDA ROBESON**

HOW is the United Nations combatting discrimination? There is a subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities which meets every year to consider ways and means of bringing an end to discrimination everywhere, for whatever reason, and to consider ways and means of safeguarding the rights of minorities, wherever they may be.

This subcommission is appointed by the Commission on Human Rights, and normally consists of twelve members, elected in their capacity as individual experts, subject to confirmation by their governments.

This year the subcommission's sixth session (January 4 to 29) was composed of only ten members—from Denmark, Egypt, Philippines, United Kingdom, USA, USSR, Lebanon, Chile, Haiti and Poland. Of the two other members, the French never arrived, and the Indian was not confirmed by his government.

Also sitting with the subcommission were representatives from the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Federation of Trade Unions, International Jewish and Catholic groups, and world wom-

en's organizations. Some of these representatives participated in and contributed to the discussions, but had no vote.

Let us see, from the UN records themselves, how this body operated.

The subcommission had quite a program of work laid out for this session. It had decided, according to its directive, that

... among the measures to combat discrimination that it will study, with a view to recommending further action to be taken by the Commission on Human Rights . . . , will be those in the fields of education, employment and occupation, political rights, religious rights and practices, residence and movement, immigration and travel. . . .

... the subcommission shall discuss and suggest measures to be taken for the cessation of any advocacy of national, racial or religious hostility that constitutes an incitement to hatred and violence jointly or separately;

... to initiate the study of discrimination in the field of education immediately. . . .

During the first week the members of the subcommission discussed methods of procedure and the scope of the work.

Richard Hiscocks (Great Britain)

thought they should have the assistance of experts in the collection of information and its analysis.

Nikolai Emelyanov (Soviet Union) pointed out that the collection and analysis of information was only the preparatory phase of their work, which was to make recommendations for the suppression of discrimination.

The Chairman, Max Sorensen (Denmark) said the experience of the past in fighting against discrimination, especially discrimination against women, was illuminating and should be useful to them.

Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile) said that discrimination must be stamped out, wherever it existed, for whatever reasons, and Mr. Hiscocks (Britain) urged the subcommission to have the courage of its convictions and boldly reveal the facts it may find, however embarrassing they might be.

But Philip Halpern (United States) felt that caution should be exercised, and advocated reliance on the pressure of world opinion, enlightened by the presentation of all the facts, to develop a world conscience against discrimination.

Eugenius Kulaga (Poland) said the study must include the non-self-governing and trust territories; the subcommission could not achieve any practical results except by exposing cases of discrimination, analyzing their causes and effects, and finding the means of eliminating them.

The subcommission decided to use the definition of discrimination given in paragraph 9 of the Interim Report of the Special Rapporteur:

The prevention of discrimination is the prevention of any action which denies to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish. . . .

On January 15th, the subcommission decided that it would make a comprehensive study and report on discrimination in the field of education, and unanimously adopted Mr. Hiscocks' draft resolution to that effect. The resolution, in part, states that the subcommission:

Decides that its special study on discrimination in education should be carried out in three stages:

1. Collection, analysis and verification of material;
2. Production of a Report;
3. Recommendations for action....

Some members thought such a report would take about two years to complete, but Mr. Emelyanov (Soviet Union) pointed out that the subcommission had already spent a year and a half on this subject, and that two more years would mean three and a half years, which he felt was much too long. He suggested the report be completed in time for the next session.

Herard Roy (Haiti) agreed, as did Mr. Kulaga (Poland), and Charles Ammoun (Lebanon) pointed out that a very useful economic report on the situation in Europe and the Middle East had been prepared by an organization within six months.

Mr. Santa Cruz (Chile) told the members that the subcommission's work in the past five years had been disappointing.

"The whole problem of discrimination," he said, "had never been approached with a sincere desire to develop a program of international action. Millions of human beings suffered from discrimination in one form or another. But many millions of others were engaged in the fight to end it. . . . It was his fervent hope that the resolution adopted, and the present session of the subcommission,

would be a starting point for a series of achievements reflecting the new spirit emerging among the peoples of the world and responding to their expectations."

Mr. Halpern (U.S.) agreed with Mr. Santa Cruz, and said the study must be undertaken on a global basis. "The subcommission," he said, "was unanimously agreed that the purpose of the task was not condemnation, but education and leadership; the purpose of their work was to arouse the public conscience and advance the cause of human rights."

Mr. Ammoun (Lebanon) said that "in the past the subcommission had frequently been obstructed mostly by the very states whose responsibilities were greatest."

Mr. Emelyanov (Soviet Union) said that "having in mind the fact that all the resolution really sets forth was the fact that it was decided to carry out a Special Study on Discrimination in Education and produce a report on that study," he felt that it was "a step forward, but only a very small step, and evidenced some small degree of welcome progress."

On the morning of January 18th, Mrs. Polstein (World Union of Progressive Judaism), addressing the members of the subcommission, expressed her organization's regret that, "though the subcommission had existed for several years, little progress had been made in the struggle against racial discrimination. Theoretical discussion," she said, "was of little value without consequent action."

On the following day Miss Manas (Committee on the Status of Women) told the members that her committee "had done much careful work on discrimination on the grounds of sex, and had the satisfaction of knowing

that since the signing of the Charter, 26 countries had given the vote to women, and that there are now only 15 countries in which women did not enjoy equal political rights with men."

On January 20th the subcommission began discussion on the item "Measures to be taken for the cessation of any advocacy of national, racial or religious hostility that constitutes an incitement to hatred and violence jointly or separately."

Mr. Emelyanov (Soviet Union) offered a resolution on this matter which set forth, in part:

Observing that in a number of States propaganda is still being carried on for racial and national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt,

Considering that such propaganda is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Condemns the propaganda of racial and national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt, and calls upon governments to take immediate legislative and other steps to put a stop to such propaganda.

In speaking for his resolution, Mr. Emelyanov said: "The Charter had placed on record certain principles regarding non-discrimination, and the prerequisite of any sincere struggle was . . . a determination to eradicate all legislation perpetuating racial strife. . . . The Commission on Human Rights had repeatedly called for an end to persecution, and enjoined governments to take action. . . . Though the Charter had been in existence many years, various categories of persons were still denied freedom because certain states entertained the notion that some natural law had vested in them the right to dominate others. . . . The Informa-

tion Services of ruling circles in the Western Hemisphere spoke of an alleged 'Yellow Peril,' and quoted the increasing birth-rate in the East as evidence of the need for a preventive war. Some openly declared that the rich Western Countries should be allowed to prosper at the expense of poorer peoples. Patriotic movements in oppressed countries were mercilessly exterminated."

Mr. Emelyanov declared that "as a citizen of a State which not only advocates equal rights for all, but also makes their enjoyment possible by legislative action," he invited the members of the subcommission to approve his resolution in order to "draw attention to that continued disregard of the Charter and other international instruments."

Mr. Halpern (U.S.) said that Mr. Emelyanov had made several attacks against the Western Democracies which could not remain unanswered. "In any case," he said, "Anglo-Saxon countries could not consider changing, at the request of International Organizations, a position which was deeply rooted in their tradition. They believed that education, not government intervention, was the best way in which to combat any advocacy of racial and national hostility." He said "that while it was true that the pious language of Constitutions could not be reconciled with the direct testimony of witnesses, the present day menace was inspired by governments; such governments . . . sought to make the minority a scapegoat, and so direct the attention of the mass of the population from its unhappy condition."

Mr. Kulaga (Poland) said no one could any longer deny that the advocacy of national, racial or religious hostility had the most serious consequences. "The behavior of the

FOR MORE DETAILS

MORE DETAILED information on the UN's work on discrimination can be obtained by applying to the Commission on Human Rights, Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, for the following two documents: Provisions for the Protection of Minorities (Preliminary Draft Compilation) E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.45, and Study of Discrimination in Education: Interim Report of the Special Rapporteur E/CN.4/Sub.2/155.

Nazis in their attempts to decimate the Polish people was an important lesson that should not be lost on the international community," he said. "The racial situation in South Africa . . . the treatment of colonial peoples also showed that national and racial hostility persisted." He felt it was important for the subcommission to take a clear stand on the question under consideration, and it could do so by approving Mr. Emelyanov's draft resolution. "The Polish Government," he said, "had already taken action in Article 69 of its Constitution, which outlawed the advocacy of racial and national exclusiveness, and in a law prohibiting war propaganda. These measures are strictly applied in our country and similar measures in other countries would contribute to international understanding."

Mohammed Awad (Egypt) said the importance of the item was such as to warrant a general declaration and appeal to all governments by the General Assembly. "Every government," he declared, "should be made to realize how vital it was to ensure fair and equal treatment of

minority groups, and not to encourage prejudice or incitement to violence."

Mr. Hiscocks (Britain) said he could not support Mr. Emelyanov's proposal because while he did not object to legislation prohibiting incitement to violence, he did not consider that hatred could be legislated out of existence, without seriously endangering freedom of expression. "Hatred defies definition," he said, "it can be counteracted only by moral restraint, developed progressively over a period of many years, concomitantly with greater respect for freedom of expression."

Mr. Emelyanov's resolution was rejected by a vote of 5 against, 2 in favor, with 2 abstentions.

The subcommission then went on to consider Mr. Roy's (Haiti) resolution to postpone discussion on the item, and adopted it by a vote of 6 in favor, 3 against, with 1 abstention. The resolution says, in part, that the subcommission

Decides to suspend any further examination of the question for the time being;

Invites the Secretariat to study the legislative and judicial practices of various countries, by collecting information on the effect which national legislation in force in those countries has on the solution of the problem, so as to enable the subcommission, at its seventh (next session), to consider the formulation of practical recommendations on the problem.

The subcommission next proceeded to debate the item "Recommendations to governments concerning the application of special measures for the protection of minorities."

By January 26th it had decided to "initiate a study on the present position as regards minorities throughout the world."

When the subcommission concluded its deliberations on January 29th, it had accomplished the following:

1. Decided to carry out a study on discrimination in the field of education, with the help of UNESCO. Report to be ready for the next session. Charles Ammoun (Lebanon) was appointed special rapporteur for this study.
2. Decided to prepare for a study on discrimination in the field of employment and occupation, with the help of the ILO.
3. Had decided to make preliminary studies in three other fields:
 - a. Discrimination in the exercise of political rights, under the guidance of Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile);
 - b. Discrimination in religious rights and practices, under Philip Halpern (U.S.);
 - c. Discrimination in immigration, rights and practices, under Jose Ingles (Philippines).

The report of the work of the subcommission will be presented for consideration, approval and confirmation to its parent body, the Commission on Human Rights, which convenes February 23rd.

GUNNAR MYRDAL VISITS MOSCOW

GUNNAR MYRDAL, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, on Feb. 23 completed a visit to Moscow for East-West trade discussions. In letters to A. I. Mikoyan, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and I. G. Kabanov, Minister of Foreign Trade, thanking them for their hospitality, he declared their cooperation was most valuable in preparations for the promotion of mutually advantageous East-West trade.

HOW SOVIET SEAMEN LIVE

by ROBERT G. FOWLER

How do Soviet seamen live aboard ship? What are their quarters like? What hours do they put in? What are the possibilities for advancement? These and many other questions interested Robert G. Fowler, a member of the Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union of Britain when he visited the port of Leningrad as a member of a British Workers' Delegation to the USSR. What he found is told in his own words in the article below, which first appeared in the periodical *Russia Today*, published in London.

DURING my stay in the Soviet Union, I visited Leningrad, situated at the mouth of the river Neva and the second largest city in the USSR.

Leningrad was within the range of German artillery and was bombarded for 90 days and nights during the war and consequently much of the city and port was destroyed. However, I found little or no trace of war damage.

I visited the 8,000 ton motor vessel Arkhangelsk. The ship was built in Leningrad and launched in February last year. Here are some of the interesting features that I found aboard the Arkhangelsk:

The ship had a large recreation room which was situated amidships and extended from one side of the ship to the other. Two bulkheads were panelled and the deck was covered with thick carpets. The room was used by passengers, officers and crew without distinction, and the ship's committee, consisting of representatives of the crew, held meet-

ings there and many problems relating to food, working conditions and the safety of the ship were discussed.

The room contained a piano, radio and a movie projector together with ten films which were changed every voyage. There were facilities for playing various games, and concerts were held in this room as well.

The crew's quarters were comfortably fitted out. There were only two persons per room and it appeared to me that the Soviet government considers living space to be more important than cargo space judging by the size of the rooms.

Every cabin was equipped with a wash-basin (hot and cold running water), wardrobe, chest of drawers, writing desk and a settee. All the rooms were provided with loud speakers relaying radio broadcasts. Every member of the crew had his own locker, where he could keep his working gear, outside his room, thus keeping the accommodation clean.

In all the rooms that I visited,

there were spring mattresses, sheets, pillows and counterpanes on the bunks.

The bathrooms in the crew quarters were of particular interest. In addition to shower baths, there were Russian steam baths. I was informed by one of the crew that the steam baths were very beneficial to anyone who has been exposed to the wind and rain. The baths were guaranteed to cure a cold within twenty-four hours.

The mess rooms were lavishly equipped with a refrigerator, coffee percolators, radio, and the tables were covered with white tablecloths. The pantry adjoining the mess room was equipped with electric hot plates, aluminum sinks and contained the latest labor-saving devices. The equipment in the pantry would make any housewife envious.

All the members of the crew were provided with protective clothing, sea-boots, boiler suits and uniforms free of charge, being replaced after wear and tear.

Soviet seamen are well paid for the hours they work. Under Soviet law, no seaman is allowed to work more than eight hours a day except in an emergency.

On coal-burning ships, firemen work the four-watch system, thus only doing six hours per day. In the tropics, engine-room personnel work as little as four hours per day without any loss of pay.

The Soviet seaman gets free medical treatment and every year he gets one month's holiday with pay plus 15 days for service in tropical waters. In addition, he may obtain a pass from the trade union to go to a rest home or sanatorium for 26 days or more, and if he is suffering from rheumatism or gastric trouble, he obtains treatment free and his wages

are paid by the Ministry of Marine and River Transport.

In Leningrad there are ten hospitals which cater exclusively to seamen, portworkers and their families. The Arkhangelsk, which has a crew of 50, carried a doctor. All seamen are X-rayed at regular intervals and are medically examined every two months.

Every seaman has the opportunity of becoming an officer, and instruction is given by the heads of the various departments to those seamen interested. All the officers are certificated, promotion being determined by merit, not by length of service.

Any seaman interested in obtaining higher qualification, and having the ability, can study at a technical institute ashore at the expense of the Ministry of Marine and River Transport. After graduation, they can be appointed as surveyors, navigation instructors, safety inspectors, harbor masters, pilots, port directors and so on.

All seafarers are organized in the same union together with waterside and river transport workers, membership being voluntary. Union dues amount to one per cent of wages. The executive of the union is elected every two years by secret ballot. Trade union officials (full-time) get the same pay as in their last job.

Sports play a big part in the life of the Soviet seaman. Football matches are played between ship and ship and between ships and factories. The crew of the Arkhangelsk told me they had the best team in the Baltic fleet.

I left Leningrad with the feeling that the Soviet Union is making big progress as a maritime nation. As a country with the largest network of waterways in the world, water is one of the nation's biggest assets.

96 PER CENT ORGANIZED

Leader of trade union describes Soviet set-up

In view of the often-asked questions concerning the nature and role of trade unions in the Soviet Union, we are certain that our readers will be interested in learning some of the answers directly from a prominent Soviet trade union official, Ivan Khlistov. As Chairman of the Moscow Committee of the Soviet Machine-Building Union he heads an organization of 20,000 members. Mr. Khlistov was one of a large group of distinguished Soviet guests who visited Britain for the Friendship Month celebrations in November (see February NWR). It was during this visit that he addressed a large audience of British trade unionists in Holborn Hall. The report of his lecture and his answers to questions from the floor is taken from a report published in the *British Russia Today Newsletter*.

AFTER conveying greetings from the Soviet people to the British, Mr. Khlistov declared that Soviet trade unions are founded upon an industrial basis, on the principle of "one factory—one union," regardless of the particular specialty. In the machine-building industry, for example, one union unites all the workers—turners, fitters, draughtsmen, etc. As a result, there are a comparatively small number of trade unions in the Soviet Union—approximately 30 in all.

From the point of view of internal organization, they work on the principle of democratic centralism, which implies that each controlling committee is elected, that each is responsible to its constituents, and that a higher committee's decisions are binding upon a lower.

The lowest unit unites the work-

ers in a particular plant or institution with its elected committee. Then there is the town, or in the country, the regional committee. A union's highest national authority is its central committee.

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions unites all the unions. It functions between Congresses, which, meeting once every four years, are the supreme trade union authority.

At all levels, any committee member who does not do his job properly, can be recalled at the request of those who elected him.

Soviet trade unions embrace nearly the entire working population—over 96 per cent, and in some plants over 99 per cent.

Funds are derived firstly from membership dues—1 per cent of wages—and secondly from the in-

come of the various cultural institutions like the clubs, cinemas, theaters, athletic stadiums, etc.

The trade unions are responsible for the operation of the state social insurance system—state because the government provides the funds without the worker paying a kopek—and the union spends it on the construction and operation of sanatoriums, children's camps, on first-aid stations, and to provide pensions and sick pay, etc.

The unions also pay great attention to labor protection and working conditions. The state also allocates a certain amount for this each year and the unions check on how it is spent.

The union concludes a collective agreement with the plant administration that sets forth all that must be done by both sides during the year. As soon as the agreement comes into force, the workers' control over its fulfillment begins. Directors must give a progress report to a meeting of the workers every three months. A director who fails to carry out his obligations is held to account.

Discussing the unions' cultural and educational work, Mr. Khlistov described the Stalin Auto Works' Palace of Culture. The building can accommodate 10,000 persons and contains a theater and two large halls each seating 500. It also contains a large number of smaller rooms for amateur groups of all kinds—dramatics, artistic, etc., with all necessary equipment.

In addition it has a large and separate children's section.

The entire enterprise comes under the factory trade union committee which is completely responsible for its administration. The committee also has a rest home and sanatorium

on the Baltic Sea near Riga and a children's camp in the woods near Moscow.

Such facilities, and these are only part of the auto plant union's extensive operations, means that much attention has to be paid to the training of trade union personnel and large funds are allocated for educational purposes.

In addition to lectures and study groups, unions have their own higher educational institutions. In Moscow there is a college for trade unionists that conducts a three-year course (with grants for students) in economics and social studies with special attention to trade union studies. Upon completion of the course, the students assume full-time trade union posts. In Leningrad there is a special three-year school for trade union cultural workers—librarians, club managers, administrators of Palaces of Culture, central organizers of educational work, and the like.

The Soviet trade union movement publishes a large number of periodicals and journals, including the daily *Trud* and the magazines *Soviet Trade Unions* and *Club*.

Among the questions asked of Mr. Khlistov and the answers he gave, were the following:

1. *What is attendance like at Soviet trade union meetings? How does it happen that not all Soviet workers are union members—that is, that some get the benefits but don't pay union dues?*

Meetings of the workers in one shop or department take place weekly to discuss current issues requiring immediate attention. They discuss shortcomings in organization, etc., and measures to improve matters—and the foreman, who is one of the

group, must act upon the decisions reached.

Factory meetings are held monthly—if it is a very large plant it will be a delegate conference. This meeting will discuss matters of concern to the plant organization on labor, conditions, housing, etc.

There is also the conference every three months with management to check up on fulfillment of the collective agreement, following intensive preparatory work. The union chairman is expected to check up on every point in practice and to voice any criticisms in the sharpest possible manner.

On the whole meetings are well attended, since it is those who go to the meetings who decide what is going to be done.

As regards non-union workers, these include new entrants into industry, the new annual intake, at the time the count is taken. This category usually amounts to about 4 per cent. Secondly, there is a percentage of seasonal workers who come into industry from collective farms and then go back again as, for example, those who float timber down rivers.

In general, there is no difficulty in getting workers to join unions—the benefits are so obvious—and on big jobs membership is frequently as high as 99 per cent.

2. *What is the frequency of elections of shop stewards and factory committees? How is the problem of absenteeism dealt with?*

Lower trade union bodies are elected annually, and all leaders must give an account of themselves, and things go badly with them if their work isn't up to scratch.

Absenteeism is usually dealt with

at meetings of the workers which try to find out the reasons for it. A "telling-off" by one's mates is usually held to be worse—and more effective—than one from the management.

3. *How is an individual grievance taken up?*

Each factory committee has a conflicts commission to which the worker brings his complaint. The official responsible is also invited. Appeals can be carried right up to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

4. *Could Mr. Khlistov sum up the main problems facing the Soviet trade unions today?*

Firstly, that of bringing about a sharp rise in living standards, which includes a further expansion of the building program, a further increase in the amount of consumer goods available, and a further raising of the cultural and educational level.

In this connection the trade unions have their own network of secondary schools. The big problem is to eliminate the distinction between mental and physical labor by raising the educational and technical level.

Finally, the struggle for peace, because it means abundance and happiness, while war means death and destruction.

These problems are essentially similar to those that face the entire people of the Soviet Union.

5. *What is the relationship between the trade unions and the state? Secondly, doesn't a larger union give better facilities because it has more money? Is there any method of levelling out resources?*

Our state is a people's state representing the mass of the people. The trade unions represent the advance guard of the workers, and their interests do not differ from those of the state.

We do not separate the state from the people, we do not set one against the other. The aims of the state and of the workers, united in trade unions, are the same: the unions carry out these aims.

On the second point, individual unions do not work in isolation, and it is the job of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions to see that funds are equitably distributed. The AUCCTU is a very powerful body, uniting some 30 trade unions with 38 million members.

6. *What are the functions of a shop steward in a Soviet factory?*

Shop stewards are the foundations of all our work.

Each shop has its shop committee elected by the annual meeting. This committee has its sub-committees—housing, labor protection, social insurance, culture, etc. All do work which though not large in scope is of major importance.

These committees are constantly before the workers, they are constantly representing the union in the eyes of the workers.

It is the job of the stewards also to take complaints and problems to the factory committee to demand a solution.

7. *What happens to anyone who refuses to join the union?*

Nothing. But few refuse because trade union membership carries many advantages.

8. *What about the wages of union full-timers in relation to workers' pay? And do they revert back to their trades?*

Most of the best workers do in fact get more than a union official. Mr. Khlistov said that he, as a worker with 18 years experience at the bench, gets less as a union official than he did on the job.

No elected post is permanent. If the official is efficient, he can be re-elected; if not he can be removed, even after only two or three months, and then he will return to his job at the bench.

9. *You say union dues amounts to 1 per cent of wages; does this include overtime?*

Dues are based on gross earnings. Mr. Khlistov said that in his union the average monthly earnings are from 1,200 to 1,300 rubles, and members pay 12 or 13 rubles per month dues.

Unless there are exceptional circumstances—natural calamity, fire, and the like—overtime is banned in the Soviet Union, and directors have been prosecuted and fined for imposing it.

10. *In Britain wages for semi-skilled workers are not very different from those for skilled workers. Is initiative and willingness to work better rewarded in the Soviet Union?*

The unions pay great attention to the problem of raising the workers' qualifications and skill. This is especially important because of the large number of new factories which are going up and which give rise

to a great demand for skilled labor.

Every factory has its special courses and in a large plant, such as the Stalin Auto Works, its own technical college as well as mass courses.

There will also be 6- to 12-month Stakhanovite courses in shops and departments, giving theoretical training as well as practical work under the guidance of the best workers.

At the conclusion of a course the worker appears before a qualifications commission which can award a higher grading—frequently jumping one or two grades—and therefore a higher salary.

11. *Who fixes wages? Do they differ widely?*

Wages, of course, vary from industry to industry. They are established by the Government on the basis of agreement between the AUCCTU and the central committee of the union concerned, who prepare memoranda and statements which form the basis for discussion.

In general, the greater the economic importance of the industry and the more difficult the conditions, the higher the wage rates—for example, mining, metal workers, oil and rails.

Each branch has its own rates, which depend, generally speaking, upon skill and output. But it is possible, on one and the same job in one and the same factory, to have different rates—a turner, for example, in a “cold” shop gets less than a turner in a “hot” shop.

12. *How is socialist emulation organized?*

Socialist emulation is an important

part of trade union work. It starts between individuals and extends to factories and entire branches of industry. It is not simply a question of who turns out the most—it is now increasingly a question of the fight for higher quality, the fight for the reputation of a particular “trade mark.”

Each worker takes a decision about quality and quantity, and a union meeting sums up the results and publicizes the best examples in the press and honor bulletin boards.

At top level, the central committee of the union sums up results together with the Ministry concerned.

Emulation plays a tremendously important part, first in the post-war reconstruction and now so that the people may the more quickly achieve a better life. In the course of socialist emulation, everyone shares his experience—it is this which distinguishes it from competition.

13. *How are supervisory workers organized? Do the unions play any part in their selection? Can trade union congresses be called more frequently? Do individual unions have their congresses more frequently than once every four years?*

Supervisory staff—directors, shop chiefs and the like—are appointed by the Ministry because it is important that the director be responsible to the state. But they are subject to control by the broad mass of the workers. The mass conferences on fulfillment of the collective agreement is a form of control over the entire work of management, as are the production conferences.

If the director does his job well, he receives the support of the production conference. If not, the con-

AARON YUGOW 1886-1954

THE DEATH of Aaron Yugow on February 9 is a grievous loss to the whole field of American-Soviet understanding, to which he so richly contributed, and to the staff of *New World Review*. Our readers will remember with gratitude his enlightening articles on the economic situation in the Soviet Union, and will share our regret that we are deprived of his help in analyzing the exciting new economic developments of the past year. A warm and generous person, he was always ready to give his time and talents when we asked him for articles, no matter how great the pressure of his other work.

Aaron Yugow was born in Rostov-on-Don in 1886, was graduated from the University of St. Petersburg, joined the anti-Tsarist struggle in 1903, and knew imprisonment and exile. Having formerly belonged to the Menshevik wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, Mr. Yugow was not wholly in sympathy with the Soviet regime in its early days. He has been living in this country for the last thirteen years. A profound student of developments in his native land, he became convinced that they were on the right course and in recent years has devoted himself wholly to bringing a better understanding of Soviet developments to Americans. He wrote on economic questions in four languages. Among the best known of his many books on Soviet economic planning, industry and agriculture, are "Russian Economic Front in War and Peace" (1924) and "Management of Russian Industry and Agriculture" (1944). He wrote on Soviet Economics for the Encyclopedia Britannica.

Mr. Yugow was one of the editors of the Russian-language daily newspaper *Russky Golos*, and contributed to *The Nation* and other periodicals as well as to *New World Review*.

ference can call for his removal. The unions cannot actually remove him, but they can raise the question of his removal.

Mr. Khlistov recalled that he had attended just such a meeting at a factory which was not fulfilling its plan, and in which, as a result, wage rates were falling. Called by the factory committee, and attended by a Deputy Minister of the industry concerned, the meeting resulted in the dismissal of the director.

In between All-Union Trade Union Congresses, the Central Council of Trade Unions holds a biennial plenary meeting.

In individual unions, congresses are held every two years, with plenary central committee meetings two or three times a year.

There is in each case a presidium, or executive, which meets once a month, and a secretariat, also elected, which meets weekly.

14. *At what age do men and women receive pensions?*

Women in general at 55, and some at 50. Men generally at 60, but in some trades 55. They can in all cases continue to work and still receive their pensions.

Ancient China Looks Ahead

A review by NORA RODD

DAYBREAK IN CHINA by Basil Davidson, Jonathan Cape, London, 1953. A Liberty Book Club Selection. 191 pp.

BASIL DAVIDSON is a non-Communist Englishman. With a party of 30 of his countrymen, mostly artists, and including four M.P.'s, he visited China in 1952. He is the author of two novels and of several books on world affairs. Of his *Report on Southern Africa* the *London Observer* says that "Mr. Davidson goes to the heart of the problem without special pleading." In the present book the author sees China's 500 millions, increasing by ten millions a year, as they turn their backs on the past with its cruelty and oppression, carrying out Mao Tse-tung's Common Program. "They have had the oldest civilization, soon they will have the newest."

Mr. Davidson finds the core of the Common Program is to modernize the country and he believes this will greatly alter the course of human history:

In a few years from now perhaps, the whole pattern of social, economic, and international relations will have radically changed not only for China but for the whole of Asia. That is why it must be important for all of us, in the West as well as in the East, to take a careful measure of what is now going forward in China.

Land reform is the basis of the whole policy. Already more than 400 million peasants, 5 per cent of whom are former landlords, have received their land. By heroic measures for flood control and prevention of famine, crops have so increased that by 1951 China was able to export 66,000 tons of rice to India, and 450,000 tons of rice and other grains to Ceylon. Land reform is

working because "the peasants do it for themselves, and know they are doing it for themselves."

In Shanghai, one of the world's six most densely populated cities, Mr. Davidson goes among the five and a half millions "badly packed in slums and near slums," but now no longer under the rule of the gangster. The new industrialization is teaching the people to understand, treating them as capable of understanding. Now it is necessary for the people to live as human beings. Many still must put up with their low-ceilinged attics and tenements but under new organization. The people are a part of the local government and before them rise new housing blocks and slum areas disappear.

Most factories are still privately owned, but they must now cooperate with the trade unions with their strong government backing. Since the worker is no longer treated as an inferior his output is no longer poor. "Before the liberation the machinery in our heads turned slowly and so our machines did too," said an older worker. In a jute factory in Chekiang Province the author sees new machines, copies of the English machines beside them, which were made in Shanghai with Chinese tools. "You will be glad to know that the American blockade has done us no harm," observed the young engineer guide.

In an Appendix Mr. John Wood, Vice-President of the Scottish Miners, records that Chinese miners have non-contributory insurance and retire at 55. In the four collieries in the district of Hai-Nan which the party visits, Mr. Wood is struck by the cultural development of the miners; in both the library and reading room he finds more than 4,000 volumes of various books and periodicals.

Reading is all the rage, says Davidson. Along the wharfside wall of Canton he sees a pavement library where books may be borrowed for three hours, and where people stand or sit to read

them. Many of the books tell cartoon stories of the life being lived around them. In 1951 a billion books were published in China, and seven million copies of newspapers sold.

With the passion for learning comes a revival of the arts. Mr. Davidson notes how in the West art is rapidly becoming an art for the small minority and that in England the level of artistic culture is very low, while in China the arts have a high place, but they must appeal to the many, not the few. Artists must serve "as the heralds of a people's freedom, as the prophets of a better life." Must the artist then become mere propagandist to the Cause? Not at all, "as if artists could exist in a social and political vacuum." The author makes this very clear:

... The artist in capitalist society, as everyone knows, has a clear choice between serving the market, such as he finds it, and starving.

What is happening to artists in China is something of profound importance. They are returning to a social atmosphere in which they are expected to serve the community in the same sense as the artists of pre-capitalist Europe were expected to serve the community. . . .

A painter in contemporary Europe or the United States may paint anything he likes, no doubt. . . . Whatever he does, he must be conscious that his art has little or no social purpose: whether he likes it or not,

he is divorced in his work from the everyday affairs of nearly all his fellow men. Yet this was not the case in the golden age of European painting.

No one could appraise what he sees in New China without comment on the part that women are playing—a force "five times the population of the whole of the British Isles." The housewives are learning to stand up. They are organized now: they stand up together. When the humblest woman may be a group leader; when there are meetings to attend and neighbors to arouse, "the old sense of abandonment and isolation are gone forever."

Nor does the Church despair. Religion, too, is serving the people, and the emphasis is on practical brotherhood.

The author had a talk with a Quaker missionary who had been invited back. Not only is the Church free, but no longer are worship services disturbed by the screams of prisoners in torture chambers near by.

Visiting New China has filled him with a great hope for mankind. "To watch the China of this liberation—costly to the few, life-giving to the many—is to jolt one's Western pessimism to the roots. Man is good by nature."

The Drama of a Great Project

A review by **IRENE EPSTEIN**

THE DAWN OF A GREAT PROJECT,
by V. Galaktionov and A. Agranovsky, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. \$1.50.

WHEN the Council of Ministers of the USSR announced in August 1950 that a great hydroelectric station would be built on the Volga River near Stalingrad, work on the project had already been underway for a year. Every work of construction is based on geol-

ogy—the science of the earth itself, its history and structure. "The Dawn of a Great Project" tells the fascinating story of the huge preliminary scientific work, completed in an amazingly short space of time, which made the execution of the vast project a practical possibility.

The scientists engaged in the work themselves did not realize the magnitude of the project until they heard the formal announcement that August day,

which set the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station in its proper perspective in a huge complex of canals, dams, the planting of six huge forest shelter belts, and the creation of an entire "inland sea" together with vast plans for agricultural and industrial development.

"Study this impressive picture, and you will have a conception of the scale of the battle which Soviet people are now waging to subdue nature," write the authors, one a journalist, the other the chief geologist of the Stalingrad project. As they unfold the gigantic scale of that offensive, and describe in lucid and enthralling detail the scientific investigations on which it is based, the reader gains fresh understanding of the dynamics of a society organized on socialist principles, the creative power it unleashes, not only in its most talented members but in its average citizens (no longer average by our standards!)—and its potential ability to remake nature in all her aspects—whether the land, the climate, or the individual human being.

Not only is every branch of Soviet science put at the service of the project, the workers throughout the whole country feel active participants, whether they build the dredges and derricks, mix the concrete or furnish the countless accessories involved in building the dams and power stations, and the towns which must house the vast labor force at the sites of construction.

In trying to approximate the vast scale of planning and coordination, the

social perspectives which guided the Soviet planners in their work, an American reader inevitably thinks of our own T.V.A., which also remade an entire countryside, and the lives of its inhabitants. But T.V.A. today is a "sport," almost an anachronism; its very survival is threatened by the clash of private interests which keep other, similar projects, such as the Missouri River Valley and Columbia River Valley development plans in the blueprint and controversial stages, while the precious topsoil washes into the oceans, and millions of human beings suffer from floods, droughts and sub-standard living conditions.

Judging by other examples that have reached us, the Russians are steadily developing this kind of reportage, a combination of the better journalism as we know it with vivid human interest and scientific description and analysis, into a flexible and vivid literary form.

There is plenty of drama in this narrative: the account of how the borings, which told the geologic story of the Volga's bed, were completed only hours before ice closed off the river; how the threat of the great Volga "fault" was met, analyzed and evaluated, and the plans shifted so as to even improve the final project; or in the many sketches of human beings, varied in character, age and experience, who grew and developed, or occasionally failed, in the course of their gigantic task.

An American reader also inevitably compares such a book with the best-selling *Sea Around Us* by Rachel Carson, with its wealth of lucid and colorful scientific fact; but how many "*Seas Around Us*" do we get a chance to read, as contrasted with the wealth of scientific literature which, by all accounts, is available to lay Soviet reader? It is an illuminating sidelight on socialist literature that a lucid and scientific description of the nature of clay, or of the geologic strata of the Volga basin, is not out of place in an account of the adventures and achievements of human beings!

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Berlin Conference Communiqué

A MEETING of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom, John Foster Dulles, Viacheslav Molotov, Georges Bidault and Anthony Eden, took place in Berlin between January 25 and February 18, 1954. They reached the following agreements:

[A]

The Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and the United Kingdom meeting in Berlin,

Considering that the establishment by peaceful means of a united and independent Korea would be an important factor in reducing international tension and in restoring peace in other parts of Asia,

Propose that a conference of representatives of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, the United Kingdom, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and other countries whose armed forces participated in the hostilities in Korea and which desire to attend shall meet in Geneva on April 26, 1954 for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Korean question,

Agree that the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China will

also be discussed at the conference to which representatives of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, the United Kingdom, the People's Republic of China, and other interested states will be invited.

It is understood that neither the invitation to nor the holding of the above-mentioned conference shall be deemed to imply diplomatic recognition in any case where it has not already been accorded.

[B]

The Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and the United Kingdom,

Convinced that the solution of international controversies necessary for the establishment of lasting peace would be considerably aided by an agreement on disarmament, or at least on a substantial reduction of armaments,

Will subsequently hold an exchange of views to promote the successful solution of this problem as provided for in Paragraph 6 of the United Nations Resolution of November 28, 1953.

The four ministers have had a full exchange of views on the German question, on the problems of European security and on the Austrian question, but they were unable to reach agreement on these matters.

An Appeal by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois On Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims

This is a letter sent by the distinguished scholar and leader Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois to a group of European friends. We are glad to reprint it here because this question of amnesty to those unjustly jailed under the Smith Act as a part of the cold war repressions, is a matter of vital importance to all Americans.

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence," and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the near future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture."

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the

whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

(signed) W. E. B. DU BOIS
(Ph.D., Harvard University,
Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters;
Prize Winner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

USSR Wins World Hockey Title

SOVIET athletes competing in the world arena continue to win top places and honors. As we go to press, the Soviet hockey team, competing with seven other teams in Stockholm, Sweden, came through to win the world ice hockey championships, defeating Canada, who was heavily favored, before a crowd of 17,000 at the Olympic Stadium.

Reporting the event, the *United Press* declared: "The Russians, playing in their first tournament, skated the Canadians off their feet. They opened with a four-goal onslaught in the first period, added three more in the second session, and then coasted the rest of the way."

The final score of the game was 7-2.

The same reporter wrote that "it was one of the biggest upsets in the history of the tournament." Canada had been unbeaten in six previous contests in the tournament. The Soviet team had a record of five victories and one tie.

The Soviet team leader, Boris Mjakinkov, said that they hoped the Canadian team would tour the USSR in a series of games.

The contestants in the tournament, in the order of their final positions, follow: Soviet Union, Canada, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Finland, Norway, Switzerland.

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