

SOCIAL SCIENCES

NEW WORLD

APRIL
1954
20¢

Review

PUBLIC LIBRARY

✓ MAY - 3 1954

DETROIT



AMERICA'S STAKE IN EAST-WEST TRADE

Ban the H-Bomb • Make Peace in Indo-China

NEW WORLD *Review*

APRIL

1954

United Action for Peace <i>Jessica Smith</i>	3
America's Stake in East-West Trade <i>Theodore Bayer</i>	13
Britain's Political Climate <i>Gordon Schaffer</i>	20
Spring Festival in China, <i>pictures</i>	23
U.S. Smoke Screen at Caracas <i>Eslanda Robeson</i>	27
What U.S. College Editors Saw in the Soviet Union	31
The Budget is the Payoff <i>George Wheeler</i>	36
Bulgaria Between the Two World Wars <i>Edgar P. Young</i>	39
Book Reviews	44

OUR COVER: *Tungus Markarimova, of the Dance Ensemble of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (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*

Vol. 22, No. 4, April, 1954. Re-
entered as second class matter June 27,
1951, at the Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
Subscription \$2.00 per year. \$1.00 for 6
months (Canadian, \$2.50; foreign \$3.00 a
year. Draw money orders or checks payable
in New York). Published monthly by the
S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 23 West 26th
Street, New York 10, N. Y. Indexed in
Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information
Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 3-3855.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

209

SUBSCRIBERS PLEASE NOTICE

Won't you please help us keep
our subscriptions growing?

The best way to insure this is
to see that your own subscrip-
tion does not lapse. Why not
renew it today?

The next way to insure steady
growth of our subscription list,
is for each one of you to pledge
to get a new subscription from
a friend or an acquaintance.
Why not do it today?

NEW WORLD REVIEW renew your sub to

America's Window on the New World

\$2 for one year

\$1 for six months

NEW WORLD REVIEW
23 West 26th Street, New York 10

I enclose \$_____ for ☐ new

☐ renewal subscription to New World
Review.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

UNITED ACTION FOR PEACE

To stop the mad drive toward world destruction—to outlaw the H-bomb—and to end the war in Indo-China

by JESSICA SMITH

THIS MOMENT of supreme danger to humanity offers to each of us a supreme opportunity to help determine the future course of history.

It is in our hands to help save the world by making war forever impossible. With the advent of the limitless and uncontrollable destructive power of the hydrogen bomb, there is no other way.

Those who threaten to use this fearful power against anyone, threaten everyone. Dare we leave in balance the fruits of all civilization, the beauties and wonders of the world, the lives of all mankind, on the thin line that divides the insensate fury of such a threat from the ultimate madness of carrying it out?

Under the instant massive atomic retaliation policy of the Administration, Secretary Dulles has told us that the President alone could make the decision to unleash the monstrous evil against the world, without consulting Congress or America's allies.

This policy does not mean confining the use of the hydrogen bomb to retaliation against atomic attack. Under the Dulles theory any movement for national liberation or freedom from internal oppression which he might choose to label as "Communist aggression," could be the pretext for hurling the H-bomb against the So-

viet Union or the Chinese People's Republic and exposing the whole world, our own country included, to annihilation.

This has been spelled out clearly in the case of Indo-China. Secretary Dulles has called for "united action" in the event of "the imposition on Southeast Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally by whatever means." "By whatever means" could apply to peaceful change brought about by democratic electoral processes.

Thus American intervention in Indo-China which Mr. Dulles seems bent on developing on a massive scale before the Geneva Conference, which is to discuss the restoration of peace in Indo-China, could be the trigger that sets off an H-bomb war unless we act instantly and with all our strength to prevent it.

The Hydrogen Bomb

The H-Bomb tests in the Pacific have aroused world-wide horror. Despite the outcry after the March 1st test, the United States held a second test on March 26, a third on April 6, and scheduled still another, while new appropriations for assembly-line H-bomb production are announced.

Let Americans remember what the first atom bombs did to Hiroshima

and Nagasaki. The co-pilot of the plane that dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, Robert A. Lewis, told a reporter for the *New York Journal-American* on April 2, of the beautiful city that lay below them on the early morning of that fateful day of August, 1945, its people going to work, its streets filled with people and traffic. Two minutes later, after the bomb was dropped, the crew looked back. The co-pilot described what they saw:

The city was gone. No trolleys, no trucks, no pedestrians. And all over there was fire. Fire spreading for miles around, even creeping up the surrounding hills. Then something suddenly occurred to me. The 11 other men on the ship were alive and well. We had just killed hundreds of thousands of people. The people were probably not much better or worse than myself. . . . If we could kill so many now, what would we be able to do in five years, ten years, twenty years? . . . Something has to be done to leash the H-bomb. War has become national suicide.

The Hiroshima bomb, belittled now, is said to have killed "only" some 60,000 to 75,000 people at the time. Two years ago, the Hiroshima town authorities reported that 247,000 deaths had resulted from the explosion.

We know now that the dropping of those bombs by the decision of the President of the United States on a country already on the verge of surrender, had no relation to military needs, but, as the renowned British scientist, P. M. S. Blackett, pointed out in his *Fear, War and the Bomb* (1948), was carefully timed to precede the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan, because of the wish "to insure that the Jap-

anese Government surrendered to the American forces alone." Professor Blackett concluded that:

. . . the dropping of the atomic bombs was not so much the last military act of the Second World War, as the first major operation of the cold, diplomatic war with Russia now in progress.

Can the consciences of the American people permit the dropping of the hydrogen bomb to be the first act of World War Three?

The hydrogen bomb of March 1st has been variously estimated as from 500 to 1400 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. The scientists miscalculated its power—it was several times greater than they expected. The next bomb, it is said, will be 2,000 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

As a result of the March 1st test, coral dust burned 23 Japanese fishermen 80 miles away, while many others in the area were exposed to danger. Contaminated tuna fish found its way to the market before it was discovered and destroyed. Several other boats were found to be radioactive in that and later tests.

Radioactive jelly fish on California's Manhattan Beach and radioactive rain in Massachusetts have brought the dangers close to home.

According to science writer William L. Laurence in the *New York Times* of April 7, the testing of the March 1st and 26th hydrogen bombs proved that the most deadly weapon of all, the cobalt bomb, could now be successfully built. This is the type of hydrogen bomb of which Albert Einstein said: "If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence annihilation of any life on earth, will have been brought within

the range of technical possibility."

The March tests, says the writer, have brought this prophecy within the realm of fact. He quoted Prof. Harrison Brown, nuclear chemist at the California Institute of Technology, on the effects of such a bomb exploded in the Pacific a thousand miles from the California coast:

The radioactive dust could reach California in about a day, and New York in four or five days, killing most life as it traverses the continent.

The Administration, bent on continuing the tests and stockpiling of these fiendish devices, is seeking to quiet the fears of the people.

To this end, President Eisenhower invited Rear Admiral Lewis S. Straus, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman, just returned from the Pacific tests, to make a statement at his press conference on March 31.

Admiral Straus declared that the characterization of "devastating" and "out of control" applied to the tests, were "exaggerated and mistaken." Contrary to other reports in the press he explained that the power of the H-bomb was only "about double" what was calculated, and that this was quite normal in testing a new weapon. In other words, a margin of error that might kill say 10,000,000 people more or less is only to be expected.

He complained that the Japanese fishing boats must have been within the danger area, minimized the effects on the fisherman whose burns he said were "already healing," although reports from Japan indicate that all are still in danger.

Admiral Straus said that H-bombs could now be made as large as you wish—large enough to destroy a city like New York.

The American people will not be and must not be easily quieted. Protests are rising across the land. On March 30, Representative Chet Holifield (Dem., Cal.) who attended the Bikini test, called on the heads of the Big Three governments to reveal the full details of the H-bomb:

With knowledge of the terrible results that would occur through the destruction of our cities and the loss of millions of lives, there would be a surging and irresistible demand for international peace. Such a demand would compel the political leaders of the nations of the world to sit down at the conference table and settle their differences peacefully. . . .

I believe this demand would be so great and so compelling that no group of men would dare take the steps which would plunge the world into a third world war with atomic hydrogen weapons.

Wide as the American protest is, it still has not reached the proportions it has elsewhere in the world. The peoples of all Asia and all Europe are stirred up. Alarm has spread everywhere on a massive scale. On April 1st, Prime Minister Nehru of India called on the United States and Russia for an immediate "stand-still" on H-bomb explosions, pending progress toward elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and for an immediate meeting of the UN Disarmament Commission. The same day the Japanese Parliament approved a resolution calling for international control of atomic energy and nuclear tests. On April 6, Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia appealed for an end to all H-bomb tests.

Reflecting the sentiments of the British people, the entire British press from left to right has sharply questioned United States policy on

the bomb and on many other issues as well, and calls for new initiative and new independence on the part of the British Government. The British Labor Party forced a debate in Parliament on April 5 on a motion asking for immediate government initiative to bring about talks between Churchill, Eisenhower and Malenkov on reduction and control of armaments including the question of atomic weapons.

The deaf and aging Churchill presented a sorry spectacle as he attempted to defend United States policies and, amidst cries of "shame" and "resign," to place the entire blame on the former Labor Government for Britain's present ignoble position in not even being consulted on U.S. H-bomb plans. He made clear that he has abandoned the hopes he held a year ago of making a contribution to peace before retiring from the stage, through bringing about a top-level meeting of Britain, the United States and the USSR.

On Anthony Eden's pledge that the government would use its influence to bring about "fruitful" high level talks on disarmament, but that it be allowed to choose its own time, the House of Commons agreed without a vote to support the Laborite motion for such a meeting.

On April 7, at a meeting sponsored by Labor M.P.'s. and attended by delegates of a hundred British organizations, a campaign for a nationwide petition urging a Big Power Conference on the H-bomb was launched. A resolution was approved considering it desirable that Britain take a stand barring all use of atomic weapons and denying use of its bases to atomic powers, meaning, of course, the United States.

Dr. Cyril Garbett, Archbishop of

York, urged that the Church of England protest with all its might against the H-bomb.

Hoping to still the clamor at home and abroad, the United States on April 3, joined by Great Britain and France, proposed an early meeting of the UN Disarmament Commission to set up a sub-group of atomic powers. Andrei Vyshinsky, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and permanent representative to the UN, welcomed the move for the meeting which was scheduled for April 9. "Diplomatic officials" in Washington, however, were quoted in a *United Press* dispatch of April 4 "as warning against any false hopes for an end to the arms race."

Indo-China

Coupled with the world-wide outcry against the H-bomb is the growing resentment against American intervention in Indo-China where the world fears a new Korea and the possibility that this could become the trigger to set off an H-Bomb holocaust.

The measure of this resentment is particularly apparent in the sharp refusal of Great Britain and France to join with the United States in a warning to China threatening war, which sent Mr. Dulles hurrying off to try to bring them in line, which he did not succeed in doing.

The London *Daily Herald*, Labor Party organ, wrote on April 8:

We do not like the diplomacy of threats, especially with hydrogen bombs lying about, and certainly not on the eve of a conference whose purpose is to try to make relations of the two sides better. Give the conference a chance.

The Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have both stated

repeatedly that they see in the Geneva Conference an opportunity to reach a peaceful settlement in Korea, and to restore peace in Indo-China. Ho Chi-Minh has repeatedly offered the French negotiations for peace. Premier Nehru of India, supported by Premier Laurent of Canada and many others, has called for an immediate cease-fire pending agreement at Geneva.

Secretary Dulles, flouting world-wide opinion, seems determined to wreck the conference in advance, by making more and more open American intervention a fait accompli, preventing the French from making a truce in Indo-China, refusing to make any concessions whatever to world opinion or the interests of the 450,000,000 people of China, and not only preventing the normalization of relations with China and its entry into the United Nations, which America's allies favor, but keeping the door closed on the trade the world so greatly needs.

In an article "The Truth About Indo-China" in the October NWR, Kumar Goshal described how American intervention in the Indo-Chinese war has been a fact from the very beginning, even before the present Chinese Government was in power, and has been increasing at an accelerated rate ever since. He described how our government helped the French rulers of Indo-China who had surrendered to the Japanese, in their efforts to recover their colony and crush the movement of Ho Chi-Minh who had led the resistance and cooperated with Americans during the war, and had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people.

American intervention has been stepped up to the point where 78 per cent of the cost of the Indo-Chinese

war is met by the United States. Almost a billion and a quarter dollars of the American tax-payers money was poured into it last year, and a similar amount has been asked for this year.

Some 250 or more American air force technicians are in Indo-China servicing the U.S. bombers supplied in large numbers; 18 B-26 bombers were sent in February, 25 more promised in March. U.S. military aid also includes transport planes, large supplies of the deadly napalm (jellied gasoline), amphibious landing ships, tanks and guns. Civilian U.S. airmen are flying in transport planes for the French. Lt. General John W. O'Daniel, until recently commanding general of U.S. air forces in the Pacific, arrived in Indo-China in early April to take command of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group there, and according to the *New York Times* of April 3, "will be on hand to help organize the training the Vietnamese if the French permit."

Speaking before the Overseas Press Club on March 29, Dulles made clear what are the real interests of the U.S. monopolists in this region. Piously professing concern for the "human values" of the 30,000,000 people of Indo-China "seeking for themselves the dignity of self government," and pretending that France is prepared to give them complete independence (within the French Union) he came to the real point:

Now Southeast Asia is an important part of the world. It is the so-called "rice bowl" which helps to feed the densely populated region that extends from India to Japan. *It is an area that is rich in many raw materials, such as tin, rubber, oil, iron ore. . . .* (Emphasis added.)

Mr. Dulles then repeated his former threat that "if Red China sent its own army into Indo-China that would result in grave consequences which might not be confined to Indo-China."

James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* for March 31 that Mr. Dulles' plans in the Indo-China war went beyond anything disclosed in his speech:

His first objectives of course, are to prepare the American people for greater sacrifices in that war, to persuade the French not to make a deceptive peace with the Communists, and to warm Peiping and Moscow that the United States will fight if necessary to keep Southeast Asia out of their hands.

Declaring that Mr. Dulles hopes to convince the non-Communist leaders of Europe and Asia, including Premier Nehru of India, that such a war not only affects their national interests but would be a "war of liberation" deserving the support of all the non-Communist members of the United Nations, Mr. Reston commented wryly, "This is going to take some persuading."

Reasons for the difficulties cited by Reston are the "considerable influence" of Ho Chi-Minh, French unwillingness to grant independence except within the French Union, the view that French intervention is only to maintain colonialism, and that the French people are sick of the Indo-China war.

Ray Cromley, Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*, writing in that paper on March 30, drew the following conclusions from the Dulles speech and his own diplomatic sources in Washington: 1) That the Administration has decided that "Indo-China will not be allowed

to fall into Red hands whatever the cost." 2) That no concessions are to be made at Geneva "that will give Ho Chi-Minh and his Communist forces any toehold from which to go on and take chunks of Indo-China." 3) that the United States intends if necessary to recruit United Nations aid "to bolster the units now fighting in Indo-China." 4) that the United States is considering an appeal to the United Nations for "quick indirect action like a naval blockade of Red China."

Cromley declared the decision has been made that if the French pull out of Indo-China the United States must call on the United Nations to provide troops for the Indo-China war, and that the State Department hopes "Asiatic troops would be sent to prevent Asiatics from thinking this is a war of the white man versus Asiatic."

He continued that if China should send troops in, the United States is prepared for "direct action," either bombing China, sending U.S. troops, or both, that "the United States would be willing in this case to risk World War III," and that "this might be done even if China doesn't send troops but Indo-China seems on the verge of falling." In other words, the Secretary of State has set complete capitulation as the only acceptable price for any settlement.

Appearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on April 5, to urge increased military aid appropriations, Dulles charged that China "has been intensifying Communist aggression" in Indo-China, and "coming awful close" to the kind of open aggression which he had previously warned would spread the war beyond Indo-China. He cited a document allegedly revealing Chinese

participation in the fighting. (A *New York Times* dispatch from Vietnam, April 7, quoted high French military sources as saying they had no evidence of any Chinese Communists taking part in the fighting there.) In answering questions, Mr. Dulles while insisting on "united action" against China, declared that he did not rule out the possibility that the United States might act alone.

Robert S. Allen reported in the *New York Post* for April 8, that at a secret session with Congressional leaders preceding the above, Secretary Dulles and Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, put forward specific proposals for armed intervention in Indo-China. These included a joint Senate and House resolution authorizing the President "to take all steps necessary" to keep Indo-China from falling into the hands of the Communists" and united action by the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, to join in a "limited commitment" to use air and naval forces to prevent further serious reverses to the French. Mr. Allen wrote:

Dulles' hush-hush conference may turned out to be as momentous as the one former President Truman held that Sunday afternoon in late June, 1950, when the decision was made to use American forces to prevent the Communists from seizing South Korea.

But today is not June, 1950. The world forces for peace have grown immeasurably since that time. McCarthyism in domestic and foreign relations has dealt a severe blow to United States prestige and leadership. America's allies will not so

easily become involved in a new Korea that could set off an H-bomb war.

There are warning voices in Congress against efforts to involve our country in the Indo-China war. The people of America have learned their strength in compelling an end to the war in Korea. They do not want to send their sons to Indo-China.

Many roads are open for action to stop the plans for intervention and to insist that American representatives utilize the great opportunity offered by the Geneva Conference to end the war in Indo-China.

The Progressive Party has called on its leadership and members everywhere "to use every means at their disposal to reach all members of Congress through telegrams and letters from our own membership and other groups to urge that no precipitate action be taken by our government and that a peaceful settlement of the Indo-Chinese war be negotiated at Geneva."

The American Peace Crusade has issued a call for Americans to send letters, wires and resolutions to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, members of Congress and local, state and city officials urging that our nation be saved from another Korea and atomic disaster, and that delegations be organized to visit Congressmen and Senators with this demand.

These and many other actions can be taken by individuals, religious, trade union, civic and other groups.

It is the moral responsibility of the American people to halt the mad course toward destruction and turn the policies of our government toward peace. What is needed now is united action here and home, to end the H-bomb menace and bring about peace in Indo-China.

New USSR Moves For Collective Security

IN THE LIGHT of the new dangers to world peace, the Soviet Union has made a new plea for agreement on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and carried further the proposal made at the Berlin Conference for an all-inclusive collective security treaty for Europe. It has now suggested that the United States join in this treaty, and that the Soviet Union on the other hand might join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, under conditions that would insure its purely defensive character and eliminate the plans to rearm Germany under the European Defense Community.

These new and far-reaching proposals were presented to the United States, Great Britain and France in identical notes from Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov on March 31.

Mr. Molotov declared that the growing destructiveness of atomic and hydrogen weapons made more important than ever the question of armament reduction and the prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. He declared:

There can be no doubt that the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons in war would bring untold calamities to the peoples, would mean the mass annihilation of the civilian population and the destruction of big cities, including the oldest centers of civilization, which are the biggest capitals of the countries of the world.

Along with efforts to end this danger, Mr. Molotov stated that every opportunity for strengthening peace should be utilized, and stressed the importance of maintaining peace in

Europe as of decisive importance to the question of world peace.

Mr. Molotov declared that it was to this end the Soviet Government had submitted to the Berlin Conference for consideration a draft of principles for a General European Collective Security Treaty, to which all European countries, irrespective of their social systems could belong. This would include Germany, and pending its reunification, both the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic could be parties to the treaty. Thus the collective security system could go forward even though agreement on the German problem had still not been achieved. The treaty would be in line with UN Charter principles and pledge its signatories not to make war on one another and provide for mutual aid in case of attack on any one of the treaty countries in order to restore and maintain peace.

Such a collective security system, said the note, would end the division of Europe through the formation of military alignments of states opposed to each other, which, with the accompanying inevitable arms drive, leads to increasing danger of war, as the experience of two world wars has shown.

Mr. Molotov again warned of the dangers of the plans to form a European Defense Community, leading to a resurgence of German militarism, since the leading part in the proposed six-nation army is assigned to West German armed forces headed by Hitlerite generals.

The note declared that the debate

in Berlin on this proposal had revealed divergences of opinion, particularly with regard to the undesirability of the United States remaining outside of such a treaty, and that the Soviet Union was quite ready to consider modifications of its proposal. The note then said:

In view of this circumstance, and taking into account the participation of the United States in the common struggle against Hitlerite aggression at the time of the Second World War and the responsibility which the United States, together with the Soviet Union, France and Britain, bears for a postwar settlement in Europe, and also taking into consideration the view expressed by the United States Government at the Berlin Conference, the Soviet Government on its part sees no obstacles to the solution of the question of the participation of the United States in a "General European Treaty of Collective Security in Europe" in a positive manner. In this way the difficulty in reaching an agreement on establishing a collective security system in Europe, which has hitherto been referred to, should fall away.

The note went on to say that despite the statements made by the Western Powers at Berlin regarding the defensive nature of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Soviet Union cannot at the present time share this view, since NATO creates a closed group of states, ignores the task of preventing renewed German aggression, and since of the Great Powers that formed the anti-Hitler coalition the USSR is the only one that is not a signatory. This situation could be changed if all the Great powers of the anti-Hitler coalition became members of NATO:

... the Soviet Government, guided by the immutable principles of its peace-loving foreign policy and striv-

ing to reduce the tension in international relations, is prepared to consider jointly with the governments concerned the participation of the USSR in the North Atlantic Treaty.

Since the Government of the United States and the Governments of Britain and France are declaring their desire to lessen international tensions and strengthen peace, one could expect that they would favorably consider taking measures with the purpose of insuring a situation in which the North Atlantic Treaty would acquire a really defensive nature and the conditions would be created precluding the integration of one or another part of Germany in military alignments. In this case the "North Atlantic Treaty Organization" would cease to be a closed military group of states and would be open for other European countries to join, which, together with the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe would have the greatest significance for strengthening universal peace.

Writing in the *New York Times* of April 2nd of reactions among experienced Western diplomats in the Soviet capital, Moscow correspondent Harrison E. Salisbury said Molotov's note had convinced them that "the Soviet Union wants an end of the 'cold war' in the era of atomic arms."

Salisbury said that this conclusion, which has been forming for some time, is that of "competent and reliable analysts of Soviet policy, men whose names, if they could be mentioned, would command confidence and respect in the Western world." He went on:

... There is no inclination on the part of key Western diplomats here to underestimate the diplomatic importance of Mr. Molotov's new European security 'look.' But it is the spirit that lies behind this that fasci-

nates men who have devoted many years to the study of Russia.

There are at least two clues to the source of this spirit. The first lies in what these observers are now convinced is a genuine Soviet fear of German militarism and German rearmament. . . .

Much more important as a source of motivation is the long paragraph Mr. Molotov included in his note describing in the gloomiest terms that any Soviet statesman has yet employed the results to the world of war in an age of atomic and hydrogen weapons. . . .

Mr. Molotov's passage read to Western observers like the words of a man who had realistically assessed the danger of war in the world of nuclear weapons and wanted no one, not his own countrymen and particularly not the statesmen of Western Europe, whose capitals obviously would not long survive a nuclear war, to be in any doubt as to the horrible reality that the great nations are up against.

While the new Soviet proposal was swiftly rejected by the United States and Great Britain, it has made the most profound impression throughout Europe, where opposition to the European Defense Community has grown since the Berlin Conference. On March 20, there was a meeting in France of mainly non-Communist opponents of EDC from other countries of Europe. Opposition in France includes former Premiers Herriot and Daladier, and is supported by Popular Republicans, Socialists, Radical Party members, Independents and Gaullists. This gathering adopted a resolution rejecting the EDC, asking for free elections in Germany preceding unification, and the restoration of normal East-West trade and cultural relations under a system of collective security founded on the UN

Charter. This is a position entirely compatible with the Soviet proposals. While the European Defense Community has now been ratified by the German Federal Republic at Bonn, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, despite wide popular opposition in all these countries, ratification in France and Italy, on which realization of EDC depends, seems farther off than ever.

Following through its proposals at Berlin in its own relations with the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Government on March 26 announced that the latter had become a sovereign state, and henceforward would conduct its own internal and foreign relations. Due to the failure of the conference to reach an agreement on German unification including the withdrawal of all foreign troops, Soviet troops will remain temporarily by agreement with the West German Government, but only for security functions and the fulfillment of obligations under the Potsdam agreement.

On April 6, the Soviet Government newspaper, *Izvestia*, renewed the call for agreements on barring weapons of mass destruction, emphasizing the need for a system of international inspection and control.

In another statement, *Izvestia* probably foreshadowed the position to be taken by the Soviet Union at the Geneva Conference, indicating that the proposed collective security system for Europe would be matched by a similar proposal for the Far East.

This position of the Soviet Government, and a similar desire on the part of the Chinese People's Republic for peaceful settlements in Korea and Indo-China, offer the basis for constructive negotiations at Geneva.

America's Stake In East-West Trade

by THEODORE BAYER

THE GOVERNMENT of the United States is engaged in an attempt to stem the urge for trade and commerce on the part of Western European and Asian nations with one-third of the world's population. The American manufacturer and exporter looks on in wonder, not only at the ability of the United States to prevent what is becoming increasingly necessary, but also in fear that his Government's attempt is succeeding in isolating the American producer from the only market that will be both stable and expanding at a time when other markets have a tendency to shrink. Unfortunately this process is a familiar one to the American businessman for he has witnessed it before.

In between two world wars other Republican Administrations had declared the USSR an "economic vacu-

um" while businessmen of other countries enjoyed lucrative trade there. The difference, however, is that what was then a national folly is now being attempted on a global scale. And the intended victim is not only the trade of the United States but also that of the unwilling Western allies. The United States is not only throwing away American trade with eight hundred million people but attempting to embargo the trade of other nations with the same third of the world.

As part of the strategy of the cold war and in preparation for war the United States has introduced into international relationships an international trade boycott and has, at least for a time, forced other governments to adhere to this boycott under threat of cutting off American aid if they disobey. In complete disregard of pride of sovereignty on the part of other nations, the 82nd Congress put in the statutes the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act, otherwise known as the Battle Act. This Act empowers the administration to cut off "military, economic or financial assistance to any nation unless it applies an embargo on such shipments to any nation or combina-

THEODORE BAYER, well known to our readers for the "Your Questions Answered" department which he conducted in our magazine for many years, is Administrative Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He will contribute regularly further analyses of the East-West trade situation as new developments occur.

tion of nations threatening the security of the United States, including the USSR and all countries under its domination." The words "such shipments" refer to a list of proscribed goods and raw materials compiled by various departments of our Government of which other nations are to be advised and the shipment of which they are expected to embargo.

The Battle Act further provides that after 60 days' notice, the country which continues to deviate in its exports from the American list of forbidden cargo is cut off from economic aid.

As a result of a vastly changed world situation since 1951, we are now witnessing growing opposition, practically the world over, to this U.S.-sponsored trade boycott and against its embodiment, the Battle Act. The opposition assumes the proportions of a parliamentary revolt in some countries where the business community's impatience with this boycott, coupled with that of the trade unions, is reflected in the daily press and business publications.

Since the origin of the boycott was in the cold war, the apology for it was alleged Soviet aggression. Now, with the bankruptcy of the cold war strategy and the exploding of the myth of Soviet aggression, the trade boycott is losing its force and becomes harder to maintain. To this must be added the fact that though the American foreign aid program amounting to some 45 billion dollars was very burdensome to the American taxpayer, it did not provide the expected benefits to the recipient countries. For with the American aid came the imposition of a rearmament program which together with trade restrictions com-

bined to unbalance further the economies of the Western allies.

The result of this process is becoming more painfully obvious in the present recession which stimulates protective practices against importations into this country. The present cry on the part of European countries for more trade rather than aid epitomizes the dilemma which America's trade boycott has forced upon its Western allies. The exports which the American market refuses to accept must find an outlet. Fortunately such an outlet exists and the barriers to it will have to be lifted.

In the face of relaxing international tensions the growing economic need to re-establish a world market, which United States policy has tried to divide into two, is asserting itself. American trade policies of the last few years have run contrary to age-long practices of trade and international economic cooperation which corresponded to the needs of the respective national economies. The United States could not provide an adequate market for the growing needs arising out of the striving for independence and industrialization of large areas of hitherto backward and colonial countries. The attempt artificially to stifle the trade of these countries when the need for its expansion was greater than ever could not but end in failure. The attempt to impose trade restrictions is playing havoc with the economies of many countries. The vicissitudes of the capitalist economic cycle are likely to hit hardest the countries whose pattern of international intercourse was disrupted by the imposition of the American boycott.

What we are witnessing today is an awakening on the part of many countries to the need of protecting

the independence of their economies. They move in the direction of re-establishing the world market to embrace the eight hundred million people recently under boycott. They see in this at least a promise to repair the damages the boycott has wrought and to ward off the sharp blows that the recession in the capitalist world may have in store for them. This, we believe, is the significance which must be attached to Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons on February 25:

"The more trade there is through the iron curtain and between Great Britain and Russia and her satellites the better and better will be the chances of our living together in increasing comfort. . . .

"The more the two great divisions of the world mingle [Emphasis added] in the healthy and fruitful activities of commerce the greater the counterpoise to the purely military calculations.

"Friendly infiltration can do nothing but good. We have no reason to fear it and if Communist Russia does not fear it, that, in itself, is a good sign. . . .

"But a substantial relaxation of the regulations affecting manufactured goods, raw materials and shipping which were made three or four years ago under circumstances we could all feel were very different from those which now prevail—a substantial relaxation would undoubtedly be beneficial in its proper setting, bearing in mind all the military and other arguments.

"We are examining these lists and will discuss them with our American friends. The President of the Board of Trade has been for some time very active in this matter. . . ."

No less a mouthpiece of American big business than the *Wall Street Journal*, on February 15, 1954, tak-

ing issue with its own anti-Soviet columnist, William H. Chamberlin, argued editorially:

"Those who believe trade should be used as a means of expressing annoyance with peoples and systems they don't happen to like must also ask themselves how far it is proposed to carry that notion. Carried far enough there might soon be little trade of any kind anywhere.

"But most of all those who think trade is properly a tool of politics must explain how they square their theory with Western belief and experience—that the expansion of trade is and always has been good for the world. And curiously enough, the more trade has expanded in freedom from politics, the better it has served the political goal of peace."

As we are writing this, Harold E. Stassen, Director of the Foreign Operations Administration is in Europe where he must try to adjust the rigors of the Battle Act to the needs of England, France, Italy and other European countries.

The discussions have assumed some ludicrous aspects, for the given basis for the need of restriction is still the alleged threat from the Soviet Union, which none of the parties to the discussion believes. And yet they must go on pretending that exports must be limited for fear that they may include so-called strategic goods, when the universally acknowledged fact is that with very few exceptions it is almost impossible to determine what is or is not strategic material. The situation is even further aggravated because of the perversity of the Soviet Union in offering on the world market such definitely strategic material as manganese, chrome, platinum and even gold! In the face of this fact, the dilemma that the British exporter is

facing, trying to decide whether copper wire or trawlers are strategic, is evoking sympathy.

The American director of Foreign Operations Administration cannot avoid the knowledge that extensive international trade with the Soviet Union and the East European Democracies and the Chinese People's Republic is taking place. All of Western Europe, the Middle East and Asia are involved in this trade. The Soviet Union has trade agreements and is doing business with France, Italy, India, Argentina, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Greece, Iran, Afghanistan and Egypt, just to mention a few. The People's Republic of China has concluded trade agreements with Ceylon and Indonesia and established business relations with British, French, Italian, Japanese, Belgian, Indian, Pakistani, Egyptian, Burmese and Australian firms. Czechoslovakia today has trade agreements with Britain, Italy, Austria, Iceland, Indonesia, Brazil and Argentina; and Hungary has trade agreements with Argentina, France, Switzerland, Greece and Austria.

Since the large British delegation visited Moscow in 1952 in connection with the World Economic Conference, there has been a steady stream of businessmen going to the Soviet Union, particularly from England and including countries of South America like the Argentine and Brazil.

In recent weeks there was a delegation of 33 British businessmen representing some of the most important business concerns of Britain. As is well known, the Soviet Union has offered the British contracts for \$1,200,000,000 for the next three years, and more is possible. Even the *New York Times* which represents

the die-hards in relation to trade with the Soviet Union, admits that in 1951, that is before the strictures of the Battle Act, the Soviet "bloc" bought from Western Europe \$3,-500,000,000 worth of goods. The Soviet Union reported a growth in its foreign trade for 1953 to 23 billion rubles, or nearly 6 billion dollars. This is a tremendous demonstration of the vitality of the Soviet market in spite of its having to withstand the hostility of the West.

It is important to realize that in spite of the American boycott against the Soviet Union the foreign trade of the USSR for 1953 was indirectly beneficial to American exporters because it made it possible for the European countries to earn dollars which, no doubt, helped to fill the dollar gap in the countries concerned. Even the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* editorially admits, however grudgingly, that there are possibilities for trade with the Soviet Union:

"Within the limited range of Russian ability to pay, however, there can be a substantial amelioration of the economic problems of a number of Western European nations.

"There appears to be no threat in this prospect to the basic policy of not exporting actual strategic goods to Russia or her satellites. The line between strategic and non-strategic materials is admittedly difficult to draw. However, there is a test that is far more important in judging alterations in trade controls: will the Soviet Union or the West suffer more from a rigid embargo? If this test is applied to the various items which Mr. Stassen and his European colleagues are to consider, there is no reason why some satisfactory agreement should not be reached. It is certainly not to the interest of the United States to weaken its allies in

an effort to strike at potential enemies."

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe has recently been discussing the prospects of easing East-West trade. Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, its Executive Secretary, visited Moscow during February of this year. It is known that he was impressed with the prospects of peaceful trade with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has requested the Economic and Social Commission of the United Nations to put on its agenda the question of the removal of barriers to world trade.

And recently in Kandy, Ceylon, at the tenth session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, voices were heard against the policy of limiting trade with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the Eastern European Democracies. There, in the midst of the great reservoirs of the world's raw materials, the Soviet Union's offer to trade manufactured goods for raw materials on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, struck home. The fact that exports for 1953 as against 1952 have diminished as much as 25 per cent, as in the case of rubber, added to the significance of the Soviet offer. There is no doubt that repercussions of the Ceylon meeting will reach the United Nations in New York.

The tedious chorus of the would-be experts which goes on monotonously improvising on the theme of the unimportance of the Soviet market, the alleged lack of Soviet exports to pay for imports, insufficient gold reserves, etc., is losing its appeal.

American industry still remembers that in the early '30's, the American producer welcomed Soviet orders. They particularly remember

that while the dollar value of the Soviet purchases in the light of present-day possibilities was very small, in 1931 Soviet business accounted for 27.5 per cent of all U.S. exports in industrial equipment and for 65 per cent of American exports of power-driven metal working machinery. The Soviet Union also absorbed two-thirds of all the agricultural machinery exported by the United States. Nor do the attempts of some of the apologists of our anti-Soviet trade policies, to misrepresent the Soviet Union as a poor customer or a bad payer make any impression, because American industry is on record to the contrary. In 1943, summing up American business experience with the Soviet Union in a testimonial book, American Industry Commemorates the Tenth Anniversary of American-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, some of the most important firms had this to say:

International General Electric

"Some fifteen years ago, International General Electric Co., Inc. recognized the importance of friendship and economic cooperation between the USSR and the USA by entering into business transactions of a size which, at that time, were considered quite large.

In the intervening years business transactions have continued on a friendly and satisfactory basis, both to ourselves and to our Russian associates and there can be no doubt that in the future, because of the tremendous developments taking place in both countries, the volume of trade done fifteen years ago will seem insignificant by comparison with what will be done in the future.

"Consequently it is my conviction that increased trade between the two countries in the future, which is inevitable, will assure a continued

friendly and cooperative relationship between them.

(Signed) Clark H. Minor,
President."

E. W. Bliss Company

"In speaking to the industries of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, regarding the desire of the E. W. Bliss Company for continued cooperation between the citizens and the governments of our respective countries, we, here at Bliss, have built such hope into the tools and machinery we have manufactured, and are building, for the Soviet industries.

"Progress toward a realization of this hope and the growth of mutual respect by all people will be inevitable if the products of those engaged in industry personify the integrity and the intelligence of the producer.

"Toward this goal, we offer, to the industrial world, Bliss and Toledo Mechanical Presses and Automatic Equipment, Bliss Hydraulic Presses, Bliss Rolling Mills and Bliss Can Making Machinery.

(Signed) H. H. Pinney,
President."

The Cincinnati Milling Machine Company

"We have had the pleasure of continuous and extensive business relations with the USSR for many years on a most friendly and constructive basis. The engineers and industrial executives of Russia, through careful study and analysis of the applications of machine tools such as we manufacture, have advanced the tremendous development in industry and manufacture which has taken place in the USSR during this period.

"It has been fine working with them and we look forward to a continuation of the cooperation and understanding which have prevailed

throughout our close association.

(Signed) W. W. Tangeman,
Vice-President"

Koppers Company

"A great American editor, in a speech here recently, pointed out that there is no other nation in the world with which the United States of America has had more cordial relations than with Russia.

"The people of an industrial nation like the United States of America can see clearly what a tremendous future stretches before the USSR, with all its raw material resources and with its present enlightened programs of industrialization.

"We are sure that we can help Russia in the years to come, and we look forward to years of peace ahead.

(Signed) Joseph Becker,
Vice-President and
General Manager"

Radio Corporation of America

"Russia and radio march on together. Russia is making brilliant use of radio equipment, much of it designed and built by RCA.

"RCA looks forward to many years of cooperation with the progressive engineers of the Soviet Union who have made radio such a vital part of the life of their great nation."

RCA Victor Division,
Camden, N. J."

United Fruit Company

"The United Fruit Company, in its banana and traffic activities, looks forward with keen anticipation to the days to come when normal trade relations may once more be resumed with the Union of Soviet Republics. . . .

(Signed) Samuel Zemurray,
President"

**Westinghouse Electric
International Company**

"It is an inspiration to us of Westinghouse to have been privileged to play a small part in the tremendous industrial development of the USSR.

"A decade of friendship and collaboration is but the beginning of a relationship which will be an important factor in building the happier, fuller life that we all shall surely enjoy, after the forces of evil have been defeated.

(Signed) John W. White, Vice-President and General Manager."

We believe that this testimony, which can be duplicated by many other concerns, disposes of all the irresponsible propaganda surrounding the question of Soviet trade.

As in the past, we believe, so it will be true of the future, that there is nothing like trade to dissolve prejudices and lead to friendship. And that is what we advocate. A little actual practice in trading is much more useful than a mountain of speculation. We do not suggest that with the lifting of the artificial barriers to trade there will be no problems requiring attention, but we are sure that these problems, given the desire, can be solved to the advantage of the cooperating countries.

There will be the question of the need of a trade agreement to stimulate trade which would equalize the advantages to the Soviet Union on the basis of most favored nation clause that is attached to all trade agreements. A large volume of trade will necessarily bring forth the question of funding such trade. Either industrial credits, banking credits or perhaps even government participation may arise. Incidentally, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation did, in the past, finance cotton ex-

ports to the USSR, later fully paid.

However, these problems are not before us at the moment. Before us is the need for U.S. business as well as our trade union movement to exert their influence so that the United States may once more take its rightful place and enjoy the advantage arising out of world trade. The reopening of trade has this most important significance at this time. It can significantly contribute to the warding off of depression in our country, the easing of unemployment, the elimination of world tensions and the dispelling of the threat of atomic annihilation.

Since this article was written the conference of the United States, England and France concerning East-West trade ended in a compromise decision. Harold E. Stassen, to quote the *New York Times*, April 10, "restrained the British from making far-reaching cuts in their list of embargoed strategic goods."

However, it is known that the fifteen nations whose exports to the Soviet Union are in question here have agreed to reduce the list of embargoed non-strategic goods by 20 per cent in the next few months.

Despite pressure to the contrary, the embargo against China remains.

Barring unforeseen developments and renewal of tensions, this conference will mean some alleviation of trade restrictions. Pressures to do away with barriers to trade and for reopening the Chinese market will no doubt grow stronger. The increase of Western European trade with the USSR and the East European Democracies will demonstrate to the American exporters more forcefully than before the untenable position of the United States.

Britain's Political Climate

Moderate Winds, Changing to Fair

by GORDON SCHAFFER

IN BRITAIN TODAY, you can feel everywhere the changed climate of public opinion. Since Sir Winston Churchill gave the lead in welcoming the recent delegation of business men to Moscow, no one tries any longer to defend the embargoes imposed by Washington. In the great industrial cities, where declining orders have given a warning that unemployment is only a few months away, trade unionists and employers are making joint approaches to the government for help in securing contracts from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Business men and government spokesmen are saying openly that they look to the Geneva Conference on Far Eastern problems for a quick decision to lift the bans on trade with China.

And while this swing over to the side of trade and friendship with the socialist countries goes on, there has been an outburst of angry criticism of McCarthyism in America. Led by the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Economist*, the newspapers have been reprimanding President

GORDON SCHAFFER, formerly assistant editor of the London "Reynold's News," is an expert on East European Affairs and one of our frequent contributors.

Eisenhower for giving in to the red-baiters. For the first time the British public has had a chance of seeing how the attitude of the United States on many international problems is influenced by the same attitude of cowardice in face of McCarthy's attacks.

For the first time too, the public has been told about rising living standards in the Soviet Union. One of the business men who went to Moscow, Mr. J. B. Scott, sales director of the big engineering firm of Crompton Parkinson, wrote a series of articles in the *London Star* describing his experiences. Mr. Scott gave almost exactly the same report as the many delegations which have visited the USSR. But the *Star* (which up to now has usually accepted all the hostile propaganda about Russia), circulates mainly among people who never see the reports of delegations. They were staggered by Mr. Scott's description of the overflowing shops, the busy factories, and the modern engineering technique which he found in the Soviet Union.

"I am convinced that side by side with Russia's own production, there is an equally vast almost inexhaustible market for British exports there," he wrote. "To me it makes

sense to take advantage of this. As I said in Moscow many times, we are a nation which must export our manufactured goods to live. And it is to my mind absurd not to sell in the Russian market just as much as in any other world market. The Federation of British Industries have in fact recommended British manufacturers to do so. And they have set the tone of such transactions by maintaining that there is nothing wrong or unpatriotic about them."

Mr. Scott quotes approvingly the words of Sir Winston Churchill: "The more trade there is through the iron curtain and between Great Britain and Soviet Russia and the satellites (a Churchillian phrase for the People's Democracies) the better will be the chances of our living together in increasing comfort." Mr. Scott writes that Mr. Mikoyan, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister and Trade Minister expressed the same hope as Sir Winston that the business men's visit would lead to better relations.

"I firmly believe," he writes, "that our visit, apart from the export orders it brought to Britain, did something to make those 'helpful contacts and associations' of which the Prime Minister has spoken."

Mr. Scott's articles were the talk of London, and they made the anti-Soviet propaganda of the last few years look silly. In particular the material issued by the Trade Union Congress and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions minimizing the possibilities of trade and picturing Russia as an inefficient, half starved nation, was exposed not from the Left but from the Right.

Then came the most amusing transformation of all. Sefton Delmer of the *Daily Express* (circulation four

million) came out with an article quoting the opinion of United States economists on the speed of Soviet industrial progress and the certainty of better living conditions for the Soviet people.

For years Mr. Delmer has been recounting every anti-Soviet story he could find. When my old friend Wilfred Burchett was reporting for the *Daily Express* in Berlin, Delmer would always produce a report to counter anything friendly which Burchett said about the Soviet Union or Eastern Germany. And now at the end of his article on the "Boom in Russia" Delmer writes: "This report is a shock to people like myself who have gained a picture the very reverse of industrial efficiency. But I believe the picture all the same, because there are so many unexpected achievements in the Soviet world. Those Olympic athletes! Who expected their record?"

Lord Beaverbrook, owner of the *Daily Express*, once told a Royal Commission on the Press that his staff were "men of like minds to himself." It would be interesting to know whether Delmer's mind and Lord Beaverbrook's changed at the same time.

But it is certain Beaverbrook's paper speaks for millions who are rather shame-facedly confessing that they were deceived by the anti-Soviet campaign.

One could easily be cynical about this strange transformation and say it is not unconnected with events in other parts of the world.

Persian oil, for example, where United States oil companies are "mediating" so effectively that they plan to take the lion's share of what was once a 100 per cent British monopoly in the sale of oil.

Malaya, where after all the costly

attempts to suppress the liberation movement, the United States synthetic rubber industry is forcing down natural rubber prices to levels threatening heavy cuts in profits of the British companies.

Australia, where United States capital is building plants to make the very goods Britain has been sending in return for Australian mutton.

Certainly Fleet Street and the City of London have no illusions about what these events mean to Britain's living standards. They know that Britain must find markets for her industrial goods if she is to buy food and raw material and keep her factories running. Some are even beginning to understand that the day is swiftly passing when their little island can grow rich on the labor of colonial and semi-colonial people.

And so we watch the great transformation taking place. The business men leap far ahead of the right-wing leaders of the Labor Party and Trade Unions. They demand an end to the embargoes while the Labor Party still hesitantly declares that East-West trade must be organized only "within the limits of the cold war."

But while trade and friendship are being built with one hand, the cold war is being waged with the other. The White Paper on Defense admits freely that Britain bases her military strategy on building her own heavy bombers and atom bombs. It makes no secret of the fact that these weapons of aggression are built against the Soviet Union and her allies. It visualizes atomic blows at the beginning of a war followed by "a period of 'broken-backed' warfare during which the opposing sides would seek to recover their strength."

This was shocking enough for a people living in the most vulnerable spot of all, but the subsequent an-

nouncement that Britain was carrying out field experiments in germ warfare evoked horror.

In the midst of all these contradictory currents came the most blatant contradiction of all. At the very moment when hopes of more friendly relations with the socialist countries are at their highest, at the moment when suspicions of United States policies are being voiced in the most unexpected quarters, the British Government announces its readiness to give further guarantees to France as a means of persuading her to ratify the treaties legalizing German rearmament.

The suggestion is that British boys should be kept in Europe for the rest of this century in order to reassure France.

Those who support West German rearmament no longer attempt to suggest as in the past, that new Nazi armies are necessary as a safeguard against Russia. They now argue that Germany will rearm whether we like it or not and that the way to keep the Germans under control is to ensure that she is included in the European Defense Community. Lord Hinchinbrooke, a Tory M.P., told the House of Commons that EDC was military nonsense and many other people are taking the same view.

The stream of resolutions and letters pouring into the political parties and to M.P.'s denouncing German re-armament is the greatest since before the war. The Labor leaders are helpless in face of the revolt of the local parties. Mr. Aneurin Bevan, who is supposed to be bound by the Executive decision in favor of German re-armament, denounced the policy as madness in the widely circulated *Daily Mirror*.

All these are encouraging signs,

but the situation is still dangerous in the extreme. The government and the Labor leaders calculate that if France can be persuaded to ratify, the British people will be presented with a fait accompli. And the weakness of most of the opponents of German re-armament is that they have no alternative policy.

The only alternative policy is the collective security scheme for all Europe put forward by Mr. Molotov in Berlin. If West Germany were re-armed, and the strongest military power in Western Europe, Britain and France would be compelled to turn to collective security as their only protection.

The situation in that event would

become very like that of 1938 when public opinion was demanding agreement with the Soviet Union while Mr. Chamberlain was seeking to turn the Nazi armies eastward.

The opportunity is there (and the British-Soviet Treaty and the French-Soviet Treaty provide the foundation) to build collective security before the threat re-emerges. But it means going back to the pledges of cooperation given in the years of common struggle against fascism and for Britain and France it means taking their courage in their hands and refusing any longer to follow American leaders along the path of cold war. Such a decision would have the full support of their people.

USSR CUTS RETAIL PRICES

RETAIL PRICES in the Soviet Union were reduced on a large number of goods on April 1. This was the seventh year in succession that the Soviet Government slashed prices on consumer goods. The action lowered prices on some 70 categories of products.

Most notable among the items, were clothing, textiles, footwear and "hard" retail wear like porcelain and glass wear and household goods. Gasoline and lubricating oils were reduced 44.5 per cent. A number of foodstuffs were also included.

Bread, flour and macaroni products, for example, were cut from 8 to 15 per cent. Prices of coffee, cocoa and tea were reduced 15 per cent.

Ready-made garments, knitted goods and headwear were reduced from 7 to 25 per cent. Thus, dresses, blouses and other wear made of summer cotton-dress fabrics were reduced on the average, 15 per cent; garments made of other cotton fabrics, 10 per cent. Garments of natural silk, were lowered 7 per cent; silk hosiery, 10; kapron stockings (this material has been described as similar to nylon) reduced an average of 25 per cent.

Footwear was reduced from 7 to 20 per cent.

Other reductions were as follows: cotton, silk and calico fabrics, from 10 to 20 per cent; soaps and perfumes, from 10 to 20; stationary, cameras, radio tubes, rubber, celluloid and metal toys, 10 to 15; porcelain, earthenware and glass articles, 10 to 15; jewelry, 10; household goods, 10 to 20; building materials, 10 to 30; sportsgear, 5 to 15; medicines and sanitary and hygienic goods, 10 to 15.

Restaurant prices were reduced accordingly.

China Celebrates the Spring Festival

The Spring Festival is China's oldest, and probably the merriest, traditional holiday. It marks the beginning of the new lunar year, and this year began on February 3. During the Festival the theaters, parks and athletic fields are packed. Workers and peasants exchange visits and gather in happy parties. It is a time for dancing, good eating and lots of fun—toys for the

children—and of course, spectacular works. During this Festival, which some fifteen days, troupes of the finest actors gave special performances both in their own theaters and in theaters set up in parks and in the villages. These photos show, in a small way, how Peking celebrated.



Spring Festival means the fun of fire-crackers, which the youngsters above are shooting off, and fire displays, as shown in the courtyard below



Children come in for a share of the Spring Festival fun. Here, several of them are solving the tough problem of climbing the



Two
their
a to
amin
col

not share
of the
ing the

ival

pectacular fire-
l, which lasted
of the country's
performances,
ard in open air
d in the outlying
in a small way,

(Eastfoto)

She seems interested
in her friend's mask.
The children bought
their mask and pin-
wheel at the Spring
Festival celebrations
in Peking

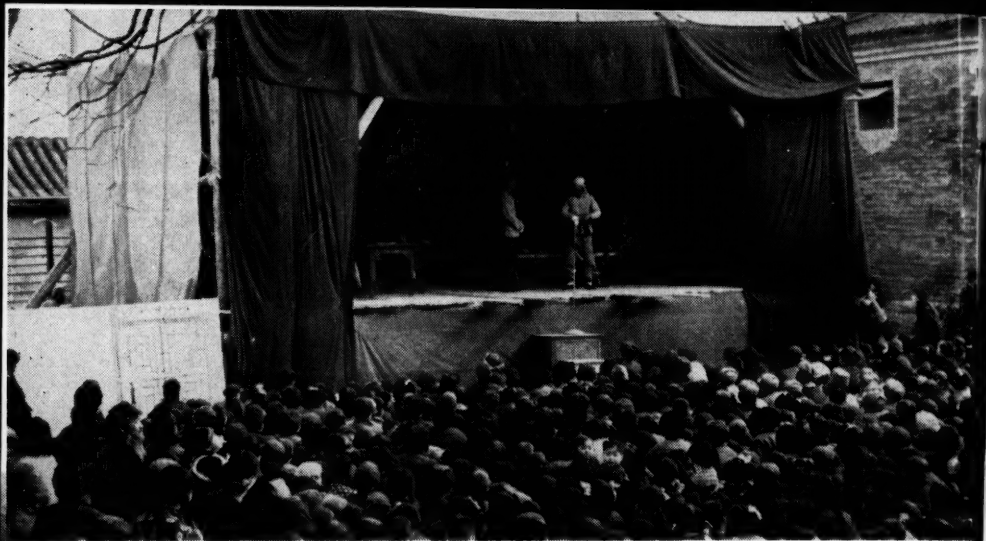
Two youngsters and
their mother stop at
a toy booth to ex-
amine some of the
colorful pinwheels

a r share of the Spring
seve of them are facing
of ching their favorite toy

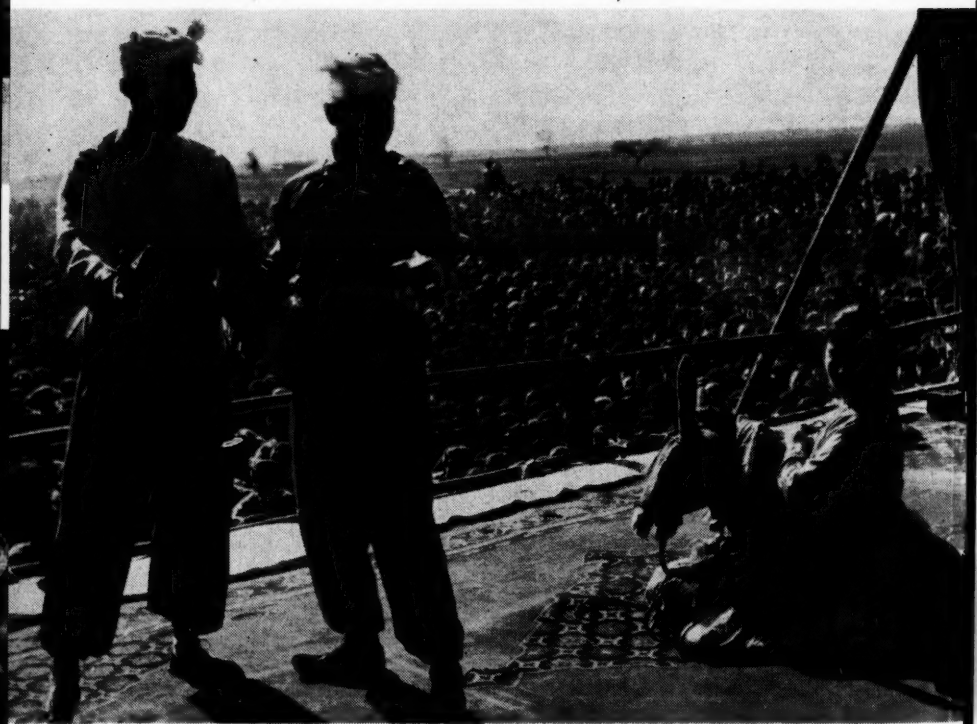


Father and his children stroll through Changtien
District, Peking, which has been converted into
a colorful pleasure area for the Spring Festival





Actors of the Peking People's Art Theater perform (above) for villagers visiting the eastern suburb during the Spring Festival. Below: A play by actors of the Central Experimental Theater of Opera in another suburb.



U. S. Smoke Screen at Caracas

by ESLANDA ROBESON

ONCE the smoke screen of anti-Communism had cleared away at Caracas, the 10th Inter-American Conference settled down to what the Latin American countries considered was the real business of the meeting; that is, discussion of the issues which deeply concern *them*.

The Latin American delegates had little interest in or sympathy for the anti-Communist issue. That was the chief concern of the United States. It seems to be their number one issue in Europe, Asia, Africa, as well as in South America and at home. But other people everywhere are interested in other matters. Quite naturally they are interested in questions which immediately concern themselves—their own security, well being and progress.

None of our neighbors south of the border have any particular obsession about or fear of Communism or of the Soviet Union. They are quite naturally especially interested in their own economic and social development; and especially fear, again quite naturally, interference in their internal domestic affairs.

Interference, intervention, which they deeply fear and bitterly resent, has come from their immediate neighbors, including the United States; it has never come from their

far-distant acquaintance on the other side of the world, the Soviet Union.

The Marines in Nicaragua, the visiting warships at times of domestic crisis, the customs and fiscal agents in their private domains—were all American, not Russian.

Therefore the hue and cry which the United States raised about the danger of Communism did not concern our Latin American neighbors, except in so far as they feared it might be used as an excuse for intervention in their domestic affairs.

It was not surprising then that the item: "Intervention of International Communism in the American Republics" was originally number 5 on the agenda of the First (Political) Committee at the Conference, with the much more important (to the Latin Americans) items, Colonies, Asylum for Political Fugitives, coming first. But all responsible observers in Latin America reported that the first and most important interest of all the Latin American countries at the conference would be economic—trade and aid.

Mr. Milton Eisenhower, the President's brother, reported after his trip to South America last summer:

Economic cooperation is without question the key to better relations

between the United States and the nations to the South. Everything else, no matter how important, must take secondary place. . . .

Yet the redoubtable Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, at Caracas, insisted upon priority for the question of anti-Communism. He insisted upon changing the position of this item, No. 5 on the agenda, to No. 1—over the objections of Mexico, Guatemala, Uruguay and Argentina.

It was rumored in the corridors at the Conference that the United States hoped to have the anti-Communist resolution presented by one of the Latin American states. It may well be that none of them would do so, since it was the United States' own particular baby, and in the end, Mr. Dulles had to present it.

ONCE the resolution was forced through to a vote and adopted at Caracas, Mr. Dulles said: ". . . The United States will not continue to be satisfied with merely good political relations in this hemisphere. We also want good economic relations. We shall seek them on a basis of mutual respect for the economic and social, as well as the political beliefs of each other. That is the pledge I give you."

(It doesn't seem much of a pledge to me.)

Then Mr. Dulles gathered up Ambassador Lodge and Senator Hickenlooper and departed for Washington, leaving the really important (to Latin Americans) issues in lesser hands.

THERE were many interesting issues discussed at the Caracas Conference, among them racism and colonialism.

Senora Cecelia Remon, wife of the President of Panama, made a speech

in which she charged that economic as well as racial discrimination was being practiced against Panamanians working in the Canal Zone. And she presented a resolution recommending that the American States adopt legal and educational measures wherever necessary to effect abolition of racial discrimination. This resolution was adopted by the Conference with a vote of 19 in favor, none against.

Both Brazil and Argentina presented resolutions on the colonial question. Argentina asked that the conference declare "It is the will of the peoples of America that the holding of colonies and occupations of territories in the Americas by European States be finally ended."

Delegates from Chile, Cuba, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, as well as Argentina and Brazil, spoke fervently in support of self-government for the colonies. Only the United States representative fought against it.

The resolution, which was adopted by the conference (19 in favor, none against, U.S. abstaining) asks for complete elimination in the Americas of colonies under European sovereignty; calls on the colonial powers to help their colonies achieve self-determination as soon as possible; and suggest United Nations trusteeship for those colonies which cannot be made self-governing within a short time.

In the economic field, the field most important to the Latin American countries, Guatemala made several proposals:

A resolution prohibiting economic boycotts of any American Republic by any other American nation or group of nations;

A resolution calling on the Amer-

ican nations to go on record declaring as illegal monopolies that exploit mineral, industrial or agricultural resources; also recommending that companies engaged in exploiting basic resources be organized with at least 51 per cent of domestic capital; and

A recommendation that governments nationalize docks and internal transportation.

The conference adopted a resolution, over the objections of the United States, calling on industrialized member states to eliminate every kind of restriction, and refrain from imposing restrictions on imports of basic or natural materials, or semi-manufactured goods originating in less developed countries.

MR. DULLES, on his return to Washington, reported his immense satisfaction with the results "thus far"—(he had departed once the Communist issue was voted on) and cited as proof of success the vote of 17 in favor, 1 against (Guatemala) and 2 abstentions (Mexico and Argentina) on the issue.

"I am confident," said Mr. Dulles, "that the overwhelming vote taken and the noble sentiments which inspired that vote will make it clear that this hemisphere is not good hunting ground for alien despots."

Not for alien despots—only for home-grown despots.

It is freely admitted that President Jimenez of Venezuela has one of the most complete and ruthless rightwing military dictatorships in all Latin America, and that Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Somoza of Nicaragua and Batista of Cuba, are all recognized as despots.

Costa Rica and Guatemala, two of the more democratic regimes in Latin America, publicly protested

against some of these dictatorships.

Guatemala's Foreign Minister, Guillermo Toriello, together with his aides, left the hall while the Dominican Foreign Minister was speaking in plenary session on the danger of Communism. They did not return until he had finished speaking.

Talking to newspapermen outside in the corridor, Senor Toriello said: "I have more important things to do than listen to some people speak in stupidity and in the name of democracy, when it is known that this man represents a government expert in violating human rights."

Costa Rica boycotted the Conference altogether. President Jose Figueres resisted all pressure to attend, and said in explanation of his refusal:

"Respectable current opinion believes we are waging in the Americas two simultaneous struggles—a global fight against outside aggression, and an internal conflict between democracy and dictatorship. . . . We are convinced our peoples will no longer endure postponement of their immediate problem, which concerns their own freedom, for the sake of world freedom that, for them, is abstract and remote. . . . I hope our abstention [from the Conference] will be the most eloquent cry, calling attention to the long abandoned problem of internal democracy in Latin America."

"Jose Figueres," comments Angier Biddle Duke, former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, "belongs to the school of thought which feels that the threat of imperialist intervention from Kremlin sources is overplayed; that more important as a barrier to the increased well-being of the Latin American peoples is the continued existence of real live police states in the area."

IN CONNECTION with the "immense satisfaction" of Secretary Dulles, it is interesting to note the remarks of some of the Latin American delegates, after the smoke screen of anti-Communism had cleared away:

Senor Justino de Archaga of Uruguay told the Political Committee, re the vote on anti-Communism: "We contributed our approval without enthusiasm, without optimism, without joy, and without the feeling that we were contributing to the adoption of a constructive measure."

Senor Walter Guevara Arze, Bolivian Foreign Minister, said: "Our people expect something more from us than a new way of fighting communism, something more appropriate to improve their welfare and progress."

The *New York Times* reported that many of the delegates spoke almost as if their consciences had begun to pain them for having voted for the resolution, and that some delegates conceded that by exerting pressure, the United States could push through a resolution declaring that 2 and 2 are 5.

Many agreed that the vote, on paper, to which Mr. Dulles points with pride, has little meaning or significance.

The issue close to the hearts of Latin Americans is not anti-Communism; the issue is economic and so-

cial progress, and above all, freedom from intervention.

What could be more reasonable?

AND WHAT could be more natural than that the speaker at the Conference who received by far the closest attention and the most prolonged and enthusiastic ovation following his hour-long address to the plenary, was Guillermo Toriello, the Foreign Minister of gallant Guatemala.

"The Guatemala delegation," he told the Conference, "will categorically oppose any resolution or declaration that under the pretext of [anti] Communism, violates the fundamental principles of non-intervention, or that leads to the tendency to convert Pan-Americanism into an instrument to hold the peoples of America in semi-colonial conditions for the benefit of the powerful interests of foreign monopolies. . . .

"We also oppose emphatically the internationalization of McCarthyism, of book burning, and the imposition of stereotyped thought. . . .

"And we denounce, to this Conference and to the conscience of America, the political aggression and the threats of economic aggression and of intervention, of which Guatemala is the victim."

One Latin American delegate said, while applauding wildly: "He said the things that many of us would have like to say, had we dared."

SOVIET WOMEN ASSUME HIGH POSTS

TWO SOVIET WOMEN have recently been appointed to high positions in the Soviet Government and the Party. Maria D. Kovrygina, who had been Deputy Minister of Health, was elevated to Minister of Health of the USSR, a highly important position in Premier Georgi M. Malenkov's cabinet.

At the end of March, Ekaterina Furtseva became head of the Moscow Party Committee when she was promoted from Second Secretary to First Secretary of the Committee.

WHAT U. S. COLLEGE EDITORS SAW IN THE SOVIET UNION

SEVEN American editors of college papers made a three week tour of the Soviet Union, from last December 28 to January 19, 1954. They covered some 5,000 miles in the Soviet Union, visiting Moscow, Tbilisi, Kharkov, Kiev, Baku, Odessa and other cities, as well as farming communities. In interviews given to the press on their return to this country, they reported that they had complete freedom of movement during their trip, and were especially impressed by the warmth of the welcome they received everywhere and by the universal desire of the Soviet people for peace.

As was the case with the earlier group of three student editors who made a similar trip last fall, members of this group since their return have found a tremendous interest in their colleges and home communities, have spoken at many meetings, and many articles and interviews on their trip have been published in the press. Their experiences have stimulated great interest among students in developing the whole matter of student exchange with various countries in order to promote international understanding.

Members of the group were David Barney, of Reed College, Portland, Oregon; Richard E. Ward of Chicago University; William C. Ives and Craig Lovett, of Knox College, Galesburg,

Ill.; Dean Schoelkopf of the University of Minnesota; Richard Elden and Gregory Shulser of Northwestern University. They came from different backgrounds, and represented varying viewpoints; some were Republicans, some Democrats, some without party affiliation.

David Barney, editor of the *Quest*, Reed College undergraduate newspaper, wrote his impressions for the *Oregonian*, a daily newspaper published in Portland, in a series of illustrated articles, February 14-19. In his first article he wrote:

In the Soviet Union we were treated very cordially by everyone we met, and we talked to literally hundreds of people, from peasants and collective farmers and workers, to students, professors, artists and newspaper editors. We were invited to numerous parties, including a student New Year's Eve party at Moscow University and a party in the Kremlin palace given for teen-agers New Year's night.

On many occasions, we left interpreters in the hotel and wandered about the streets of the cities, visiting stores and cafes and taking pictures of everything the lighting conditions would permit. We were asked not to take shots from airplanes, or any of the ports or the insides of some of the factories, but outside of this we could and did photograph everything possible. . . . This freedom to photograph did not surprise

us nearly as much as the fact that our baggage was never checked either when we went into the Soviet Union or when we came out. The very least we had expected was some sort of customs inspection. There was none, and this included our exposed film, which they never even asked about, much less examined.

Living Standards

Mr. Barney said that while such a trip was bound to be superficial in many ways, they saw a lot of how the ordinary Soviet citizen lives and felt that they had gained a surprising knowledge of many aspects of Soviet life.

In his examination of Soviet standards of living, which he felt were lower than the Americans,' Barney started out by saying that it was important to consider this in the light of their own standards and attitudes, rather than our own. He found the people "healthy and adequately clothed," but that many families lacked the electrical gadgets and private cars which Americans feel to be necessary. He described as typical a comment by a Moscow University student:

I know you in America live well, but at the same time, your people in 1917 were not comprised almost entirely of illiterate peasants; neither did you have your cities and farms and millions of people destroyed during the last great war. These things have been great obstacles to us. We are just now beginning to get our economy lifted up from one of bare necessity.

And of another—

Come back and visit us in ten years. Our people are hard working. We will surprise you with what we've accomplished.

Barney said they found similar optimism everywhere, and a tremendous amount of building to justify it, whole cities partially or wholly destroyed in the war now almost completely rebuilt. Ancient and dilapidated sections of many cities still remained, but these too were being rebuilt. He was struck by the cleanliness of the cities.

On a collective farm near Odessa, the student editors found that the results of last year's agricultural measures were having their effects, with the farm receiving four times as much as last year for produce sold to the government. This was an average farm, neither rich nor poor, with new buildings going up. The farmers' homes were simple, modern plumbing was lacking, but they were warm and adequately furnished. There were two schools on the farm. The livestock were well fed and housed in clean, well-constructed cement barns. Mr. Barney wrote that, while no expert on farm problems, he felt that the collectivization and the large scale agriculture it had made possible have enjoyed considerable success and has been accepted by the peasants as a way of life.

Education

As students, the group was especially interested in the educational system. They visited nine schools and universities.

They made two visits to the handsome new 32-story Moscow University building, housing 6,000 students, "where fast elevators carry students from classroom to classroom, and each student living there has a private room and bath—also in the building are numerous clubrooms, gyms, a swimming pool, several large assembly halls, and a large modern theater."

Students of 59 different nationalities, Barney wrote, are enrolled at the university, 52 per cent of them women. There are six liberal arts and six science departments:

The regular term for graduation covers five years, and 96 per cent of the students are on state scholarships which are awarded according to ability and cover tuition, board and room and "pin" money. A student whose marks are in the "excellent" category receives 25 per cent more money.

Universities visited in several other cities had less excellent facilities, but a new one nearing completion in Kharkov was also spacious, tall and modern. In the Ukraine, where so many schools were destroyed during the war, they found that overcrowding still exists. Barney commented:

I think every member of our group was favorably impressed with many aspects of the Soviet school system, especially when we remembered that a few years ago the masses of people were illiterate and the opportunity for a peasant or worker's child to become educated was almost non-existent. I talked with many students whose parents were farmers or workers in the provinces. It appears that

every effort and every incentive is given to try to induce people to study. Many of the workers in industry and on farms spend their evenings going to night school, and some of them are excused from work for several hours during the day so that school attendance is possible.

On the other hand, Barney had some critical comments on the role of political ideology in education. He felt that this was insignificant in the natural sciences, except perhaps biology, and less apparent than formerly in the liberal arts, but that "political indoctrination" was pervasive in most of the social sciences. He wrote:

It teaches the Marxist view of history, convinces people of the rightness of the program of the Communist Party, and gives seemingly cogent reasons why it is historically necessary for certain restrictive measures to be instituted for the protection of the revolution and the furtherance of the ends of the state. The domestic ends which the government expresses to its people are ones of constant construction and social improvement of the masses. There is concrete evidence all around of progress in this area and it appears to be

ON EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

"Education is impossible in many parts of the United States today because free inquiry and free discussion are impossible. . . .

"The question is not how many teachers have been fired, but how many think they might be and for what reasons. It is even worse than that: Teachers are not merely afraid of being fired; they are afraid of getting into trouble, with resultant damage to their professional prospects and their standing in their communities. You don't have to fire many teachers to intimidate them all. The entire teaching profession in the United States is now intimidated."

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former President of the University of Chicago, now an associate director of the Ford Foundation, in *LOOK*, March 9, 1954.

sufficient to maintain the people's confidence in the government.

He felt that the fact that the people as a whole believe the statements of their leaders "that the Soviet Government wants peace and that the capitalists (not the Western peoples) want war," indicated a limitation of their knowledge in the field of foreign affairs, while at the same time, the group was surprised at the extent of students' acquaintance with the history and literature of America and other Western countries:

One student who was studying English read the *New York Times* and another English-speaking student we met was very fond of the American author, William Faulkner. We found many students studying Shakespeare and Byron and other English authors at the grade school level.

Ballet—and Other Cultural Activities

As the group watched a performance of Prokofiev's Cinderella ballet at the Bolshoy Theater in Moscow one of the ballet enthusiasts in the group turned to Barney and exclaimed: "Oh, my God! This lays me right out on the floor!" which, said Barney, expressed just about the way most of them felt. He continued:

As the ballet progressed . . . we would periodically look at each other in amazed admiration. . . . I don't think any of us were prepared to see anything as superlative. Not only did the dancing approach perfection, but the costumes and sets and orchestra were close to this standard as well.

They went to several other ballets and concerts, attended by large crowds of people. They noted that the word "culture," like the word

"peace" was heard everywhere in the Soviet Union, with their "cultural palaces," "parks of culture and rest," literature and printed matter flooding the country in millions of copies, classical music pouring from loudspeakers in the streets, operas and theaters in the provinces as well as in the center. The group found all the productions they saw excellent—except one of *Aida* in Odessa.

Physical culture and all forms of recreation are included in the broad Soviet cultural program, and the group found tremendous emphasis on sports in factories as well as schools. They played a basketball game at the University of Tbilisi, Georgian SSR and were impressed by the friendship and sportsmanship shown by their opponents. The students applauded every time the Americans scored.

On Unanimity of Opinion

David Barney, and his fellow editors, were disturbed by the unanimity of opinion they found on certain subjects. For example:

Thus, when we talked with Soviet citizens about problems of peace and war, the political structure of their country and numerous other questions of political and economic significance, we found a unity of thought which seemed to many of us not only unnatural, but highly dangerous.

We would ask a Soviet student, for instance, what he thought about the American press. He would invariably answer something like this: "The Soviet people know that the American press tells many lies about the Soviet Union."

Then we would say: "That might be, but what do you, as an individual, think about it?" Again the answer: "My views are consistent with the views of the Soviet people."

This type of answer always makes me shudder a little, and we ran into

ON STANDARDIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

"To a European the first striking fact about the United States is its unity. Wherever I traveled I found a standard town, with its five-and-ten cent store, its supermarket, its Neo-Gothic churches and the colonnade of its local bank. That external unity was a symbol of deeper unity. Most Americans I met spoke the same language, read the same magazines and the same columnists, listened to the same radio commentators. From New York to Seattle they had about the same standards of living and the same philosophy of life. The same anecdotes were told in the same club cars, at the same moment everywhere. The reactions of public opinion were of continental magnitude."

Andre Maurois, French writer, in an article in *Redbook Magazine*, February, 1947.

a great deal of it. Often we would ask the Soviet citizen why he presumed to speak for the entire Soviet people. He would answer: "The Soviet people are unified on these questions. I know what the people think."

Mr. Barney was further disturbed by the fact that the group so often met the statement that the Soviet Government and the Soviet people are "one," and that there is no need to criticize the Kremlin because the government is democratically controlled and speaks for the people at all times. At the same time, he remarked that considerable criticism is permitted and even encouraged, although not of the fundamental principles which underlie the basis of the Soviet state.

Mr. Barney was surprised to hear the opinion expressed that a Communist revolution is not now possible in the United States or even in the foreseeable future, because of the high standard of living of American workers, and that a depression would be more likely to bring war and fascism. He said that he saw, however, that these answers were "somewhat consistent with the emphasis on peaceful co-existence."

The author declared that it was apparent that the Soviet people are not being whipped up for war and that they found an anti-militarist sentiment among the Soviet people everywhere, although they "would work very hard to win a war if they were convinced it was started by an act of aggression by the West." He said that while he saw much in Russia he did not like, there were also indications of material progress and relaxation in many areas of life. In conclusion, Mr. Barney wrote:

I do not wish to paint too optimistic a picture of the conditions which we found. Life in the Soviet Union is at best, by our standards, very hard for the majority of citizens, and the people think with many concepts which seem strange and alien to us.

Nevertheless, I think that peace between the nations is worth the sacrifices we make of our own prejudices when we attempt to understand another nation and another culture.

I believe that peace is possible in spite of all the apparent weight against it. It will not become a reality, however, unless both the American and the Soviet people make an honest attempt to understand each other's way of life.

THE BUDGET IS THE PAYOFF

by GEORGE WHEELER

THE BUDGET of a modern state may run to thousands of pages and be almost incomprehensible to the ordinary citizen. Nevertheless budgets are worth some study because they are a test of the real aims and purposes of the government, a means of checking on the real scale of values of those who prepare and approve it. All politicians must profess to favor the general welfare, education, housing and similar needs of those whose ballots put them in office. But the real test of their policies is what they vote for in the budget.

In planned economies, such as Czechoslovakia, the budget measures very fully the purposes and program of the government. It is the most accurate summary of the actual working plans of the government, of the weight that it gives to construction and investment, to education and social welfare, to defense and to consumption. It must be accurate because it is both a plan of operations and a means of control of those operations. It is a means of testing the

successes and failures of the various branches of the economy and of comparison with the past.

All this was fully revealed in the discussion of the 1954 budget in the National Assembly early in March. The budget calls for an expenditure of 87.5 billion crowns. This is 18 per cent more than in 1953 and more than double that of 1949.

But this increase, unlike the increases in France, the United States and elsewhere, is not devoted to armaments but to promotion of the general welfare. The proportion of the budget that goes to defense and security was reduced from 9.7 per cent in 1953 to 8.9 per cent in 1954—and that must be considered in light of Czechoslovakia's exposed position strategically.

In contrast the expenditure for culture, education, health, and general welfare increased by 17 per cent to 27.4 billion crowns. This was 31.2 per cent of all expenditures.

The biggest allocation, 55.4 per cent, is for the operation of the national economy and for new investments. In line with the new policy of more for the consumers, the rate of increase in investments was less than before, but nevertheless, because the economy is expanding, the total

GEORGE WHEELER, an American now living in Prague, is a contributor to our magazine. He is a correspondent of the "National Guardian."

amount of investment will be 5.5 per cent more than in 1953 and will amount to the high total of 20 billion crowns. This high rate of investment, of course, means more for the consumers in the long run because it will permit larger and more efficient production.

But consumers are even now getting the benefits of the heavy investments during the Five-Year Plan (1949-1953). During these five years the productivity of industrial workers rose 60 per cent and the national income by two-thirds.

Now the budget allots an increased share of the national income to wages, salaries and earnings of working people, intellectuals and farmers. Such personal income will increase by 15 per cent in 1954 and will amount to 62 per cent of national income as compared with 57 per cent in 1953. The farmers will benefit the most from this increase. It is expected that retail sales in rural areas will rise by nearly one-fourth during 1954 (by 24 per cent). This is not a "pie in the sky" program, but one which means a higher standard of living this year.

There has been much self-criticism here because standards of living have not risen fast enough during the last five years. Much of this is justified, particularly in agriculture where productivity and earnings have re-

mained low. This is now being corrected by many different measures, including an increase in investment in farm machinery.

The budget allots an increase of 33 per cent for agricultural investments. With higher prices for farm products, a reduction of farm taxes and programs to improve methods of farming, it is expected that the standard of living on the farms will improve rapidly.

Such improvement in agricultural conditions and output will in turn make possible the reduction in costs of food and an improvement in their variety and quantity.

What can be accomplished when special attention is turned to a backward section of the economy has been shown by the example of Slovakia, where enormous industrial development has been made during the Five-Year Plan. Now industrial production is four and a half times the 1937 output, and the real wages of industrial workers increased by 47.5 per cent in the last five years.

Such transformations are possible in a planned economy which budgets for peace. The Czech and Slovak peoples like such budgets. They are proof that the Government of Czechoslovakia and its people benefit from peace and plan for peaceful development.

Those Price Cuts

PERHAPS I need not tell of the big price cuts that have taken place here. Perhaps the Western press headlined the good news. Or did they find room only for Premier Viliam Siroky's sharp criticism of conditions in agriculture and the

need to improve efficiency and volume of output?

At any rate the people here in Prague are crowding the stores to see how much they have saved on different items. Everyone had heard the big news on the radio; but it takes

time for the importance of the reduction to sink in and to calculate the extent of one's own savings.

The price cuts are the biggest yet, and they affect many of the things that are most important for working people. They were concentrated in food, clothing and durable consumer goods. We can't list all the items—53,000 different goods were cut from 8 to 45 per cent.

One item that stood out for me, after reading of the sky ride being taken by coffee back home in the States, was the 20 per cent cut in the best grade of coffee. More important to the Czech housewife is the fact that bread and butter were cut by 8 per cent, canned meat by 25 per cent, milk by 10, rice by 25, shoes, 18; bed linen, 32; and so on.

Premier Siroky estimated that this one price cut (there have been two others since the money reform last June) will save the Czech and Slovak peoples about 5,600,000,000 crowns annually. That figures out to about 450 crowns each. In the case of our family it will pay the rent on our furnished four-room apartment and leave enough over for a good pair of shoes for each of the six of us.

Another price cut has been promised just as soon as output and increased productivity permit. This is

why Premier Siroky sailed into the inefficiencies in agriculture and why the government is taking a series of immediate steps to improve methods.

Agriculture in this country is in the initial stages of a great revolutionary shift from hand work to mechanized and scientific farming. Because there had been considerable change, and in some cases even spectacular progress, there had been too much complacency, too much toleration of inefficiency and a reluctance to adopt new methods.

It is a pretty safe bet that, after all the attention that has been directed to the shortcomings in agriculture in the last year, there will be a great stirring in the countryside.

Prices have been raised for the farmers' produce, more funds have been made available for new machinery, far more trained personnel is now available to help and there is no reason (barring adverse weather—and it has been terribly dry) why productivity should not increase enormously during the next few years.

And just in proportion to these increases in efficiency, more price cuts will come. The pattern of progress has been laid out, the people like it, and will cut the cloth accordingly.

LANGER RESOLUTION DESERVES SUPPORT

A RESOLUTION offered by Senator William Langer (Rep., N. Dak.) and referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, deserves the widest support. It reads:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring): That the Congress hereby reaffirm its exclusive power to declare war and that pursuant to the Constitution, resting that power in the Congress, the Armed Forces of the United States shall not be ordered into action against the territory or armed forces of a foreign nation without a prior declaration of war, except to the extent necessary to repel an armed attack against the United States or any of its territories or possessions."

BULGARIA BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

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

MY FIRST ARTICLE in this series having, I hope, put Bulgaria "on the map" for my readers, this second one is intended to clothe the bare bones so far presented with the process—or rather, the later, decisive stages of the process—whereby the initial, partial, liberation of the Bulgars, in 1878, was consummated and made final in 1944.

Bulgaria, it will be remembered, fought in World War I on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary. This was because her pro-German Government, egged on by her German King Ferdinand, had just previously negotiated a large loan from Germany on terms which made Bulgaria almost a complete economic vassal of that country, and because her government counted on sharing in the profits of Germany's anticipated victory by acquiring territories in Mace-

donia and the Dobrudja (at the mouth of the Danube).

Though for the latter of these two reasons, this policy enjoyed considerable popular support among the Bulgars (being opposed only by the "Narrow Socialists," who later were to become the Communists), the effects of German economic exploitation were soon felt so acutely by the Bulgarian people, and especially the peasants, that they began to feel very differently about their partnership with Germany. This tendency was strongly reinforced by their sense of guilt because this partnership made them *ipso facto* enemies of Russia, who had liberated them from the Turks, and allies of Turkey.

Under pressure of widespread discontent, including incipient mutiny in the armed forces, the Bulgarian Government, without consulting King Ferdinand, whose refusal was certain, concluded an armistice with the Western Allies on September 29, 1918. This set the ball rolling, so to speak, for the final Armistice of November 11.

The Bulgarian Government became thoroughly alarmed by the influence on many Bulgars of what had happened in Russia, in very similar cir-

EDGAR P. YOUNG, Commander, Royal Navy (Retired), is Chairman and one of the founders of the British Society for Friendship with Bulgaria. Since the war he has visited that country, as well as other countries of Eastern Europe, several times. This is the second article of a series.

cumstances a year earlier, and sought to make use of the peasant leader Alexander Stamboliski to divert popular feeling into a "safe" channel. Stamboliski, however, disappointed them. He and another peasant leader, Daskalov, placed themselves at the head of a movement of mutinous soldiers and declared a Republic. Lacking proper organization, and lacking also support from the townspeople (as the result of what was later recognized as having been a mistakenly negative attitude on the part of the "Narrow Socialists"), this attempted revolution was soon suppressed with great brutality by the government, with the aid of German troops.

Stamboliski and Daskalov went into hiding, but only for a short while. Public feeling against the German monarchy still ran high, until the Bulgarian ruling circles, pressed hard in the same direction by the Western Allies, decided to jettison King Ferdinand. They amnestied Stamboliski and invited him to join the Ministry which was to rule Bulgaria, on Western parliamentary lines, under the constitutional monarchy of King Boris, son of Ferdinand.

In August, 1919, a general election returned Stamboliski's National Union of Peasants to power in Parliament, though not with an absolute majority. In October of that year Stamboliski became Prime Minister of Bulgaria and proceeded to try to establish a kind of "agrarian democracy," with scarcely-veiled "republican" aspirations.

During Stamboliski's period in office, which lasted for close on four years, he accomplished quite a lot in the way of improvements, especially for the peasants. He carried out further land reform which destroyed the few remaining large holdings and produced a Bulgaria in which almost

half the land was owned by small-holders with farms of from seven and a half to forty-five acres, while 6 per cent only remained in the hands of holders of more than seventy-five acres. He introduced a novel system of "Compulsory Labor Service," in place of military service, by means of which he was able to execute valuable public works. He effected some democratic improvements in the legal system and in the system of taxation.

He made some grave miscalculations, however, which were eventually to prove fatal, both to him personally and, for some time, to democracy in Bulgaria. His general outlook, I think, is covered by the following extracts from a book, "Eastern Europe Between the Wars," written by Professor Hugh Seton-Watson, of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London:

"All the peasant movements of Eastern Europe aimed at the transformation of the state in the interests of the peasantry, and demanded social reforms, economic measures to help the peasants, and political democracy. Their leaders often expressed themselves in very revolutionary terms, but their ideas on the place of industry and of the industrial working class in society were confused. They consequently alternated between revolutionary violence and extreme conservatism."

And later, referring this time specifically to Bulgaria:

"It should be emphasized that the Agrarians were never a political party in the strict sense of the word. The number of its organized members was never clearly defined. Still less certain was the Agrarian program."

Stamboliski may or may not have realized that his land reform could

provide only a partial solution to the peasant problem, due to overcrowding on the land, for the complete solution of which an industrial revolution was urgently needed. The main obstacles to the required industrial revolution were, in the first place, lack of capital, and in the second place, the lack of an internal market, due to the poverty of the peasant, 80 per cent of the population. It was clear that the capitalist countries of the West could not be expected to produce the capital, because they had a vested interest in maintaining the Bulgars in a state of poverty, as producers of cheap raw materials from their fields and mines, and would insist on skimming off all the cream by taking both produce and profits, putting nothing back for long-term development or social improvements.

Therefore, the only way forward out of this "vicious circle," was the Socialist way, which would be possible only if the peasants and the town workers united to make common cause against their common opponents. Whether or not this was recognized by Stamboliski, he behaved from the very first as though the internal political struggle were between the peasants and the townspeople, and treated the Communists (former "Narrow Socialists") as "Enemy No. 1," with the trade unions as a close second.

Since the peasantry outnumbered the townspeople by about four to one, and since the Communists, though the second strongest group in Parliament after the elections of 1919, were very much weaker than his Agrarians, it is possible, though hardly likely, that Stamboliski might have "got away with this" for quite a long time if Bulgaria had been situated in some kind of "political

vacuum," or if she had somehow been "insulated" against the possibility of interference in her internal affairs from abroad.

As things were, however, he was soon to find that the Western sponsors of parliamentary democracy did not intend that system to be used to effect any considerable alteration of the existing order of things in the countries of Eastern Europe, or that its adoption should permit an attitude of friendship, or even of tolerance, towards the new kind of democracy which had been established in the Soviet Union. For all his anti-communism, Stamboliski was soon regarded by the West as what would now be described as a "security risk."

His land reform might have passed without criticism had it not been for the fact that it might have served as an example to the peasants of certain neighboring countries, such as Hungary and Rumania, where a similar measure would have brought down the existing regimes. So, too, his establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union might have been accepted as insignificant, accompanied as it was by an attitude of coldness and suspicion towards that country, had it not been feared that, under pressure of public opinion among the Bulgars, it would develop into something warmer. And even his hostility to the Monarchy might have been overlooked if King Boris and his entourage had not had such close ties with financial interests having important foreign connections, whose profits from exploitation of the Bulgars and Bulgaria were incompatible with the realization of the aims, however vaguely formulated, of Stamboliski's Republic.

Matters were brought to a head by the Parliamentary elections of

April, 1923, in which Stamboliski's Agrarians won a large over-all majority and together with the Communists secured three-quarters of the seats in Parliament.

The old political parties were clearly shown to be without any significant following in Bulgaria. The results brought home to them, and to the Bulgarian and foreign capitalist interests of which they had always been the puppets, that they were excluded from the political stage forever, unless they could stage a "come-back" by violence and illegal methods.

The reactionaries had, of course, foreseen this possibility, and had prepared for the day when parliamentary democracy, having failed to serve their purpose of arresting progress, might have to be destroyed. Preparations had been made for a *coup d'etat* to be carried out by a miscellaneous group of reactionary organizations, foremost among which were one of army officers known as "The Military League," and the terrorist Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (generally known as IMRO).

Stamboliski seems to have had some idea of what was brewing, but to have been under the illusion that his parliamentary majority would serve as sufficient guarantee against any attempted *coup d'etat*, for, though he had organized some kind of armed force of his own, the "Orange Guard" in the countryside, he had firmly impeded any similar action on the part of the town workers, while doing nothing to impede the overt arming of the reactionary conspirators in the towns.

On June 9, 1923, therefore, when the conspirators, under the leadership of a Professor Tsankov, decided to strike their blow, they had a "walk-

over." Sofia was taken over by them without any fighting, and three days later such ill-armed and unorganized resistance as Stamboliski himself had been able to conduct in the countryside was suppressed. Stamboliski was mutilated, tortured, made to dig his own grave, and then finished off by the IMRO. Some thousands of peasants were massacred.

Western diplomats in Bulgaria at that time simply shut their eyes and closed their ears to the horrors which they witnessed and which were reported to them. Not one of the Western governments protested against this ruthless suppression of democracy of the brand which they professed to favor, nor was there any outcry against it in the Western press, which wrote rather of "the liberation of the Bulgarian people from Agrarian tyranny."

Among the various reasons for the swift success of this *coup d'etat* was the fact that the Agrarian Union had been previously split and demoralized by right-wing elements infiltrated in its ranks by the Court and by the big capitalists, and that the leaders of the almost defunct Social-Democratic party were able, by their public attitude towards the conspirators, to win them some credit and sympathy in some sections of the working class and among such people as civil servants, teachers and intellectuals, who were predisposed in that direction by their repulsion against the arrogance of some of the Agrarians.

The main cause of the success of the coup, however, was the disunity existing at this critical moment between the two big organizations which between them enjoyed the support of the great majority of the people, the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party. As the result of

this, when the crisis came, the Communists made the tragic mistake of treating the struggle as one between "two rival sections of the bourgeoisie" and adopting a neutral, passive attitude towards it.

But unfortunately, by the time this was recognized as a mistake—and the Communists deserve credit for having had the moral courage to admit it publicly and to criticize themselves sharply for it—it was too late to correct it. More than a hundred Communists and as many Agrarians paid the price for it there and then, with sentences of death or long terms of imprisonment.

The Bulgarian people did not lie down under this cruel blow, however. By September 23, the Communists had recovered their wind sufficiently to lead a large-scale rising of workers and peasants in a brave attempt to retrieve the situation. The attempt was unsuccessful, for a number of reasons, but the lessons learned from it—especially that of the necessity and possibility of united action by the town workers and the peasants—made possible the subsequent success of September 9, 1944.

The repressions that were its immediate consequences were appalling. Some 20,000 peasants and workers were killed there and then, without a squeak of protest from the West, and at least as many more suffered death or long terms of imprisonment in the course of the next twenty years, during which successive Bulgarian governments, though forced from time to time to make concessions to strong public pressure on the part of the unyielding Bulgarian people, moved more and more towards the monarcho-fascist regime that was eventually established.

Side by side with this reactionary trend in internal policy, and linked

essentially with it, was a reactionary development of Bulgaria's external policy, which led eventually to a complete link-up with Hitlerite Germany. There can be little doubt that in both fields this was as intended by those forces in the Western countries which were obsessed first and foremost with their fear of the threat represented to the social order over which they ruled, by the example of the success of the new order which was being brought into being in the Soviet Union. It was this fear that led them to help build up the whole foul mechanism of nazism for the purpose of destroying that new socialist order, and to utilize in the process a small nation like Bulgaria, regardless of the interests of its people.

There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that these policies were rejected by the mass of the Bulgarian people, including, notably, the mass of the intellectuals, though they were for a long time powerless to do anything effective against it. Such was the impression gained by the present writer from conversations with numerous Bulgars, in various walks of life and of varied political persuasion, in the summer of 1936, which was borne out subsequently by the fact that, whatever Hitler and his "stooges" were able to accomplish in the other countries which became his "satellites," in Bulgaria the people could be neither persuaded nor forced to indulge in anti-Semitism or to wage war against the Soviet Union.

BULGARIA TODAY

BULGARIA is now an agrarian-industrial country. Metallurgical industry has been established, other industries are developing, and over 60 per cent of farming is done cooperatively.

Of Human Goodness

STRENGTH FOR STRUGGLE: Christian Social Witness in the Crucible of these Times, by William Howard Melish, Minister of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y. The Bromwell Press, New York, 1953. 248 pp. \$2.75.

HUMAN GOODNESS, courage and strength shine from these pages, giving them rich meaning in these times not only for Christians, but for people of other religions, or of none.

This is a selection of the sermons preached by the author during the years of the attacks by reactionary elements in the church, on him and his distinguished father, Rev. John Howard Melish, pastor of Holy Trinity for forty-five years, first assisted and later succeeded in the pulpit by his son, Rev. William Howard Melish.

The attacks, the product of these hysterical times, were the result of the long record of the elder Melish in upholding the finest traditions of the truest kind of American liberalism, and of the son's persistent practical application of religious teachings to the problems that beset our land today.

William Howard Melish, drawing from his religious convictions a profound belief in racial equality, intellectual freedom and international peace and good-will, never hesitated to associate himself with organizations working toward these ends, and found no reason to sever these connections when the Attorney General declared them "subversive." More particularly, he had been for several years the chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and has continued to this day as a member of its Board of Directors, finding in work for friendship and peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union no conflict with his religious views, but rather a prac-

tical affirmation of them.

Because of the loyal support of the congregation, with whom father and son always maintained the warmest and closest bonds, the Bishop and the former vestry who sought the removal of the younger Mr. Melish, did not succeed with their plans, and he remains as acting minister.

The sermons are interspersed with the story of "The Melish Case," and of the noble work done by the church in the community in the field of race relations, juvenile delinquency and other burning social problems. The author pays tribute to the contributions in this field of his wife, Mary Jane Melish, who has shared his work in church and community and in the larger arena of the struggle for world peace.

Social issues, issues of freedom and peace, are part of the subject matter of many of the sermons. Dedicated heart and soul to the church, knowing that he might lose his position and the work he loves, Mr. Melish never retreated an inch in the long years of struggle from the principled positions in which his political and social attitudes are fused with his deep religious faith. From this faith, from the teachings of Jesus, he drew, and made the subject of one of his finest sermons, three things—the will to peace, the will to truth, the will to brotherhood. From these three he has never wavered, in his words or in his work; that he has grown in stature in the struggle to fulfill them is shown in his book.

The meaning these three things have to him, he expressed in the last of the published sermons, in these words:

Most of us who have any knowledge of the Christian answers to the great questions concerning the meaning of life, understand that we are not men and women without knowledge and without hope. Our problem in this

time of rapid change is really one of our own witness, of our own willingness to risk for Truth. The task is what it always has been—to "make a civilization where the sacred and beautiful things of toil and genius shall last."

It is this devoted and selfless love of people and life and beauty that has made it impossible for the author of this book to join the anti-Communist hue and cry. However different the sources of his beliefs, he recognizes those aims that are common to people of good-will. He asks:

Dare we take this as a token and a witness to the greater truth: that what we seek, others are seeking, and still others will wish to seek—and that, if we are true to the best we know in our own quest, we shall find that all roads ultimately converge until the world is truly one?

In this book, and in the witness of his life, Rev. Melish has made a pre-

cious and vital contribution to the compelling need of our times—that, whatever the differences among us, we seek for that greater unity which will enable us to work together for a good life for all people in a peaceful world.

JESSICA SMITH

CORRECTION

In our memorial note on Aaron Yugow in the March issue of NWR, through a typographical error Mr. Yugow's book *Russian Economic Front in War and Peace* was cited as published in 1924. The correct date is 1944.



VACATION PLUS
at World Fellowship

In White Mts. (Conway) New Hampshire. For ALL faiths, races, colors, convictions.

Season Opens June 9th
SWIMMING, FISHING, BOATING, FOLK-DANCING, EXCURSIONS

Speakers, discussions - optional
Children's program relieves parents.
Generous family-style meals.
Room and board \$4 to \$7 daily.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP
66 Edgewood Av., New Haven 11, Conn.

STRENGTH FOR STRUGGLE

By WILLIAM H. MELISH

"In appearance a book of sermons but more than preaching. The historic record of the Melish case that went round the world. Every person who wants to see deeply into the inner struggle that is tearing the heart of the world today should read and ponder the message of this powerful book."

—DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

\$2.75

THE BROMWELL PRESS

157 Montague Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

NEW SOVIET FILMS

All in Spectacular Sovcolor

ATTACK FROM THE SEA

RIMSKY-KORSAKOV

A COSSACK BEYOND
THE DANUBE

DARING CIRCUS YOUTH

CHUK AND GEK

SADKO

Coming

Stars of the Russian Ballet
Aleko

Artkino Pictures, Inc.

723 SEVENTH AVE., NEW YORK 19
Telephone: Circle 5-6570

McCarthyism Exposed

CHALLENGE TO McCarthy, by Corliss Lamont. Basic Pamphlet No. 7. New York, February, 1954, 5 cents.

IN THIS PAMPHLET, on the basis of his own recent experiences, Dr. Lamont reviews the lawless manner in which Congressional investigating committees, under pretext of exposing "Communist plots," are in fact "engaged in a witch-hunt against all ideas and associations that do not conform to right wing orthodoxy."

The author himself was one of the first victims of Senator McCarthy's attempts to undermine the U.S. Army. He was called before the McCarthy investigating committee as a result of one of his books having been listed in a pamphlet issued by the Army to acquaint the forces with an understanding of the Soviet people "which will be militarily useful in case of war." The pamphlet was called "Communist propaganda" by McCarthy.

In refusing to answer most of McCarthy's questions, Dr. Lamont challenged the right of the Committee to inquire into his beliefs and associations, on First Amendment grounds, as well as on the ground that they were usurping authority under the separation of powers in the American governmental system. Dr. Lamont states his belief that reliance on the Fifth Amendment may be fully justified and must be defended, but in his own case felt that the grounds he chose would be the most effective in seeking "a court test to halt the excesses of Congressional Committees."

The McCarthy sub-committee, after getting an opinion from the Department of Justice that a "sound basis" for their action existed, recommended a contempt citation.

Dr. Lamont is firmly standing his ground and if cited by the full committee and by the Senate and indicted, is

prepared to carry his case to the Supreme Court. His courageous stand deserves the heartfelt support and gratitude of everyone concerned with preserving the Bill of Rights. Dr. Lamont concludes his pamphlet with these words:

Joseph McCarthy, the most dangerous demagogue in America's history, is engaged in burning not only books, but the Bill of Rights itself. It is a great responsibility to find oneself suddenly in the front lines of the battle of McCarthy versus the American people. And as a teacher, philosopher, scholar and writer, I naturally take my stand with all others who are striving to uphold the great American tradition of dissent and independent thinking against thought control and the ugly procedures of would-be dictators.

Know more about Germany

Read

The

German-American

Only German language publication
in the U.S. that fights for peace

English Section

Subscription

\$1.50 for 24 issues a year

P.O. Box 214, Cooper Sta., N.Y.3

World Peace Council Meets

The World Peace Council, meeting on March 30 in Vienna, hailed the resumption of negotiations between governments signalized by the Four-Power Conference in Berlin, and the opportunity afforded by the forthcoming Geneva Conference for the Big Five, including the Chinese People's Republic, to reach an agreement on general security in the Far East. The Bureau issued an appeal to the people's of Europe to stop the EDC, prevent war, and build a peaceful Europe. It called for an extraordinary session of the World Council to meet in May in Berlin. Following is their statement on the H-bomb:

"The explosion of the H-bomb at Bikini, its fearful effects on human beings, the evidence that the extent of these effects cannot be controlled, the threats to use it have aroused the indignation of the conscience of mankind.

"The demand for the prohibition of atomic weapons called for by the Stockholm Appeal, which was supported by hundreds of millions of men and women, has today become the demand of all the peoples.

"It was not to wipe man from the face of the earth, nor to shatter in an instant the fruits of his thousands of years of creative labor that these tremendous forces were discovered by science, but rather to find means to relieve his present miseries and help him to achieve a fuller life.

"The abolition of atomic warfare is not only necessary but possible. It can be achieved by an international agreement for the prohibition of all forms of radioactive weapons and poisons. A system of international inspection and control can and must be set up.

"The peoples must demand without delay of the governments the conclusion of an agreement banning all weapons of mass destruction."

TWO RECENT NOVELS FROM THE USSR

HEART AND SOUL

by Elizar Maltsev

Dramatic story of young people on a collective farm in Siberia during and after World War II.

In portraying the life, work and problems of Grunya, and her husband, Rodion, the author reveals the qualities that typify the Soviet citizen today, and probes into the basic problems of marital relations.

\$1.75

510 pages

ALITET GOES TO THE HILLS

by Tikhon Syomushkin

Taking his characters from real life, Syomushkin, who lived and worked with the Chuchki people in the Arctic for many years, weaves an unusual and fascinating tale of how a few Soviet pioneers helped bring a new life to the great but backward Chukotsk Peninsula. The setting is in the early 1920's.

\$1.75

595 pages

Order Now—Supply Limited

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West 26th St., New York 10

I am enclosing \$..... for

☐ Heart and Soul

☐ Alitet Goes to the Hills

Name

Address

City

Zone..... State.....

NEGOTIATIONS

THE WAY TO PEACE

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE
AND WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

by JESSICA SMITH

Did the press give you clear coverage of the Berlin Conference? The exact proposals offered? The concessions made by both sides? What the people of Europe were saying?

This pamphlet will fill the gap, for it contains a full report and evaluation of the proposals, discussions and decisions of the four powers on the main issues affecting world peace.

The proceedings—opening the way to further conferences—deeply concern you, for they affect the welfare of our country, our children, and the peace of the world.

Here are facts you need to know if you are to play your part in the determination of American foreign policy.

25¢ a copy

Get extra copies for your friends

5 for \$1

NEW WORLD REVIEW • 23 W. 26th St. • NYC 10

Please send me copies of "Negotiations: The Way to Peace," by Jessica Smith, for which I enclose \$.....

Name

Address

City Zone..... State.....