

SOCIAL SCIENCE

NEW WORLD

JUNE
1954
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Review



**Ban Those Bombs • The Real Syngman Rhee
140,000,000 Women Can't Be Wrong**

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OUR COVER. Mihai Navalici, of the Vasile Roaita Plant, in Rumania, is using the Soviet method of high-speed cutting on his lathe. Photos in this issue by Eastfoto.

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Stop the New Bill To Gag the Press!

A BILL introduced in Congress by Katherine St. George (Rep., N. Y.) would deny 2nd class mailing privileges and special bulk mailing rates to publications, books, other printed matter and films containing material "advocating political or other doctrines contrary to the best interests of the United States," and which "... explicitly or by implication favors the political, economic, international and governmental doctrines of communism."

The words "by implication" open the way to suppression of ANY publication which might differ with Administration views as to what is in the best interests of our country. Senator McCarthy has already called for revoking 2nd class privileges of the conservative "Washington Post" and the "Wall Street Journal" as well as the "Daily Worker."

Mrs. St. George told Congress the bill is a "long first step" toward excluding certain publications altogether from the mail. She listed NEW WORLD REVIEW among those "automatically" covered by her bill if passed. We repeat the statement made at the time of the Post Office's abortive attempt to bar our magazine from the mails last fall:

"WE NEVER HAVE, DO NOT, AND NEVER WILL PUBLISH ANYTHING CONTRARY TO THE HIGHEST INTERESTS OF OUR COUNTRY."

On May 31, President Eisenhower said at Columbia, "We will drive from the temple of freedom all who seek to establish over us thought control. . . ."

Let us begin with our own Congress. Wire today to Rep. E. H. Rees, Chairman, Post Office Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., and to your own Congressman, demanding that the St. George bill to stifle freedom of the press shall not be passed.

Peace in Indo-China Or a New World War

by JESSICA SMITH

WITH DISCUSSIONS of details of a cease-fire in Indo-China just getting under way as we go to press, no detailed review of the Geneva Conference would be of value at this moment. All we can do is to point out the trends that indicate the possibilities of a peaceful settlement and the counter trends expressed in the efforts to block any settlement, either for Korea or Indo-China, and to take instead the road that could lead to an all-destroying war.

Since, as is crystal clear to the whole world, it is the interventionist forces in our country who are the main source of this danger, it is now more than ever the responsibility of the American people to stay the hands of those who are ready to unleash an H-bomb war.

The possibility for a peace settlement lies in the very considerable concessions Viet Minh delegate Pham Van Dong, with the backing of the delegation of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, has been willing to make.

Considering the sacrifices made by the people of Viet Nam in their almost eight years' struggle to win their own land back from the French invaders and their American backers and the overwhelming support given by their own people to this struggle for national liberation, the original Viet Minh position was not unreasonable.

They wanted a political settlement discussed simultaneously with cease-fire arrangements, a settlement which would give all the people a chance to participate in determining the future of their own country, with general elections to set up a unified government.

But the Western powers who spend so much time talking about "free elections" made it quite clear that they are in favor only of the kind of free elections which will guarantee the setting up of the kind of government subservient to their imperialist interests. It has been repeatedly acknowledged that in any really free elections the people of Viet Nam would vote overwhelmingly in favor of Ho Chi Minh and that in any resulting coalition government in which, as in the present Viet Minh Government, other parties would be included, there would inevitably be strong Communist representation.

In order, however, to achieve the first goal, an end of the shooting and foreign intervention, the Viet Minh delegation accepted Premier Molotov's compromise proposal that military questions be discussed first. Discussions have therefore begun on the basis of the Viet Minh proposal calling for the earliest possible cessation of hostilities, with a simultaneous cease-fire everywhere and the drawing of opposing forces into large

zones, with a neutral international commission to help supervise the arrangements. Following a proposal by British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, officers of the two opposing high commands are to work out details in Geneva.

A difficult point will be the question of whether these arrangements are to apply to Laos and Cambodia as well as Viet Nam. The important thing, however, is that the terms proposed offer a basis for discussion and agreement. The British Government, in its present conciliatory role has taken the position that they do. French Foreign Minister Bidault has been instructed by the French Government, which knows it could not otherwise survive, to give careful consideration to the proposal. Only the American representatives, among the big powers at Geneva, continue to insist that the plan is unacceptable.

How far the interventionist position has gone in this country was revealed by the Alsop brothers in their *Herald Tribune* column of May 28, when they declared that serious talk of a "preventive showdown" is now being heard in high quarters. This means that in recognition that the only possible advantage in an atomic-hydrogen war would be to the country that should decide to strike first before its own main centers were destroyed, serious consideration is actually being given to this possibility. This is, in fact, an extension of the "massive atomic retaliation" policy which aroused such world wide horror that it is being soft-pedalled today. But a "preventive" war would abandon even the figleaf of justification in some local incident the war-makers might choose to call "aggression."

Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Robert B. Carney, set forth the interventionist position with special sharp-

ness in his May 27 speech before the National Security Industrial Association. In one of the bitterest attacks yet made against the Soviet Union and People's China, he asserted that the "threat to our security" was never so great as today. He declared that we are approaching a fork in the road—the road of negotiations leading to a "dead end" and "enslavement" or the road that leads to "a good destination"—meaning the road of war—"if we have got the guts and strength to manage it." He warned that time is short.

Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Mont) declared on an NBC television program May 30 that in this speech Admiral Carney opened an administration campaign to "educate the American people" for U.S. intervention in Indo-China, and expressed the opinion that the speech had clearance from the Administration.

To prepare this course, Secretary Dulles is continuing his efforts to build a Southeast Asia military pact, opposed by the overwhelming majority of the Asian people, and for which he has only been able to line up the support of the Thailand and Philippine governments, Bao Dai, and the kings of Laos and Cambodia. Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, of course, enthusiastically support all plans for intervention in Asia.

In an attempt to secure UN sanction for intervention in Indo-China, Mr. Dulles has persuaded the Thailand Government to appeal to the United Nations Security Council to send observers to check on the "Communist threat" from Indo-China, but there is little enthusiasm in UN circles for this move.

Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one of the leading interventionists, has warned Congress that any U.S. inter-

vention in Indo-China should be on an all-out basis, including the use of atomic weapons, according to a *U.P.* dispatch of June 1.

Resistance of America's allies is one of the strongest deterrents both to immediate intervention in Indo-China and the Asian military alliance. The French government, hanging by a thread, appears to have changed its stand of outright support for U.S. intervention. With press reports speaking of Anglo-American relations being "near the breaking point," it is, however, yet too early to assess the strength of the British Government to hold out under the kind of pressures the United States well knows how to apply.

The British Government is opposed to pursuing the plans for an Asian military pact prior to the conclusion of the Geneva conference. It has made clear that it is entering the military staff talks in Washington without advance commitments. It was outraged by the fact that separate American-French talks on the Indo-China situation were held without its even being informed in advance, and by President Eisenhower's announcement that the United States would consider going ahead with the Asian pact even without Britain. Britain wants trade with the Soviet Union and China, and the normalization of relations with People's China. The latter position was recently emphasized by the announcement that a Labor Party delegation headed by former prime minister Attlee, Aneurin Bevan and six right wing Labor Leaders would visit People's China this fall—an arrangement that could only have been made with the knowledge and approval of the Churchill government.

The British Government is obviously influenced by the attitude of the Commonwealth nations, the plea of

the Colombo Conference for a cease-fire in Indo-China and against outside interference in Asia, and the strong peace position of India's Premier Nehru. With elections impending before long it is also greatly influenced by the mounting opposition in England among official circles and the widest masses of the people to all war preparations. This movement embraces large sections of the Labor Party, the most powerful trade unions, the cooperative movement, church and Quaker circles, all of whom are speaking out vigorously for banning the H-bomb, against the rearming of Germany, and against involvement in Indo-China or any Asian military alliance.

In the last analysis it is the people's voice that must count most, and the voice of the American people today can be the decisive factor in determining whether peace will win.

There are healthy signs in the increasing extent to which even right-led unions are beginning to speak out for negotiations for a peaceful settlement. This position was taken by recent conventions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Textile Workers of America, the United Packing House Workers, in a strong editorial of the United Mine Workers' official journal, and by many other unions.

Columns of the press throughout the country are full of anti-war letters. Congressmen report a continuing flow of peace correspondence from their constituents.

The Progressive Party nationally and the American Labor Party in New York are making peace the main issue in their election plans.

An increasing number of churchmen are speaking out. The Quakers are calling on their members to continue their efforts to press Congress for no United States troops for Indo-

Campaign to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

VITAL to the work of world peace and understanding is free interchange among all peoples of their culture and their experience. America is the poorer that its present policies not only keep many foreign visitors from our shores, but prevent many Americans from going abroad.

For four years Paul Robeson has been deprived of his passport by the U.S. State Department on the ground that his travel abroad "would not be in the best interests of our country."

There is no single American better known or more greatly loved throughout the world than Paul Robeson. His magnificent voice, his rich endowments as a human being, make him the greatest cultural ambassador our country could have. He expresses the finest and noblest strains of our country's traditions and art. His presence anywhere can bring only honor to our country. It is in the prohibition of his right to travel and perform abroad that our country is dishonored, its interests ill-served.

On May 26 a Cultural Salute to this great people's artist was held in the Renaissance Casino in New York, launching a national campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport, to which some of America's finest artists, Negro and white, gave their talents and support. Messages of greeting came from all over the world. By letter and by cable invitations have come from many countries inviting Paul Robeson to come and play Othello, to appear in the great role of Boris Gudunov, to sing the folk songs and the classics of our own and other peoples which are part of his rich repertoire. Invitations came from England, France, Israel, Holland, Sweden, India, Wales, South Africa, Guatemala, Uruguay, Jamaica and many other countries.

This campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport should have the widest support throughout this country. It is part of the work for international cultural interchange, for peace and friendship among the peoples of the world.

China, intensive efforts for a cease-fire, renewed efforts for international disarmament and a constructive program of aid for the well-being of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

The American Peace Crusade is being joined by many local peace organizations in a drive for one million post cards to President Eisenhower and to Congressmen to keep American boys out of Indo-China and stop the fighting before it leads to an H-bomb war. A significant part of the campaign includes visits to Congress-

men to win commitments from them to keep the United States out of war.

The warmakers are saying that the time is short in which the fateful decision to go to war must be made.

Those who want peace must understand that the time may be short indeed for them to make sure that no such decision will ever be made and to insure that instead our country rejects McCarthyism in both domestic and foreign affairs and takes the road of continuing negotiations, peaceful co-existence and world trade.

EMINENT BRITISH PHYSICIST SAYS

BAN THOSE BOMBS

by E. H. S. BURHOP

We publish herewith, slightly condensed, the text of a pamphlet issued by the British Peace Committee. Substitute the name of any large American city for London and its meaning for our country becomes clear. Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, author of *The Challenge of Atomic Energy*, was a member of the British Atomic Energy Team in the U.S. during the war. He is a University Reader in Physics, Chairman of the Atomic Science Committee of the Association of Scientific Workers, and Vice-Chairman of the British Peace Committee. The BPC is one of many British organizations, including trade unionists, M.P.'s, religious leaders and others, supporting a national campaign in Britain against the H-bomb, seeking 15 million signatures.

FOR many months before March 1st there had been feverish activity in the Marshall Islands in the Pacific. Preparations were being made for another series of tests of atomic explosives, including hydrogen bombs.

These were not the first H-bombs to be exploded. In November, 1952, a rather smaller H-bomb had been tested by the U.S. Army at Eniwetok Atoll. Nothing official was said about it at the time, but letters home from sailors who had seen it explode appeared in the American press and these gave a lurid picture of what occurred.

Then to the surprise of the American Government, in August, 1953, Mr. Malenkov, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, announced that Soviet scientists had also mastered the difficulties of the hydrogen bomb and

would be testing these weapons in the near future. A few days later he announced that a successful test had been carried out.

The American authorities, who had been very sceptical about Malenkov's claim, admitted that their detecting devices had in fact indicated an explosion of a hydrogen bomb in the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately the American military planners did not draw the necessary conclusions from the fact that their monopoly of the H-bomb had been destroyed so soon.

It should have been as obvious to them as it was to others that now was the time to call a halt to this insane squandering of wealth, labor and precious natural resources and to open discussions on the highest level with the heads of other great powers with a view to reaching

agreement on ending the race in mass destruction weapons. All they could think of doing was to speed up their plans for building more and bigger weapons.

And so on March 1st this year they let off an H-bomb on Bikini Atoll, of explosive power about 700 times that of the atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

This bomb was equivalent to fourteen million tons of T.N.T.—an explosive power concentrated in one bomb equal to fourteen million “blockbusters” of the kind dropped in the last war.

Faced with pressure from their military and political chiefs for quick results, the scientists responsible for carrying out the test seem to have erred somewhat in their estimation of the likely effects of the bomb.

It was thought that no danger would exist outside a radius of about 50 miles from the center.

But as it happened a Japanese fishing vessel 70 miles away received a rain of fine, intensely radioactive dust several hours after the explosion. The luckless fisherfolk developed all the symptoms of severe radiation exposure. Their skin broke out in large blisters. Their hair fell out. Dr. Masao Tsuzuki, leading Japanese authority on diseases caused by radioactivity, who is treating the fishermen, says that two may die.

“No doctor in the world could confidently say that he could heal the seamen,” he said. The trouble is that they have probably breathed a great deal of the radioactive dust. Even if they recover from the immediate effects, the radioactive material absorbed through the mouth or nose may cause cancer of the lung or other organs.

It is reported that two other fishing boats 800 miles away from Bikini

were showered with radioactive dust from the explosion and the seamen from them have joined their 23 colleagues from the other boat in the hospital.

What happened seems to be that the explosion of the hydrogen bomb changed quite harmless materials, such as the calcium and silicon on the coral island, into very dangerous radioactive substances. Even the nitrogen in the air would have been changed into a radioactive form of carbon.

At the same time the incredible heat, reaching a temperature of tens of millions of degrees, completely melted and then vaporized the little island. The highly radioactive material from the atoll, as well as fragments of the bomb itself, were swept up high into the air. The very strong winds set up by the heat of the bomb dispersed the cloud over a wide area.

Unlike the fission bomb there is no upper limit to the size of an H-bomb. It has been stated that one H-bomb to be used in the present series of tests will have an explosive effect 2,500 times that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, equivalent to 50 million tons of T.N.T. (The Hiroshima bomb killed 247,000.)

The blast from such a bomb would be expected to flatten any city with a radius of complete destruction of 10 miles, while the radius of very severe damage due to blast would extend out to about 25 miles. The intense heat from the bomb could, on a clear day, produce fatal burns and start large fires out to a radius of 25 miles. So that those outer suburban areas of large cities not immediately destroyed by the blast would most probably be completely burnt out in devastating fires.

But even more terrifying and widespread effects would be produced. A

large part of the city would be vaporized and sucked up in the form of a highly radioactive dust which would fall out on the countryside over a circle of radius several hundred miles, producing effects similar to those experienced by the Japanese fishermen but on an incomparably greater scale.

While these radioactive effects would be very grave and produce a large number of deaths after a horrible lingering illness, the contamination itself would not last very long and soon the stricken area would be safe for human habitation again. However, the radioactive effects could be deliberately enhanced and made to persist for a long time by surrounding the H-bomb by a large shell of the metal cobalt.

In this case, instead of dying away after a few days the radioactivity would last for several years. Wherever the radioactive cobalt dust was deposited life of all forms would become completely insupportable. Every living thing that would not or could not leave the area—man or beast, bird or insect, grass or tree, would be destroyed.

A bomb of this size and type, surrounded with cobalt, would produce conditions of complete devastation within a radius of approximately 200 miles from the center of explosion.

If an H-bomb of the size discussed above were dropped on London hardly any of the five or six million people living within ten miles of the explosion center would survive. Those who survived the initial blast would be trapped beneath mountains of rubble. It is virtually certain that stupendous fires would sweep the area, precluding any possibility of rescue even if the necessary rescue personnel were available. In any case the high

level of radioactivity would make it quite suicidal for rescue personnel to go into the stricken area for some time.

Around this 300-square-mile area, however, there would be many millions of people who survived the initial blast. Many of them will have been very severely burned by direct exposure to the heat of the initial burst. Others are bound to get very severe burns in the huge fires that would sweep the area up to a distance of 25 miles from the explosion center. Many will have been injured by falling glass and masonry in this area. All will probably be suffering from the effects of exposure to the intense radioactivity in the dust sucked up from the center of the explosion.

Many will perish in the attempt to escape. The old, the halt, the blind, the young children—their chances of survival if caught within 25 miles of the center will be slender indeed. But many will undoubtedly escape and make their way to what they may consider to be a "safe" distance. In view of what has been demonstrated about the distances at which radioactive dust can be spread, this "safe" distance would be at least 100 miles or so from the center of the explosion.

If the H-bomb has been pepped-up with a cobalt shell and if three or four other such bombs have been dropped in other parts of the United Kingdom at the same time, no part of these islands will be at a "safe" distance. Our great country will cease to live.

Suppose, however, that cobalt has not been used and that a single bomb has been dropped in the London area. Several million injured people will need treatment. Many will have fractures, crushed limbs or severe

cuts. Many more will have extensive burns and will need whole blood and plasma transfusions to prevent shock, antibiotics to prevent infection, and extensive skin grafting. All will be suffering to some extent from the effects of radiation damage although many at first won't know it. The effects of radiation damage are insidious and often there are no immediate ill-effects, even following fatal doses.

But after a time vomiting, diarrhea, and loss of hair begins to occur. Two or three weeks after exposure the more serious cases develop throat infections, internal bleeding, extremely painful ulcers and severe anemia and malnutrition. Death may occur at any time from ten days to three months after the exposure.

If the patient survives radiation damage for three months he will probably recover. But many will later develop skin cancer and, if they have inhaled radioactive dust, cancer of various internal organs.

Pregnant women will produce still-born children and both men and women will suffer temporary loss of their powers of reproduction.

But in addition incalculable effects may be produced by the radioactive dust on generations of children yet to be born. The extent of these cannot be expressed but all geneticists agree that they occur. They may take 40 to 50 generations to reach their height but will result in an increased rate of monstrous births and other unsuspected abnormalities.

Nothing very effective can be done to protect the population who remain in the obliterated 300 square miles around the explosion center. If they were housed in shelters that were not destroyed they would find themselves trapped there by the fallen masonry and rubble. If they managed to get out of their shelters they would never

escape the fiery holocaust that is bound to spring up after the explosion. If by some miracle they escaped this they would still run the risk of receiving a fatal dose of radiation.

For those on the outer edge of the explosion, however, a system of well-constructed surface shelters might prevent a lot of casualties.

But there would be many millions of casualties to be treated, particularly for burns and radiation damage, after an H-bomb attack on London. On the average each such casualty would require blood supplies from four to ten blood donors.

To treat the burns and radiation damage from such an explosion would require all the rest of the population of this country to become blood donors.

When we think of the hundreds of thousands of doctors and nurses needed, the millions of hospital beds, not to mention the problems of emergency feeding and so on, it is clear that the civil defense problem of dealing with the effects of even one H-bomb is quite beyond the capacities of any conceivable organization. Only a small percentage of the millions of injured could survive.

We might think of a system of dispersal of our main industries, many of them underground, and the evacuation of the populations of our cities. Solutions such as these are being discussed widely in the USA.

In any case the relocation of our industry would be an enormous and expensive undertaking and it would take a long time to accomplish. But the peril of the H-bomb is upon us now. We can afford neither the time nor the money to carry out a major dispersal program.

Some put their trust in the building up of our air defenses. It is true great progress has been made with

devices like proximity fuses, radar-controlled anti-aircraft devices and so on which might make an attack expensive. But none of these can be anything approaching 100 per cent effective and they are hardly effective at all against long-range rockets. And it only requires one of these H-bombs to get through in order to produce the devastation described above. Even if a bomber bringing an H-bomb is shot down before reaching its target, the effects would still be very serious.

There is thus very little in the nature of an effective defense.

In all countries throughout the world the uneasiness about the present series of H-bomb tests in the Marshall Islands is widespread. The American directors of the tests are worried. They are trying now to minimize the extent of the injuries caused to the Japanese fishermen and the Marshall Islanders by the fall-out of radioactive dust. They are particularly affronted by the suggestion that the bombs are getting out of control, and have hastened to deny it. Of course it all depends what one means by "getting out of control."

Mr. Strauss, the Atomic Energy Commission chairman, has himself admitted that the March 1st explosion was twice as powerful as had been estimated. The estimates of the change in weather conditions brought about by the effects of the bomb itself were clearly hopelessly out.

Isn't it reasonable to call it a case of the bomb getting out of hand when islanders and fisherfolk going unsuspecting about their peaceful pursuits far from any danger area are gravely injured by a rain of radioactive dust from the skies?

Although it is quite clear that there is no danger of these explosions setting the earth or the atmosphere

"on fire" and so transforming our earth into a new star, yet the actual weather effects, and the exact position of the fall-out of radioactive dust are not easy to predict. The Pacific Islanders and the inhabitants of countries bordering the Pacific Ocean will only be reassured when they know there will be no more tests.

From a military point of view there seems little to gain from exploding bigger H-bombs.

It is also pertinent to ask by what right the U.S. authorities can fence off large areas of sea so that they can perform these tests.

There is one possibility about which we should beware and about which we should make known our views in no uncertain way. Some of the more bomb-happy of the generals may be tempted to try out an explosion of an H-bomb surrounded by a shell of cobalt as described earlier. The consequences of this could be indeed grave because of the long persistence of the radioactivity of cobalt. And another miscalculation such as occurred with the March 1st explosion might produce effects that are much more calamitous.

It is well known that it is possible to control the rate of nuclear fission and this leads to the possibility of some very important applications of the fission process to the production of cheap and plentiful power. No possible peaceful applications of thermonuclear reactions appear to be in view however. This does not mean that such reactions will never be harnessed for peaceful purposes. But if they are to be so harnessed the necessary initial high temperature for starting the process will have to be produced in some more controllable way than by the explosion of a fission bomb. The testing of H-bombs

is making no conceivable contribution to the peaceful application of atomic energy.

Why could not work on these bombs be stopped at the beginning of an agreement between the powers to end the production and use of these weapons before they lead to far graver consequences than have so far occurred?

Stopping this work is only a step. An end must be put to the stockpiling of these weapons. Their use in war must be prohibited. This generation owes a sacred duty to all posterity to see that these measures are taken without delay.

Some, including Mr. Churchill, have argued that the building of these weapons is a factor for peace since the massive retaliatory threat they represent provides an effective deterrent to aggression.

But this interpretation is tragically wrong. When two opposing nations are both armed with stockpiles of these weapons, the advantage will have shifted, in the event of conflict, so overwhelmingly in favor of the side that gets its blow in first that one side may be tempted to precipitate matters to prevent a feared attack by the other.

We may find ourselves in the middle of a war fought with H-weapons, even cobalt-hydrogen weapons. It would only need a few thousand of these cobalt-hydrogen bombs to produce a level of radioactive contamination sufficient to destroy the whole human race, and indeed every living thing on earth.

And the threat to this country does not come from hydrogen bombs alone. While only three or four H-bombs would completely devastate this land, similar effects could be produced by about 100 atomic bombs of the fission type.

And yet atomic weapons are now becoming so plentiful that the American Army is issuing them to troops as a more or less conventional weapon for tactical purposes. This country is in so vulnerable a position in the event of an atomic war, on account of its size and its highly concentrated industry, that one would have thought that elementary prudence would have ensured that our leaders would be in the forefront of those calling for the prohibition of all these weapons. On the contrary, however, as Sir John Slessor made clear in some recent broadcasts, our Air Force is relying heavily on the use of atomic weapons in its strategic bombing plans.

And Mr. Dulles has recently enunciated a so-called "new look" strategy in American defense policy according to which, in the event of trouble in any part of the world, the USA will react in places of its own choosing and with weapons of its own choosing. This has been widely interpreted to mean that in the event of a recommencement of the fighting in Korea, as remains a possibility owing to the intransigence of Syngman Rhee, or the outbreak of local fighting elsewhere, the USA would feel free to drop atomic weapons on China or the USSR, thus precipitating a world atomic war.

In view of the existence of the American bases in this country, this policy of Mr. Dulles, would seem to mean that any future small-scale war may be turned by the USA into an atomic war in which we shall be involved.

The position is that in spite of a certain easing of the tension over the past twelve months we stand perilously close to war, owing very largely to the unwise American policies. This war would be an atomic

war in which our country would certainly be devastated beyond recognition, and it might develop into an H-bomb war in which the greater part of the world would be devastated.

In the face of these considerations it seems self-evident that the time has come to call a halt to the further development of weapons of mass destruction. The World Council of Peace has been campaigning for this for a considerable time. The Stockholm Appeal for the banning of atomic weapons was signed by over 500 million people. Many organizations and famous scientists, church dignitaries and statesmen throughout the world have put forward the same demand. The Soviet, Chinese, Indian and a number of other governments have also been calling for the outlawing of these weapons.

At first these calls were ignored, or even sneered at by many politicians. They were thought to be connected with the fact that the Soviet Union could not possibly master the "secret" of the atomic bomb for many years to come. But in 1949, the Americans revealed that they had detected the explosion of an atomic bomb in the USSR and the Soviet Government admitted that it was testing a number of types of this weapon. But still the Soviet Government persisted in its call for the absolute outlawing of the atomic bomb.

Then last year the Soviet Government told of its first successful H-bomb test. Accompanying the announcement was the official statement: "The Soviet Government has repeatedly proposed to the Governments of other countries to carry out a substantial reduction of armaments and prohibition of the use of atomic and other type of weapons of mass

destruction and to establish within the framework of the United Nations strict international control of this prohibition. The Soviet Government adheres firmly to this position today as well."

In the matter of H-bomb production the USSR must be on fairly even terms with the USA, so that it could no longer be said that in suggesting a prohibition of the use of these weapons it was trying to cover up its own deficiencies.

Many people have the mistaken impression that the Soviet Government is not prepared to agree to inspection to ascertain whether agreements in the atomic energy field are being carried out. The Soviet Government has in fact proposed quite an elaborate system of inspection including the provision of an international search warrant procedure in the event of any suspicion of secret production of material for atomic weapons. The main factor holding up formal agreement on these matters for years now has been the insistence by the USA, backed up by our own Government, that in addition to inspection an international body should actually own atomic establishments and decide where they should be located. Since this body would not necessarily be responsible to the Security Council of the United Nations, it would be heavily weighted in voting strength against the USSR, and in any case would be performing a function by no means essential for effective control of atomic energy, the Soviet Government has always rejected this demand.

But with the development of the H-bomb and the recent tests in the Pacific the position has changed radically. It is clearly essential that Mr. Churchill, Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Eisenhower should meet as soon

as possible in order to explore afresh the whole matter of the banning of these weapons. In the first place they should agree that in view of the widespread concern about recent developments, all further work on H-bombs should be abandoned. In the ensuing discussion compromise proposals will have to be considered by both sides.

Mr. Churchill has suggested that negotiations on weapons of mass destruction would have to be discussed in the framework of general disarmament and that a relaxation of tension will be needed before this could be successful.

Of course relaxation of tension as a result of agreement in other fields would be desirable. But what could contribute more to the relaxation of tension than an agreement to prohibit the use of atomic weapons?

So many of the vital interests of this country are bound up with this question that it would be in the highest degree appropriate that Mr. Churchill should take the lead in trying to arrange a meeting with the other two.

The people of this country must insist on action without delay to reopen these negotiations. In view of our geographical circumstances these islands would certainly suffer far more in an atomic war than either the USSR or the USA.

We must insist that our representatives agree to the proposal to prohibit the use of all hydrogen and atomic weapons in warfare. Since the USSR as well as the USA now possesses these weapons, and the quantitative disparity between stocks on the two sides cannot be large and

is decreasing daily, there is no longer any substance in the flimsy argument that we need these weapons to offset the greater manpower available to the USSR and China.

Alongside this prohibition we must insist on strict inspection and control to see that it is being observed. If the demand for international ownership were dropped the positions of the three powers on the issue of inspection and control is already so close that agreement can be reached if public opinion presses strongly enough for it. At the same time we must insist on a new discussion of disarmament proposals.

If we insist on the statesmen reaching agreement on a basis of compromise and mutual respect for each other's point of view, then we have the prospect of the abolition of the fear of war for an indefinite period ahead, and the ingenuity and talents of the atomic scientists can be used to make available for the advantage of all humanity, all the exciting peaceful potentialities of atomic energy.

Now is the critical time.

Write to your M.P., to your local paper. Discuss these issues with your friends, raise them in any organization to which you may belong.

Now is the time to act. We are at the cross-roads leading either to a newer, higher civilization without war or to atomic death.

Your action may help to decide this fateful choice.

The British Peace Committee, 81 City Road, E.C.1., London, England, to whom we are indebted for permission to republish this material, will gladly supply copies of the pamphlet on request.

MARSHALL ISLANDERS PROTEST H-BOMB TESTS

ON MAY 15, Marshall Island citizens petitioned the UN for an end to the Pacific H-bomb tests, which have endangered their health.

Spring in Moscow

by RALPH PARKER

ALTHOUGH the transformation of the Soviet Union into a land of industrial cities and developed collective farms has made the lives of its people less subject to the dictates of the seasons, the coming of spring is still an event almost melodramatic in its sudden effect. We sit for six months in the artificial climate of our rooms, the outer-doors wadded, the windows sealed, cotton wool stuffed into any crevice through which the cold might sneak in. A foot-thick blanket of air between the double windows deadens the street sounds—and they, too, are quieter in winter when street and sidewalk are carpeted with crushed snow or golden sand, and there are no ships' hooters coming from the frozen river and people think twice before pausing to chat over the morning's shopping or last night's TV program or what the doctor diagnosed at the polyclinic.

Then, suddenly, a day comes when everybody reaches the tacit agreement that winter is over.

For me, the first sign is written

clearly in white chalk on the asphalt of the sidewalk just under my window. No sooner is the air warm enough to dry the patches made by the melting snow than the kids in our street start marking out scotches for their hopping games. A day or two later teen-age children hoist a net across a corner of a yard that I can just see through my window, and, in the late afternoon gather to limber up in volleyball practice.

Early in the morning, when there is often a thin rime of frost along the top of the railings, the yard-women, wearing their penguin-like white linen aprons, come out with besoms to sweep away the dirt that has accumulated under the snow. Their male counterparts are already up on the roofs beating out the tomtom music of the Moscow spring—the tap of hammers on galvanized roofing material. Before long the road repairers will be along and before May Day every door and window frame and railing will be repainted. For our street is in one of the older parts of Moscow where the winter wear-and-tear on buildings is felt more than in the modern districts, with their buildings faced with strong construction materials, metal window frames and frost-resisting paints.

RALPH PARKER, who formerly represented the "New York Times" in the USSR is a veteran Moscow correspondent whose reports are well known to our readers.

All this spring cleaning and repairing is the back-drop to the main spring news. April first brought another annual price cut—the seventh I have seen in Moscow since the winter of 1947-48. This time the main benefits to the public were distributed through the reduction of prices of manufactured goods—cloth, shoes, haberdashery, all kinds of building materials, paints, tools, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and other electric labor-saving appliances. At the same time there were cuts affecting gasoline, kerosene, salt, and many kinds of foods. In fact, there is no one, child, householder, old-age pensioner, who did not benefit from the latest reductions.

To give an example. I usually take a stroll before breakfast to buy fresh bread rolls and any odd things of which we have run short. The morning after the price cuts were announced I found I paid less for bread, less for the dozen boxes of matches I picked up on the street corner, less for the pencil and note book I bought from the news agent where I always call for the latest magazines. I returned home to find the country women who brings us fresh milk.

"Well, what d'you think of it, Maria Fyodorovna?" I asked her as she poured the thick creamy milk into a pot in the kitchen.

"A big day in the village," she replied, using the word *prazdnik*, which Russians reserve for days of festivity or jubilation. "Fodder's down, kerosene's down, it's a big help to us countryfolk this time."

People pack the pavements of central Moscow on a spring Sunday. Purchasers pour through the nine entrances of the State Department Store on Red Square and pack its three-quarter-mile arcades. They mill up and down Gorky Street, diving

into the narrower shopping streets, some of which still retain a little of the atmosphere of old Moscow. Window shopping is not a characteristic of Moscow yet—perhaps because for many months of the year people prefer to linger in the warmth inside a department store than dawdle on the pavement. But this spring, features like the life-size fashion plates that change automatically in the windows of some dress materials shops are causing crowds to gather on the sidewalks.

These new fashions were described and illustrated one spring evening on the Moscow TV. These are the notes I jotted down during the program: "The chief designer of Moscow's Fashion House: 'We have been pressing the makers to give us softer woolen materials. Up until now, they've been too hard to drape attractively. Now we've got a softer, lighter woolen; you see the attractive drape in this new frock.' (In came the first of a line of models). 'Note the tubular effect in this skirt.' 'There are plenty of attractive gabardines for men to wear. And there's no reason why women should not wear slacks!'"

I have calculated that the April price cuts were equivalent to a bonus of about a fortnight's gross earnings to the annual earnings of the average worker in the Soviet Union. The pleasant feature about the cuts, moreover, is that they occurred, as usual, just before the year's main shopping season—when everybody is thinking about the impending holidays, about May Day parties, about end-of-term dances, the opening of the sports season, motoring trips to the Ukraine and the Caucasus. . . .

There is not a girl leaving the tenth class this year who has not her mind set on having a white frock

for the traditional graduation ball. The April cuts brought down the price of such a frock and accessories by at least 15 per cent.

Local authorities have been under heavy pressure to provide more extensive sports facilities for youth, especially in rural area. The price cuts brought down the cost of everything that sportsmen require in the way of clothes, sneakers, footballs, tennis balls and fishing rods.

The trade union organization has promised to improve tourist facilities—more permanent bases in holiday resorts, more temporary camps in the high Caucasus, the Carpathians, the Pamire for mountain climbers and hikers. For such people the cost of cameras—and who travels without a camera in the USSR these days?—has been slashed up to 20 per cent.

So we see Soviet society creating new needs among its members and taking steps to meet those needs by

greater and more efficient production: for that is what price cuts mean. The shops on Gorky Street and Red Square are not cutting their prices because goods have accumulated unsold on their shelves or in the warehouses, but because the mills and factories are now able to produce enough to satisfy the increased demand that a price cut creates. Thus the annual price reductions are a guide to Soviet economic policy.

This year they reflect the results—or the expected results—of the big investment program announced during the second half of 1953, when plans to build new centers of light industry and processed food production were launched.

The vast crowds of shoppers pouring in and out of Moscow's shops this spring provide evidence of the first results of this new program that is more impressive than any statistical figures.

MIKHAIL SHOLOKHOV DESCRIBES HIS PLANS

PEOPLE frequently ask what Mikhail Sholokhov, author of *And Quiet Flows the Don* is working on. Here is the answer, from the eminent Soviet writer, himself, as he gave it at an election meeting in Rostov where he was nominated Deputy to the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. His constituents had asked the same question, and, in part, he replied as follows:

"I shall finish *Seeds of Tomorrow*. . . . Having detached myself from everything else, I am now working on getting the second part of this novel ready for the publisher. It seems to me that this is more important than anything else. And, in addition, out of a feeling of indebtedness to those who died the death of the brave in the battles against the fascists, and for those who have passed through that great school of the war, I should like to continue my work on a large-scale war novel. But I do not want to rush this. *And Quiet Flows the Don* took me fifteen years to write, and in the earlier days it was easier to write, you know. Is it a matter of age? It is that a bit. But the main thing is that now as never before must we writers have a high sense of responsibility to our people. Just see how wise, how exacting, how confident our readers have grown!"

140,000,000 Women Can't Be Wrong

by **ESLANDA ROBESON**

IN ITS REGULAR review of Non-Governmental Organizations a brief time back, the United Nations NGO Committee granted approval to 3 new organizations, continued approval of 79, and discontinued approval of 1.

The 3 new NGO's are the International Association of Independent Enterprises, Trades and Crafts; the International Shipping Federation, and the Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses.

The one NGO for which the Committee discontinued consultative status, was the Womens' International Democratic Federation.

WIDF is composed of 140 million women in 66 countries. It includes women of every color, religion, political opinion, profession and occupation and philosophical belief, who are united in a common struggle for peace and human welfare. It was founded at the first International Women's Congress in Paris in 1945, and was born of the will of women to unite their efforts to protect their children and homes from the horrors of a new war.

Its aims are to defend the political, economic, legal and social rights

of women; to ensure social progress; to protect the health of the people and more especially that of young children; to create conditions for a happy harmonious development of the young according to their aptitudes; to eliminate all remaining vestiges of fascism; to establish democracy; to strengthen friendship and unity between women throughout the world, and to work with all their power for peace.

Now wouldn't you think the United Nations would do its utmost to search out an organization with such aims, scope, representation and power, and urge it to participate as Consultant instead of withdrawing consultative status, denying it access, and more important; shutting off this vast contact with the people?

The fact is that the United Nations welcomed the WIDF as a Non-Governmental Organization way back in 1946. Since then the WIDF has taken part in the sessions of more than 20 United Nations organs.

For millions of women whose countries have no representation in the United Nations — Italy, People's China, Africa, and some of the Eastern European Democracies, the

THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

There are 239 organizations listed as Consultants to the United Nations and called Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's). They fall into three categories:

1) Category A have the right to propose, through the Non-Governmental Organizations Committee, items for the Economic and Social Council provisional agenda, and they may also be heard by the Council. In this category are nine organizations, including the International Chamber of Commerce, four international trade union federations, and the International Organization of Employers.

2) Category B may submit written statements to the Council, and may be heard by the NGO Commit-

tee. In this category there are 107 organizations, including such diverse groups as women's and lawyers' federations, National Association of Manufacturers, Lions and Rotary clubs, International Union for the Protection of Nature, automobile clubs, 41 business groups, 18 labor groups, 9 Catholic, 6 Jewish and 6 Protestant groups.

3) Those organizations placed on the Register, which are available for *ad hoc* consultation by the Council. There are 123 of these organizations, most of them being national groups.

There are no African, no Negro, and very few Asian groups among the Non-Governmental Organizations consultant to the United Nations.

WIDF is their only link with the work of United Nations.

In February, 1952, during the session of the General Assembly in Paris, Mr. Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, received a delegation from the WIDF, and subsequently wrote to the President of the Federation, thanking the WIDF on behalf of the President of the General Assembly for its concern with the problems facing the world.

Why, then, was consultative status withdrawn from the WIDF, and what must its 140 million women in 66 countries be thinking about the United Nations which countenanced its expulsion?

First of all they will have to note that their expulsion was initiated, urged and accomplished by a very small minority of member states.

In the Non-Governmental Organizations Committee, it was the United

States delegate who proposed expulsion. The vote was 4 for, 1 against (USSR), with 2 abstentions (France and Belgium). The 4 who voted for expulsion were U.S., United Kingdom, China (Formosa), and Venezuela.

In evaluating this vote, one must keep in mind that many member states do not consider the China (Formosa) delegate the legal representative of China; that some member states abstain in the voting because they feel neutral about a controversy, or because they have enough principle not to vote for a measure they disapprove of, but not enough strength or courage to vote against it and thus antagonize a powerful member state.

Later, in the parent body, the Economic and Social Council, the vote was equally interesting: 9 for withdrawal, 5 against, with 4 abstentions. The 5 voting to retain

the WIDF were the USSR, India, Egypt, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The 4 abstaining were France, Belgium, Argentina and Pakistan. The 9 voting to expel were the USA, U.K., Australia, Norway, Cuba, Turkey, Ecuador, Venezuela and China (Formosa).

Further, Mr. Tsarapkin (USSR) suggested in the Economic and Social Council (and was not contradicted) that the withdrawal votes had been obtained only under U.S. pressure.

It was clear that the U.S. representatives in the NGO Committee and the Economic and Social Council waged a vigorous fight against the Women's International Democratic Federation. In effect, the U.S. accused the WIDF of being a Communist-dominated organization and of subversive activities against the United Nations. (The charges have a familiar ring in the United States these days!)

Mr. Tsarapkin said the accusation was merely a device to influence the Council Members against the Federation, and called attention to the fact that, except in the United States, it was not considered a crime to be a Communist.

The subversive activities with which the U.S. representatives charged the WIDF were these: Mr. Kotschnig (U.S.), in NGO Committee, said the WIDF's activities inside and outside the UN had essentially been confined to political actions which were unrelated to the Council's work and inconsistent with consultative status with the UN. Mr. Kotschnig said he did not want to take issue with the alleged usefulness of appeals for peace (Stockholm Appeal) and of collection of millions of signatures, but he did not see what help that gave to the Council. He

said that most serious of all, the organization had resorted to a sustained campaign of vicious propaganda against the UN itself, which was completely incompatible with consultative status. He therefore moved that consultative status be withdrawn from the organization.

Mrs. Dora Russell Grace, representing the WIDF, replied: "... The Women's International Democratic Federation has never disguised its earnest desire to save human beings from the appalling sufferings of modern war. . . . Has peace no social and economic implications, especially for the lives of women, their husbands, sons and young children? [A pertinent question, that.]"

The WIDF, she said, does "not know what is meant by the objection that it has resorted to a 'sustained campaign of vicious propaganda against the United Nations.' With all due respect, an allegation of this kind needs documentary proof. . . . We have never indulged in such propaganda."

Later, in the Economic and Social Council, Mr. Hotchkis (U.S.) tried to give "proof" of subversion, as follows:

First, in 1951, the WIDF had set up a so-called Women's International Commission For the Investigation of Atrocities Committed by the United States and Syngman Rhee Troops in Korea. The report of that group was circulated as document S/2203 [in the UN]. . . . One of the report's conclusions states: "These mass tortures and mass murders surpass the crimes committed by Hitler's Nazis in temporarily occupied Europe. . . . Mr. President, is *that* supporting its [the UN's] principles and work?"

Second, . . . the secretariat of the WIDF sent a letter to the UN Secre-

tary General which stated in part: "... After a long period of preparation in collaboration with Japanese war criminals, the U.S. is using 16 kinds of bacteriological weapons which it manufactured with the idea of continuing its barbarous and inhuman program . . . of annihilating the whole Korean population and reducing the country to a barren waste." . . . Mr. President, is *that* supporting its [the UN's] principles and work?

Third, the WIDF has persistently falsified economic and social situations to suit its propaganda purposes. For example, one of its publications, "Documents et Actualités" reports: "In the colonial and dependent countries women have no social or legal rights whatsoever." . . .

Fourth, the WIDF has persistently and falsely attacked the UN and its organs, especially the Commission on the Status of Women. For example, this same publication states: "We find that in the 6 years of its existence the Commission has done very little to implement the principles of the UN Charter concerning the question of equal rights for women in the social, economic and political fields. . . . The WIDF proposed that the question of women in the struggle for peace should be discussed at the 5th session of the Commission on the Status of Women. Unfortunately, the Commission rejected the demand and refused to discuss this vital question." . . . Mr. President, [said Mr. Hotchkis rhetorically this, the 4th time, the drama being worn out by now] is *that* supporting its principles and work?

Such was the "proof," which indeed, seems not to be proof. Statements made or quoted, and questions asked dramatically and/or rhetorically, do not constitute proof or documentation of subversion. Quite the contrary. At no point in his speech did Mr. Hotchkis deny or refute

the statements made by the WIDF.

It is a fact that more than a million Koreans were killed, many more millions wounded, still more millions made homeless, and that much of Korea has been laid waste by the war.

It is a fact, admitted regretfully by the Administering Powers themselves, that in colonial and dependent countries women have no social or legal rights.

Moreover, the Commission on the Status of Women did not seem to feel that it had been slandered by the WIDF, because it adopted, at its 5th Session, a special resolution expressing regret that the WIDF representative had not received the visa authorizing her entry into the U.S., and therefore could not be present to participate in the work of the Commission.

And what woman in her right mind would say that women have secured equal rights in the social, economic and political fields—Status of Women or no Status of Women?

The conclusion of Mr. Hotchkis' speech was startling and in somewhat questionable taste:

And in conclusion, Mr. President, I am impressed with what historians tell us, that several years ago a giant animal known as the dinosaur dominated the world. He was so large that he felt reasonably secure in his size, just as this wonderful group in the United Nations, bound together by the common hope and desire for peace, is likewise a kind of dinosaur in this world today. But what happened to the dinosaur? The paleontologists tell us that a few rats came across the eggs of the dinosaur, devoured the eggs, and the dinosaur, as large as he was, as strong as he was, perished from the earth. We as the United Nations

should not allow any rats to devour the eggs of our perpetuation and our success as the United Nations.

Well! The UN a dinosaur, and the 140 million women of the WIDF rats?

"Rats!" said Mrs. Dora Russell Grace, shocked and indignant. "What kind of parliamentary language is that, to use in the United Nations?" Tossing her head like a thoroughbred meeting challenge, she added: "No man can call Dora Russell a rat with impunity. Nor can he call our membership, among whom are women who have devoted their lives to building a better world for humanity, rats!" One feels that Mr. Hotchkis will hear more about this.

Other members of the Economic and Social Council did not appreciate hearing the UN likened to a dinosaur. Mr. Saksena (India) said with quiet dignity and a neat sense of humor: "The United Nations does *not* lay eggs, and consequently is in no danger on that score of not surviving." He wisely suggested that withdrawal of consultative status from a Non-Governmental Organization was a much more delicate matter than granting it such status, and one which required great care and reflection. "Such an act might give rise to feelings of bitterness and vengeance, and might cast discredit on the United Nations. . . ." The Federation had been concerned with the improvement of the welfare of women and children, and it had never ceased to act in conformity with the purposes of the UN. "No doubt," Mr. Saksena continued, "the Federation had sometimes drafted outspoken reports on certain matters which might have displeased member states." He therefore requested the Council to act with great circumspection, and not

to deprive an NGO of its right to criticize, which right—known as freedom of speech—is one of the fundamental rights for which the UN stands.

Mr. Pscolka (Czechoslovakia) told the Economic and Social Council that he was strongly opposed to expulsion of the WIDF:

Not only is such a step unwarranted and unfair, it is contrary to the principle of cooperation between the Council and the NGO's, and is against the Council's interests. The WIDF has constantly supported the UN Charter, and its cooperation, particularly with the Commission on the Status of Women, represented a considerable and valuable contribution to the Council's work. The only purpose the expulsion would accomplish, Mr. Pscolka said, would be to make it impossible for this mass organization to participate in the Council's work. . . . WIDF's cooperation was particularly striking in view of the obstacles which had been placed in its way by the U.S. Government, which had sought to prevent its representatives from gaining access to the UN Headquarters. . . .

It must be said that the Non-Governmental Organizations have not often availed themselves lately of this fundamental right to criticize the policies and activities of the United Nations. That is why respectful criticism by the WIDF becomes so important. The "subversive activities" of the WIDF have been its criticisms. Their members did not just sit on the sidelines, watching war and death and destruction in Korea, and say to the United Nations: Yes Sir, you are right. You are always right. You are terrific and wonderful. When of course, the UN, being a human institution, can make and has made some grievous mistakes, the WIDF

has not merely said: Tut, tut! in ladylike disagreement with some of the policies of the UN. It boldly warned: Danger Here! and offered, respectfully, what it hoped were constructive information, suggestions and criticisms on the basis of its wide knowledge, experience and contacts.

Is this not the true role of the Non-Governmental Organizations? What other? And why did not other NGO's, especially the Women's Groups, in their capacity as Consultant make no constructive suggestions and criticisms about the war in Korea? They have maintained a monumental silence about war and peace since 1950.

Surely war and peace and friendly relations between nations and peoples are some of the most urgent problems in the world, and in the UN today, and surely these problems are of special significance to women? Surely women belonging to all the organizations, and women everywhere are deeply interested in these matters? Why then have they not spoken out in meeting? Why has only the WIDF frankly grappled with these problems?

Can the reason be that other NGO's are afraid of offending their Governments, afraid of accusations of subversive activities, afraid of withdrawal of their consultative status? They may well be, as the experience of the WIDF shows.

Yet what good is consultative status if it involves merely the presentation of learned discussions of non-controversial subjects, useful information and statistics without constructive, boldly imaginative, creative suggestions about the most fundamental and universal problem of our time—the problem of how to secure the peace and friendly cooperation

between the inhabitants of this, our earth.

Mr. Tsarapkin told the Economic and Social Council:

An attempt was being made to isolate the United Nations from currents of world opinion; a political campaign was being carried out to turn the organization into the preserve of the countries which shared the views of the United States. The United Nations, however, is a forum for the expression of different political opinions.

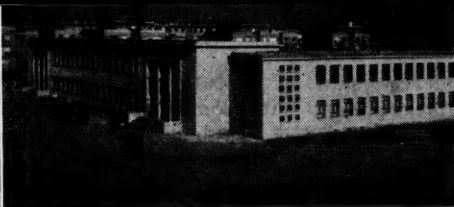
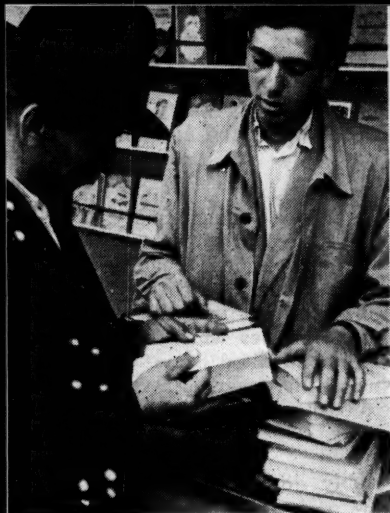
Women today do not want to be isolated from men, nor from other women, nor from other people anywhere. They want to be friends and equal human beings with everyone, so that they can get on with the business of living.

Women today—more than half the world's population—dare not be silent about war and peace, if they hope to deserve survival.

It is women who make the homes and families, together with men of course, and it is war which destroys these homes and families, over and over again.

The Women's International Democratic Federation can take comfort in the fact that actually only 7 member states out of the 60 which constitute the United Nations, voted for its expulsion, and it was said that these states voted under pressure from the United States. The WIDF has a right to conclude that only the United States really wanted it out of the UN.

The 140 million women of the WIDF can take heart, and continue their work "As one! For equality, for happiness, for peace." This is the Appeal adopted by the World Congress of Women held June 5th to 10th, 1953 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

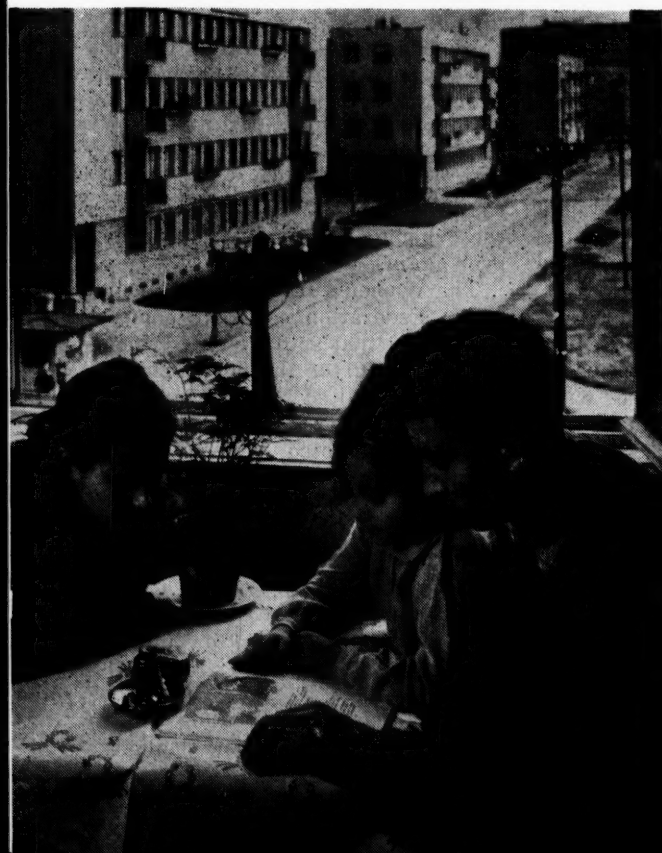


New grade school (left) in the steel city, Szeged. Right: Szeged Textile Mill, biggest light industry in Hungary.

IN PEOPLE'S HUNGARY

A shepherd drops in in the farm bookshop to get the latest book.

Ujpest, once the worst section of Budapest, now has new modern apartments for workers.



In the nine years of liberation progress has been rapid. Agriculture has grown, agriculture has been mechanized and the arts are flourishing. Standards have risen steadily and to rise. On all sides, new health institutions, new operated nurseries and the effects of a steady progress.

A fashion design show, based on Hungarian motifs, is given to the people.





...alines. Right: Soviet equip-
...ment in south Hungary.

GAY TODAY

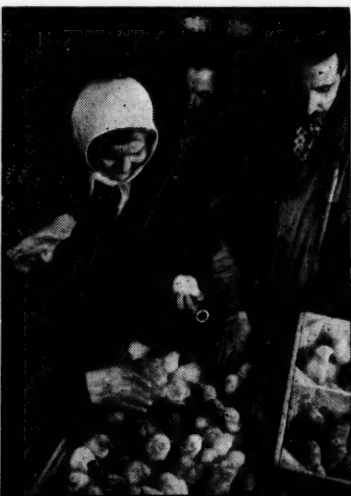
...ars of liberation, Hungary's
...be rapid. Basic industries
...agriculture has expanded and
...anization and education, science
...are flourishing. Living stand-
...en only and are continuing
...all you see free public
...ution, new housing, well-
...rseries and the beneficial ef-
...leading purchasing power



Folk dance program was part of celebra-
...tion marking Liberation Day, April 4th.

Design (below, left) plans fall models
...Hungarian motifs. Right: Ultra-violet
...to the lot in a factory nursery.

Farm women taking a training course (below, left)
...visit the hatchery at a poultry institute. Right:
...Lathes made at the Matyas Rakosi Works, in Csepel.



SCIENCE FOR ALL



On the farm. These girls (above) are attending a chemistry class in a new-built collective farm school.



In the city. Physics class for boys (left) in a secondary school.

At college. Higher educational centers are spreading. This is a class in the new Matyas Rakosi Technical University (right) in the city of Miskols.



SYNGMAN RHEE

Myth and Record

Some little known facts illuminating the issues as a Korean peace settlement is discussed at Geneva

by LAURENCE TODD

SYNGMAN RHEE proposed in February of this year to send two divisions of his American-trained and equipped troops to fight against the Viet Minh in Indo-China. He also repeated his familiar threat to reopen the Korean war and to develop that conflict until all of Korea should come under his rule. In mid-May with the Korean question under discussion at Geneva, he was insisting that the war be resumed.

Here, then, was a vigorous renewal of Rhee's effort to convince world opinion that there must be no peace in the Far East except upon his own terms. Throughout the long months of negotiation which led to the truce of July, 1953, he resisted the idea of peace by agreement. Indeed, he rejected that idea as early as 1947—three years before the fight-

ing across the 38th parallel began. He had violated the truce agreement by releasing 27,000 prisoners of war, in the expectation of enrolling many of them in his army, although the United Nations negotiators had pledged that they should be handed over to the custody of a neutral commission. Protest in the parliaments of Britain and America he ignored. He was, after all, the chosen instrument of American policy in Korea.

What, then, should be thought of Rhee's actual intentions? Is he a mere gambler, playing for high stakes and not averse to blackmailing his patron into reluctant but fatal support? Or is he a facile instrument of major players on the board of world power? The answer is his secret.

Examine, for instance, the assertions made by Rhee's representative at the United Nations and his former minister, Ben C. Limb, in a televised discussion with American college students on October 19, 1953. Limb denounced the consent of the United Nations to the division of Korea at the 38th parallel as "the greatest

LAURENCE TODD was formerly Washington Correspondent of the Federated Press and later of Tass News Agency. After nearly 40 years of news-writing in the capital, he is now retired, and is writing his memoirs.

crime of the 20th century." He described the North Korean government as a robber who occupied the best rooms of one's house, and who must be driven out. "The main and only purpose of starting this war and coming in to fight with us," he declared, "is to unify the country; that's its only objective, no other objective. That's the reason why your country came in to help us; they came in to throw that robber out of that house, and that is why we started this war, and if we are going to finish this war we must fulfill that objective. . . ."

Here, it may be noted, is an admission by Rhee's spokesman that the South Korean government, not the North Koreans, started the war in 1950.

Rhee's stubborn persistence in rocking the boat of world peace justifies careful examination of his record. Now in his 78th year, he emerged from the obscurity of exile in America only after Japan's surrender. He had lived in the United States more than 40 years. Yet after it became evident that he was the man with whom the American military command in Seoul was willing to deal, and that he was engaged in suppressing all who opposed him in South Korean politics, the American press and radio made of him a hero. He was pictured as a self-sacrificing patriot, the idol of his nation, survivor of Japanese imprisonment and torture, and even as the outstanding statesman of the Far East.

Actually, Rhee had been looked upon by the State Department as an annoying and irresponsible adventurer-in-exile, until the decision was made by the Truman administration to send him back to Korea while it delayed the return of President Kim Koo and other officials of the

Korean Provisional Government, then in Chungking.

Dr. Rhee first became known in Washington in the autumn of 1921, shortly before the convening of the Conference on Naval Limitation and The Far East. He hoped to induce the powers to demand that the Japanese relinquish not only Shantung but Korea also. Rhee was a quiet, mild, meek little man, who had a nervous trick of blowing upon his finger-ends. He explained that as a student he had been imprisoned by the corrupt old Korean imperial government because he had protested the bribery of court officials by Japanese and Russian agents. He told of having been chained to a heavy mat while his guards thrust burning splinters of bamboo under his finger-nails. While suffering this agony, he said, he had become a convert to Christianity.

After seven years in prison, according to his account, the Korean government released him, and American missionaries helped him to come to this country. He took academic degrees at Harvard and Princeton. After Japan annexed Korea in 1910 he returned home, intending to do religious work, but soon came under police persecution and escaped to Hawaii.

In the spring of 1919, the Korean people rose in unarmed revolt against the Japanese occupation. A revolutionary conference chose Rhee, who was safe under the American flag in Hawaii, to be President of the Provisional Republic of Korea. Japanese troops and police crushed the revolt, killing thousands of men, women and children who dared display Korean flags. They jailed tens of thousands.

One of Dr. Rhee's closest American associates of recent years is Robert T. Oliver, who in a newspaper article

in the *Washington Post*, Mar. 7, 1943, explained his friend's connection with this episode. Oliver wrote:

The revolution was led by a disciple of Woodrow Wilson—Syngman Rhee—a Korean who at the age of 20 published Korea's first newspaper, who spent the years 1897 to 1904 in prison for opposing the growing influence of Japan over the Korean emperor; who then came to America. . . . When the Paris Peace Conference was called in 1919, Rhee applied to the State Department for a passport so that he could attend. From Paris it was ruled that Rhee's presence would only agitate the Japanese delegates, and the passport was refused. When the word filtered to Korea, a group of patriots determined to stage a revolution that might capture the sympathy of the statesmen at Paris.

Dr. Rhee did not return to Korea to participate in the uprising, nor does it appear that he was consulted by its leaders. A revolutionary assembly in Seoul chose Rhee, then in distant America, to head a Provisional Government in exile. Rhee traveled to Shanghai to meet the few members of this assembly who were able to escape the Japanese police. He then returned to the United States. (Subsequently, in 1923, Rhee, having quarreled with other leaders of the Provisional Government, was replaced by Kim Koo, who appointed Rhee as the agent of his regime in Washington.)

Thus it is established that 1) Dr. Rhee never was imprisoned or tortured by the Japanese; 2) he did not attend the Versailles Conference; and 3) he remained in America during the 1919 revolt in Korea.

Another point in the story he told in 1921 was that a prince of the royal house of Korea had come to the

United States to plead with President Theodore Roosevelt to use his "good offices," as pledged in a Korean-American treaty of 1882, to prevent Japan's seizure of his country.

But by 1943 Rhee's press agent was crediting Rhee with having made this fruitless appeal to T. R. By that date the spinning of the web of myth about Rhee was well advanced. On Dec. 1, 1943—less than nine months after Oliver's account was printed—Rhee's press-relations firm, Jay Jerome Williams and Associates, issued a statement beginning:

The man who spent seven torture-filled years in a Japanese prison for advocating independence for his country . . . is Dr. Syngman Rhee, the first President of the Provisional Republic of Korea, and now official envoy of his government, which is in temporary refuge in Chungking, China.

The Williams press release went on to declare that:

For nearly half a century Dr. Rhee has battled for his country's freedom. Today as he talks, softly but with an emotion welling from his years of witnessing suffering, he blows on the ends of his fingers. A habit that goes back through the years, to when his Japanese jailers almost daily slashed his finger tips with bamboo rods. . . . Following his imprisonment, which ended in 1904, Dr. Rhee came to this country.

Even here, where the "Japanese imprisonment" myth was launched, the press-agent failed to note that he had dated Rhee's release one year earlier than the Japanese invasion of Korea.

However, such details did not impede the flow of invention. Soon the

press releases issued on Rhee's behalf were asserting that he was present at the Versailles Conference, and that he personally had appealed at the White House for Korean liberation.

In his earlier years of obscurity in Washington Rhee had hinted at sympathy with the Russian Revolution. But during a trip to Western Europe in 1932-33 he observed Hitler's methods of crushing the people of Germany.

When Rhee returned from Europe, he had changed his tune. He married an Austrian lady, received financial support from undisclosed sources, and acquired a number of secretaries.

In the summer of 1938, the Koreans in Hawaii sent an agent, Kilsoo Kenneth Haan, on a special mission to Washington to warn the American government against the danger of a Japanese attack. He was a sharp critic of Rhee. Rhee, unable to enlist him in his own circle, became more and more hostile to Haan, and denounced him, for which Rhee was rebuked by the Korean organization in Hawaii. After the Pearl Harbor attack, Rhee concentrated his attention on trying to get recognition for the Provisional Korean Government in Chungking, while Haan's position was that the defeat of Japan must come first.

During the war years, Rhee was engaged in bitter factional quarrels with the United Korean Committee, a federation of nine political groups among Koreans living in Hawaii and California. While these groups financed Rhee, they asserted that he refused to give them any accounting, or any information about his Washington activities.

An editorial December 22, 1943, in the *Korean National Herald*, official

organ of the United Korean Committee, sharply attacked Rhee for his unscrupulous activities, declaring:

He has conspired to destroy the United Korean Committee in America through malicious agitation and fomentation of factionalism because it could not accept his attempts at exercising unwarranted authority and subscribe to his totalitarian means of 'guiding Koreans to independence'. . . . In view of these facts of his undisciplined acts, of public negligence and factional motivations, the dispute between the United Korean Committee and Syngman Rhee has arisen, that led to the resolution of withholding further support.

Rhee thereupon called upon his compatriots to send money directly to himself.

In the spring of 1942, he secured the support of the wealthy James H. Cromwell, former Ambassador to Canada, who set up a Korean-American Council to speed American recognition of the Provisional Korean Government, then in Chungking, with Rhee as its envoy. This group won the support of anti-Roosevelt circles in Washington and the Hearst press. It tried to blackmail the administration into giving recognition and financial support, hinting that otherwise Rhee would prevent the Koreans from fighting the Japanese.

Kim Koo, President of the Korean Provisional Government in Chungking, suspecting that Rhee was intriguing to replace him as President, sent J. Kuang Dunn and Warren Kim as envoys to Washington in the spring of 1944, to undo the harm done to the Korean cause by Rhee and Cromwell. They urged the State Department to be cautious in dealing with Rhee, especially in view of his recent tendency to consider himself

a fascist dictator over Koreans in America.

To newsmen, Dunn told of reports reaching him that several American adventurers had been promised by Rhee that they would receive concessions for gold mines and other valuable mineral properties in northern Korea, in return for present financial contributions. Another report brought to Dunn, which he credited, was that Rhee had induced various American missionary boards to give him dollars, which he used here, in exchange for Korean currency which he was able to deliver to the missions in Korea—at an exchange rate highly profitable to himself. Dunn described this as a black market operation.

As the war drew to a close, Syngman Rhee seemed to have hopelessly antagonized the State Department, but to have found his way into the circles of most of the political enemies of the Administration. Dunn and Warren Kim were, despite their cooperative attitude, given slight attention as they urged that the United States enable the Koreans in Korea to take part in the victory. It was Rhee who captured the headlines by his presumptuous offer to consent, for the price of American recognition, to a Korean revolt in wartime against the Japanese. This bold self-assertion, and his anti-Communist utterances, gave him a favorable press. The Hearst, Scripps-Howard, McCormick and other anti-Administration newspapers, and magazines quoted him.

From the moment after Japan's surrender, therefore, when the American Military Command in Korea chose him to be the first Korean notable to be permitted to return, Rhee's press-relations firm was able to gain general acceptance of the myth that

Rhee was Korea's George Washington. Many years later Drew Pearson's syndicated column (June 13, 1953) asserted that upon Rhee's return to Seoul "he was received as a modern-day savior. Every political party welcomed him, offered him support, asked him to become President—even the Communists."

Yet, a few weeks after his arrival, the American newspaper correspondents who went into Korea with the U.S. occupation forces reported that he was surrounding himself with reactionaries, many of whom had collaborated with the Japanese. They noted that his followers were being organized in storm-trooper fashion, and were battling the leftists and moderates. But the impression given the American public by the eulogies of Rhee in articles and editorials month after month was that Syngman Rhee was a benevolent scholar-statesman, called by the unanimous voice of a grateful people to lead them out of bondage.

The fact was that Syngman Rhee had convinced the American Military Command that he was the best politician available to establish—however ruthlessly—a rightist regime in South Korea to confront the People's Republic in North Korea. Only after Rhee had enrolled a great number of former police agents of the Japanese and established himself as chief of a formidable street-rioting organization, was Kim Koo, the President of the Provisional Government, which Rhee had supposedly represented at Washington, enabled to return from his exile in Chungking. Kim Koo was one of three leading Korean moderates who were assassinated within two years because they favored negotiation with the North as a basis for securing national unity. The killers were Rhee's partisans.

Gradually Rhee suppressed all rivals and crushed the popular opposition. When Military Government arranged for an election in May, 1948, to be observed by 30 persons representing the United Nations, Rhee's police and organized "loyal citizens" terrorized the voters while he denounced the opposition as being Communist. During the balloting 589 persons were killed and 10,000 "rioters" jailed. Rhee proclaimed himself and his Assembly to be the government of Korea. However, he dropped his insistence on withdrawal of American troops. Revolts in the south, against his corrupt regime, were followed by his boasting that his American-equipped army could march north and capture Pyongyang, the northern capital, in a few weeks.

But his Assembly grew restive, as he became more warlike. And when June, 1950, brought actual war, with prompt defeat of his forces, followed by massive American intervention under the aegis of a United Nations resolution, the Assembly contained a majority unwilling to continue him in office when his term should expire.

In August, 1952, Rhee arrested the leaders of the Assembly, charging them with Communist plotting. He arbitrarily forced the remaining members to change the Constitution he had dictated and signed a few years earlier, so that he could be elected by the people and not by the Assembly, where he could not have won. Then, using police terrorism, he triumphantly gave himself another term in office.

Protests against this violence to democratic procedure were heard in the House of Commons and in Washington. In high official circles, and among ranking delegates in the United Nations, there was shaking

of heads at this unfortunate exposure of the character of the South Korean government.

Rhee followed up this self-assertion by declaring that he would never tolerate the presence of any Communist force anywhere in Korea, that national unification on an anti-Communist basis was his minimum requirement for peace. He called for such unification by force. This meant war with Communist China. It might mean world war.

Obviously the few South Korean divisions, with their reliance on supplies from the United States, could not conduct any war against the Chinese. Was Rhee in a position to compel the United States to join in such a war? He evidently thought he was. He made almost daily threats, coupling them with the suggestion that his defeat would deliver all of Korea and then Japan to Communist domination.

Churchill, in London, rebuked his presumption. The United States armed and trained more South Korean divisions. There was growing sentiment in the United States that the South Koreans should do more of the fighting. That suited Rhee; he would perhaps be able to keep the war going. He issued new threats of continuing the war even if the Americans should sign an armistice. One American press dispatch, after Rhee's release of the war prisoners, reported that thousands of these men had been taken to Rhee's recruiting stations, to be enrolled in his army.

Rhee's stubborn opposition to the armistice prompted Secretary Dulles to journey to Seoul—a trip dimly reminiscent of Chamberlain's to Godesberg to receive Hitler's terms just before Munich. Rhee was demanding a mutual security pact with

the United States, outside the United Nations guarantees. He was also demanding that the truce be not binding after ninety days from the beginning of political conference if unification had not been achieved at that time.

Press and radio deplored Rhee's stubborn stand, but assured the public that Dulles could handle him. But after a few more threats of independent military action by Rhee, Dulles signed a security pact with him. He further agreed that if the coming political conference on the Korean problem were not successful, from the Rhee-American standpoint, within ninety days of its convening, the United States might walk out.

But Rhee was no longer satisfied with an American pledge of protection against any attack from North Korea or China. Secretary Dulles therefore called on the fifteen other governments that had sent troops to Korea to join the United States in warning "the Communist bloc" that any aggression in Asia would be resisted—and that the war might spread far beyond Korea or Indochina.

These commitments brought sharp protest in Britain and France, and created alarm even in neutral Scandinavia which feared that Rhee was drawing the West toward another world war. There were complaints that Rhee was now making American foreign policy, and that the United States, blackmailed by him, was determining peace or war for all the United Nations through its control of the UN Assembly.

The *Voice of Korea* (organ of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington), in an editorial "Rhee vs. the United States," said on June 30, 1953:

The truce is being blocked by one

man—President Syngman Rhee. . . . Dr. Rhee has never been an asset to the United States and the United Nations in Korea, and he will continue to be a liability. Had the United States called his bluff long ago, this unfortunate situation would never have arisen. Now he thinks he has the United States over a barrel. . . . Behind all these threats and violence, Dr. Rhee has only one concern—the perpetuation of his power. Should a truce be effected and the country happily united by a free, nationwide election, he knows he would lack the popular backing to remain in power.

After the truce was signed, the *Voice* (July 31, 1953) said:

President Rhee's recent behavior plainly indicates his intention to drag America down with him in Korea. Meanwhile his canonization continues in this country [the United States] under the guidance of his paid propagandists. If America continues to support the Rhee regime, her good intentions and democratic system will be gravely misunderstood in Asia.

The Voice of Korea has continued to issue these warnings in 1954, while Rhee has persisted in declaring that war alone will unify the country. During the Geneva Conference his contempt for negotiation and his repeated demands for military action by the United States in his behalf have embarrassed the State Department, as have the reports of police intimidation of voters and brutal beatings of independent candidates in the latest "free elections" for South Korea's National Assembly. In spite of these repressive measures, Rhee was unable to win the full control of the Assembly he had hoped, and a considerable number of opposition candidates were elected, leaving him only a slim margin.

Anglo-Soviet Relations Today

by D. N. PRITT, Q. C.

IT IS unusually difficult, writing in late May, 1954, to give any reliable description of the present state of British-Soviet relations, for the situation is unusually fluid, and any estimate formed at the time of writing may be out of date before publication.

When one speaks of British-Soviet relations, one has to consider the actual high-level relations between the two Governments, rather than the affection, friendship and respect of the British people for the Soviet people. The attitude of the British people, in spite of all Foreign Office and press campaigns, is improving steadily if rather slowly; but it is still true that the relations depend on higher levels, although of course the popular attitude has a very great effect on those at higher levels.

In British-Soviet relations at that level, we have not at this time the all too common characteristic of a series of pin-pricks and hammer blows organized by the implacably hostile Foreign Office, working through its influence not only on the Foreign Secretary and the Cabinet generally, but also on the bulk of the press. Nor, of course, have we anything like the happy relations of 1942-44, which the Foreign Office,

however hard it worked, was unable greatly to disturb. We have something between these two extremes, something that will probably not move steadily in either direction, but more likely by fits and starts.

I think the reason for this is to be found in the fact that there are two distinct trends plainly visible at the moment within the Tory Government and the reactionary ruling class it so well represents. That government and that class is suffering from more confusions and contradictions than usual. On the one hand, a section which follows as consistently as it dares the natural anti-Soviet bent of its class wants to be as actively hostile as ever. In seeking to be so it inevitably follows a pro-American policy, something not really natural or welcome to it, since—whilst reluctant to have a serious quarrel with its powerful neighbor—our ruling class inwardly intensely resents any sensation of playing second fiddle, whether to a good or a bad leader, in a world where it was *chef d'orchestre* for so long.

As against that section, there is a group of influential and more realistic people—including the stubbornly anti-Soviet but still the shrewdest and most far-seeing of the whole lot, Sir Winston Churchill—who are convinced that they must somehow get on better terms with the USSR. They have plenty of sound reasons for this; they see the danger of war which the Cold War involves; they

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know that the country cannot support even the present level of armament expenditure, and the Cold War generally; they know that the vast majority of the people are against this expenditure, are fearful of any more military commitments, are implacably anti-war and strongly hostile to the rearmament of Western Germany, and are no longer so ready to swallow stories of Soviet aggression, favoring instead immediate negotiation for a real and lasting peace. And the hostility of the bulk of the population to American occupation, and to American policy generally, encourages these trends.

It is to my mind clear that these two divergent trends have not produced passivity, as such things sometimes do, but rather a series of manifestations of both trends. On the one hand, as far back as May 11, 1953, Sir Winston, in response to strong popular pressure, made a clear and vigorous declaration in favor of direct negotiations; and it is part of the same picture that there was at long last a meeting in Berlin this year, followed by Geneva. Moreover—what is very important—the leadership of the Labor Party, normally as anti-Soviet as the Tories, was recently forced by public opinion within its own ranks to bring forward a very useful motion in Parliament in favor of negotiations; and the Government was forced by similar movements of public opinion to accept it.

As against that, the more short-sighted reactionaries succeeded in preventing for a good many months any striking developments of Sir Winston's proposal to negotiate, and they have also produced a number of major pinpricks, such as "spy scares," at opportune moments, to counter the more favorable trends.

The immediate future will be born of a struggle between these two groups, in which public opinion—recently more alert than it has been for a very long time—will play an increasingly important part; and the still very powerful Sir Winston Churchill, for various reasons (not of course including any affection for the Soviet Union) will tend to follow that public opinion.

Part and parcel of these favorable developments, also, are the increased cultural exchanges. Many more Soviet artists and others visit Britain; much fuller and better press reports are given of their visits and activities; and many personal meetings, up and down the country contribute importantly to goodwill.

One particular field of British-Soviet relations which will probably develop very usefully is that of increased trade. The demand of the public for this rests partly on its belief that through trade comes friendship, but still more on the realization that Britain needs much more foreign trade to live, and can hardly find it elsewhere.

In this field, there are further useful cross-currents; for the bulk of the powerful commercial and industrial interests want such trade because they need business to avert a slump, and they have strong suspicions that the USA is seeking to prevent this trade not from genuine if misguided strategic motives, but in order to help its own trade and to weaken Britain. Here, general public opinion and the wishes of the bulk of the ruling class are pretty well in agreement; and the combination is a powerful one, which may well outweigh the ideological opposition. Ideologies go a long way, but they tend to fade as one approaches the door of the Bankruptcy Court.

ANTON CHEKHOV

Writer and Man of the People

A tribute by N. Gudzil, of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and V. Samoilov, in connection with the Chekhov Anniversary

THE TEST of time is the hardest but surest test. All that is petty and accidental is swept out of existence and condemned to oblivion. Only that which is up to the requirements of the new generations is deposited in the treasury of human culture.

Of the great Russian writer Anton Pavlovich Chekhov it may be said that he stood the test of time. Like all things great, Chekhov's productions are alive in the memory of generations, and every epoch brings to light new features, new aspects and merits of his works. Chekhov's stories are well known today to people of different countries and nationalities.

Chekhov said of himself that he loved the common man, the plain, ordinary people. And it was from their midst that he selected the heroes of his stories.

He correctly believed it more difficult to paint a truthful and profound picture of an ordinary man with nothing remarkable about him at first glance, than to write the story of an outstanding personality. "It is easier to write about Socrates than about some Miss or cook," he emphasized in a letter to Suvorin.

Behind the drab workaday life of the ordinary man of that time, the writer perceived not only the ugly,

terrible sides of his existence, which turned the man into an egoist, into a heartless money-maker, or a mere tool of the autocratic police tyranny, but also the greatness of the modest worker. He created characters of dreamers who anticipated the radiant, happy life of the future generations and of the people who set out to meet this life.

He was thoroughly familiar with the life of the townsmen and village folk. Right from his boyhood, Chekhov was able to observe the life and ways of the urban middle classes.

Chekhov was born in Taganrog, on January 29, 1860. His grandfather was a serf who bought his freedom from the landlord in the forties of the last century. His father Pavel Yegorovich Chekhov, kept a small grocery store. He was a talented man who loved music and did a bit of painting, but with all that, he had a despotic character.

Childhood was a cheerless time for Anton Chekhov. Strict domostroy* orders prevailed in the household, and life was a struggle for every kopek. Chekhov never forgot the long days spent at the counter in the grocery store. In later years he described the bitter memory of all this in the

* Domostroy—16th century household and family rules.

words: "In childhood I had no childhood."

In his youth Chekhov opposed the despotism, violence and religious hypocrisy around him with humor, jest, ridicule and skepticism. Behind the respectable front of the merchants and philistines of Taganrog he saw stupid, ridiculous creatures. That was the soil which nurtured scores of witty improvisations in which young Chekhov held up to ridicule the ugly sides of life.

In 1876, when his father was ruined and closed his shop, the family moved to Moscow. Chekhov remained at Taganrog to complete his studies, working his way through school by tutoring. His first literary endeavors relate to that period.

Graduating in 1879, Chekhov joined his family in Moscow, where he entered the medical department of Moscow University.

The years spent at the university (1879-1884) left a deep imprint on Chekhov's life and work. He heard lectures by the best Russian professors, and became engrossed in medicine and natural history. Chekhov considered art and science twin sisters and believed that in time they would merge in one powerful force. The study of natural history led him to adopt the materialistic view on life. He was firmly convinced that "there is no experiment, no knowledge, and, consequently, no truth, outside matter." Chekhov followed developments in world science with the keenest interest. In 1886, he wrote with elation: "I am reading Darwin: what a treasure!"

When he was still at the university, in 1880, Chekhov began to write for small humorous magazines.

The eighties of the last century belong to a complicated and difficult

period in Russia's life. Autocracy was doing everything to crush the surging liberation movement. On March 1, 1881, Tsar Alexander II was assassinated by members of the secret society Narodnaya Volya (People's Will). Reaction took advantage of this assassination to establish a regime of terror in Russia. Persecutions were also directed against the press. The humorous magazines were strictly forbidden to publish anything on political subjects. Therefore, even the best of them, *Oskolko* (Fragments), considered a liberal magazine and to which Chekhov was contributing, confined itself to ridiculing drunken merchants, petty officials, dandies, smart ladies, vicious mothers-in-law and cuckolds.

The weaknesses and vices of the day—cowardice, flattery, toadyism and despotism—were drawn in Chekhov's stories as ugly features common to entire groups of people. The timid "thin" official who toadies and cringes even before his childhood friend ("The Fat Man and the Thin Man"), and the executor Chervyakov, who dies of fear after the general has shouted at him ("The Death of an Official") were typical of Russian officialdom. The chameleon-like police officer Ochumelov, who is prepared to stand at attention before the puppy of the general's brother ("Chameleon"), and the retired non-com who takes it upon himself to interfere with the life of his fellow-villagers ("Non-com Prishibeyev"), were typical figures of those times.

Perhaps Chekhov himself was not yet fully aware at that time of the fact that these characters were vividly representative of the ugly sides of society in old Russia. At the same time he wrote many amusing, humorous stories, lyrical novelettes based

on the life of city and village folk, and on the life of children.

The eighties are on record in Russia's history not only as a period of rabid reaction; they witnessed also the birth of the new, progressive movement which heralded the dawn of a bright and happy life.

In his book, *Trifles of Life*, Saltykov-Shchedrin wrote (in 1886-1887):

"It is clear that important internal processes are at work, that new underground streams have been born, that they are seething and bubbling, obviously determined to break their way to the surface. The old course of life is being increasingly subdued by this rumbling undercurrent."

This period greatly enriched Russian progressive social thought, Russian science and art. It was marked by the appearance of Plekhanov's philosophic works, the works of Mendeleyev and Timiryazev, the great masterpieces of Russian painting by Surikov and Repin, the immortal compositions of Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov.

All this, which comprised the real essence of the times, could not escape the attention of an inquisitive and serious artist; it could not but exert its influence on Chekhov.

Whereas in his first period Chekhov pictured the ridiculous, ugly sides of life, in his second period (beginning with 1887), he became increasingly interested in the causes of these absurd and unnatural phenomena. Laughter was gradually yielding place to deep reflection.

Chekhov was seeking to develop a definite and clear concept of the world. He arrived at the conclusion that without a purposeful world outlook life was terrible and boring. This is the keynote of his well known

"Boring Story." Tormented by the question, who is responsible for man's suffering and for the ugly features of life, Chekhov sought the answer in life itself.

In 1890, he made the difficult trip across Siberia to Sakhalin, a place of exile and penal servitude in tsarist Russia. Most of this distance was covered by horse. The expanses of Siberia and its strong, courageous people impressed him deeply. "If it had not been for the cold which deprives Siberia of summer, if it had not been for the officials who corrupt the peasants and the exiles," he wrote, "Siberia would have been the richest and happiest land." Standing on the bank of the Yenisei he thought of the happy and intelligent life that would come to that region of the country in time.

Chekhov's democratic views on life became ever more apparent in his stories and letters. Whereas previously he had thought it possible to contribute to any publication, in this period he stopped writing for the reactionary *Novoye Vremya*.

The last period of Chekhov's writing (in the late nineties) bears the imprint of his anticipation of inevitable changes in the life of the country, of his dream that happiness, freedom and socially useful labor would soon become the domain of every man.

The heroes of his stories and plays cherish the dream of a new life and long to break away from the old environment; they want to study, they seek new ways in life. The search for new ways in art is mirrored in *The Sea Gull*. Dreams of a different life are cherished by the lyrical heroes of *Uncle Vanya*, *The Three Sisters* and *Cherry Orchard*.

The yearning for a new life inspires the heroine of Chekhov's last story, *The Bride*.

The rising tide of the social movement had its effect on the reserved writer, and he began to respond actively to political events. Chekhov reacted with deep sympathy to the student disturbances in the late nineties and watched with interest the well known Dreyfus trial in France. He was wholeheartedly on the side of Zola who lashed the political adventurers that figured in this trial. For the same reason Chekhov broke his personal relations with Suvorin, the reactionary publisher of *Novoye Vremya*. In 1902, Chekhov, together with V. Korolenko refused the title of honorary academician in protest against the unlawful cancellation of Maxim Gorky's election to honorary membership in the Academy by order of Tsar Nikolai II.

In his reminiscences about Chekhov in the nineties, the Russian author S. Yelpatyevsky (1854-1933) wrote:

"And so the time had come when Chekhov was no longer his former self. . . . It happened somehow suddenly and came as a complete surprise to me. The rapidly rising Russian tide lifted Chekhov and carried him away. He, who used to turn away from politics, became completely engrossed in politics, and he began to read the newspapers in a different way, to read not what he had read before. A pessimistic, or at any rate, a skeptical Chekhov, began to believe. He believed that a good life would come not two hundred years later, as some of the characters of his books said, but that it was standing right on Russia's doorstep, that the time was at hand when the

whole of Russia would change to a new, bright, happy course. . . ."

Chekhov made quite a number of trips to European countries and wanted to visit America. He loved his country with a passionate love and felt homesick abroad, but he had a deep regard for the culture of other European nations and readily agreed to the translation of his stories and plays into foreign languages, without any compensation.

His life prematurely cut by tuberculosis, Chekhov died on July 15, 1904 at Badenweiler, Germany.

Chekhov entered world literature as one of the founders of the realistic story and lyrical-psychological drama. He compressed rich content into the short story. Brevity was one of his esthetic principles. "Brevity is the sister of talent"; "the shorter, the better"; "not a superfluous word"—these were the invariable criteria by which Chekhov judged a literary production.

But truth, in his eyes, was the greatest merit of a work of art. "Artistic literature," he wrote, "is considered artistic precisely because it pictures life as it really is. Its designation is truth, unadulterated and honest truth."

Chekhov was firmly convinced that "in art, just as in life, there is nothing accidental," and he therefore tried to justify every episode in his works from the viewpoint of life and art.

The founder of a special type of realistic drama, Chekhov pictured life truthfully and simply, as it is in reality, without resorting to spectacular dramatic effects.

He used to say: "Let everything on the stage be as complicated and at the same time as simple as in life; people are dining, they are just din-

ing, and in the meantime their happiness is in the making, and their life is broken."

The complexity of life, in which the tragic and the comic stand side by side and interchange places, was reproduced by Chekhov in his drama. *The Sea Gull* was the harbinger of a new dramaturgy and of a new theater, the Moscow Art Theater. And the silhouette of a freely flying sea gull became the emblem of this theater.

Chekhov's significance in the development of realistic literature is colossal. The great Leo Tolstoy, who knew Chekhov well and loved him, called him "Pushkin in prose." Chekhov's fruitful influence is felt in the works of his contemporary and friend, Maxim Gorky, in the works of Kuprin and subsequent generations of Russian writers. The most distinguished Soviet authors have been learning from Chekhov's works.

Chekhov won the general recognition and love of people throughout the world. The celebrated Bernard Shaw whose play *Heartbreak House* was written in Chekhov's manner, said that Chekhov made him feel like a novice in dramaturgy.

Among the names sacred to him, John Galsworthy mentioned Tolstoy, Turgenyev, Maupassant, Flaubert, Anatole France and Chekhov. The British author Katherine Mansfield formulated her attitude towards the Russian writer with Chekhov's own brevity when she wrote in her diary: "Chekhov is part of my life."

The American theater critic J. Freedly believed that Chekhov and Stanislavsky had completely changed the course of modern dramaturgic thought. Sherwood Anderson's stories are justly considered close to Chekhov.

On July 15, 1954, the Soviet people and the world public will commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of this great writer. Chekhov's memory is revered in the USSR. Translations of his works have been published in 68 languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union and in 64 foreign languages.

The editions of Chekhov's works published after 1917 exceed 39,000,000 copies. Chekhov's plays are produced in all the theaters of the Soviet Union and by numerous amateur dramatic societies.

Chekhov memorial museums are maintained by the state in his home town, Taganrog, in the village of Melikhovo near Moscow where he lived for a long time, and in Yalta where he spent his last years.

Chekhov is dear to the Soviet people not only because of his truthful and masterly pictures of Russia's past life and of man's spiritual world, but also as an artist whose personal happiness was inseparable from his work for the happiness of all mankind.

When one of Chekhov's friends complained to him in 1901 that he had no personal happiness and would have to confine himself to work for science and common ideals, Chekhov answered with the very meaningful remark: "To work for science and common ideals—that is personal happiness. Not 'in that,' but 'that.' And if that be the case, you, sir, are the happiest of all mortals."

Chekhov and his heroes formulated in different ways the idea that "everything in man must be beautiful: his face, his dress, his soul and his thoughts."

And Chekhov himself measured up fully to this ideal of a harmonious personality.

BULGARIA'S FIGHT TO RETAIN THE GAINS OF LIBERATION

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

COMMENTING on the punishment of Bulgaria's war criminals referred to at the end of my previous article, the diplomatic correspondent of the London *Times* wrote on February 3, 1945: "The long list of condemnations to death or to hard labor which have been pronounced gives the impression that the new regime has resolved to make a clean sweep of all other parties."

It is on "reasoning" such as this that has been founded the myth of the alleged undemocratic character and "totalitarianism" of People's Democracy as established in Bulgaria (and elsewhere). It is a "reasoning" which conveniently ignores the declaration (by the representatives of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union) at Yalta, on February 11, 1945, that "the establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will en-

able the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism, and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

Such "reasoning" also ignores the fact that the various resistance movements, out of which sprang the post-war people's democratic regimes, had a leadership which comprised virtually all the patriotic, democratic, anti-fascist elements of the population—in this particular case, the Fatherland Front described in my previous article—and that therefore any organized opposition to that leadership could only be of a pro-fascist character (whatever its camouflage), and hence, one would have thought, undeserving of any democrat's sympathy.

One is thus brought to the inevitable conclusion that those who thus pretend that Bulgaria is subject to a "totalitarian" regime, from which her people look to the West for their "liberation," do so because they are themselves—though perhaps even not aware of it—pro-fascist in their outlook. Living and working as they do, however, in democratic countries,

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and having, therefore, to pay lip-service to the cause of democracy, they invent this lie to justify, in the eyes of their own peoples, their attempts at intervention against democracy in Bulgaria (and other similar countries).

Confirmation of this sharp criticism of Western "diplomacy" is to be found in the book *The State of Europe*, by the well-known C.B.S. commentator Howard K. Smith, as follows:

"It is unhappily true that the behavior of Western diplomats and the reporting on the area [Eastern Europe] in much of our [U.S.] press often reveal a fundamentally dishonest attitude towards Europe.... The only thing new about iron curtain politics is the West's conspicuously sudden concern for its victims. That concern, expressed in angry editorials and a flood of diplomatic protests, would seem more genuinely humanitarian if some of the same concern were felt for victims in Spain and Greece. Both these countries have executed, often after the most dubious legal proceedings and on highly dubious evidence, many more supporters of the Allied cause against Germany than any nation in Eastern Europe."

Intervention of this character began immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria on September 9, 1944, when the British flew into the country a certain Dr. G. M. Dimitrov,* whom they had been "grooming" somewhere in the Middle East as the prospective head of a puppet Agrarian regime (anti-Soviet) envisaged by Mr. Winston Churchill. His mission was to claim a place, as former Secretary of the Agrarian Union

(dissolved by the fascists, and as yet not reconstituted), in the leadership of the Fatherland Front, in order to disrupt it from within and, if possible, to produce some kind of disturbance which might serve as a pretext for armed intervention by Britain and the United States, as actually happened, it will be recalled, in Greece.

The stratagem did not work, however. The leaders of the Fatherland Front, well aware, no doubt, of what this "bogus Dimitrov" had been sent to do, gave him plenty of rope with which, figuratively speaking, to hang himself, and hang himself he did.

He started by trying to inspire the Agrarian Union, in process of reconstitution, with antagonism against the town workers and against the Communists. Failing to make any headway, because of the strength of the unity between the peasants and workers which had been forged in the period of resistance, he switched to another line, trying to exploit the peasants' intrinsic antipathy to war by demagogic agitation against Bulgaria's participation in the war against Hitler.

When one considers that the new Bulgarian Government was then trying to expiate the crimes of its predecessors by vigorous participation, as an ally of democratic powers (not merely of the Soviet Union), in the war that was then approaching a critical climax in Southeastern Europe, this was clearly an unpardonable abuse of the democratic freedom accorded to Bulgarian citizens by the Fatherland Front. Indeed, it would hardly have been tolerated had the Bulgarian Government not realized that this traitor within the ranks of the Fatherland Front had powerful sponsors in the West with which it had no wish to quarrel.

* Known in Middle East Intelligence circles as "the bogus Dimitrov," and in his own country, opprobriously, as "Gemeto."

When, however, emboldened by this toleration, this "bogus Dimitrov" attempted—with British and American help—to import arms by air for distribution to his misguided followers to use in armed revolt against their Government, he was denounced, even by the other leaders of the Agrarian Union, and had to seek asylum with the U.S. Mission in Sofia, headed at that time by Mr. Maynard Barnes, a declared enemy of the Fatherland Front. He escaped justice by being smuggled out of the country in an American military aircraft, and, in return for dubious services against his own fellow-countrymen, has been a pensioner of the U.S. tax-payer ever since.

The main factors responsible for the ignominious failure of this plot against democracy were, in the first place, the solidarity of the bulk of the Bulgarian population (of all classes) in support of the Fatherland Front; and in the second place, the position of the USSR as proclaimed by Stalin, before the Soviet armies left their own territories to liberate those of other people: "there shall be no interference in the internal affairs of other nations."

Linked with, and linking, both these factors, moreover, there is a third one, the importance of which is decisive: for most Bulgars, and notably for most Bulgarian peasants, communism, the Communist Party, and the Soviet Union are not bogies. Bulgaria is therefore not susceptible to propaganda, especially that emanating from obviously interested sources abroad, about alleged "threats" to her freedom and independence from "communist infiltration," sometimes fancifully described as "internal aggression" on the part of a fictitious "Soviet imperialism."

It is a pity that these factors were not recognized and accepted as irreversible by the series of British and U.S. representatives in Bulgaria who have persisted, in abuse of their diplomatic privileges, in conspiring the downfall of the Fatherland Front, for they have gained nothing by this conspiracy. They have prejudiced the goodwill towards the peoples whom they are supposed to have represented and the genuine appreciation of their ideals and achievements which was widely prevalent among the people of Bulgaria.

One can understand this if one considers that towards the end of 1945 a certain British Colonel had to leave Bulgaria in a hurry after a bomb had been found under the platform from which Georgi Dimitrov, the beloved leader of the Bulgarian people, had to speak.

These attempts at disruption and subversion neither weakened the Fatherland Front in the eyes of the people nor diverted it from the execution of its program, of which the details were elaborated and modified from time to time in the light of actual experience.

It was recognized from the first that the mistakes made after World War I must not be repeated, and that any concession to British or American demands and pressure for the establishment of the Western type of parliamentary democracy would mean, as shown in a previous article, the use of the institutions of democracy by the powerful and privileged as a weapon of reaction, to prevent social and economic progress. The situation called for long-overdue changes of a fundamental character.

Sincere and genuine effort was made to restrict to a minimum any

infringement of the rights of the individual in the interest of the community. For it was appreciated that free discussion and fearless criticism made for efficiency and progress, and any excess in such restriction—which has been rare in Bulgaria—may be fairly ascribed to Western attempts at intervention, representing a threat to the peaceful progress of the Bulgarian people towards a happy and prosperous future.

What was done, however, was to canalize discussion and criticism, and to make it responsible, by the institution of what were called Fatherland Front Committees. These were local organs established “underground” during the resistance period, in anticipation of needs after the liberation, and continued thereafter as “schools of democracy for people who, as the result of long deprivation of democracy and subjection to fascist propaganda, would have been confused by rival party slogans” (Georgi Dimitrov).

These Committees comprise literally “the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker,” for they consist of citizens from all walks of life, regardless of their party or other affiliations, popularly elected by universal suffrage under a system of secret ballot as representatives who, not only approve and support the Fatherland Front, but have proved their loyalty to it and to the public interest by their deeds.

The Committees contain, therefore, representatives of all political parties of the Fatherland Front, as well as such mass organizations as the trade unions, the union of peasants, the cooperative movement, women, youth, and so on, plus a number of unaffiliated persons.

These Committees do not have any executive or administrative author-

ity, but exercise an important controlling influence which would be best described as “helping the people to keep its Government up to the mark, and helping the Government (both central and local) to keep its officials up to the mark.”

Activities I have myself witnessed of these Fatherland Committees in action suggested to me that an institution of this kind is a real contribution to the development of democracy to meet the needs of the present-day world—a need which exists, indeed, in the older democracies of the West but which becomes more apparent, and more urgent, in one like that of Bulgaria, where the necessities of a planned economy directed from the center might otherwise tend to curb local initiative and individual sense of responsibility.

The Fatherland Front Committees make the common man and woman of the Bulgarian People's Republic feel a real sense of individual, as well as collective, responsibility for the running of the country, and at the same time a sense of real personal freedom, arising from his or her power, however limited, to influence the running of the country.

This is something quite different, of course, and would seem to be a distinct advance on, the mere casting of a vote (in whatever circumstances) for a person or a party to whom, or to which, one deposes responsibility for the conduct of one's affairs (i.e. in a Central, or Local Legislature, with its paraphernalia of administrative officials), though that also is provided for in Bulgaria. Such “schools of democracy”—to quote again Georgi Dimitrov's description of this Bulgarian institution—may in time come to be recognized generally as just what is needed in “the century of the common man.”

An Appeal for Sanity

A review by ROBERT DUNN

THE LAST ILLUSION: America's Plan for World Domination, by Dr. Hershel D. Meyer, Anvil-Atlas Press, P. O. Box 345, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y. 447 pp., \$3.00.

AS THIS IS WRITTEN the eminent Christian layman and cartel lawyer, John Foster Dulles, is searching for new alliances and new "moral sanctions" to strangle the people of Southeast Asia. The confidential Washington letters to businessmen are telling their clients that Dulles is "educating" key members of Congress in secret sessions, and preparing to "recondition" the U.S. citizenry to approve at least minor Hiroshimas and Nagasakis for their fellowmen in Vietnam villages.

It's tough going, they say. For the Republicans hate to be called a war party in an election year. But the "West" is "losing" Asia and there's no time to be lost.

The new book by Hershel D. Meyer is one of the best antidotes we have come across for the poisons pouring from the State Department and Pentagon. It is a full-scale answer to the advocates of inevitable H-bomb war. Besides it deals with the general decline of the monopoly system, the "last mile" of colonialism, the lessons of the Korean War, the latest manifestations of fascism in our midst, and the imperative need for action of the people to stop the warmakers.

The basic foreign policies of the Soviet Union may be an "old story" to some of us. But to others, less immune to the lies of the monopoly press, Meyer's chapter on "Dynamics of Soviet Peace Policy" may prove quite an eye-opener. And its theme, doubtless monotonously irritating to State Department press officers, who comment "Same old Soviet line," cannot be

stated too often. For those fundamental Soviet principles, as Meyer stresses, "have never varied."

Meyer gives a chronological review of Soviet peace, disarmament and co-existence policies from the day after the October Revolution down to Premier Malenkov's pronouncement: "We firmly maintain that at the present moment there is no disputable or outstanding issue that could not be settled in a peaceful way. We stood and we stand for a peaceful co-existence of two systems. We consider that there are no objective grounds for a collision between the U.S. and the USSR."

Meyer shows, with ample documentation, who are the proponents of "liberation" and "massive retaliation," who entertain the crowning illusion that you can blast back to capitalism millions of mortals who have lived under socialism for nearly four decades. He names those who, at one time or another have set their hearts on using the ultimate of force and violence on the socialist sector of the world. He recalls the evil efforts of Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Herbert Hoover, not forgetting Adolph Hitler and his associates of the anti-Comintern Pact, and of those who since World War II, have suggested a bombs-on-Kremlin solution for U.S. imperialist frustrations.

As one recalls these attacks on world peace one begins to get the picture in proper focus—everything from the McCarthy hearings, the MacArthur threats, the Dulles hypocrisies and the unctuous "free world" editorials of the *New York Times*.

About forty years ago an eminent British liberal, Norman Angell, wrote a volume called *The Great Illusion*, attempting to convince reasoning mankind that wars should be abandoned as

a method of settling international disputes because they are so unprofitable both to the victor and the vanquished. But two World Wars later we are faced with the still greater illusion, in fact the actual last one—that the U.S. can dominate the world and turn back the tides of anti-imperialism. Meyer shows with fact and logic that another holocaust, precipitated in the pursuit of such an illusion, would not only end all profit and profit systems, but destroy humanity itself and the culture of the ages.

Because of its eloquent appeal for

sanity and humanity this book is obviously one for readers of this magazine. It will help them support their position with well-buttressed arguments and documented fact and quotation.

Still more important, this volume will inspire its readers with zeal to unite to do something to stop the atom-maniacs. "The gravest responsibility," it concludes, "rests upon America's workers. For it is within their power to compel our rulers to abandon the war program and replace it by one of peace and co-existence."

Behind the Viet Minh Lines

A review by **ANDREW VOYNOW**

EYEWITNESS IN INDO-CHINA, by Joseph R. Starobin, Cameron & Kahn, New York, 1954, 187. pp., \$1.00 paper cover, \$2.50 hard cover.

INDO-CHINA, Viet Nam, Viet Minh—every American who reads the daily paper, owns a radio or television set, or sees the newsreels at the neighborhood movie has suddenly learned that these terms somehow relate to an intensive struggle somewhere in the Far East.

Yet, if asked, the vast majority of Americans could not intelligently define the nature of that struggle nor properly describe the contending forces. For the American public has been consciously and tragically hoodwinked. Our Administration—and the press and radio tipsy-toeing in meek conformity—dares with pious mien and honeyed words to call the darkest and most oppressive colonialism by the name "freedom," and the heroic struggle of men and women for liberty and dignity, an act of "aggression."

Search hard and long, yet it is nearly impossible to find in our press, or from our commentators on the air, or from the spokesmen of our Administration any inkling to the true nature of that struggle.

That is why *Eyewitness in Indo-China* is probably one of the most important records of journalistic reporting in our country today. For here is an account by the *only* American newspaperman to travel behind the Viet Minh lines, to interview the leader of the struggle, Ho Chi Minh, and the commander-in-chief, Vo Nguyen Giap, and countless men and women who have already effected such deep and sweeping social advances in the lives of the people that today there can be no return to the old way.

Here is an opportunity for honest Americans to read the hard-to-get "other side of the story," the story of a people once subject to the direst colonial exploitation who have now won their right to an independent life. They had to struggle and fight for every inch of the way, whether to hack down the jungle to extend their arable land, or to take up arms to repel the mercenaries. A broad system of land reform has been instituted—and is being defended. In the delta area, where today the most intense battles are raging, the slogan of the farmer-fighters is "When the enemy comes, grab a gun; when the enemy leaves, grab a hoe."

Starobin's tour of the Viet Minh territory enabled him to witness aspects

of life that, considering the terrible odds against the people for the past eight years, seem close to miraculous and, moreover, is evidence that the conflict so distorted in our press, is truly one of the great people's liberation movements of our time.

Hidden away in the forest fastnesses there are now schools attended by half a million children, there is a new university, a fine arts school (its art competition drew some seven hundred works from all over the country), a railway line that required the construction of 120 bridges, a laboratory that produces the vaccines and drugs required by the hospitals and clinics that have been built, a daily newspaper (which has never missed an issue) with 30,000 circulation and periodicals, factories that produce farm implements and the arms required to defend the land.

These are achievements that a country at peace would be proud of, let alone a land suffering the torments of a long war.

For a full and sane understanding of the crucial issues that are mostly presented in shrieking headlines and pompous speeches, Starobin's book is essential reading. He not only presents an absorbing account of the social changes taking place under Ho Chi Minh's leadership, but outlines the history of that struggle for independence.

How many Americans know, for example, that in March, 1946, France recognized the independence of the Republic as a free state with its own army, legislature, control of customs, and membership within the Indo-China Federation? And how many know that by

the end of the year, France turned its guns on the people and began the brutal blood-letting that they are today attempting to continue with the aid of American arms?

Such truths, and many, many others you will learn from this account. They are important truths, they are vital to all and deserve to be known throughout our land.

The negotiations progressing in Geneva today can be better followed and understood after reading *Eyewitness in Indo-China*. Americans who are struggling for peace in our world must be equipped with knowledge concerning the crucial issues of our time. This book, so absorbing and so rich in content, equips them with that knowledge.

CORRECTION

In "Negotiations" Pamphlet

Our attention has been called to an error in our pamphlet on the Berlin Conference, *Negotiations: The Way to Peace*. On page 56, it is incorrectly stated that two members of Adenauer's cabinet, Robert Tillmans and Franz Bluecher, had been sentenced to seven years imprisonment on war crimes charges by a U.S. court at Nuremberg. Both of these men had close connections with Friedrich Flick, German arms magnate. It was Flick who was sent to jail, not Tillmans and Bluecher. The error occurred through a misreading of biographies of Adenauer Cabinet members published by John Peet in the *Democratic German Report* of October 30 last.

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