

NEW WORLD

OCTOBER

1954

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Review

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NEW WORLD *Review*

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OUR COVERS Lily Golden (center), daughter of an American Negro, now lives in the USSR. She is shown with her Russian school friends. Photos in this issue are by Sovfoto.

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For Those Who Can't Attend

OBVIOUSLY it is impossible for all our readers to attend our dinner honoring Eslanda and Paul Robeson.

But knowing you the way we do, we are sure that you all join us in paying tribute to the Robesons for their matchless contributions to a better America and a peaceful world.

We would like, however, to address a few words to those of you who will be unable to attend the dinner.

Briefly, we are asking you to help us continue our work for peace through better world understanding by sending us a contribution equivalent to the cost of a dinner ticket—or more!

We need not tell you how desperately we are in need of funds, and how welcome such a contribution would be.

Won't you please send in your contribution today?

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I am enclosing \$ as my contribution to help you continue your work for peace through better world understanding.

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To Eslanda and Paul Robeson

OUR MAGAZINE is proud indeed of the privilege of holding a dinner on October 14 honoring Eslanda and Paul Robeson for their matchless contributions to a better America and a peaceful world.

These two, first citizens of our own country and of the world, represent the brightest and best of our America. The whole of their lives has been dedicated to making a reality of the dreams of our forefathers who brought forth a new nation on this continent—now nearly nine score years ago.

Representing in their own persons in fullest measure the beauty and dignity of the great Negro people, they have enriched the culture and lifted the stature of the whole American people.

In their ceaseless efforts for full equality in the human family for dependent and oppressed peoples every-

where, for the brotherhood of peoples across all borders as well as within our own borders, they have made an incomparable contribution toward building the good and peaceful life on earth for which all mankind longs.

The purpose of our magazine to bring to the American people better understanding of the Soviet Union, People's China, and the people's liberation movements everywhere, is very close to their hearts. Paul Robeson, with his beautiful voice, both of them with their writing and speaking, and Eslanda Robeson as editorial consultant and UN correspondent, have given themselves unstintingly to the work being done by our magazine as well as by all groups concerned with peaceful co-existence.

We know that our readers and friends join with us in honor, gratitude and love for Eslanda and Paul Robeson.

For a Peaceful Foreign Policy

by JESSICA SMITH

THE LACK of any fear of aggression from the Soviet Union on the part of the people of Europe is demonstrated by their opposition to the European Defense Community, through which the United States has been seeking a revived Nazi army directed against the Soviet Union, and by the final rejection of EDC by the French Assembly. That the people of Asia have no fear of aggression from the Chinese People's Republic is demonstrated by the refusal of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Asia to have anything to do with the Southeast Asian Treaty—SEATO—engineered by the United States to protect them against this alleged menace.

In bringing the Geneva Conference to a successful conclusion through agreement on a cease fire in Indo-China, in spite of the opposition of the United States, America's allies in effect rejected the United States foreign policy of relying on armed force and "positions of strength" in a divided world rather than on striving for negotiated agreements and peaceful co-existence, though they have not yet shown the boldness to follow through with any real implementation of the latter course.

Not only has a stunning defeat been administered to specific aspects of U.S. foreign policy in recent

months, but its whole basic premise has been repudiated. One would think that it would be a matter of plain common sense for the administration to apply the "agonizing reappraisal" now under way to that basic premise. Instead, it plunges ahead more recklessly than ever to find new and even more dangerous ways to carry on the policies that have failed.

We must seriously consider the meaning of the fact that many of America's own allies feel that it is not the Soviet Union or People's China, but our own United States that today stands in the way of a peaceful world. Even the anti-Soviet former foreign editor of the Scripps Howard newspapers, William Philip Sims, gave testimony to this in a recent letter from Europe (*N. Y. World Telegram*, August 23) in which he wrote, "The United States is about as popular in Europe today as Hitler's Germany was in 1938-39, and that it has no dependable allies."

In each case where American policies have led to or threatened direct involvement in a shooting war which could well develop into world war, as in Korea and Indo-China, the American people have made their will to peace known, and compelled our government to agree to the cease fire in Korea and to abandon its plans to spread the war in Indo-China.

But if new military involvements are to be avoided, the American people must demand a change in the basic premise of U.S. foreign policy. We must learn from the attitudes of the people of countries who are in far closer contact than ourselves with the countries we are summoned to hate and fear, that they do not threaten us, that their policies are consistently peaceful ones.

It is not only the American people who are uninformed or misinformed due to the barriers against interchange erected by the State Department, and the poisonous war propaganda. Our government's war policies and their counterpart in repressions at home have created a situation where it is itself often misinformed. U.S. foreign representatives hesitate to report the true state of affairs in the countries where they are stationed, fearing that if their reports run contrary to what the State Department wants to hear, they will be branded as traitors and lose their jobs. Thus, Secretary Dulles could blandly inform French Premier and Foreign Minister Pierre Mendes-France that a majority in the French Assembly would support EDC! This mixture of ignorance and arrogance in the conduct of U.S. foreign affairs has reached a point where it so gravely threatens the security of our own country and the world, that an enlightened and aroused public opinion must act with all urgency and speed not only to avert the succeeding crises that inevitably result from these policies, but to change their whole basis.

The Defeat of EDC

The defeat of EDC in the French Assembly by a vote of 319 to 264 was the result of the whole trend of French and European public opinion in the post-war years, which recog-

nizes that the real threat to European security is in a revival of Nazi militarism.

When the North Atlantic Alliance was formed in Washington in April, 1949, under the aegis of the United States, it was universally recognized as a military alliance directed against the USSR. From the beginning, its initiators counted on Western Germany, as the dominant industrial and military power in Europe, to provide the main forces for its implementation, and U.S. policies in Western Germany have been wholly directed toward preparing it for that role.

At the time of the signing of the pact memories of what they had suffered from Hitler's aggression were still too fresh in the minds of the people of Europe to make it advisable to bring in Hitler's successors at once as full partners in an alliance propagandized as purely defensive.

Therefore, the EDC, setting up a six-nation army including that of Western Germany, was devised, with the idea of making German rearmament acceptable to the people of France and of Europe through the pretext that it would be controlled under a supra-national authority. In fact, it gave superiority to the German army. It provided for a minimum of twelve active German divisions (already vastly increased in German plans) to be commanded by the German generals who gained their battle experience under Hitler, who would join the unified staff of the so-called European army, which in turn would be under the control of the Supreme Commander of NATO, thus assuring U.S. control. (Britain was not included in EDC, refusing the submission to a supra-national authority she demanded of others.)

The EDC pact was signed in Paris in 1952 immediately following the signing of the Bonn Treaty, which is now dead along with EDC. The Bonn pact constituted a separate peace treaty with the Bonn Republic which, while ostensibly giving sovereignty to the German Federal Republic, provided for the continuing presence of the troops of the United States, Great Britain and France and their military bases in West Germany.

Under U.S. pressure, EDC was finally ratified by Holland, the German Federal Republic, Belgium and Luxembourg, in all cases over vigorous popular opposition, but the strength of the opposition in both France and Italy, without whom it could not go into effect, prevented its even being brought to a vote in the parliaments of either of those countries up to the point where the action of the French Assembly decisively killed all prospects of its ratification.

The Search for an Alternative

The United States insistence that the EDC could not and must not fail, that there was no possible alternative, has left the Western alliance in a state of complete confusion, with sharp differences among the United States, Great Britain and France, between the two latter countries and Western Germany, and only the United States and the German Federal Republic standing together in complete agreement on uncontrolled sovereignty and uncontrolled rearmament for the Bonn Government, and the immediate and direct entry of Western Germany into NATO.

As thus writing (before the London Conference) British and French proposals, to the extent they have been reported, can only be tentatively assessed.

The position of Pierre Mendes-

France seems to be that he would like to have a European alliance under some form lacking the supra-national features of EDC, but he is insistent on strict controls over the extent of German rearmament and war production and guarantees against West Germany's military and economic dominance over France, at the same time proposing that maximum limits be set on the military contributions of all the countries involved.

Whether or not Mendes-France will continue his efforts to maintain an independent foreign policy remains to be seen. It is significant, however, that he ended his statement before the European Council of Ministers on September 20 on a note of reconciliation and peaceful co-existence between nations with different systems which suggests a desire to keep the door open for new negotiations with the Soviet Union on European security.

Secretary Eden, more responsive than Secretary Dulles to the realities of the situation in Europe, anxious to maintain British ties with France, and compelled to take into account the growing outcry against German rearmament in his own country, has been seeking some sort of midway solution to sweeten the pill of German rearmament. He proposed a three-power declaration abolishing the occupation regime in Germany, extension of the 1948 Brussels Pact (providing for military and economic cooperation of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) to include Western Germany and Italy, with entry of West Germany into NATO at a later stage.

Resenting British efforts to take the initiative, Secretary Dulles, when Secretary Eden set forth to discuss alternatives with the Adenauer Government, France and other

EDC countries, hastily sent Deputy Secretary of State Robert Murphy to Europe. He then flew himself, to confer first with Adenauer and then with Churchill and Eden, ostentatiously omitting any discussion with Pierre Mendes-France.

Eden had won Adenauer's acceptance of his own proposals and of the necessity of securing French agreement to any new policy. While he won a lesser degree of acceptance from Pierre Mendes-France, the way was at least left open for further negotiations.

Secretary Dulles changed all that, and made sure that Adenauer would follow his lead and no other, persuading him of the uselessness of any protracted negotiations with the French Premier, and the necessity of a short-cut to German rearmament if the latter should "prove too difficult" in forthcoming negotiations.

The communique issued September 17, after the Dulles-Adenauer conversations at Bonn, stressed the friendly and cordial relations of the two governments, and declared:

There was complete agreement that European integration was so vital to peace and security that efforts to achieve it should be resolutely pursued and that this great goal should not be abandoned because of a single setback. They agreed that German sovereignty should be restored with all speed. At the same time they agreed that Germany should participate with full equality in a system of collective security. This program, so important for the fate of Germany and the free world, should in the view of the two ministers be further considered as soon as practicable with the other interested governments and following a NATO ministerial meeting should be translated into concrete action.

The reference to agreement on "European integration" means, of course, a continued effort to bring EDC into being. The dispatches from Germany speak of a Bonn-Washington maneuver to bring about the downfall of the Government of Mendes-France and its replacement by a more pliable government. Mr. Dulles' actions bear this out and seem designed to arouse fears in France of being isolated, with West Germany becoming the basic pillar of U.S. foreign policy in Europe.

M. S. Handler wrote from Bonn (*New York Times*, September 19), that Dulles' actions added up to one conclusion only:

This was that there was more than just an impression that if there was serious business to be done in Europe it was to be done with a West Germany headed by Chancellor Adenauer and not with France *so long as she was governed by Mendes-France*. (Emphasis added)

The Dulles policies could in fact hasten the downfall of Adenauer more readily than that of Mendes-France. They take as little account of the will of the German people themselves as of the will of the rest of the people of Europe. Adenauer's policy has lost ground steadily in recent months, as underlined by his loss of votes in the Schleswig-Holstein elections, where his party had campaigned for rearmament and a military alliance with the West. The people of Western Germany are increasingly urging an alternative policy that would lead to German unification through another four-power conference.

The communique issued in London following the Dulles talks with Churchill and Eden was distinguished by its brevity and vague-

ness. Announcing simply that there had been an exchange of views on the situation created by the French Assembly's rejection of EDC, it stated:

... They agreed upon the need for speedy action and favored the early convening of a preparatory conference to consider how best to associate the German Federal Republic with Western nations on a basis of full equality.

Secretary Dulles had thus now agreed to attend a nine-power conference to be called by Britain, which will consider the British proposal of an extension and revision of the Brussels treaty and if this should be rejected then the question of a simpler formula based on the early entry of West Germany into NATO will be taken up.

It is reasonable to assume that whatever semblance of unity may be achieved at the London conference, deep differences among the Western Allies will remain.

All the factors that operated initially against the direct inclusion of Western Germany in NATO have been intensified since then, with press dispatches daily attesting the growth of Nazi influence in every sector of life in the German Federal Republic. Yet, instead of seeking an alternative to policies that have been so decisively rejected, our government is now trying to put them through in an even more unacceptable form.

Soviet Proposals for European Security

The possibility of a peaceful alternative has been opened up in the Soviet proposals for an all-inclusive European Collective Security Pact.

This proposal was first raised at the Berlin Conference, reiterated in a Soviet note in March which modified its original proposal to include the United States, and again on July 24 and August 4. The latest proposals suggested a preliminary parley of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France to consider the question of Germany, and then a general conference to consider the Soviet draft of a mutual security pact for Europe as well as any counter proposals to be made by any of the Western powers.

The long delay in answering these notes was unquestionably due to reluctance of the British and especially the French government, to go along with the policy of outright rejection pressed by the United States.

On September 9, the Soviet Foreign Ministry issued a statement again proposing a conference on the question of an all-European agreement on collective security open to all European states irrespective of their social system. It reiterated that both Western and Eastern Germany could temporarily participate, until their unification, after which a united Germany could belong, and that the creation of such a system of collective security would in itself facilitate the creation of a united Germany.

The statement declared that the Geneva Conference had demonstrated the possibility of reaching agreements.

Warning that the new plans for the revival of German militarism following the defeat of EDC, would unavoidably transform Western Germany into a hotbed of a new war, the note declared:

The interests of European security, as well as the interests of the German people, demand the solution

of the German question on the basis of the creation of a single, peace-loving and democratic German state....

The statement concluded with the pledge:

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned she will continue to do everything in her power to reach agreement on these unresolved international problems—including Germany, the question of a system of collective security for Europe, the outlawing of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the limitation of armaments—so as to bring about a further easing of international tension.

By September 10, the United States was able to line up Britain and France to join with it in a reply to the Soviet proposals rejecting the idea that security for Europe could be achieved through a treaty of the nature proposed by the Soviet Government, insisting that the re-arming of the German Federal Republic and its association with the Western system were the best guarantee of the security of Germany and Europe. Completely ignoring the Soviet proposals for German reunification, the reply tried to give the impression that the Soviet position is designed to perpetuate the division of Germany. By making the calling of a new Foreign Ministers' conference conditional on acceptance in advance by the Soviet Union of certain Western demands, the note, in fact, repudiated the whole purpose of negotiations which is to try to find a common ground for agreement.

SEATO—Southeast Asian Treaty Organization

On August 15, the people of India celebrated the seventh anniversary of independence. At the main cele-

bration, at Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru, pointing out that there were still many problems that must be solved in the long road of progress, declared:

No power on earth can stop, today, the human tide of people in all dependent or semi-dependent countries from breaking the shackles of domination and marching forward.

In Asia, taking as little into account the will of the people as in its European policies, the United States is futilely attempting to stop that human tide, which has nothing whatever to do with aggression by the USSR or China. When plans for intervention in Indo-China failed, the United States sought to torpedo the Geneva Conference in advance by getting agreement from its allies on the formation of a Southeastern NATO, directed against the Chinese People's Republic. Failing that, it proceeded with these plans immediately after the conference, instead of utilizing the tremendous opportunities offered by the cease-fire agreement to pursue a course that would further ease international tensions and correspond to the interests of the people of Asia.

What Dulles accomplished was a far cry from his original plans, but it nevertheless represents a great danger to the peace of the world. His failure to get what he wanted indicated that the people of Asia see no threat of aggression from the Chinese People's Republic, about which, as its neighbors, they have much direct, first-hand information. They desire to establish with People's China the kind of peaceful co-existence and trade recently proclaimed by Premier Chou En-lai of China and Premier Nehru of India as the basis of Chinese-Indian relations.

The Southeast Asian conference

at Manila, which agreed on the Seato Pact, September 8, was held without the majority of the Southeast Asian nations, and the majority of those present were from quite other parts of the world. The conference included the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan. The important group of Colombo powers stayed away, with the exception of Pakistan. Absent were India, Indonesia, Ceylon, India and Burma. Present were Western powers representing imperialist interests in Asia, Asian powers subservient to such interests, and British dominions.

Mr. Dulles was unable to secure any sort of military organization through the pact, but only a vague declaration that the powers would consult together in the event of a threat of aggression. Unable to have written into the pact that it is directed against "Communist aggression," he had to content himself with a protocol of his own which made clear that the United States is concerned *only* with whatever it may choose to call "Communist aggression" and is not ready to lift its finger against any other kind of aggression. He also succeeded in getting written into the treaty agreement to resist "subversive activities," thus demonstrating its basic aim as being directed against the people's liberation movements of Asia.

Walter Lippmann, writing on the pact (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, September 14) pointed out that while this was foreshadowed in the Caracas anti-Communist resolution pushed through by Secretary Dulles, the Manila treaty thus becomes "the first formal instrument in modern times which is designed to license international intervention in internal affairs."

The "Pacific Charter" adopted along with SEATO, professes the aim of "promoting the self-government and securing the independence" of Asian nations, but modifies this to meaninglessness by the addition of the phrase that this applies to "all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities."

The protocol extending the "protection" of the treaty to Cambodia, Laos and Southern Vietnam is of course in contravention of the Geneva agreement, which provided for their neutralization.

While Formosa and South Korea are excluded from the territory covered by the treaty, provision is made for the extension of SEATO to cover them or any other countries in the area.

The United States highlighted its intentions of holding back social, economic and political changes in Asia, immediately following the Manila Conference, by appointing as its ambassador to Thailand the same Mr. John E. Peurifoy who recently helped to engineer the military coup by which the legally elected democratic Arbenz government of Guatemala was overthrown.

The British *New Statesmen and Nation* (quoted in British Information Service, September 10) asked whether the pact is helpful to the peoples of Southeast Asia, and answered:

The answer to this question is that the pact is unpleasantly reminiscent of Metternich's Holy Alliance, in that it attempts in its section on subversion to guarantee a status quo which cannot and should not be maintained. The danger is obvious . . . in Bangkok, where the government is as corrupt and as ripe for self-destruction as Chiang Kai-shek's was. [This is the Thailand government

which Ambassador Peurifoy is being dispatched to uphold.—Ed.]

Prime Minister Nehru, according to the September 13 *Indiagram*, issued by the Indian Embassy in Washington, declared in New Delhi, September 9, that SEATO increased the insecurity of the people of Asia and Africa, and was very unfortunate because instead of ensuring peace it endangered peace. Decrying the fact that actions were being taken and treaties made covering Asian problems chiefly by non-Asian countries, he continued:

There is another odd feature. A few countries, which may have common interests, join together for defense; that is a normal action in history. . . . But something new now creeps in. Some countries join together to protect other countries that will not join them. It is rather an extraordinary thing. Other countries do not want their protection; they shout out that they do not want it. And yet they are told, "No, you must have our protection." These things are very odd indeed, and I do not understand them.

The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 15, declared that the fact that less than one-fifth of the population of Southeast Asia and only one-tenth of the population of all Asia was represented by the Southeast Asian countries which signed the treaty, showed how alien its purposes are to the interests of the Asian people, as well as the fact that they are opposed by the People's Republic of China with its 600,000,000 people as a threat to its security. It pointed out likenesses of this pact to the "Anti-Comintern Pact" of Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini. It suggested that its claim to promote the "economic development"

of Southeast Asia is dictated by the interest of the United States and its Atlantic partners in the tin, oil, rubber and iron ore of the region, as has been emphasized, indeed, by Secretary Dulles himself. It continued:

Like European security, the real security of the peoples of Southeast Asia can be guaranteed only on the basis of the joint efforts of all countries in this area, irrespective of their political structure and without dictation or interference from without.

Impervious to world opinion and the needs and aspirations of the world's people, Secretary Dulles in his radio address, September 15, boasted of the "greater security through greater unity" achieved at the Manila conference. He explained away the failure to create a joint military force by the desire of the United States to keep its military forces free to strike "at any aggressor by means and at places of our own choosing," thus reiterating the "instant massive retaliation" policy outlined in his speech last winter, which caused such horror and consternation around the world.

Space does not permit a review of other recent actions in U.S. foreign policy which serve to heighten rather than lessen international tensions. One of these was the summoning of the Security Council by UN delegate Lodge in connection with the incident of the U.S. military plane shot down off the Siberian coast. The USSR protested that the plane was over Soviet territory and had been fired on in retaliation after it had first opened fire when Soviet planes warned it to withdraw. The fact that the United States had first placed the incident at a non-existent geographical position and also had to

correct a statement that the U.S. plane never opened fire at all, made the whole position of our country extremely questionable. The British *Manchester Guardian* (September 10) asked what the Americans would do if a Soviet military plane were found a few miles off the California coast.

Of the deepest gravity is the support of the United States to the intensified raids by Chiang Kai-shek's American-supplied forces on Formosa and Quemoy against the Chinese mainland, reviving the dangers of new world war so greatly lessened by the Indo-China armistice.

And once again, as the UN Assembly opens, the United States has used its pressure to postpone action for another year on Soviet representative Andrei Vyshinsky's motion for the seating of the true representatives of the 600,000,000 Chinese people, which is essential to restore the United Nations to its original peaceful purposes.

The question before the American people is whether they will support a foreign policy which in the name of "protecting the free world" arouses fear and distrust of our own motives among the very people and nations it is supposed to protect, and enthusiasm only in the ranks of those who were our enemies in World War II or who still strive to carry out the fascist program of those enemies.

Surely there can be only one answer. The people must make their own agonizing reappraisal, and demand an alternative course of negotiations, peaceful co-existence, trade and cultural interchange with the socialist world. Such a course will not only prevent the measureless disaster of a new world war, but will help to stabilize our economy, raise our standards of living and culture,

and bring new richness and beauty and greater fullness of life to our own and all people.

This election period, when the voice of the people must be heeded by those who seek election, offers a special opportunity. Peace must be made the central issue in the current campaign. It is essential to let all candidates know the strength of the people's will for peace and to support only those who give evidence that they will be responsive to it. But at the same time full vigilance is required against such forms of demagoguery as that displayed by Vice President Nixon and others in crediting the Administration with bringing the peace to Korea and Indo-China that it actually sought to prevent, and on the other hand by certain Democrats who, appearing to criticize the Administration's war policy advocate measures that could only lead to its intensification.

The struggle for peace and the struggle for the restoration of the Bill of Rights must go hand in hand. It is the war program that has spawned the new assaults on the Constitution and American Democracy, represented by the obscene actions in the last days of Congress when the new Hitler-like law, outlawing the Communist Party and strangling the trade unions was passed by a group of men gone mad, who did not even have before them the text of what they were voting on, as they took our country a long new step on the road to fascism. A program of peace abroad, the end of McCarthyism and a return to democracy at home, can alone make America safe for its own people and the world.

Let us rally all our forces in support of such a program.

September 24

The Burden of Hate

Let negotiations in the spirit of friendship and understanding replace the weapon of hatred being used to stir up new wars

by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

READERS of H. G. Wells' *New Machiavelli* will recall a scene near the close of the book when a group of public leaders are discussing policy at a dinner party, while the mansion is on fire and the waiters are passing towels to shield the diners from the water dripping from the ceiling. An amusing intervention from an Oxford don, very drunk, contradicts the optimistic views of others on general goodwill.

"Hate's the driving force. What's m'rality?—hate of rotten goings on. What's patriotism?—hate of interloping foreigners. What's radicalism?—hate of lords. What's Toryism?—hate of disturbance. It's all hate—hate from top to bottom."

The don is discussing hate in domestic politics. Today the theme is far more serious in foreign affairs where it is a danger threatening the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs at the will of inoculated populations, reckless of their own destruction.

PROF. LOVETT was for many years with the English Department at Chicago University. He was former Department Secretary of the Virgin Islands. The most recent of his numerous books is the autobiographical "All Our Years."

History shows the role of hatred in launching wars and much great literature is a record of hate. The hatred of Greeks for Trojans is the basis of *The Iliad*; of Athens for Sparta, of Thucydides; of Rome for Carthage, expressed in the hypnotic slogan of Cato, the McCarthy of his day: *delenda est Carthago*.

A pertinent example of national hate is furnished by England and France. The English King Edward III to enforce his claim to France started the longest war in history known as the Hundred Years War. The English people, suffering from death in the field and oppressive taxes at home, were led by propaganda to attribute these evils to the French, and for five hundred years they cherished their national hatred, which broke out in innumerable armed conflicts. As late as 1898, when English and French were racing across Africa to reach the sources of the Nile and the French Major Marchand reached Fashoda first, I saw a headline in the London *Daily Mail*: France Must Be Rolled in Blood and Mud.

Here in America the hate of England, surviving from the Revolution, was the theme of July 4th oratory for a century and more. Some of us may

recall the highly synthetic hatred of Spain, excited to strengthen the war effort in 1898, with its false accusation implied in: "Remember the Maine"; and many more remember the frenzied hatred of the Germans in World War I, preached from the pulpit as well as from legislative halls and soapboxes.

Always the intelligent operation of governments for peace is aborted by those who stir up public hate. The old story of the monster created by Frankenstein is in point. The failure of President Wilson at Paris was largely due to the popular support of Henry Cabot Lodge and his partisan colleagues relying on hate. Today, with the enormously extended means of propaganda, by radio and television, the danger is enormously greater, in view of the control of these instruments by vested interests. These interests, by virtue of the magnitude of their stake in the present social order, are animated by a hatred of communism far beyond any comparable feeling in other capitalist countries. Both the revolutions, in Russia and China, were received at the outset by the American public with a certain tolerant interest. Only gradually was this humane attitude converted into hatred. In the case of both, the process was impeded by the upsurge of a greater hate of Germany and Japan. It was a case of fighting fire with fire. Now that the latter nations have become our allies the full tide of hatred of the communistic countries runs at its devastating flood. No utterances of President Eisenhower or Secretary Dulles are greeted with such applause in Congress or elsewhere as their fulminations of hatred and total war.

With this monstrous force being manipulated by Knowland, McCarthy, the China Lobby, the Texas mil-

lionaires, and others, neither the President nor his Secretary of State is a free agent. Both are captives to the representatives of organized hate.

The debacle of Mr. Dulles at Geneva is noteworthy. The business of a diplomat is to negotiate. How can the ablest statesman negotiate with a power which he dare not recognize? The United States and China hold the keys of the future for Asia; they should use them jointly in negotiation, not severally in war. Yet, Mr. Dulles is prevented from showing the mere decencies of diplomacy. An illuminating incident is reported by Frederick Kuh, correspondent of the Chicago *Sun-Times* at Geneva. "Mr. Dulles will stress . . . that he did not exchange a single word with Chou-En-lai, premier and foreign minister of Communist China, although they sat at the same table for three hours on Saturday." Mr. Dulles is compelled to show bad manners to appease Senator Knowland.

National hatred is the most appallingly evil force in the world today. The people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of the Soviet Union or of China. The notion that we have a mission to "liberate" them from governments which they have accepted in place of tsarism and feudalism is fantastic folly. It is a fiction that our "vital interest" or our "very existence" is linked with shoring up the ramshackle colonialism of France or the meretricious regime of Chiang Kai-shek. It is our "vital interest," in addition to poulticing the scars of Korea or stanching the flow of blood in Indo-China, to remove the fundamental conditions of a third World War, and to restore to the United Nations the powers which the United States has usurped.

Americans See for Themselves

"THE UNION of races by knowledge rather than their separation by prejudice. . . ."

Thus Edmund Noble, a Scotsman, one of the first journalists to open the windows of the West on Russia, wrote in 1886. He sought a truthful portrayal of that country instead of such lurid fantasies *N. Y. Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury is concocting. For this quotation, we are indebted to Dorothy Brewster, in her illuminating *East-West Passage*, which through a study of literary relationships indicates how much the nations of the world, and in this case the Soviet Union and the western nations, can add to each other's creative development when the principle of union rather than separation has been permitted to operate, however limited such opportunity has been.

Those words have now an even deeper significance than when they were written, for today the separation of nations by prejudice means not only to delay human progress by cutting off nations from the relations and interchange essential to moving humanity forward, but is being manipulated toward an all-destroying war which could wipe out the fruits of a thousand years of civilization. They sum up the underlying concept of the policy of peaceful co-existence which the peoples and nations of the world are increasingly advocating as the only possible alternative, if civilization is to continue, to United States policy

of aligning the world into two hostile blocks.

One of the main reasons for the growth of the idea of peaceful co-existence between east and west, and between the socialist and capitalist systems, is the growth of knowledge everywhere in the world outside of the United States of what is going on in the Soviet Union and China and the People's Democracies, and of the reality of their peace aims.

In no other country has interchange of people, literature, ideas between east and west been cut off so completely as in the United States. For this reason, whatever the policies of the reactionary ruling circles of other countries, nowhere else has it been possible in the same degree to poison people's minds with misinformation and gain the same degree of acceptance of a foreign policy based solely on the idea of hostility to the socialist world, and on the myth of threatened aggression from that source.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has just issued an illuminating Fact Sheet, "Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union," giving a round up of events in the field of cultural exchange with the Soviet Union during 1953-54. It reports that more than 800 delegations from 60 countries visited the USSR during 1953 and 1954, as well as hundreds of men and women of a great variety of nationalities and political and religious views. Interchange included such fields as sports,

trade unions, trade, science, arts and culture, as well as visits of official groups. The NCASF Bulletin quotes extensively both foreign and Soviet views on the results of such interchange.

The increasing amount of social, economic and cultural interchange that is taking place between the Soviet Union and other countries, is inevitably a major factor in helping to lessen international tensions and reduce the danger of a new world war. The withholding of passports under the McCarran Act by the State Department from many Americans wishing to visit the Soviet Union and other parts of the Socialist world, and the refusal of visas, with few exceptions, to Soviet citizens wishing to visit our country is, on the other hand, a major obstacle to the development of the trend toward peaceful co-existence for which the whole world is crying. This is happening in a period when the Soviet Union has shown increasing willingness to grant visas to American visitors, and to facilitate travel throughout their country.

The State Department policy has operated to limit to a minimum the possibilities of getting first hand impressions of life in the Soviet Union from Americans. At the same time, vast amounts of literature coming from the Soviet Union are being withheld from delivery so that it is becoming increasingly difficult to study developments in that country from Soviet sources. Thus the American public is almost completely dependent for its information on distorted propaganda material inspired by those who wish to keep alive the war hysteria by instilling fear and hatred of the Soviet Union among the American people.

This makes it all the more important that the views of Soviet life by

those few Americans who have had an opportunity to see for themselves be more widely known. We are therefore summarizing some of the first hand reports that have appeared during the past year for the benefit of our readers throughout the country who may not have seen them.

U.S. COLLEGE EDITOR'S VIEWS

LAST SEPTEMBER a group of three college editors from Oberlin, the University of Michigan and the University of Chicago visited the Soviet Union as part of a project originating among editors of college newspapers to visit and report on conditions in that country. At the end of December 1953 and the beginning of January 1954, a group of editors received visas and made a three-week tour of the USSR. In our April issue we reported on some of the impressions of David Barney, published on his return in the Portland *Oregonian*. Another member of the group, Richard E. Ward, of the University of Chicago, published a series of articles in the college paper *Maroon*, of which he is managing editor, on his return.

Education and Culture

The group was given wide opportunities to see whatever they wished, visited factories and farms and people in their homes as well as cultural institutions.

But they were particularly interested in the Soviet schools and colleges, from which Ward said, he drew his most vivid impressions, and where "we had the opportunity to freely talk with people our own age, and most important, with common interests."

Of the new section of Moscow University, housing 18,000 students, Ward wrote:

The facilities at the University of Moscow are all first rate. It has the advantage of being new and not having been bombed, unlike most of the other schools we visited. The entrance halls and foyers are finished in marble, students' rooms . . . are brightly colored, with one student per room. There are numerous lounges and a large student club house.

Of the Polytechnic Institute at Leningrad (9,500 students, 950 instructors):

Twenty-five per cent of the engineering students are women. At the universities the ratio is about half men and half women. We visited the student hostel dormitory at the institute. At random we walked down corridors and knocked on doors. Almost all the students were studying. The exam session was in progress. . . . The students in the dormitories talked freely. They spoke of the day when their school would be like Moscow University. At present, there are four students to a room in the hostel. They said that similar crowded conditions are prevalent at other schools due to the large influx of students after the war and to the destruction of formerly existent living space. . . . Approximately 90-95 per cent of the students receive stipends. Their stipends range from 250 to 750 rubles a month and are for all living and other expenses of students. Tuition is only 400 rubles a year. The student's stipend is based on his scholarly achievements and number of dependents, if any, and his year in school. Also, if the student agrees to be placed in a position by the government on graduation, he receives a small additional sum.

We talked about the curriculum with the Leningrad students. Two years of political economy and four

years of physical culture are required. Otherwise the study program is similar to that of an American engineering school. The extra-curricular life has many similarities also. Sports and cultural groups are heavily stressed. . . .

Many students we talked with knew English. . . . Most of the students we met showed a great amount of interest in American cultural life. The students wanted to know about what literature we studied in school. They inquired about our symphony orchestras, ballet troupes and theaters.

At Kiev University (6,000 students) the group learned that the main English and American writers studied were Shakespeare, Dickens, London, Twain, Dreiser, Fast, Steinbeck and Hemingway. A graduate history student they nicknamed "Mike," because he seemed to be preparing to be an "expert" on America, and read the *New York Times* as well as Pravda, entered into a hot defense of Faulkner, his favorite American author, and remarked that he did not consider McCarthy "representative of the American people."

Mr. Ward found a reflection of the Soviet attitude toward culture in the fact that record shops were crowded, and prices of records, as well as books, concert tickets and so on, inexpensive. They were greatly impressed by the ballet. At a performance of Shostakovich's new Tenth Symphony, they met the composer himself, finding him "shy but friendly," and learned of his admiration for Copland and Gershwin. They saw innumerable book stores, filled with classics from many countries and contemporary works as well as Marxist writings, and a wide selection of technical, scientific, art and music books.

At a meeting with a group of ed-

itors of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in Moscow they found that this paper deals with a wide range of cultural and students affairs and activities of young workers as well as political matters, and learned that Soviet newspapers print very little about crime, such as robberies, assaults and murder. Ward said that when the editors spoke of the distorted reports about Soviet life appearing in the American press, the visitors were forced to agree with them: "Actually, we often found that our experiences differed from accounts of life in the USSR in the American press," he commented. The Soviet editors showed a good knowledge of world events when the talk turned to prospects of peace, and looked to the then forthcoming Berlin conference for the beginning of more peaceful American-Soviet relations.

Plea for More Interchange

In his concluding article, Mr. Ward made a strong plea for increasing student interchange as a help toward alleviating mutual distrust. He declared that what his group had learned on their trip brought home the realization of how much of what is considered "common knowledge" of the Soviet Union in the United States is in fact completely erroneous:

Often, we are given accounts telling of extreme poverty among Soviet citizens. This we found completely untrue. It would seem well to realize that there is no large nation in the world that has as high an average standard of living as the U.S. There was a great amount of destruction in the western portions of the USSR during the last war. Much of the Soviet resources went into repairing this damage. Probably the standard of living in the Soviet Union is now comparable to Europe as a whole.

Ward emphasized the interest in the United States found in the Soviet Union, and the interest in the Soviet Union found on the group's return to this country. He said a point of common agreement was found when the Soviet students said they were in favor of peace, and the editors told them that the majority of Americans were also in favor of peace, while at the same time both groups recognized their fears of each other and the precarious relationship between the U.S. and the USSR.

Declaring that their group and the previous one had had no difficulties in receiving Soviet visas, Mr. Ward concluded his article:

Many of the Soviet students with whom we talked expressed their desire to travel in the United States. At the same time they reminded us of the McCarran Act, and said that under these circumstances they did not feel free to attempt a trip to the United States. It would seem logical that since two American groups have recently visited the Soviet Union, that the door be opened for Soviet students. I am not proposing that such an exchange of students will solve any major world problems. But when such international travel exists it can be a step in alleviating any mutual distrust.

More American student editors have been visiting the Soviet Union this summer. The State Department, unfortunately, has refused visas to a group of Soviet student editors and representatives who applied for visas to visit our country.

BRUNDAGE ON SOVIET SPORTS

THIS SUMMER Avery Brundage, President of the International Olympic Committee, spent over two

weeks in the Soviet Union on the invitation of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Soviet Olympic Committee. He travelled several thousand miles through the Soviet Union and visited hundreds of athletic facilities.

In a dispatch from Moscow in the *New York Times* of August 1, Mr. Brundage was reported as saying at the conclusion of his visit that he was greatly impressed at Soviet sports development. According to the dispatch, he "gave Russian athletics a clean bill of health as far as amateur status was concerned and said the United States would have to pay more attention to physical culture if it was to keep ahead of the Soviet Union." He expressed the hope that broader athletic competition between the United States and Russia might be opened up, agreeing with a Russian newspaperman that this could reduce international tensions. He declared that he had been treated with great courtesy on his trip and had received answers to all his questions. The dispatch continued:

Brundage said the Russians were "twenty years ahead of the United States" in the field of gymnastics and had high praise for their mass sports programs. He was told there were 60,000 football (soccer) teams in the Ukraine, including 5,000 rated first class, and 52,000 sports clubs. "We are glad to see this mass sports development," said Brundage. "That's just what the Olympic games were organized to encourage."

In interviews given while in Moscow to a reporter from the newspaper *Sovetskaya Sport*, Mr. Brundage declared that he found Moscow changed beyond recognition in comparison with a visit many years ago, and was particularly impressed by

the splendid facilities he saw at Moscow University, and by the richness of the Tretyakov Art Gallery. He was rapturous about the brilliant organization and beauty of the physical cultural parade he witnessed while in Moscow:

As an engineer by profession I want to note the exemplary order of the conduct of the parade, in which more than 20,000 persons took part. One performance gave way to another exactly according to plan and to the minute. At the Olympic games in ancient Greece, beauty and grace were just as highly prized as athletic achievement. I was pleased to note that at the Moscow parade, grace and beauty were combined with the splendid music of Tchaikovsky.

Mr. Brundage was deeply impressed by the physical culturists of all the different Soviet Republics, declaring he could not say which delegation's performance was best. "It was all so good it was like a fantasy, or a wonderful dream."

At his concluding interview at a Moscow press conference, Mr. Brundage declared that he was "leaving the Soviet Union with the best impressions." He repeated his praise of Soviet athletics on his return to this country, and again described the Sports Festival in Moscow as "one of the finest organized events I have ever seen." He oddly, however, attributed Soviet interest in sports to the fact that the Soviet people have "no place to go in their spare time," and the fact that they do not have as many automobiles and television sets as Americans to keep them busy.

MARSHALL MACDUFFIE SERIES

DURING March and April of this year, *Collier's* magazine ran a

series of articles by Marshall MacDuffie, New York attorney who was chief of the UNRRA mission to the Soviet Ukraine in 1946. The articles recounted his experiences during an extensive trip to the Soviet Union last fall, after having received a visa as the result of a cabled request to Nikita S. Khrushchev, first Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with whom he had a four-hour interview while in Moscow.

On his return to this country Mr. MacDuffie spoke of the considerable improvements he had found since his previous visit, and reported that he had been able to move about freely. He interpreted the fact that a visa had been granted him despite his critical writings about the Soviet Union, as an indication of a desire to facilitate visits of Americans to the USSR.

In an interview reported in the *New York Times* of last January 14, Mr. MacDuffie declared that the Russians wished to buy from the United States substantial quantities of machinery for food and consumer goods production. He said they were particularly interested in agricultural machinery, as well as machinery for food processing, leather and shoe manufacture, chemicals and automobile production, and were prepared to pay for such imports in dollars, pounds or rupees. This information came from his interviews with Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. V. A. Klentsov, Vice President of Tekhnoimport, the largest importing subsidiary of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade.

The *Collier's* series of four long articles was distilled from 2,145 pages of notes taken during Mr. MacDuffie's travels covering 10,000 miles through Soviet Central Asia, the Ukraine and other sections, during which he held hundreds of inter-

views with leaders and ordinary citizens and took numerous photographs.

The articles make very clear the author's dislike of the Soviet system as such. It may also be assumed that the anti-Soviet prejudices of the editors of *Collier's* influenced their selection of material. Yet, despite this, both the details and over-all impact of the articles are at complete variance with what Americans are expected to believe about the Soviet Union. This series was thus a welcome antidote to the infamous issue of *Collier's* devoted to the incitation of war against the Soviet Union. Mr. MacDuffie stressed the universal desire for peace he found among the Soviet people, the cordiality with which they welcomed him, their interest in America.

Especially worth noting was the desire for better American-Soviet relations that came through again and again in Mr. MacDuffie's interview with Mr. Khrushchev, who repeatedly emphasized the desire of the Soviet Government and people for peace and trade with the United States.

Reporting on this interview with Khrushchev (*Collier's*, March 19, 1954) MacDuffie wrote:

... I began to be aware that, whether by design or not, he had steered me several times to the matter of Soviet-American cooperation.

"If people can only get to know one another better," he said, "there will be understanding. During the war, when we had a common enemy, we cooperated well against Hitler.

... We have shared many pages of history in battle against the enemy," Khrushchev said. "We Russians have no pretensions against the United States. There is no reason for hostility. When Roosevelt was alive the relations between our countries were good. But Truman did much to de-

stroy that relationship. I have fond memories of Americans who worked with us and worked well." He mentioned a few—engineers who had visited Russia before World War II, La Guardia, the UNRRA official who had worked in the Ukraine. . . . Then he said:

"Such examples prove that Russians and Americans can understand one another. If people come together with open hearts they will succeed."

BRITISH BUSINESSMEN IN MOSCOW

LAST WINTER Mr. James B. Scott, Sales Director of the British electrical equipment firm, Compton Parkinson, Ltd., headed a party of 33 British businessmen who spent three weeks in Moscow and returned with an offer of the Soviet Ministry of Trade to place \$1,250,000,000 worth of orders with Britain and substantial signed contracts already in hand. We have recently received from England a complete set of reprints of the series of five articles written by Mr. Scott for the conservative London newspaper, *The Star*, March 1-5, on his return, extracts from which we publish herewith.

With no claim to be an expert, Mr. Scott begins his series with the comment that his impressions must be regarded "merely as those of a British businessman accustomed to look at facts and figures, to assessing people and to forming swiftly an overall picture on which to base a judgment."

He declared that many of the business delegation were staggered when Mr. Ivan Kabanov, Soviet Minister of External Trade, made his important announcement of the extent of the orders the USSR was ready to place with Britain, since it was double the figure mentioned at the Mos-

cow Economic Conference two years ago. Mr. Scott declared that this reflected "the vast expansion that is taking place in Russia to raise the standard of the Russian people and offer more and more goods for them to buy."

Of the negotiations themselves, he said that while the Russians were "undoubtedly tough," he found them "frank and straightforward and fair and much like ourselves when it came to business."

He expressed confidence in the Russians fully living up to any terms of contract agreed upon since in the experience of his own firm in supplying electrical equipment for Russia over many years, "we have always found them meticulous both in following the contract and in payment on the dot."

He declared that his party moved around freely wherever they wished, with or without their Russian interpreters. They found the shops stacked with goods, "from vacuum cleaners to eggs and cheese" and the people buying them on a large scale. He said he saw no warlike preparations, and that while he certainly did not mean to imply there was no arms program, the general atmosphere was of "a long-term plan for peaceful development."

While the weather was bitterly cold while the group was in Moscow, they found all the buildings they visited kept "beautifully warm." Hotel accommodations were "impressive." Mr. Scott noted particularly the cleanliness of Moscow's streets, the lay-out of the city, the well controlled traffic, the excellence of Soviet-made automobiles, the magnificence of the subway (and the politeness of its passengers!), the well fed and healthy look of the people, the "bonny" children playing in the parks, the excellence of the big new

Moscow department store GUM, "as good as the best London stores," with its neat little \$25 vacuum cleaners, TV sets, ready-made clothing, magnificent food department, and every other kind of goods, the many other shops in Moscow well stocked, "cheerful and brightly lit" and in all respects "worthy of the great capital of a vast country."

Mr. Scott was clearly impressed with the Soviet leaders he met. Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan, former Minister of Trade, he found "a quick witted man who loved joking," whose first comment to Mr. Scott was: "You must be a brave man coming behind the iron curtain like this," at the same time seriously concerned with getting from the outside world the necessary machines and tools to improve the living standards of the Russian people, and prepared to approach the matter from a purely business standpoint, without mixing in politics.

"As an electrical engineer," wrote Mr. Scott, "I was impressed by many up-to-date developments in Russia—particularly the provision of a 400 KV line between Moscow and Kuibyshev, 530 miles away. This cable is capable of carrying 400,000 volts. . . . I understand it is the biggest thing of its kind in the world today. I actually saw it being made in the Moscow Cable Works. . . ."

As part of the Russian program for providing more and more electric power for industry and the countryside, this factory was busily producing everything from this important cable line to the finest wire. Mr. Scott was surprised to find at this factory a machine extruding aluminum, something they had been trying to develop in England for many years.

Mr. Scott, on the other hand, found some very old fashioned ma-

chinery in a steel plant in Stalingrad employing some 55,000 men and women. The director explained that this plant had been completely destroyed in the battle of Stalingrad and had been rebuilt before the war was over with whatever equipment was then available.

He found women employed everywhere, though not in the heaviest jobs. Contrary to the general impression, he found that machinery everywhere was skillfully handled—the fact that steel output was being kept up with 55-year-old machinery in some instances was evidence of this, also that equipment Scott's own firm had supplied, some of it fifteen years old, was still in working order and carefully maintained. The rebuilt Stalingrad tractor factory was up-to-date and produced strongly built tractors.

Mr. Scott found that skilled workers in the steel industry get paid 1,500 to 2,000 rubles a month, directors 4,000, that wages in general are increased by certain bonus schemes, that workers' paid vacations range from two to four weeks a year, that women are paid the same rates as men, that 40 per cent of the Russians own their own homes.

On the basis of his impressions, Mr. Scott declared:

It is difficult to grasp the vastness of Russia and the vastness of the task that lies before the Russians. But having caught a glimpse of both I am convinced that side by side with Russia's own production there is an equally vast, almost inexhaustible, market for British exports here. To me it makes sense to try to take advantage of this. . . . We want all the foreign trade we can get in order to raise and maintain the standard of living in this country.

At Stalingrad the British group

WORLD'S CHURCHMEN URGE CO-EXISTENCE

CLERGYMEN from 48 countries, representing 170 million members of 161 denominational bodies, have urged the East and West to learn to "live together," and have demanded the abolition "of all weapons of mass destruction, including the atomic and hydrogen bombs."

The churchmen, gathered together at the recent Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois, declared in their international report that Christians "can never accept, as the only kind of existence open to nations, a state of perpetual tension leading to inevitable war." They denied the inevitability of war and explained that they had substituted the phrase "living together" for the term "peaceful co-existence."

"We appeal," the assembly declared, "to the governments and the peoples to continue to speak to one another, to avoid rancor and malice, and to look for ways by which fear and suspicion may be removed."

Urging the banning of nuclear weapons, the international report states "It is vain to think that the hydrogen bomb or its development has guaranteed peace."

The assembly's resolution called not only for the banning of nuclear weapons, but also "provisions of international inspection and control, together with the drastic reduction of all other armaments."

understood why the Russians are proud of what has been done in its rebuilding, from the palatial railway station, near completion, an imposing theater seating 2,200 and a new planetarium, in addition to the vast amount of building of homes and factories and other enterprises. They laid a wreath at the memorial to the Red Army soldiers who fell in defense of Stalingrad and in the attack which broke the back of the Hitlerite armies.

Mr. Scott spoke frequently of the entertainment and hospitality lavished on their party throughout their stay.

He was spellbound by a performance of Swan Lake, "which seemed to me the most beautiful and graceful example of controlled movement I have ever seen."

In conclusion, Mr. Scott quoted a speech of Sir Winston Churchill urging East-West trade as an agency through which "helpful contacts and associations can be developed," and expressed the belief that the visit of the British businessmen's delegation had served these ends. He said that while naturally there are things that can be criticized in Russia as in every country, "In general I had a very favorable impression."

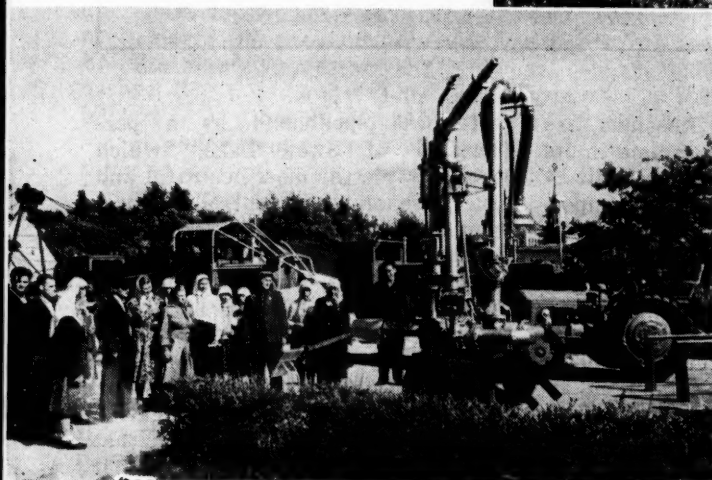
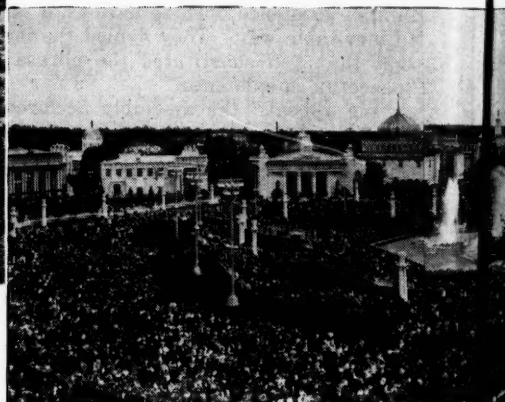
SOVIET AGRICULTURE

The great USSR Agricultural Exhibition opened on Aug. 1, immediately attracting visitors from all parts of the country and abroad. Soviet agriculture is represented and the achievements of the exhibition. These photos show

Kolkhoz Square, center of the 500 ft. wide exhibition grounds. Some of the pavilions, all permanent



Young Naturalists' Pavilion, where outstanding exhibits of teen-agers is shown both indoors and outside.



Visiting collective farmers are interested in a mobile tractor-drawn sprinkling installation which is now used successfully on many collective farms.



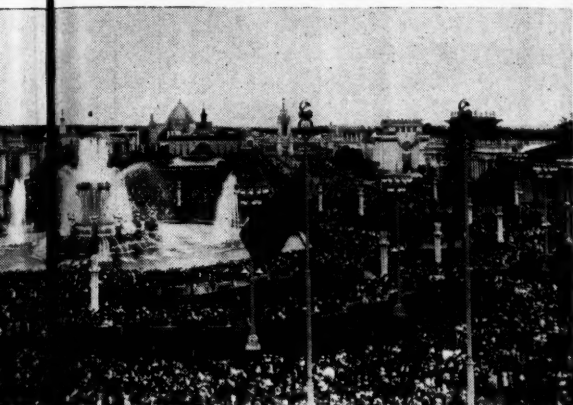
Collective farmers (a) examine the hybrid. Crops and (b) occur Draught breed horses and animals



GRULTURAL FAIR

tural bition, which opened in Moscow attracted a record attendance of visitors from all over the world. Every branch of agriculture is represented and a permanent exhibit is planned as a permanent show of the aspects of the fair.

e 500 fair, jammed by visitors opening day. The permanent structures, can be seen in background.



The Mechanization and Electrification Pavilion where 500 machines are shown: many are demonstrated.



ners (examine wheat-couchgrass and occupy 61 acres. Below: horses in animal husbandry section.



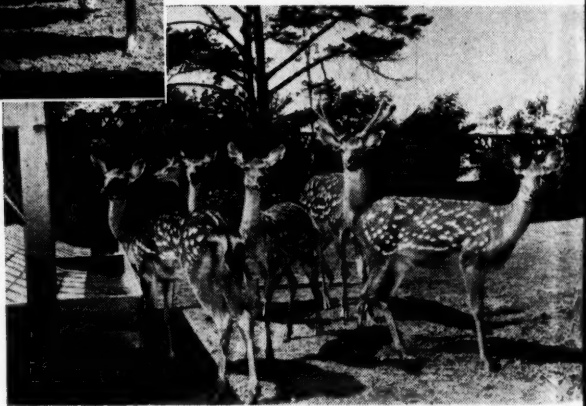
In the Oil-Bearing and Industrial Crops Pavilion, a collective farm chairman explains the successful methods they employ on such crops on his own farm.



The pavilion of the Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Each of the 16 constituent republics have their own pavilion, and each is built in the traditional architectural style of the region. In addition there are 60 other pavilions and more than 200 various structures.



One of the orchards (above). The exhibition's orchards contain 5,000 fruit trees. The spotted deer (right) are from a deer-breeding state farm in the mountainous Altai region.



FAVORITE AND STEP-CHILD IN THE UNITED NATIONS

by **ESLANDA ROBESON**

IN MID-JUNE, the Government of Thailand, citing the proximity of the conflict in Indo-China, requested the UN Security Council to send a Peace Observation Commission to investigate and report on any threat to international peace and security in that region.

To this request, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., then Council President, said, on June 16th:

... it would be prudent and highly desirable to authorize the Peace Observation Commission to observe developments in the area of Thailand. . . . I urge the members of this Council not to permit themselves to be diverted from the simple but urgent issue which is before us. . . . All we are asked to do here is to authorize a fact-finding body to proceed to the area where this tension exists, in order that the United Nations may receive impartial first-hand reports on the situation. . . . The action requested lies within the competence of this Council. Its urgency is manifest. Let us act promptly and thereby discharge our responsibility under the Charter to maintain international peace and security.

A few days later, the democratically elected Government of Guatemala, defenseless and desperate, also requested the Security Council to send a Peace Observation Commission to

investigate and report on the armed attack upon Guatemala.

The United Nations representative of Guatemala, Dr. Eduardo Castillo-Arriola, in a statement to the specially convoked Sunday (June 20th) meeting of the Security Council, declared: "... the Republic of Guatemala has been invaded by expeditionary forces forming part of an unlawful international aggression. . . ." Guatemala thus requested the Security Council to dispatch an observation commission to establish and report the facts. The Security Council, he said, was duty-bound to prevent the extension of the war in Guatemala.

In reply to this very legitimate request, Mr. Lodge sang quite a different song: "... the question arises as to where the situation can be dealt with most expeditiously and most effectively. The situation appears to the United States Government to be precisely the kind of problem which, in the first instance, should be dealt with on an urgent basis by an appropriate agency of the Organization of American States. . . .

"This draft resolution [of Brazil and Colombia, to refer the Guatemala case to the Organization of American States] . . . just asks the Organization of American States to

see what it can do to be helpful. . . . Why does the representative of the Soviet Union, a country thousands of miles from here, undertake to veto a move like that? . . . How can this action of his possibly fail to make unbiased observers throughout the world [are there any such?] come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union has designs on the American Hemisphere? There is no other explanation. . . . I say to the representative of the Soviet Union, stay out of this hemisphere and do not try to start your plans and your conspiracies over here."

Ironically, the representative of the Soviet Union might well have replied in Mr. Lodge's own words, quoted above in connection with the Thai request.

Instead, Mr. Semyon Tsarapkin, the representative of the Soviet Union made this reply: ". . . The United States representative asked with emotion what was the reason for the Soviet Union's present attitude in the Security Council; why was it interesting itself in the Western Hemisphere? . . .

"We are met today, on a Sunday, to discuss a case of aggression. A member of the United Nations has been subjected to an armed attack. . . . The Charter binds each member of the United Nations, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to take all steps in the Council to end aggression, even if it occurs in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

"Mr. Lodge failed to mention that yesterday the State Department said the United States would settle its accounts with Guatemala in the Organization of American States. . . . At this juncture, when an act of aggression has already been committed . . . and aircraft are bombing the country, I feel that to refer the

question to an organization in which the United States proposes to settle accounts with Guatemala would be not only wrong, but contrary to the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations. . . . Aggression knows no territorial limits, and wherever it is committed, even in Central America, the Security Council is in duty bound to consider the case and take prompt action to put an end to it."

Mr. Lodge, as President, then put the draft resolution by Brazil and Colombia (to refer the Guatemalan case to the Organization of American States) to the vote. The resolution was not adopted.

The President then put the cease-fire French amendment to the vote. This called for immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed, and requested all members of the United Nations to abstain from giving assistance to any such action. It was adopted unanimously.

After a four hour long debate, the Council adjourned.

IN REGARD TO the question Mr. Lodge brought up so heatedly as to who shall stay out of what hemisphere, it must be remembered that the Soviet Union has no military bases anywhere in the Western Hemisphere, while the United States has bases in Central and South America, in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

When Mr. Lodge could say to Thailand that the United Nations must send a fact-finding mission to report on tension in that area, and then say to Guatemala that the United Nations must not send a fact-finding mission to report on *war* in another area, it becomes apparent that member nations of the United Nations family are by no means treated as equals. Some are treated as special

favorites and others as step-children.

The qualifications for each are as notorious as they are obvious in the corridors and lounges of the United Nations: support United States policy and you become a favorite; oppose United States policy and you become a UN step-child.

Fortunately, however, deep and genuine opposition to this kind of arbitrary discrimination is slowly forming and crystallizing in the vast United Nations attempt to rid the world of war. Delegates who support U.S. policy when it appears to be unreasonable, unilateral and arrogant, are being called to account more and more by their citizens and press at home.

Thus the London *New Statesman and Nation* (June 26), declaring that Guatemala's request for UN observers should have been instantly acceded to, continued:

"The Brazilian Resolution, strongly supported and probably inspired by the United States, proposed that the whole case be referred to the Organization of American States. That would have had the effect of calling on Guatemala to face the judgment of a body which is wholly dominated by the U.S. . . . In the light of recent American policy towards Guatemala, this proposal was a denial of natural justice. . . . The solemn obligation of the United Nations (using the Security Council as its instrument of immediate action) to resist aggression was the justification for the Korean war. That the British vote at the UN was cast for the Brazilian Resolution is deplorable. . . .

Sam Pope Brewer, reporting in the *New York Times*, June 27, from Sao Paulo, Brazil, wrote:

. . . The Brazilian Government has given the United States strong and

valuable support in the United Nations . . . at the same time it is difficult to find any Brazilian who is not convinced that the United States morally and perhaps materially backed the invaders. . . .

BUT, ALAS, the cease-fire resolution of the Security Council was ignored by the aggressors in Guatemala and the bombing of open towns and defenseless people continued.

Whereupon the Government of Guatemala sent more urgent messages to the UN, requesting an immediate meeting of the Security Council to discuss means of implementing its unanimously adopted cease-fire resolution.

To these desperate appeals Mr. Lodge turned a deaf ear. When other members of the Council privately pressed him to call the meeting, Mr. Lodge issued a special press release (June 22, '54) in which he stated:

. . . those who continually seek to agitate the Guatemalan question in the Security Council will inevitably be suspected of shadow boxing—of trying to strike attitudes and issue statements for the purpose of propaganda. . . . The Government of Guatemala should not lend itself to this very obvious communist plot lest they appear to be a cat's-paw of the Soviet conspiracy to meddle in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

Guatemala's representative, Dr. Arriola's reply to this was a further and even more urgent appeal to the Secretary General and members of the Council:

. . . I reiterate, in the name of my Government, the request that the President of the Security Council should immediately convene a meeting of the Council in virtue of the fact that Guatemala officially gives notice that the resolution adopted on

June 20 by the Security Council has not been complied with. . . .

When Mr. Lodge continued to resist all requests to call a meeting, Mr. Tsarapkin (USSR), as a permanent member of the Security Council, formally requested Mr. Lodge and the Secretary General that a meeting be called to consider the worsening Guatemalan situation. Mr. Lodge finally called the meeting for June 25th.

THE AGENDA for the Security Council meeting was as follows: 1. Adoption of the agenda; 2. Consideration of the Guatemala crisis.

In tricky technical, procedural maneuverings, the President managed to avoid adopting the agenda, and after a five-hour debate the Council adjourned, having taken no action whatsoever, except a decision to await information from the Organization of American States.

There was a sinister fascination in observing how this was accomplished.

President Lodge opened the meeting and said the first question was the adoption of the agenda. He then called upon Mr. Hugo Gouthier (Brazil) as the first speaker.

Mr. Gouthier filibustered. He said the whole question should go to the Organization of American States, and then went into the whole background and history of that organization. It was clear that a delaying action was taking place. Finally, he said the item should not be placed on the agenda.

The representative of the Soviet Union raised a point of order, declaring that though the adoption of the agenda was under discussion, substance had been raised in the Brazilian statement and that he therefore requested the representa-

tive of Guatemala be invited to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Lodge, as President, ruled that everything Brazil had said was within the limits of a discussion on the agenda and that it was not "customary" to call to the table representatives of states not members of the Council before the agenda was formally adopted. By a 10 to 1 vote, he was supported in his ruling.

He then called upon the representative of Colombia who continued the same sort of filibustering that the Brazilian representative had indulged in, and said he would vote against adoption of the agenda. The representatives of Turkey and China (Formosa) behaved similarly.

Both the representatives of the United Kingdom and France attempted to straddle the issue, declaring it would be wrong to divest the Security Council of responsibility, but, France's Henri Hoppenot declared it would be better to defer discussion until the Organization of American States reported from the scene. They both indicated that they would abstain.

M. Edward Rizk (Lebanon), in a brief, forthright speech urged the adoption of the agenda. And Mr. Birger Dons-Moeller (Denmark) agreed and also urged that the Guatemalan delegate be heard. Mr. Leslie Knox Munro (New Zealand) suggested that the Council adopt the agenda and then adjourn.

Mr. Semyon Tsarapkin (USSR) said that to deny the Guatemalan delegate a place at the Council table would be a violation of Article 32 of the Charter, and that procedural maneuvers had been used to delay consideration of the question.

Mr. Lodge, he said, "cynically observed that the representative of Guatemala could express his views after the adoption of the agenda. But

it is already apparent that the agenda will not be adopted . . . that the representative of Guatemala will not be given a hearing . . . a state has been deprived of a right to a hearing through procedural ruses and maneuvers."

Mr. Lodge then took the floor, declaring that the United Nations would be broken up if regional organizations, such as the OAS, were not considered paramount.

In his usual vein he continued: "The proposal of Guatemala, supported most actively by the Soviet Union . . . is an effort to create international anarchy, rather than international order. . . . The Guatemalan complaint is being used as a tool to violate the basic principles of the Charter. It is to prevent that result . . . that the United States feels compelled to oppose the adoption of the provisional agenda . . . and appeals to the other members of the Council to join with us in avoiding a step which . . . will in fact engage this organization in a course so disorderly and so provocative of jurisdictional conflict that the future of both the United Nations and the Organization of American States

may be compromised and a grave setback given to the developing process of international order."

Mr. Tsarapkin (USSR) declared that the question is whether the United Nations will deal with peace in the whole world, or because of the whim of the United States, restrict its concern to Europe and Asia and possibly Africa. The UN Charter has to apply universally, and the Soviet Union, he declared, would insist on a debate in the Security Council and on measures to stop the aggression against Guatemala.

Mr. Lodge then put the question of the adoption of the agenda to the vote, and the Council members voted as follows: 4 in favor of adoption (Denmark, Lebanon, New Zealand, USSR); 5 against (Brazil, Colombia, Formosa, Turkey, USA); 2 abstentions (France, United Kingdom).

Since 7 votes are required for the adoption of the agenda, it was not adopted, and after five hours of grim debate, the Security Council adjourned without having adopted the provisional agenda for its meeting.

It's going to take a lot of doing for the Security Council to live that one down!

COVENTRY, STALINGRAD URGE H-BOMB BAN

COVENTRY in England and Stalingrad in the USSR, both of which cities were razed in World War II, are joining together to urge the banning of the H-bomb. The Coventry-Stalingrad Bond of Friendship Committee initiated the proposal. In June, the City Council approved the resolution that the two towns jointly appeal to the UN Commission on Disarmament to ban the H-bomb, and the Lord Mayor, Alderman John Fennell, who is also president of the Friendship Committee, sent the resolution to the Stalingrad City Soviet. The Soviet city has enthusiastically agreed to the proposal and has invited members of the Coventry City Council to come to Stalingrad this October or November to draft the text of the resolution.

Letter From London

by GORDON SCHAFFER

THE GENERAL COUNCIL of the Trades Union Congress fought with all the resources of their powerful machine to secure the narrowest of majorities in favor of the rearmament of Western Germany. Thereby they showed themselves completely out of touch with the membership of the trade unions, and indeed with the opinion of millions of British people who are outside the organized trade union movement.

Even as the battle was waged between the platform and the delegates at the Brighton T.U.C. Congress, everyone knew the leaders were fighting a hard battle. For the tiny trade union majority for West German rearmament might find it difficult to impose the same policy on the Labor Party Conference at Scarborough where delegates of 600 local parties as well as trade unions participate.

[The rearmament resolution barely squeezed through at Scarborough.]

The *Daily Sketch*, one of the most right wing of the daily papers, applauded the members of the T.U.C. General Council as the most con-

servative element in British life. (The same paper welcomed the possibility of German steel-helmets reappearing along the Rhine, and said, provided the new German army faced East, Britain could afford to ignore France). Certainly the attitude of the majority of the trade union leaders, on the German question, in the demand for an end of the colonial wars in Kenya and Malaya, and on a number of domestic questions merited this approval from the extreme Right.

But it was extremely interesting to see in how many questions, these same leaders decided not to fight at all. At the time when millions of signatures were being collected in favor of the Stockholm appeal calling for the abolition of weapons of mass destruction, the leaders of the T.U.C. condemned the appeal and attacked those who took part in it. At Brighton this year, Professor Powell of Bristol, an ardent worker in the peace movement, proposed a resolution sponsored by the Association of Scientific Workers urging "negotiations to prepare a basis for a conference of Britain, the USA, the USSR, France, and China in order to secure the universal abolition of all atomic and hydrogen weapons, under an effective

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system of international control, and to reach an agreement which shall reinforce the United Nations and prepare the way for further negotiations with a view to bringing about an agreed yearly reduction in expenditure on armaments."

There was not a voice in opposition, and the resolution was adopted unanimously.

The General Council maneuvered desperately at the 1953 T.U.C. to water down the call of the rank and file for an end to the embargoes on East-West trade. This year, there was unanimous support for a resolution "affirming the need for freedom of trade with all countries, both East and West."

Mr. Arthur Deakin, who was the moving spirit in the walk-out of the Western trade unions from the W.F.T.U. denounced from the platform at Brighton the visits of trade unionists to countries of the Socialist world, and without consulting the members of the General Council refused in insulting terms a warm invitation from the Soviet trade union movement to send a delegate to their Congress.

But Mr. Jack Tanner, who in recent years has been as much on the right as Mr. Deakin, said in his President's address to the Congress:

International cooperation is not yet a near possibility, but international co-existence is. To that possibility our organized movement has made a major contribution in the Labor Party mission to China. We have yet to receive an official report of that delegation's mission, which took it half way round the world and enabled what we hope will prove helpful contacts to be established in Russia and China as well as the visit of individual members to other countries. We shall know better when the mission reports whether these na-

tions are better disposed to live peacefully with us even though their forms of government, and ways of life are cast in different moulds. . . .

But peaceful co-existence will not come just by wishing for it. It will never come as long as there remain in positions of power and influence, persons with the type of lunatic thinking and talking such as Syngman Rhee has indulged in. But it is deplorable that there should be other men of wider experience in world affairs who proclaim their belief that to enter deliberately into full-scale war is the way to solve international differences. It is disturbing too to read that a Special Committee of the United States Congress should recommend the U.S.A. to seek agreement for the breaking off of all trade and diplomatic relations with Communist countries. Such propaganda can only increase the difficulties.

It is beyond comprehension that with the awful threat of nuclear warfare to civilization, and even to continuing human existence on this planet we cannot all get down to some workable system of living together.

Mr. Tanner maintained the position of the General Council by blaming what he called the "Communists" for "doing nothing to enable practical compromises and agreements to be reached," but the important thing is that he was obliged not only to affirm the need for co-existence but to pin-point the danger arising from Syngman Rhee and the section in America which wages cold war. Only a few months back, Syngman Rhee was hailed by the same T.U.C. leaders as an innocent victim of aggression.

There you have the new situation that has developed in Britain. The government and the Labor Party and trade union leaders have reached the point where they are compelled

to deny much of their past record. They speak of the need for co-existence and even attack the more obvious supporters of war, but they have not yet reached the point where they are ready to work out the means of co-existence.

The government as well as the Labor Party leaders are terrified of being dragged into war behind Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, but they have not the courage to stand with India and resist the U.S.-sponsored war alliance at Manila.

They recognize the danger of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, but they try to present the plans to re-arm the West German Nazi generals as a contribution to collective security. Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the T.U.C. even declared in his speech advocating West German re-armament that to refuse Adenauer arms would "isolate and affront" German socialists and trade unionists and drive them into the arms of the Nazis. He made no attempt to answer the opponents of West German re-armament who, in the debate, stressed the danger of giving an opportunity for new aggression to the same industrialists who created Hitler, and the politicians who are threatening war against their neighbors.

He must deny the reality of the German situation because the alternative to re-arming the Nazi Generals in West Germany must be to break with United States policy and seek the way of collective peace in Europe put forward in the Soviet note. And Sir Vincent Tewson and the Conservative government both speak with the same voice on this matter.

Sir Winston Churchill intervened angrily in the House of Commons debate on the evacuation of Suez to give this warning:

"I have not held my mind closed to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the whole strategic position in the world which makes the thoughts which were well knit together a year ago utterly obsolete, and which have changed the opinion of every competent soldier I have been able to meet.

"Merely to try to imagine in outline the first few weeks of a war under conditions about which we had not been told when this session commenced, merely to portray that picture would convince members of the obsolescence of the Suez Canal base, and of the sense of proportion which is virtually needed at the present time, not only in military dispositions, but in all attempts to establish human relationships between nation and nation."

The warning is clear enough. Britain and the "competent soldiers" to whom the Prime Minister refers, know that war would mean suicide for Britain, that a way of peace must be found in the Middle East.

Yet neither Sir Winston, the military experts or the Labor Party leaders have the courage to break away from the dangerous war alliance being built up in the Middle East—Turkey linked to the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance in the West, tied to Greece and Yugoslavia in the East of Europe and to Pakistan and the new U.S. Pacific block in Asia.

If Suez is obsolescent what value can be set on the bases in Cyprus, Lybia, and Jordan, Iraq and Aden? What can be said of the folly of trying to woo Egypt, Jordan and other Arab countries by giving them arms with which to threaten Israel?

It is the same dilemma. Britain knows the answers, but she dare not break away from American policy.

It is a dilemma which both the Labor and Conservative Parties face, for the coalition in foreign policy

which has operated, whether Labor and Conservative governments were in power, since the Churchill Fulton Speech, is still being maintained, and equally the demand for a change of policy is coming from members of both parties. In the labor, trade union and cooperative movements, there is an ever-growing demand for a return to the principles of international friendship and support for peoples seeking to be free politically and economically. In the Conservative Party the businessmen want trade because Britain cannot maintain her position in a divided world, and a growing volume of opinion backs the "competent soldiers" in seeking a way of co-existence rather than mutual destruction.

The situation is still desperately dangerous. Britain had the courage to say "No" to Mr. Dulles' demand for intervention in Indo-China, but she could still be dragged into a Far Eastern war. She is now leading the campaign to impose a re-armed West-

ern Germany upon France. She would be involved almost automatically in any Middle East incidents.

But we have advanced some distance.

The people are beginning to see the truth of the world situation. The web of lies is being broken. And that is a step towards the time when the people take the cause of peace into their hands and compel their government and their party leaders to solve their dilemma in the only way possible—to take the path of co-existence and friendship instead of the path of preparation for war.

When the British people do this, they will earn the gratitude of all peace-loving mankind, and not least the American people, for if one thing is clear in this confused picture, it is this: the men who plan war, the men Mr. Jack Tanner condemned, will be powerless once they are isolated from the great majority of men and women in all countries who demand peace.

URGE CEASE FIRE IN FORMOSA STRAIT

REFLECTING popular fear of involvement in hostilities against China, a recent resolution of the American Association for the United Nations calls for the United Nations to take action to achieve a cease fire in the Formosa Strait.

The association is composed of forty-six national organizations including the A. F. of L., the CIO and other labor, religious, educational, civic and welfare organizations. The resolution urges the U.S. delegation to the UN General Assembly to take the initiative to restore peace to that area.

ATTLEE SAYS "GET RID OF CHIANG"

IN A BRIEF interview on his return to London from his visits to the Soviet Union and People's China, Clement Attlee, British Labor Party leader, declared "I am quite sure that the sooner we get rid of Chiang Kai-shek and his troops, the better it will be." He said he noted that there was a relaxation of world tension since the Geneva Conference on Korea and Indo-China, and added "I think our [the Labor Party] visit to China and Russia assisted that. I think there is a chance of getting together."

THE CHINESE PEOPLE SHAPE THEIR CONSTITUTION

by TALITHA GERLACH

The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China unanimously adopted a new Constitution on September 20. Delegates to the Congress, that country's highest legislative body, were elected during the first nationwide elections ever held in China. How the people of China participated in shaping their Constitution prior to approval by Congress is told in the article below.

BOLD, red headlines splashed across the front page of the morning newspaper catching the eye of every reader.

"Why the gala appearance?" I asked myself, and continuing in the same train of thought, "It's not a special anniversary—not New Year's Day, not May First, not National Day. It's just an ordinary day on the calendar—Tuesday, June 15th." A quick glance at the headlines told the story—"Draft Constitution Approved by the Central People's Government Council." Yes, indeed, this was an event worthy to be announced in banner headlines—another milestone in the progress of the Chinese people in the transition from new democracy to socialism.

In fact every newspaper in the city—and in the country for that matter—featured this significant news in large type, with appropriate

editorials and the full text of the Draft Constitution. Eager readers crowded around the newspapers pasted on bulletin boards at the busiest corners in the city. Radio commentators hailed this important event with the details of the meetings in Peking which had brought the Draft Constitution into being. Before the end of the week, a special pamphlet edition, running into a 400,000 printing for Shanghai alone, became the most popular item in bookstores. Is it surprising?

Not at all. Ever since the adoption of the resolution by the Central People's Government Council in January, 1953, calling for the election of the National People's Congress and local People's Congresses throughout the country, the people have known that the ratification of the Constitution would be a major item on the agenda when the First National People's Congress convened.

In the intervening months local elections have been carried out step by step in all parts of the country and soon the elections to the National People's Congress, China's highest legislative body, are to be completed.

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Meantime the people have also known that the Committee entrusted with the responsibility of preparing the Draft Constitution has been hard at work in Peking since mid-March of this year. Thus the people have been waiting for this very moment.

Thirty-three notable figures in public life, drawn from all political parties and non-party groups, representing national minority peoples and cultural, educational, trade union, scientific, legal circles, comprised the National Committee to Draft the Constitution.

To Western friends and to the Chinese people the following names—and these are only some of the members of the Committee—inspired confidence that the work of drafting the Constitution was in competent hands!

Soong Ching Ling, known abroad as Mme. Sun Yat-sen; Shen Chun-ju, President of the Supreme People's Court; Ulanfu, President of the Central Institute for Nationalities; Ma Yin-chu, President of Peking University; Li Chi-sen, President of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang; Ho Hsiang-ning, Chairman of the Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs; Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister; Chang Lan, Chairman of the China Democratic League; Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Academy of Sciences; Huang Yen-pei, of the China Democratic National Construction Association; Ma Hsu-lun, China Association of Promoting Democracy and Minister of Higher Education; Tung Pi-wu, Chairman of the Committee of Political and Legal Affairs.

On March 24th, with Chairman Mao Tse-tung presiding, this Committee received the first draft based on the Common Program enacted by the People's Political Consultative Conference on September 30th, 1949,

and which has served as an interim Constitution since the inauguration of the People's Republic of China.

Weeks of intensive study and discussion in full Committee followed. The Drafting Committee, however, was not content to rely on its own resources and collective wisdom in such an epoch-making matter as China's first Constitution. It promptly enlisted the cooperation of selected groups throughout the country to carry the discussion into wider circles.

No less than 8,000 individuals drawn from all walks of life joined in this stage of the discussion—workers in factories, leaders in women's organizations, representatives of religious groups, members of local People's Political Consultative Councils, educators, business men, cultural workers, agricultural leaders and still more members of various political parties. As a result 5,900 proposals for revisions were submitted to the Committee in Peking.

A friend who participated in these discussions in Shanghai described her experience in these words:

"Our group consisted of thirty religious leaders—Buddhists, Catholics and Christians from Protestant churches. We met twice a week for two months discussing the Draft Constitution thoroughly, chapter by chapter, article by article. Our particular group forwarded a number of suggestions for revision to Peking. In fact, the present form of the Draft Constitution contains several of our proposals." A participant in another group reported that the representatives from trade unions and factories were particularly penetrating in their questions and ideas for revision.

Accordingly, with thousands of proposals in hand, the Drafting Com-

mittee went into another period of concentrated work, readying its report for presentation to the Central People's Government Council on June 14th. The Council accepted the Committee report and immediately, within twenty-four hours, released the full text of the Draft Constitution to the entire country with an open invitation to the people everywhere to study the Draft and make further suggestions for revision. Thus it was that the Draft Constitution became a best seller overnight.

The people of China truly are taking their responsibility as citizens with the utmost seriousness and boundless enthusiasm. Special committees were promptly formed by people's organizations, trade unions, schools, government organs for the purpose of guiding the study among their members. Newspaper published editorials and articles on the significance of the Draft Constitution, magazines carried special features, radio stations broadcasted educational programs—all giving basic information and analyses to help the people in their self-study. Small study groups are being organized literally reaching into every village, town and city neighborhood so that all citizens who are interested have the opportunity to learn about the provisions of the Draft Constitution, to understand their meaning and to make still further suggestions for improvement.

All this stands in sharp contrast to the experience of the people back in 1936 and 1937 when the Kuomintang government, now completely discredited in the eyes of the people, went through the motions of drafting a Constitution. Not a few civic-minded individuals and organizations began to study this document for the purpose of sending their criticisms and suggestions to the government. The YWCA, with which I was associated

at the time, encouraged its membership to make this study a special emphasis in its "Education for Citizenship" program. Many questions and proposals were received at the national headquarters of the YWCA to be compiled and forwarded to Nanking.

Then came the word "by grapevine" that the government was keeping a special record of all individuals and organizations which made criticisms of the draft—not for the purpose of promoting democratic participation on the part of the people, but rather to blacklist those who took democratic discussion and freedom of expression seriously. Needless to say, the people stopped short in forwarding their views to the government.

The Chinese people today live in a totally different world. They live in a new society in which the people are being encouraged and helped to voice their frankest criticisms even of such an important document as the Draft Constitution. And the people on every hand are participating whole-heartedly in this democratic process, confident that their Drafting Committee and their government will give thoughtful consideration, with due recognition and respect, to what they, the people, think. The rank and file in China, as well as the experts, are exercising their democratic rights as citizens with enthusiasm and devotion, to the end that the Draft Constitution when it comes before the First National People's Congress for adoption later this year, will be a document expressing their fundamental democratic aspirations in this period of transition to socialism.

[When discussions ended, Sept. 11, 1,180,420 proposals on the Draft Constitution were submitted to the Drafting Committee—Ed.]

The Baltic Revisited

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

THESE BALTIC SHORES are full of historic memories. As I write these words, I am sitting on a beach not far from Gdansk, surrounded by an atmosphere of peace. It is a clear sunny day in August, and I am looking out to sea beyond the splashing children at the water's edge and the more distant harbor mole. Over the horizon out yonder, how many trading ships came sailing to port in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, seeking wood and agricultural products from these Slavic lands, bringing in exchange the wares of Scandinavia and Western Europe. The free port Gdansk, once called Dantzig, was a center of the Hanseatic League, and for centuries enjoyed a large measure of prosperity resulting from the give-and-take among the northern maritime peoples.

Four years ago this summer, when I first set foot on Polish soil—being then a mere tourist visitor—Gdansk was one of the first places I saw. It was my first spectacle of large-scale devastation; for Gdynia, where I

landed, showed no such desolation, though it was sorely battered. To my then unaccustomed eyes, the famous harbor district of Gdansk and most of the area around it seemed like the hopeless graveyard of a city, dreadfully prostrate. The historic Ulica Długa (Long Street) between the two old fortified gates, was just beginning to be rebuilt. Even the residential area and suburbs looked woe-begone, with houses pock-marked by gunshots, concrete facings fallen off in patches, and all the sad traces of warfare, evacuation and unavoidable neglect grimly apparent.

Today, Ulica Długa is all but completely restored. Only a few houses still have the scaffolding on them as the final touches are being given. The restoration has been done—as in Warsaw, Lublin and elsewhere—with pious fidelity to the architecture of the past. Details have been lovingly studied and recaptured from old prints and paintings. The tall, high-gabled, colorful houses of the old merchant princes again stand out with their adornments of fresco paintings, tile work, iron lanterns and bits of sculptured relief, just as they were in the heyday of their glory.

Here in the small-paned windows, the cornices and gables you can see the influence of Scandinavian, Low

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German and even distant Netherlandish domestic architecture on the Polish. It is amusing to wonder what the wealthy old Hanseatic merchants would think if they could see the ground floors of their high old mansions close by, now occupied by co-operative stores, state-operated grocery stores, book shops, restaurants and so on! From the days of competition verging on piracy to this—what a change!

Earlier this summer I had occasion to visit another part of the Baltic shores. The occasion was unusual. I had been invited to address a summer study course of foreign-language teachers who were doing intensive "refresher" work at Gryfice not far from the coast.

To get there I first flew to Szczecin (Stettin), Poland's most western port on the Baltic, and I had several hours for sight-seeing there before I had to go on. It was a curious sensation to walk again through streets I could recall from pre-Hitler days to note the still-recent scars left by the history of the interim.

Stettin was a port I used to pass through when as a student in the period 1930-32, I had occasion to travel from Copenhagen to Berlin. I remember the stolid bourgeois air of the German-controlled city, looking so deceptively prosperous but actually—as even the most casual visitor had to be aware—concealing a veritable hell of unemployment and demoralization.

Today there is no trace of the old smugness. A new type of people are at home here now: people who have worked and suffered and are putting forth enormous efforts to build a new life. Even in the center of town, which today looks quite normal, there are a few spots of ruin and weed-en-crustured wilderness. In one part you can still dimly read German signs on

crumbling naked walls: names of commercial enterprises long since scattered, signs over business men's restaurants of which only four walls and a blank doorway now remain.

The old firms and cartels, the old exploiters have vanished with the whirl-wind that they sowed.

Gryfice, lying eastwards of Szczecin, clusters about a picturesque marketplace close by a swift-running river. An antique mill set on the edge of a lush meadow, and beyond it a shaded grove, add to the charm of the place. There is a massive old church looming over the town: one of those grim and fortress-like structures typical of ecclesiastical buildings in the former German-held Baltic provinces. They remind one strikingly of the doings in this area of the Teutonic Crusaders—that military organization of the Middle Ages which under a pretext of religion use the harshest of methods to advance German domination over the original inhabitants of the Balto-Slavic coastlands. (The languages known as Old Prussian, Lettish and Lithuanian, as well as the entire Slavic group, represent families distinct from the Germanic group, though of course ultimately akin to it.)

The summer course of teachers numbered more than a hundred persons doing work in French, German, English and Latin. They were living in a simple hostel, and holding their classes and discussions in the town lyceum close by, an old building well cleaned and well-run, but like the hostel not yet basically renovated. The accommodations were somewhat on the Spartan side. But it would be hard to describe the enthusiasm and the fine sense of camaraderie prevailing among these men and women. Their appetite for infor-

mation was enormous, and no less was their eagerness to practice the languages they specialize in. The mornings were given over to lectures and formal reports, the afternoons to discussions and the preparation of assignments.

I was particularly touched by the zeal and interest of the older teachers present, who might well have felt like indulging in recreation or complete rest at the end of a proverbially strenuous school year. But they, like the others, had voluntarily reduced their vacation time by almost a month in order to improve their qualifications. All those attending the courses were benefiting from free tuition and maintenance, for the state subsidizes many such projects of special schooling, in many branches of work.

My task was to lecture for four hours (with intermissions) on the progressive traditions in contemporary English and American literature. Actually, I barely touched on the British writers. I found that there was so much I wanted to say, and so much these eager, grateful people wanted to hear about American cultural backgrounds, that I was kept busy on that theme for almost the full four hours, plus most of another hour devoted to questions.

I wished heartily that I, a professional medievalist only amateurishly informed on modern literature, could have known more and done better on the job, but it turned out that even my sketchy survey was welcome. My listeners had read fairly widely in the progressive American classics, but they wanted to deepen their knowledge of such topics as Abolitionism, Populism, the I.W.W., the rise of the Socialist Party, the Haymarket affair, Eugene Debs, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the impact of Marxism on

American thought in the 1930's and afterwards. How they took notes!—and how delightful it was to see from the very questions they asked that they were making an immediate correlation between these broad cultural issues and the admired works of Whitman and Norris, Twain and Dreiser and Fast, which they had already studied.

It was entertaining for me, too, to explain certain racy American colloquialisms suggested from time to time by my speech or by the reading of the group: terms like oakie, Hooverville, stuffed-shirt, stooge, fink, yes-man. . . . These also went down into the notebooks for future reference. I wish many Americans could have seen the tears glistening in the eyes before me when I read aloud the magnificent last words of Vanzetti addressed to the court that condemned him, or when I referred to the letters exchanged between Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in prison. It would have made the readers of this magazine proud to witness the response evoked by the name of Paul Robeson. . . .

Yes, there has been a strange, in many ways a rich mingling of cultures on these Baltic shores. What has come from the outside has not always been for the best, by any means, for the Polish people. Goths and Vikings, Teutonic Knights and Swedish adventures led by Charles XII have been among the raiders, climaxed in our day by the unspeakable hordes of the Nazis. Of this kind of "foreign influence" Poland has had enough and to spare. But the best progressive elements in all cultures are welcome here today, and the best of American progressive culture is surely most eagerly sought by young and old in the highly literate population of the new Poland.

Bulgaria's Cooperatives

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

THERE ARE a million and a half members in Bulgaria's cooperative movement; with their families, they represent over 70 per cent of the country's total population of seven million. Thus Bulgaria today, with a population smaller than London's, has a cooperative membership outrivalling that of the London Co-operative Society.

Here is something surely deserving of attention in Britain, birth-place of cooperation, especially in view of the long and persistent loyalty of the Bulgarian cooperative movement to the International Co-operative Alliance. We should take note that last month the Bulgarian people celebrated the tenth anniversary of September 9, 1944, when there came into power the present Government of the Fatherland Front, which made it Article 9 of the new Constitution that: "The State shall help and encourage cooperative organizations."

The Bulgars have a cooperative tradition which dates from the days of a religious sect known as the

Bogomils in the tenth century. Cooperative organizations of the types with which we are familiar first appeared in Bulgaria in the 1890's, but it was not until after World War I that a real cooperative movement came into being there.

It was weakened, however, by extreme diversity and by disunity; there were no less than 25 "central" cooperative unions, many of which were small, and therefore financially dependent on capitalist "enemies," who were often foreign. The movement was weakened still further by lack of clear political aims, which made it possible for opponents to persuade it that socialism was something to be countered, not welcomed as the essential factor for the free and full development which we see in progress today.

Heavy was the price paid for this misconception: twenty-one years, from 1923 to 1944, during which no one could be elected to its controlling bodies unless approved by the police, but during which, nevertheless, it adhered to the International Cooperative Alliance and remained recognized by that body.

But the lesson of these long years of tribulation has borne fruit since the liberation of September 9, 1944, in the mutually cooperative attitude prevailing between the socialist government of the People's Republic and

EDGAR P. YOUNG, Commandar Royal Navy (Retired), is Chairman and one of the founders of the British Society for Friendship with Bulgaria. Since the war he has visited that country several times. This is the seventh article of a series.

the Bulgarian cooperators, now unified in centralized bodies, all freely elected, and all directly responsible to the people who have elected them and by whom they can be recalled.

The most interesting of the three types of Bulgarian cooperatives, are probably the consumer cooperatives, which share with the state stores in handling 98.4 per cent of the rapidly expanding total retail trade. These have emerged from a reorganization of previously existing consumer cooperative societies, from which they have inherited membership of the English C.W.S. and of the Consumers' Cooperative Alliance of Kansas City.

They are of two distinct types, NARCOOP and SELCOOP, catering to the towns and to the villages respectively. Both types often run, in addition to their retail shops, bakeries, confectioneries, restaurants and taverns. Their trade turn-over increases substantially each year, and their profits, instead of being distributed as "dividends" to their members, are used for reducing prices. A considerable proportion of their supplies are derived from cooperative farms and various other kinds of cooperative productive enterprises, with which they are organically associated in the Central Cooperative Union.

The first of these, the NARCOOP's, functioning in the towns (which are still relatively few and are mostly small) number about 60, with some 2,000 establishments of the various kinds mentioned, and with a membership of about 320,000. Being in competition with the very well appointed state stores, restaurants, etc., their standard is generally high.

The SELCOOP's differ slightly from these in that they combine their retail trading with a number of other important functions, such as:

- 1) Collection of food and industrial crops for the state from cooperative and individual farmers; 2) Purchase on the "free market" from cooperative and individual farmers of surplus produce left over after the fulfilment of their quota obligations to the state, and the subsequent sale of these, either direct, or through the NARKOOP's, to the public; 3) Processing of dairy products, etc.; 4) Supply of selected seed, fertilizers, agricultural implements, etc., to cooperative and individual farmers; 5) Making of loans (on easy terms) to cooperative and individual farmers for the purchase of seed, and other services.

These, being in the villages where, incidentally, they enjoy complete monopoly of retail trading, are much more numerous than the NARKOOPs, numbering some 3,500 with 14,000 various establishments.

Both types of consumer cooperatives are organized together on a regional basis in 95 regional cooperative unions under one central union, all democratically elected and controlled.

Serving these consumer cooperatives are the artisans' labor-producers cooperatives and the labor cooperative farms.

The first of these two types may be regarded as the little man's answer to industrialization, since it provides a means whereby the self-employed artisan can avoid ruin and unemployment resulting from industrialized competition. There were 51 of these already in existence at the time of the Liberation, with an average membership of 8 each. Within a year their number had increased as the result of government encouragement and assistance to 1,037, with a membership of 43,968; and since then they have gone on developing steadily, both in numbers and in size (the

average membership has gone up to 40 each), until they fill a recognized, important place in Bulgarian economy, especially in the production of consumer goods.

Last, but perhaps most important to a country like Bulgaria, are the labor-cooperative farms, Bulgaria's original version of the Soviet collective farm. These again are not new to Bulgaria, for there have been such farms there since 1932. What is new, however, is that, whereas at the time of the Liberation they numbered 42 only, with a membership of a mere 1,680, today, ten years later, they embrace well over half of the farming community (still the majority of the population) and of the arable land. Some districts are 75, 95 and even 100 per cent cooperative!

They produce 66 per cent of the cereals, 75 per cent of the cotton, 84 per cent of the beet-sugar, and the major part of many other important crops. Their productivity is at least 30 per cent higher than that of the individual farmers, with the result that the living standards of their members are in every respect rapidly approximating those of the formerly more favored town workers.

It is interesting to note that these improvements have been accompanied by a steady decrease in the allocation of their "profits" to the payment of interest to their members (on the "capital" brought in by them in the shape of land, buildings, livestock, etc.), in favor of increased rewards for work done, estimated on a scaled basis, according to the particular skill involved.

The former was limited at first by the standard constitution adopted at the first congress of the union of these cooperatives in 1950, to 30 per cent of the disposable income. But at the third congress, in 1953, this was reduced to 25 per cent, and since

then many of them have decided on their own (never without a majority of 70 per cent of the members in favor) to reduce it still farther, and sometimes even to abolish it altogether.

These developments are so much in contrast to those in neighboring Yugoslavia, where, according to an article in the *Economist* of July 31, "since 1952 peasants have been allowed to leave collectives, and collectives to dissolve themselves, with the result that two-thirds of them have disappeared," that one asks oneself what is the explanation.

It is not, as might be supposed that the Bulgarian peasants are not allowed to leave their labor-cooperative farms, and that these are not allowed in Bulgaria to dissolve themselves, for that has been an accepted principle from the outset. On the contrary, it is because in Bulgaria, as opposed to Yugoslavia, there has been no kind of pressure on peasants to become cooperators ("pressed men and women would be bad cooperators," said Dimitrov). And further the Bulgarian Government was at pains always on the one hand to keep the formation of new cooperatives in step with the availability of tractors, etc., to enable them to reap immediately the benefits of mechanized farming, and on the other hand to plan the home production and the importation of consumer goods in such a way as to provide the new cooperative farmers with concrete incentives (not just coin or paper money) for the increased production made possible for them by the improved conditions.

This is but one example of the many ways in which the cooperative element in Bulgaria, represented by the Agrarian Union, has benefited by its cooperation in the governing Fatherland Front.

Co-Education Back in USSR

AFTER nationwide discussions by parents, teachers and educators, co-education has been reintroduced into the primary and secondary schools of the large cities of the Soviet Union. For the past 10 years, since the 1943-1944 school year, separate education for boys and girls in the schools of Moscow, Leningrad and other larger cities was the rule.

But even during this period separate education was practiced in only a minority of the schools. I. A. Kairov, Minister of Education of the RSFSR (the Russian Republic, and the largest of the 16 constituent republics), in an article in *Soviet News*, published in London, says that in that republic, out of 41,200 seven-year and secondary schools, separate education was practiced in only 2,300, affecting only 13.8 per cent of the pupils.

"A study of the practical experience of separate education," Kairov writes, "has shown that it did not lead to an improvement in the educational work in the schools. Moreover, separate education resulted in a lowering of discipline in a number of boys' schools."

The Government decision to reintroduce co-education followed discussion by parents and teachers on the question of the pros and cons of separate education. In June, such discussions were held in Moscow, Leningrad and other large centers. These meetings were conducted on a large scale.

In Moscow, alone, for example more than 70,000 attended parents' meetings, and more than 6,000 people spoke. Teachers' meetings were also held, and in Leningrad, 3,695

teachers attended and 307 spoke.

Both parents and teachers overwhelmingly urged the reintroduction of nationwide co-education.

"Practical experience has proved that with co-education the life of the pupils as a collective body proceeds in a more constructive and interesting way," Kairov writes.

"With co-education," he says, "simple and comradely relations are formed between boys and girls. With separate education, and with the boys meeting the girls rarely and only outside the school, the establishment of such comradely relations is hampered, which sometimes has undesirable consequences."

"In the opinion of the parents, the separate education of boys and girls is, to a certain extent, contrary to the general way of life of Soviet society. In the family, in the kindergarten, in the Young Pioneer camp, in establishments for out-of-school activities, in the technical schools and higher educational establishments, in every field of activity, in science, art and public work—everywhere they are side by side, boys and girls, and men and women. Only in secondary schools in large towns is there any exception to this general rule."

According to the decision, boys' and girls' schools are merged from the first to the ninth grades inclusive. The tenth grades are not being merged in the 1954-55 school year in order to enable tenth-grade pupils to complete their education in the schools in which they have been studying and with the same teachers who have been responsible for their education.

A Novel on Soviet Marital Relations

A review by JUDITH WOODWARD

HEART AND SOUL, by Elizar Maltsev, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. 511 pp.

ILYA EHRENBURG, analyzing the problems facing contemporary Soviet novelists in his penetrating essay, *The Writer and His Works*, claims that if Soviet writers have not as yet produced literature of the stature of Tolstoy's great works it is because "it was much easier for our predecessors to work than it is for us: they were describing a very slowly changing society. . . . It is harder for the Soviet writer to gain an understanding of the thoughts and feelings of his rapidly changing contemporaries. Soviet society," he says, "is now experiencing early morning." The creative writer is an advance scout, portraying "a society in formation, unprecedented in history, in the building of which he himself is participating."

Surely, Ehrenburg had such novelists in mind as Elizar Maltsev, born in the turbulent days of 1917, the son of a Russian peasant who, fired by the heroic effort of the people around him to build a new world, flamed with the ambition to help build that world.

With his novel, *Heart and Soul*, Maltsev has already endeared himself to the Soviet people and to the people of many other countries. First published in 1948, the book was awarded a Stalin Prize, went through twenty editions in Russian and was translated into 12 other languages of the USSR.

Though no one character in the book is as fully comprehended, and hence as memorable to the reader as Tolstoy's Anna Karenina, one can easily see why Maltsev's story of life on a collective farm in the Altai territory of Siberia just before the outbreak of World War II, and the year after the war, has been so eagerly and widely read.

The central characters of the novel are Grunya and Rodion, married three days before the Nazi invasion of their country. Rodion is off to defend their fatherland before he and his bride have had time to adjust to one another. When, shortly after his departure, Grunya receives official word of his death, she buries the notice in a trunk, feeling that if she does not accept its tragic message herself and tells no one about it, it may somehow not be true. Keeping her fears and sorrows to herself she plunges into the activities of the collective farm. Her tireless and intelligent application to her tasks are recognized by the authorities and she is sent to an agricultural school to learn more of the science of farming. Upon her return home she heads up a laboratory on the farm and continues her work as a brigade leader in the wheatfields.

When Rodion comes home after hav-

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ing spent some time' as a guerrilla fighter behind the enemy lines, he finds that his wife has changed from the shy, young girl he first fell in love with to a mature, articulate, young woman, capable of criticizing him for his attitude towards life. Rodion is ambitious, proud, a hard worker, but he looks upon each achievement of his as a helpful step to personal fame. He is an individualist out to make a record for himself, whether in winning war medals or in working on the collective. He has little patience for or comprehension of Grunya's experiments in developing a hardy strain of winter wheat. If they should be a failure what will she gain? But Grunya sees labor not in terms of personal glory, or even in honors for the collective, but in terms of welfare of the whole country. Impatiently she tells her husband, "You're only thinking about setting a record—a mere drop in the ocean. We're thinking about *all* the fields."

The basic difference in philosophy toward their work causes a painful rift

between the two. It is only after Rodion makes many mistakes costly to the welfare of the collective, and in the process loses the confidence of his co-workers, that he realizes he cannot *command* their respect or the love of his wife. He can only rewin both by working for their welfare as well as his own.

It is the changing relationships between husband and wife on the collective farm which fascinate Maltsev and thus fascinate his readers. These relationships are sensitively dealt with in the case of minor characters as well as the leading ones.

Heart and Soul is a glowing tribute to the dignity and courage of Soviet women who carried on the work of their men when they were away and in the process developed into leaders capable of contributing to the progress of their country as a whole. In reading it, one is invigorated and stimulated by the challenge and achievements of Soviet life in what Ilya Ehrenburg calls "the early morning" of their society.

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Edited by

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