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NEW WORLD

NOVEMBER
1954

Review

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NEW WORLD Review

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OUR COVER: *A Future of Abundance*, drawing by Rockwell Kent. Other drawings by the distinguished artist, on pages 25, 26 and 27. Unless otherwise indicated, photos in this issue are by Sovfoto.

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37th Anniversary of the USSR

by JESSICA SMITH

ON NOVEMBER 7th, the people of the Soviet Union celebrate the 37th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the world's first socialist state.

They will look back over the long and difficult road they have traversed in transforming a primitive, agrarian country into a modern industrial state whose resources and means of production are in the hands of the people themselves, devoted to no man's profits, but to the steadily advancing material and cultural well-being of all. They will look back over the past year, and assess the continuous industrial growth, the improvements in agriculture, the steady rise in living standards, in consumers' goods, in housing, in the development of a rich people's culture. They will not do this uncritically. The leaders and the people together will examine the mistakes that they have made and what has been done and must still be done to overcome them.

And they will look forward hopefully to a world at peace, in which they can continue their peaceful construction, apply the wonders of the atom to the needs of life instead of destruction, and advance steadily to-

ward an era of abundance when all material needs can be completely satisfied, and the limitless creative abilities of the human hand and brain can be wholly devoted to the enrichment of life in the highest sense.

Too few of the American people, poisoned as they have been with the cold war propaganda of those who fear and hate socialism and want to destroy it, will understand what this anniversary means to the Soviet people, and to the whole 900,000,000 of the world's people who have achieved or entered on the road to socialism.

The reeducation of the American people on the facts of life in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies is one of the major tasks of our time. Every obstacle is being put in the way of this by the cold war propagandists who control what the American people hear and see and read on radio, television, the screen, and in the press, and what our youth are taught. In addition, social and cultural interchange have been reduced almost to the vanishing point. Few Americans are permitted to travel to the Soviet Union, few Russians to come here. (The visit

of the Soviet chess team was a happy exception), Soviet publications are withheld from delivery to Americans. Increasing obstacles are put in the way of publications like our own which seek to bring the true facts to the American people.

Yet understanding and knowledge of the ways of life of other peoples is vital to our country's own highest interests and future security because only on the basis of such knowledge is it possible to co-exist in peace with other nations.

The first essential is for the American people to learn to distinguish war propaganda from facts, and to seek out the truth for themselves. Despite all the banning and burning of the books that goes on, there are still plenty of books in our libraries recounting the history of the past four decades from which truth may be learned. And much truth can be learned even from regular news sources if interpreted with ordinary common sense.

For example, Americans need to ask themselves why the people of other nations have different conceptions of life in the Soviet Union than are prevalent in this country. And they must recognize the fact that these opinions are based on a much freer interchange of people and information than is at present possible in American-Soviet relations.

Understanding the truth about the Soviet Union does not mean acceptance of the Soviet system or desiring it for one's own country. It means primarily an understanding of what it means for the people who live under it. The only basis for a peaceful world is mutual respect among the nations for each other's right to develop their own traditions, cultures and economic and so-

cial systems in the way desired by the majority of the people. The fact that we may choose a different way does not mean that those who choose socialism do so by compulsion, as so many today seem willing to believe.

37 Years of Struggle for Peace

But aside from the long, slow process of learning the facts of the internal developments in the Soviet Union, the facts of Soviet foreign policy are readily accessible, despite the frenzied efforts to distort them. The historic truth that the Soviet Union has no aggressive purposes, but has from the first day of its existence until the present sought an end to wars and a policy of peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems, is spread on the record for all the world to see.

It would be salutary on this 37th anniversary of the Soviet Union for the American people to review the history of these years and understand our debt to the Soviet Union for this policy of peace and the promise it holds that we may avoid the terrible threat of atomic destruction that hangs over the world today, and enter upon the only path that holds out for humanity the prospects of an abundant and happy existence, in fact of any existence at all—that of peaceful co-existence. Dr. Harry Ward in his article elsewhere in this issue, shows that this path has become the moral imperative of our time. The whole course of Soviet foreign policy demonstrates that it is possible of fulfillment.

Over the years we have reviewed again and again in this magazine the peaceful record of Soviet foreign policy that began when the very first decree of the infant Soviet Government on November 8, 1917 was an appeal to all nations taking part

in World War I to open negotiations for a just and lasting peace.

The policy of peaceful co-existence began even before the revolution when Lenin spoke of the possibility of "the victory of socialism first in a few countries or even in one country taken singly." When it became clear after World War I that other countries were not ready to take the road to socialism, the Trotsky theory of "permanent revolution," based on the idea that socialism could not be built in one country, but only when all countries adopted the socialist system, was utterly repudiated by the people of the Soviet Union. Under Lenin's leadership, they entered upon the period of socialist construction within their own country, and peaceful relations and trade with all countries who understood that such a course was in their own best interests.

This policy was continued throughout the period of Stalin's leadership of the Soviet state. Over the years, he built carefully and solidly a series of treaties with other nations based on normal diplomatic and mutually beneficial trade relations. Through the years the Soviet Union has steadily sought to bring about an end to the arms race between nations as a main cause of war, seeing total disarmament as the final answer, but always ready to make concessions in the direction of limited arms reduction, in order to make at least a start, as will be remembered in the successive arms reduction proposals made by Maxim Litvinov at Geneva on behalf of his government.

During the period of the rise of fascism, the Soviet Union labored consistently, within the League of Nations and in all its relations with other countries, to build a system of collective security among the demo-

cratic nations, which could have stopped World War II had it been organized in time. It was recognition of this Soviet purpose by Franklin D. Roosevelt that led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR twenty-one years ago this November 16.

The Western European nations refused to heed Stalin's solemn warning that in Hitler's mad drive for world domination he would attack them first, and the Munich pact, based on the hope of turning Hitler eastward, was the result. The Soviet Union continued its efforts for collective security even after Munich, and made its pact of non-aggression with Nazi Germany—never an alliance as it is so often mis-called—only after all efforts to achieve a common front with the Western nations against Hitler had failed.

When Hitler's and Mussolini's attack enveloped both West and East, and their Japanese partner attacked the United States, the grand alliance of the democratic powers perforce came into being, and was victorious over the Axis powers mainly, as history records, because of the mighty war effort of the Soviet Union in our common cause.

How can Americans ever forget what we owe the Soviet Union for this victory over fascism, in which some 15,000,000 of the Soviet people gave their lives, in which so many of the fruits of their peaceful labor of more than two decades were destroyed, sacrifices to which alone we owe the fact that millions of Americans who would otherwise be dead, still walk the earth today? How can we accept a policy which today asks us to regard these people as our enemies, to prepare to drop atom and hydrogen bombs on their main centers of industry and culture, and to

rearm our former common enemies to aid in a policy which in the end could only destroy us all?

Malenkov Continues the Policy of Peace

There are those who do not accept this whole past record of the Soviet Government and its people, or who have been taken in by the propaganda that however useful an ally the Soviet Union might have been in World War II, something has changed since then, and today we are threatened with aggression from this ally. There are also some who apparently feel that we fought the wrong war, who believe that instead of joining the Soviet Union in fighting Nazi Germany, we should have joined the Nazis in destroying the Soviet Union. How else explain the readiness to revive the same Nazi army, officered by the same Nazi generals, that we together defeated?

Let us look, then, just at the record of this past year, and consider where we might have been had it not been for the peaceful policies the Soviet Union has pursued in this recent period.

Since Stalin's death in 1953, Premier Malenkov has continued the same policies of peaceful negotiations and peaceful co-existence that have been the basis of Soviet foreign policy since its inception, all the nonsense about "a new Soviet initiative," a "new look" in Soviet foreign policy notwithstanding.

Premier Malenkov has reiterated again and again that there are no disputed issues in international relations which cannot be solved, given the mutual will to solve them, and he has implemented these words with constructive deeds. If there have been extraordinary attempts toward easing world tensions during the

past year and a half, it is because extraordinary threats to world peace have arisen, coupled with the growing destructiveness of weapons that could now wipe out all civilization.

The Soviet Union has done everything in its power during this past year to eliminate both small and large causes of friction in its relations with other states and create favorable conditions for solution of international issues through negotiations rather than reliance on armed force. It has steadily developed its relations with other socialist nations on the basis of mutual economic aid and interchange in every field. Despite the trade boycott imposed by the United States, an increasing number of trade agreements have been signed with capitalist countries, whose desire for such trade has resulted in a considerable reduction in the number of proscribed trade items. It has vastly increased its human and cultural interchange with other nations, entertaining within its borders many thousands of people from all over the world as individual guests or members of private or official delegations, returning these visits, and participating in numerous international conferences and events. It has steadily deepened its friendly ties with the Chinese People's Republic and spared no effort to gain full recognition for the rights of that great nation in the United Nations and in international affairs. It has given the fullest support to all constructive activities of the United Nations, joining many of the specialized agencies from which it formerly remained apart.

It is important that Americans fully recognize the role of the Soviet Union in bringing to an end the main shooting wars of the postwar period, in Korea and Indo-China. In



—United Nations

Andrey Y. Vyshinsky, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative to the UN, presenting new Soviet disarmament proposals to the General Assembly

1953, Soviet initiative and support were a major factor in bringing about the armistice in Korea, ending the cruel bloodshed there and the constant threat of spreading that war to China and the world.

This year the major victory for the forces of peace was the armistice in Indo-China. This was a direct result of the fact that the Soviet Union opened the way for the revival of long-dormant big power negotiations at the Berlin Conference last winter. This conference failed to achieve a settlement on Germany, but due to the insistence of the Soviet Union, agreement was reached on holding the Geneva Conference on Far Eastern questions, with the par-

ticipation of the Chinese People's Republic. The Geneva Conference, despite the attempts of the United States to prevent or wreck it, blocked U.S. intervention plans and brought peace in Indo-China.

The defeat of the European Defense Community in the French Assembly represented the opposition of the people of France and all Europe to the rearming of Germany. Now a new plan has been hatched to rearm Germany, by bringing it into a revised Brussels Treaty—appropriately named BRUTO—as well as into NATO. The new treaties signed in Paris have been joyously acclaimed by the Administration and praised by Secretary Dulles as achieving

"the great primary objectives of security, peace, freedom in Europe." But the people of Europe, whose memories of Hitler's gas chambers and the horrors inflicted on their countries by Nazi occupation forces are still fresh, do not view the revival of a West German army under the Nazi generals in this light, or see any security from the presence of a divided Germany in the heart of a Europe divided into two hostile camps.

New Chances for Agreement

The Soviet Union has offered a peaceful alternative to this in its repeated proposals for an all-inclusive collective security treaty for Europe, in which the United States would join. This treaty would be open first to both the German Federal Republic and to the German Democratic Republic, and eventually to a reunified Germany.

In its note of October 23 to the Western Powers, the Soviet Union renewed this proposal, calling for a four-power foreign ministers conference in November on the question of German unification and the withdrawal of all occupation forces. (The new treaties, while ostensibly granting sovereignty to the German Federal Republic, provide for the retention of foreign troops on its soil as part of the new military alliance.) The note made clear that the Soviet Union was prepared to consider other proposals for European security as well as its own, and also to consider again the proposals for the holding of all-German elections supported by the Western representatives at the Berlin Conference.

Powerful forces in France, England and Western Germany, as well as elsewhere in Europe are demanding that new negotiations must be

held with the Soviet Union before the new treaties, which must be ratified by fifteen nations, go into effect. The new Soviet note opens the way for such negotiations.

Just as the Soviet Union has opposed the rearming of Germany and the division of the peoples of Europe into two hostile blocs under NATO, it has opposed the similar attempts to divide Asia under the SEATO pact. It has supported instead a system of collective security organized by the Asian people themselves, on the principles agreed upon between the USSR and China, and by Indian Premier Nehru and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, namely: Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful co-existence.

As 1954 opened, Premier Malenkov, answering a correspondent's questions, sent New Year greetings for peace to the American people and expressed his desire for better relations between our two countries. He declared that the most important step for peace during 1954 would be an agreement among the nations not to use atomic and hydrogen bombs, as a step toward their complete prohibition, along with an agreement on general arms reduction.

In pursuance of this aim, the Soviet Union has now made the question of disarmament and control of atomic weapons the center of world attention at the current session of the General Assembly. It has done so by making substantial concessions to the Western viewpoint which have brought the positions of the big powers closer together, holding out the hope for progress in the main problem that must be solved if the nations are to live together in peace.

Peaceful Co-Existence

A Moral and Practical Imperative

by HARRY F. WARD

THE H-BOMB, on top of the A-bomb, germ weapons, and jellied gasoline, has reduced the question of the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and communist led sections of mankind to its essence. It is now a stark choice between peaceful co-existence and unlimited mutual destruction.

This situation removes the issue from theoretical discussion to the plane of practical necessity. It was on this ground that the Soviet Union first raised the question. Their advocacy of peaceful co-existence expresses the need to protect socialist construction. Today the capitalist world has a similar need to protect the means of maintenance for its people—industrial plant and food supply.

The present situation also transposes peaceful co-existence from an

ethical ideal to a moral imperative. Unless the war of the new weapons of mass destruction can be avoided it will destroy the basis of social morality—the value of human life it has taken thousands of years to build up.

The practical necessity for peaceful co-existence is absolute, and the moral imperative is categorical, because there is no other choice but unlimited destruction. The cold war, offered as a substitute, has shown itself to be the broad highway that leads to more death and desolation than the world has ever known or been able to endure. It keeps us building a stockpile of A- and H-bombs, preparing for and testing germ warfare. Its planners reject and oppose the outlawry of these weapons. The number who speak the same language as its British advocate, Sir John Leslie, increases. He writes:

In the last resort we should not even shrink from striking the first blow as an alternative to bloodless defeat.

More rational advocates of the cold war talk of ten years of tension and

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then, by its pressures, the attitudes and policies of the Soviet Union will have changed to our liking. It took three years for the cold war to get us, and the supposedly war-preventing United Nations, into Korea. How long will it take for the provocations of our patrol of Chinese waters in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek, and our "routine" plane probings of Soviet borders for information on their radar defenses to start the war which some of our top strategists say must use all our weapons?

Beside the possibilities of annihilation opened up by the H-bomb there is another historic fact operating to produce the choice between peaceful co-existence and unlimited destruction. That fact puts co-existence into history as a reality, leaving only the question of what kind. It is the demonstration that socialist economy is workable and consequently is here to stay. The proof was provided by the amount and quality of Soviet war production in the joint war against Hitler. It is now being reinforced by the rise in Soviet living standards since the war, and also by the amount and quality of the economic aid being sent to the New Democracies of Eastern Europe and to New China.

Our cold war planners have been brought up to believe that a socialist economy cannot work. So they involve themselves in the ruinous contradiction of disbelieving and denying that it works and then planning to destroy it. The propaganda they create to deceive the public also deceives them by its continuous underestimate of the elements of strength in the socialist economy. It overestimates the amount and nature of the dissent and discontent that always follow a social-economic revolution. So ignoring the fate of Hitler, and forgetting the failure of the early

capitalist counter-revolution, which had a better chance to succeed, they plot to overthrow the governments that direct a socialist economy, or the approach to one, by subsidizing and arming counter revolutionary forces. At the same time they get ready for the preventive war, which would be Armageddon. It is not for military reasons alone that their published war plans direct the first air attack at the industrial plants of the Soviet Union.

This is the madness that leads to destruction. When has an economic order that brings a higher standard of living and more opportunities for education to more people ever been overthrown or replaced as long as it continued to move in that direction? The longer socialist economy works, and the better it works, the more impossible it becomes for the capitalist world to destroy it, or to subvert and overthrow the government that directs it. The more it succeeds the more it begets both the means of resistance and the loyalty of the people it serves. Also the more will the industrially under-developed peoples see it as the way to use their own natural resources and labor capacities for their own needs without paying tribute to vested capital interests.

It is equally true that the capitalist economy cannot be destroyed from without and is not yet ready for dissolution within. That the Soviet leaders have learned this from recent history is one of the weighty factors in the possibility of peaceful co-existence. Lenin began the building of socialism in one country when he saw that Germany did not follow Hungary into revolution and the Hungarian revolution was subverted. Since then Soviet leaders have repeatedly affirmed that revolution can-

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VIEW



—Wide World

Soldiers of the USA and USSR as they together fought Danube River floods last summer. The world press cited this effort as an example of how the two countries should work together and thus eliminate world tensions

not be exported, it must await the necessary internal conditions. Their support of the world peace movement is part of their reaction to the new historic situation created by weapons for wholesale destruction. They know that if the series of wars started by World War I is allowed to continue, its weakening effect upon capitalist economy will be counterbalanced by the delay in the building of socialism it brings to the communist led countries.

A further pressure toward peaceful co-existence is the need of both Russia and China for machines and

techniques the capitalist world can supply. Russian experience includes the fact that the purchase of these between World Wars I and II enabled the planned socialist economy to move forward fast enough to become a vital factor in the winning of World War II. Consequently, both Russia and China know that when they offer trade which will help prolong the capitalist economy for a period they are also shortening the coming of age of their socialist economy. Also they are providing a partial alternative for the war economy United States policy has fastened on

the rest of the capitalist world, thus lessening the trends toward the war of total destruction.

To say we cannot trust the communists is both futile and dangerous. What is there in our record that would justify them in trusting us? It is self-interest, as well as the ancient religious desire to "learn war no more" which the socialists inherited, that speaks in their advocacy of peaceful co-existence. A similar self-interest and ideal would lead the people of the United States to speak in the same way if they could free themselves from the propaganda created by those whose self-interest leads in the opposite direction. It is when self-interest joins a common need that moral, spiritual and material forces are united for human progress. Such an opportunity now lies before us.

Beside self-interest and an ideal there speaks in Soviet advocacy of peaceful co-existence something that we no longer possess. Behind their words is confidence in the ability of socialist economy to give mankind more of the opportunities for development that capitalist economy brought in its youth and is now in its maturity unable to further provide. This inability is the root cause of the frenzied fear that begets and supports the madness of our foreign policy of force and violence and our domestic policy of repression. Yet, unless the cold war is permitted to turn this world into a lifeless planet, the conflict between the capitalist and socialist economy will finally be settled by which is able to satisfy more of the material needs and the spiritual aspirations of mankind. That is the historic law by which systems rise and fall. The question before us is whether there is enough intelligence and moral sensibility in this

nation to use its dominant position in the capitalist world to let the test "by their fruits ye shall know them" work out peacefully through trial and error.

The historic facts that have now put the basic issue of war or peace in the sharp form of peaceful co-existence or unlimited mutual destruction, have recently produced a new look at the question in capitalist ranks. During his brief visit this summer, in an effort to lessen the danger of war from our foreign policy, Winston Churchill surprised the world with a plea for "a good, hard try" at peaceful co-existence. This plea from the man whose Fulton speech in 1946 outlined cold war strategy expressed the urgent necessity of Great Britain to prevent the H-bomb war.

Some revealing reactions followed. To a press conference question, Defense Secretary Wilson replied that some method must be worked out whereby the free world and communism can live together. A reporter commented "That sounds like co-existence." Wilson then suggested that maybe "co-habitation would be a better word." That sounds like suggesting that common law marriage would solve the problem of the family.

In Canada, External Affairs Minister Pearson didn't like the word because of its Kremlin source; but, provided the price of adequate defensive strength and eternal vigilance is paid, "I don't see why we shouldn't continue to exist alongside the Communist world." Bare co-existence, not cooperation.

A month later a commission of the World Council of Churches, meeting at Evanston, Ill., came up with a report which said that, because Christians are committed to reconciliation, the conditions of peaceful existence must be explored and fulfilled. The

final statement on international relations said that Christians "can never accept as the only kind of existence open to nations, a state of perpetual tension leading to inevitable war." It substituted "living together" for "peaceful co-existence" because the latter term has "unhappy historical significance." But that term more precisely expresses what they stood for, namely continual effort to end the conditions and relations which lead to war.

This was recognized by the new President of the United Nations Assembly, Dr. Van Kleffens of the Netherlands, in his inaugural remarks. He declared that mere co-existence will not satisfy the peoples. He said the nations need much more than that: "What the world expects from us here is a contribution to general peace on the basis of live and let live."

The religious element which opposes this spoke out at an official press conference of the World Council of Churches, at which both sides of the debate on the floor were presented. The head of the Czech delegation, a professor of theology, formerly of Princeton Theological Seminary, told the reporters why he was, as a Christian, "wholeheartedly devoted to peaceful co-existence." Then Ivan Czap, Philadelphia layman of the Russian Orthodox Church, argued that "we cannot have peaceful co-existence. Faith in the living God and in Communism are irreconcilable." This does not follow, is a non-sequitur, of course, unless one believes that differences over theology justify repeating the religious wars of the more barbaric past.

Another negative reaction to the new interest in peaceful co-existence is recorded in the Senate debate of July 21, the day after the signing

of the Indo-China armistice. Senator Knowland, leading Republican policy maker, interrupts Senator Symington, a Democratic leader, former Secretary for the Air Force:

I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Missouri if he does not believe that the policy which has been enunciated abroad of peaceful co-existence with ruthless aggressive Communism is not comparable to the situation of an individual who has been put into a cage with a vicious tiger which has just been well fed and is digesting a big meal. but when he digests his meal, which in this case is a big piece of Indo-China, he will then seek the next big source of his meat, which will be the unfortunate individual who is trying to co-exist with him in the tiger's cage.

The reply is, "I could not agree more heartily with the Senator. . . ."

Yet, in the same debate, Senator Symington had said:

Soon there will be sufficient weapons, of sufficient power, to destroy any or all targets which could possibly threaten either ourselves or our allies. . . . Soon the Communists will amass a stockpile of these cheap packages of absolute destruction large enough to blacken with atomic fire not just our cities and industries, but every square mile of American landscape. Unlimited hydrogen capacity is therefore with us.

He was referring to the fact that the Soviet Union got ahead of us in the production of the cheaper helium hydrogen bomb. Could there be a more complete revelation of the frenzied unreason of our bi-partisan foreign policy?

Such self-destructing madness, the old Romans said, was the work of the gods. From a wider and longer outlook on human life we know that

men and nations bring it on themselves by the course they choose to follow. It is the substitution of the cold war for the peaceful co-existence of the 'thirties which has put rearmament in place of disarmament, thrown the menacing shadow of the H-bomb across our path, and produced opposition to all proposals to remove it. Churchill's desire for "a good hard try" at peaceful co-existence is written off by the consent of his government to West German rearmament.

The longer the cold war continues the more occasions for the outbreak of the war of mutual destruction does it provide. Also the more does it prevent the development of the conditions essential for peaceful co-existence. The two most generally recognized are economic and cultural exchange for mutual benefit. Our cold war planners have done their best to destroy both of these. In addition their propaganda increases the fear, suspicion and hate that incite

to war, and represses the confidence, tolerance and goodwill without which there can be no peaceful co-existence. It is clear that the cold war must be rejected and abandoned if mutual destruction is to be escaped.

The first obstacle to be overcome is the apathy of the general public overwhelmed by stupendous events, and for the most part without the facts concerning them. A contributing factor is the wishful thinking that H-bomb destruction is too terrible to be attempted. It does not see that those who planned the burning of peasants, their livestock and their crops with jellied gasoline, who prepared for and experimented with germ warfare, have not enough sense of the value of human life to restrain them from going a step further. "All weapons in the next war" is the slogan of the most rabid. Has Congress shown any evidence of restraint if the step is presented with sufficient distortion of fact and camouflage of moral phrases?

Editors of U.S. college newspapers visited the USSR last year and are shown with Soviet students at a New Year's costume ball in the Kremlin



The point where the line of the advocates of total war is weakest is the anti-moral nature of the new weapons. The willingness to destroy all life is the lowest point of moral depravity to which human nature can descend. To get there it has to deceive itself and others by the propaganda which pictures communism as total evil and its leaders as all evil incarnate. If this is true there can be no peaceful co-existence. So there will not be unless its untruth is exposed. This task of enlightenment should be undertaken by those in the religious world who reject the doctrine of total depravity for any part of the human race. It should accompany the exposition of the moral depravity of making and using mass destruction weapons which is now on the agenda of the larger section of Protestantism. "American Judaism," organ of Reform Judaism, has just started a discussion on "What Shall We Do About the H-bomb?" In the Catholic world the issue has just been confused by the Pope's statement that the H-bomb should not be used except for self-defense. But there are plenty of Catholics who know, and more who can be shown, that the H-bomb is solely a weapon of attack.

A part of the apathy abroad in the land is due to the feeling that nothing can be done because the cold war advocates are in complete control. They dominate both parties, the top leadership of both the AFL and the CIO, and most of the means of communication.

Nevertheless something was accomplished last April or we would now be fighting in Indo-China. Intervention was decided and was on its way. It was stopped by the refusal of our major allies to go along and the tremendous expression of voters' op-

position to going to war. It is at points like this, in battle after battle on specific issues, that the cold war can be stopped and the approach to peaceful co-existence begun.

The pressure of world forces moves in this direction. Under the impact of urgent needs on both sides, trade between the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world is growing, despite all the efforts of our government to stop it. This diminishes the pressure of a war economy upon some capitalist nations and weakens their adherence to the cold war. This in turn lessens the opposition to disarmament—a basic condition of peaceful co-existence.

A similar situation exists in cultural exchange. It has notably increased in the last three years between the Soviet Union and the British Commonwealth, Western Europe and Asia. Even the United States has had to raise its screen a little, in scientific and religious contacts, athletic and chess contests. The more the peaceful contacts, the less warlike the relations between the differing economies.

We who fight with moral and intellectual weapons for peaceful co-existence may at the moment be a small minority. The hosts arrayed against us are certainly mighty. But around us are a multitude who, though bewildered, deceived and cowed into silence for a time, still have not bowed the knee to Mammon. All across the world, marching with us, are millions who for the first time are conscious of their need for peace and expressing their will to get it. Behind us are the historic forces that have never known final defeat—the passion for justice, the urge for worldwide fellowship in mutual efforts for the further development of mankind.

1954—BUOYANT YEAR IN THE USSR

by RALPH PARKER

FOR MORE YEARS than I care to remember I have sat down at my desk each October and wondered how best to describe the year that began when the Roman numerals marking the anniversary of the 1917 Revolution were hoisted in the Red Square and that ended with the next celebration of the anniversary.

The year of Stalingrad, the year of victory, the run of difficult years of reconversion, the year when the Soviet people made their formal entry into the struggle for peace by giving unanimous support to the World Peace Movement, that wonderful year when the great new construction plans for hydroelectric and irrigation projects were unfolded, the year in which Stalin died and a new government formed that was soon to impress the world with its energy, its candor and its impressive offers to contribute to a relaxation of tension in international affairs.

The year 1954? How is one to de-

scribe it from Moscow? In the striking words of the eminent British scientist, Professor J. D. Bernal, pronounced in the Kremlin last September when he received the award of the International Stalin Peace Prize, "The advocates of the cold war and of the policy of overwhelming strength have not had their way. Instead of the mounting tension and hostility between the two parts of the world, which they demanded, we are witnessing today an unmistakable relaxation."

Unmistakable relaxation.

Yes, there is no doubt that everyone here has felt a reduction of anxiety. An American correspondent, arriving by train to take up his post in Moscow, told me that what had surprised him more than anything else during the many hours of conversation he had with various Russian traveling companions was that no one mentioned peace.

"Don't get me wrong," he hastened to add. "They talked plenty about their plans for doing peaceful things, but I could tell that the question Peace or War wasn't to the forefront in their minds. They took peace for granted."

Now, I would not go as far as that. I brought back with me from a long

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

Entertainers from all parts of the country perform at the USSR Agricultural Exhibition. These are dancers from the Palace of Culture song and dance ensemble of Soviet Armenia



trip through the farms of Siberia—new state farms, old collective farms—the impression that most Russians—I met young ones, mostly—were still very much on their guard against complacency about the international situation. On the other hand, I found people going about their tasks in implementing the big new plans for agriculture with a whole-heartedness that owes much, I feel sure, to the new spirit of confidence that has been created by the end of the fighting in Korea and Indo-China.

Relaxation, indeed, seems hardly the word to use in connection with a year that has seen so much energy directed into new channels. Yet one recalls the truly democratic nature of the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the re-union of Russia and the Ukraine—a national gala day is the only way I can think of describing it; the breath-taking beauty of the Sports Festival in the Dynamo Stadium during the summer (quarter of a million people watched it), which had this fairly hard-boiled correspondent gulping down tears aroused by the lyrical beauty of healthy, sun-tanned bod-

ies in flowing movements; cultural events like the visit of the *Comedie Francaise* and the Italian dancers which set everyone agog for a time; and, finally, the triumph of the Agricultural Exhibition.

To many, the year 1954—the 37th year of the Revolution—will be remembered by a mental picture of the dancing fountains of the exhibition park; and this many includes the hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers who went to the exhibition at the expense of the farms they belong to all over the Soviet Union. "I saw Lenin and Stalin"—he meant the Mausoleum—"the Kremlin and the University," a 67-year-old shepherd told me in the foot-hills of the Altai Mountains, describing his visit to Moscow—he had taken a prize ram along to be exhibited.

The streets of Moscow have acquired a new look this year through the presence of the Uzbek cotton-growers, the north Russian dairy maids, the Armenian wine-growers, the Ukrainian prize vegetable raisers and all the rest of those who won the right to exhibit at the Agricultural Exhibition.

Perhaps I can best sum up the

mood of the year by telling the stories of what happened to three Soviet women—one of them still a girl—during the year 1954.

I FIRST HEARD of Raissa at the Lithuanian Pavilion at the Agricultural Exhibition. I was admiring a stained-glass panel that depicted a young partisan girl of Lithuania. The face of the central figure in this panel bore a look of such blazing fury that I said to my Lithuanian companion: "Do you know, I believe that only an artist who had suffered terribly in the war could have created that figure." "Let's find out," my companion said. We made inquiries.

My surmise was true.

Raissa was fourteen when the German invaders interned her and her mother at Kaunas (capital of Soviet Lithuania) in the ghetto-prison camp. Before she escaped through the wire and found refuge with a brave school teacher, she had seen what, I suppose, most of those European Jews who fell into German hands saw—children bayoneted and clubbed to death, the old and the infirm marched off to incineration, people starved or driven mad.

When Raissa, who was then 17, heard that her mother was likely to be included in one of the next detachments for annihilation she went back into the death camp. This she managed by the simple expedient of meeting and changing clothes with her mother when the latter came out of the camp in a working party (the Germans counted heads when the prisoners returned to camp).

But Raissa took a pair of wire-clippers in with her and escaped again. The end of the war found her stricken with an incurable chest disease as the result of exposure and

malnutrition. What was the future to bring this Soviet Lithuanian girl of Jewish extraction?

The window in the Agricultural Exhibition is the answer.

Soon after the liberation of Lithuania, Raissa started to study art in Vilnius and Leningrad. Every year she was sent, free of charge, to a sanatorium in the Crimea. She graduated at art college, began to teach while practicing as an artist.

"Life is completely transformed for the Lithuanian people as the result of liberation," she wrote to a friend. "Ignorance first, and poverty, were general before; now they are the exception."

In 1952, Raissa was commissioned to design a stained-glass window for the Lithuanian Pavilion in the Moscow Exhibition. That year the art director of the exhibition visited Vilnius, saw and approved of the sketch, made a few suggestions. For two years Raissa worked on the window, receiving a handsome fee. Twice this pretty dark-haired girl came to Moscow to supervise the installation of her window. And all this time she was visiting the family and friends of the girl, a former guerrilla, who was the subject of her work. "I relived the life of my subject," she told a friend. "And what I learned of her had a deep and lasting effect on me."

For Raissa, 1954 was the year of the unveiling of her window, a work of art into the creation of which she has put all her love for her Lithuanian homeland and all her hatred for fascism.

MARGARITA is a Russian, the same age as Raissa and she, too, has many grim memories to haunt her, and has, in 1954, taken a decisive step in her life that may banish those memories forever.



Stalingrad rebuilt. Children in a courtyard of one of the new apartment houses in that heroic city on a street appropriately named Peace Street

When her home town, Stalingrad, was destroyed by German planes Margarita was just over 15. Her youth prevented her being accepted in the Red Army as a nurse—she was studying nursing when the war began—but one day in September, when the battle for Stalingrad was at its height, Margarita saw a troopship on the Volga receive a direct hit and was so deeply moved by the sight that the intensity of her feelings carried her over all obstacles.

For the next fortnight she was accompanying wounded Red Army men from Stalingrad to the left—the “safe” bank of the Volga. She had more luck than most—she served as a nurse for a fortnight before she was severely wounded. Three months in a hospital, a hospital bombed day and night, and the frail beautiful child went with the advancing army

into the Ukraine. In 1944, she was nursing on the Crimean front where her father was killed. In 1945, she was in Berlin, and there, a year later she was demobilized, then aged 19, with three years experience of the bloodiest war in history behind her.

What did Margarita do? Find a quiet job? Go to Moscow to enjoy herself? She went to rebuild Stalin-grad.

She lived first in a tent, then in a basement that she and her fellow-builders made habitable; she slept in an iron cot dug out of the rubble. When she married a Stalingrad worker, the wedding guests had to climb a ladder to get into the tiny room that served as kitchen, bedroom and livingroom. Then, when things were getting a bit ship-shape, Margarita gave up the little comfort she and her husband and one-year-old Tolik

now enjoyed by responding to a call for volunteers to work in the hospitals of the Volga-Don construction project.

"The first winter out in the Stalin-grad steppe was very hard," Margarita told me. "Some nights I would be called out to attend people who had been hurt at work on the locks. I remember one man who had fallen and not been noticed. I gave 800 grams of my blood to him and he recovered."

Margarita was on one of the first ships to sail along the Volga-Don Canal. Then she went to a remote little town in the north Caucasus called Cherkessk. And there, one might suppose, the story ended.

But Margarita is one of nature's pioneers. In the early spring of 1954, she and Tolik left Cherkessk and travelled over 5,000 miles to south Siberia, to the virgin lands of the Altai region.

It was there that I found her. Dressed in a white smock she was attending a tractor driver for a minor complaint in a small hut in the middle of the steppe, one of the half dozen wooden buildings in this camp site for a future state farm of some 30,000 acres.

Margarita is just one among the 150,000 volunteers who in 1954 have gone to Siberia, Kazakhstan and other areas of virgin or long-fallow land to establish new country towns and supply the Soviet Union with the grain that is needed to carry society through to the next stage in its development.

YELENA, the third Soviet citizen whose story I want to outline, belongs to a generation which only faintly remembers the outbreak of the war.

For Yelena, 1954 was the year she

left high school with a medal and started her studies to be a civil engineer and town planner. It was the year she went to the Kremlin reception for Moscow school graduates, the year she took part in that traditional gathering in the Red Square of boys and girls finishing school, when the great square becomes the setting for a fairy-like ballet.

Yelena is typical of her generation in that she has a veritable thirst for beauty and art. Perhaps it has something to do with the war years. I first met Yelena when she was five. That was in a little wooden house on the banks of the Volga at Kuibyshev. She was sleeping in a room not big enough to swing a cat in, and there were three other people in the room. She had been evacuated from Moscow by barge.

In 1943, Yelena was back in Moscow where she entered school. Every summer she brought me her school reports and showed me the marks before leaving for holidays in the Crimea or the Caucasus. And now, this 1954 summer, arose the difficult, critical decision—what institute to enter. Geology? Forestry? Geography? The choice finally fell on civil engineering.

FOR Raissa, a stained-glass window in the Exhibition, for Margarita, a post in a first aid point in the Siberian steppe, for Yelena a place in the Moscow Civil Engineering Institute—very different fates for people of widely varying experience of life. But each of them—and in this they are typical—feels that she is making headway in a more hopeful, more promising atmosphere. The coming of peace in Korea and Indo-China has infused Soviet life with a spirit unlike anything I have ever known here.

Advances in Soviet Agriculture

by LEMENT U. HARRIS

THROUGHOUT the year 1954, the government of the Soviet Union has been sponsoring policies designed to hasten the development of a modern agriculture and improved rural living conditions. Evidently the modernizing of Soviet industry which has proven its worth in both peace and war is now to be matched by the most strenuous efforts to modernize the village.

Symbol of the state's sponsorship of the modernization campaign was the opening of the fabulous Agricultural Exhibition on the outskirts of Moscow, August 1. Upon this dazzling layout of many acres of marble buildings in a setting of reflection pools, fountains, and flowering shrubbery, has been lavished every conceivable attention. A roster of leading architects has succeeded in giving the exhibit grounds and buildings a monumental nature, expressing the characteristics of each national republic and region.

Those who recall the Soviet pavil-

LEMENT U. HARRIS has worked for many years on farm problems in the United States and has made a first-hand study of Soviet agriculture.

lion in the World's Fair at New York City before the war will have an idea of the style of the buildings. The polished marble of various colors, the soaring quality which carries the eye up to statuary crowning the peak, reappear in the agricultural exhibit.

In the exhibit halls are now to be viewed machines which would make any farmer's mouth water. These include strongly built self-propelled combines with specially designed straw collectors which periodically dump whole stacks of straw and chaff, wide-swath mowing machines cutting twenty-five feet in a line, flax-pullers of Soviet design, and many other machines not known in the United States.

Then too are to be seen whole herds of the finest livestock in the country, including several hundred of the world famous Kostroma cows. This herd, developed from ordinary brown Swiss foundation stock has responded to Michurin methods of care and become one of the world's leading producing herds.

The exhibit takes on a wide popular character from the fact that no less than 3,911 different collective farms are honored by having a part

in the exhibitions. On the day of the opening a vast crowd turned out in holiday spirit and watched the leaders of the Government and the Party cut the ceremonial ribbon and lead the way to the exhibit halls.

Also during the year 1954 there has taken place an extension of the land under cultivation by the plowing up of huge areas of virgin and idle lands. Much of this virgin land is in Siberia and Kazakhstan in the black earth belt. Altogether an area equal to that of New York States, about 50,000 square miles, will come under cultivation. This year saw over half that area newly plowed.

To accomplish this mammoth task, a real migration of technical workers has taken place. In response to the call to all factories and industrial centers to encourage technical volunteers, which was officially issued by N. S. Krushchev, more than 150,000 such skilled industrial workers, ag-

ronomists and other agricultural specialists responded and moved out to the distant farm lands. Already the government is reporting greatly increased grain production, thus assuring an ample food reserve.

Another event was the August conference of a thousand scientific workers which gathered on the Lenin's Behest Collective Farm near the city of Shadrinsk, which is on the Trans-Siberian Railroad just east of the Urals. Scientists from all over the Union, including T. D. Lysenko, President of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, journeyed to this farm to hear and discuss the report of its able field specialist, Terenty Semyonovich Maltsev.

This gathering, held at the suggestion of the Party Central Committee, carefully examined the Maltsev system of working the soil with a minimum of plowing, in order to obtain high harvests and uninter-

Leningraders see off volunteers to farm new lands. Banner on train reads: Hail Young Leningrad Patriots Leaving to Master Virgin and Idle Lands

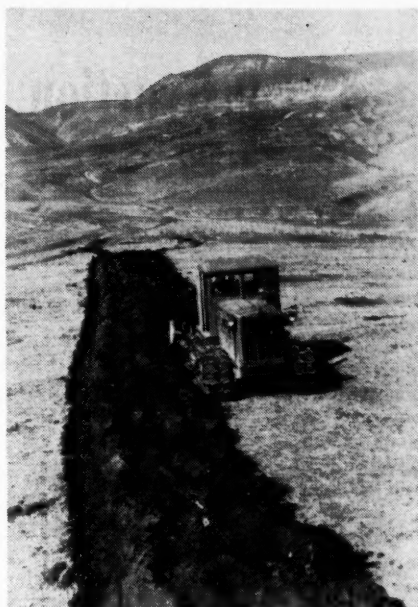


rupted growth of soil productivity. Probably this was the first such gathering to be held, in which learned scientists journeyed far to learn from the experiences of an outstanding farmer.

Apparently the main achievement of Maltsev, attained over a period of years on several thousand hectares, has been the building of the desired crumb structure of the soil through the inclusion of *annual grasses* in the rotation and without the need of devoting a number of years to *perennial* grasses and consequent loss of grain production.

Bumper crops from a soil maintained in a constant state of high fertility has been the objective of soil scientists of all nations. Soviet Academician Williams established his international reputation on his discoveries of the factors that build up a crumbly soil structure. Williams, who died in 1939, discovered how steppe or prairie land left to its natural grass cover will slowly develop a virgin fertility such as our pioneer farmers found on the western plains. Williams learned how to speed the process of creating the crumb structure by seeding certain clovers and leaving the soil undisturbed for a number of years.

Maltsev may have taken a step beyond Williams by devising a regimen which grows crops but stirs up the soil to the least amount possible. In essence, Maltsev recommends starting the regimen with subsoil chiseling at a depth of about 20 inches. Grain crops and annual grasses are sown without further plowing, just light discing of the stubble. Annual grasses have the advantage of providing heavier hay tonnage per acre than perennials. The roots of these annual grasses and the grains remained undisturbed in the soil and



Plowing virgin land in Stavropol Territory, part of a plan to reclaim some 50,000 square miles of farmland

have the same effect in restoring its structure as the roots of perennial grasses.

Thus Maltsev seems to have solved the problem of maintaining soil structure in those areas where perennial grasses do not flourish. Application of his methods throughout the whole province of Kurgan has doubled the harvest. In the very dry year of 1953, the Lenin's Behest Farm harvested 30 bushels to the acre on an area of some 6,000 acres.

At the present time, these new methods are being tried out in entirely different areas to test their adaptability. There is no general move to apply blindly the Maltsev system everywhere since other areas may require modifications of the regimen. But there are fifteen experimental stations at work on it, testing its practicability.

Construction for Abundance

IN 1950 the Soviet Union inaugurated the construction of a series of great new hydroelectric, canal and irrigation projects on the Volga, Don, Dnieper and Amu-Darya rivers. Today not only are these projects nearing completion, but vast new projects have been undertaken under the fifth Five-Year Plan. There are at present forty powerful regional hydroelectric stations under construction to harness the power of the USSR's mightiest rivers, and thousands on the smaller rivers.

The Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Power Station on the Volga, which will be the largest in the world, with a capacity of 2,100,000 kilowatts is well under way. In the river's floodland area, the dam is now being hydraulically filled, canals are being dug, hydrotechnical structures erected, the lower navigation locks are being completed, the foundation of the hydroelectric station is being filled with concrete, and basic equipment installation work has begun. New towns have grown up all around, with modern workers' housing, schools, hospitals and other facilities.

The Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station, which will have a capacity of 1,700,000 kilowatts, is in a similar state of progress.

And on the upper Volga, a new hydroelectric station is already under construction at Gorky, as part of the stair-step system of stations along the whole course of the river.

The Kakhovka station on the Dnieper, below the Dneproges station destroyed by the Nazi invaders and rebuilt after the World War, is making swift progress, and will go into operation in 1955, a year ahead of schedule.

The Ust-Kamenogorsk station in the Altai region, and the Minchegaur Station in Azerbaidzhan went into operation earlier this year, and the first

generator unit of the Kama station in the Urals began to provide power this fall.

Construction of new hydroelectric stations has begun on the Ob, Irtysh and Angara rivers in Siberia. The latter is of the greatest importance, since the Angara river has perhaps the mightiest power potential in the world.

The Volga-Don Canal, completed in 1952, is now a busy water-way linking all the seas of European USSR and providing life-giving waters to the dry steppe lands of the Rostov and Stalingrad regions from its great Tsimlyanskaya reservoir.

Construction has begun of the canal across the vast Kara-Kum desert of Turkmenia, between the Amu-Darya and Murgab rivers. A 248-mile long irrigation main is scheduled for completion in 1958, bringing to life hundreds of thousands of new acres for cotton planting and pasturage.

A high decree of mechanization is being applied in all these projects. New machines of all kinds are being used—new types of giant walking excavators, hydraulic dredges, automatic concrete mixers—these and hundreds of others are being constantly improved in the course of the construction work.

The contribution of these construction projects to the economy of the USSR and the well-being of its people will be measureless in the vast new power resources they will provide for industry and agriculture, the expansion of water transport, the reclamation of dry lands, the increase in fishing facilities, and in flood control.

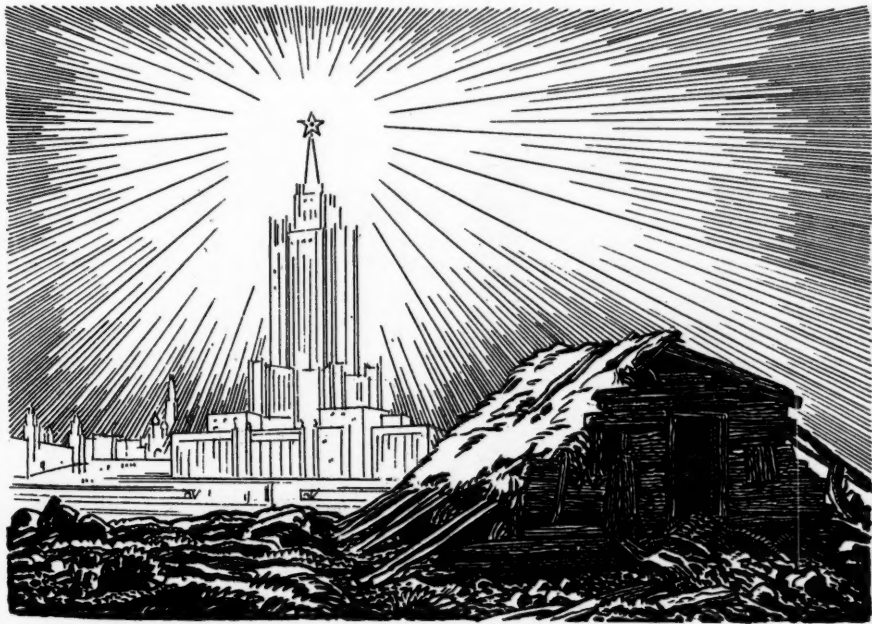
This is one of the main reasons the Soviet people look forward so hopefully toward an era of abundance for all, and why they are so determined to continue their building in peace.

ROCKWELL KENT

SEES USSR'S FUTURE

The drawings on this and the following pages and on our cover are by the distinguished American artist and fighter for peace, Rockwell Kent. They are from a large group of illustrations inspired by a book, as yet unpublished here, describing the enormous hydroelectric and irrigation projects, some completed, others in construction in the USSR.

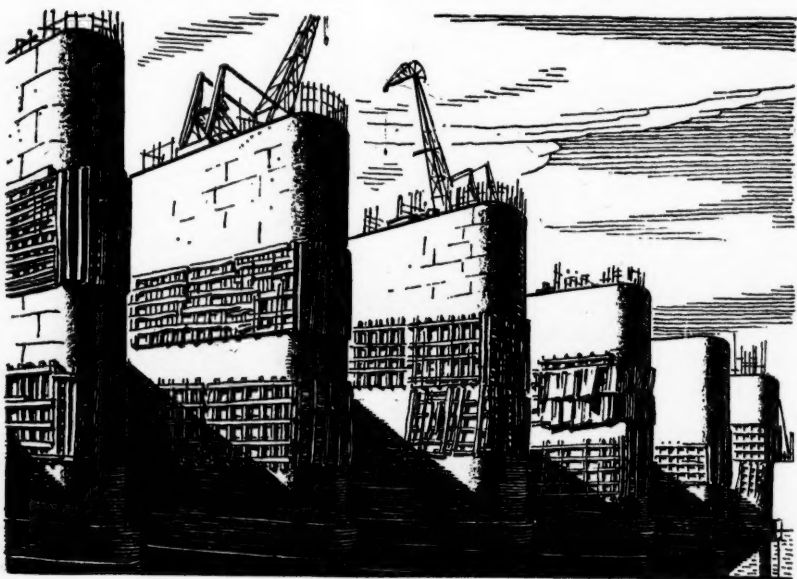
A bright future arises on the dark past





Moscow-Volga Canal, link to all European seas in the USSR

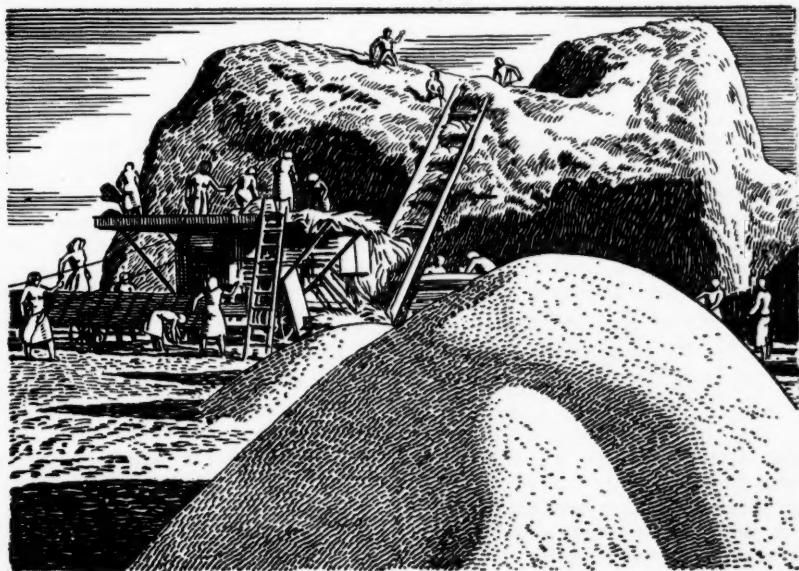
Giant dam to harness the power of the mighty Volga





Enormous new machines make man master over nature

Irrigation will bring rich cotton harvests to arid areas



OUR DINNER HONORING THE ROBESONS

WE WISH all our readers could have shared the warmth and inspiration of our dinner honoring Eslanda and Paul Robeson, on October 14. We are bringing you a part of it in Mrs. Robeson's thoughtful and beautiful speech.

Paul Robeson spoke of his own unmovable dedication to the cause of peaceful co-existence between our country, the Soviet Union and the whole socialist world. It was a deeply moving moment when Mr. Robeson, introducing his wife, paid his own tribute to her. He expressed his deep gratitude for her influence in determining his course as a singer, and for her great and many-sided contributions to his development as an artist and human being. He spoke eloquently of Mrs. Robeson's lifelong work for full equality for the Negro people, for human advancement and for peace.

We wish space permitted giving a full account of the whole program, which was chaired so effectively by that distinguished artist and wonderful human being, Rockwell Kent. It was opened with the fresh and lovely voices of the Children's Chorus of the Metropolitan Music School under the leadership of Earl Robinson. They sang Mr. Robinson's "The House We Live In," with new lyrics for the occasion by Waldo Salt—"We celebrate our neighbors, Eslanda dear and Paul—A deep and mighty river by a tree a mile tall. . . ." The golden voice of the gifted singer Nadyne Brewer was the other musical contribution.

Dr. Harry Ward, in his stirring tribute to the Robesons, spoke of Eslanda, "the trained social scientist . . . with

keen insight and clear analysis of world events," and of Paul, "the great voice with the great heart behind it." He said to them both: "We see in you and your labors on behalf of your own people and all others who need a more abundant life, a symbol, a sign and a promise . . . a promise that the one world for which so many have longed and dreamed is on the way."

Victoria Garvin, Executive Secretary of the Greater New York Negro Labor Council, paid tribute to all that the Robesons have given in the struggles of the working people, Negro and white. Ring Lardner Jr. added the precious gift of laughter to the occasion. Louis Burnham, editor of *Freedom*, told of the storm of protest around the world over the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport. Katherine van Orden, National Treasure, of the Progressive Party, spoke of Eslanda Robeson's important role in Progressive Party work. Kumar Goshal of the *National Guardian* told of what the Robesons mean to those who struggle for freedom in Africa, Asia and the colonial world. Dorothy Parker said Eslanda and Paul Robeson were "what human beings were meant to be."

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, himself an international Peace Prize winner, spoke of the special role of Paul Robeson, a winner of the International Stalin Award for Strengthening Peace, in the world peace movement. Hailing the Robesons for their courageous and unswerving fight for peace, he declared:

When the day dawns that men declare: No more planned and organized murder no matter what the cause

or excuse, then, and not till then, is peace possible. Honor to them who dare pay the price of bringing the dawn of that great day!

Father Kenneth Hughes, pastor of St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church of Cambridge, Mass., coupled his tribute to Eslanda and Paul Robeson for their great contributions to the cause of peaceful co-existence among the people of our own country as well as between the nations, with a power-

ful and inspired plea for the maintenance of our civil liberties as part of the struggle for peace, declaring:

If America is to remain the land of the free, it must also be the land of the brave . . . a man must live his life dangerously if he would live it usefully. . . . Subversive inactivity corrodes the very foundation of our democratic heritage. . . . We are all pensioners of the past, and posterity will demand of us that we pay that debt.

Peace, Friendship and Progress

Speech by ESLANDA ROBESON

FIRST OF ALL, I want to thank you, those of you who planned this wonderful evening, and those of you who came here to make that plan a beautiful reality. I thank you on behalf of the Robesons—three generations of them—Paul and me, Eslanda, Pauli and our lovely Marilyn, small but rugged David Paul, and still smaller, dimpled Susan.

Sometimes people say to me: You were a chemist; chemistry is a fascinating science, coming more and more into its own; you gave it up for Paul.

Nonsense. I did not give it up. I abandoned it for something much more interesting and exciting and rewarding.

In working with Paul, my horizons opened up from the laboratory walls to the outposts of the world; and in the work with him I discovered a much more fascinating and useful science—anthropology.

And this science of anthropology—the science of man's relation to his fellow-man—formerly so obscure and neglected, and used mostly by colonial powers to help control and exploit the colonial peoples—anthropology is now coming into its own as perhaps the most important and useful science for the present and future world.

Because after all the atoms have been split and all the nuclear fission accomplished, after time and distance and power have been put under control, the most important thing in the world will still be man's relation to his fellow-man and how human beings on this earth are to survive and live in peace and progress with fellow human beings.

I believe we *are* going to survive and make progress and live in peace and friendship, not only in these United States, but in the world. But we are going to have to work and

sacrifice and fight, some of us will have to go to prison, and maybe even die for this. Some already have done these things. More of us are ready to do them. But it is, and will be, worth it.

Survival, peace, friendship and progress are surely worth all this.

Some people forget that freedom and democracy, understanding and tolerance, peace and co-existence begin at home, must begin at home.

Americans will never be able to understand and get along with other people in distant places until they are first able to understand and get along with their fellow citizens here at home. Americans will never be able to help other people in distant places achieve freedom and democracy, until we achieve it for all citizens here in these United States.

Don't look now, but the people who say we cannot get along with certain other peoples abroad are the very same people who work very hard to prevent us from getting along with each other right here. And these same people who, while talking eloquently about freedom and democracy, nevertheless do all they can to prevent, or at least to postpone, freedom and democracy for people in the still colonial and semi-colonial areas.

But these people are fighting a losing battle with reluctant armies. People everywhere are exhausted from fighting devastating, unsuccessful wars. People have had enough of destruction and death.

People everywhere want peace. They want to settle down to the business of living, of building. They want to build houses, raise families, build schools and hospitals, and to secure a future.

They know that all these things will not just happen to them. They know they will have to organize and

work, sacrifice and fight, go to prison and maybe even die to achieve the peace. More and more people in more and more places are preparing to do just this, for they are determined to achieve the peace.

I am convinced that we will achieve peace and friendship, because it is a natural, normal human state of being, because the vast majority of the human family need and want it desperately, and because so many people in so many places have already organized to work and fight for it.

I see reasons for optimism in many places.

Many people in these dark days of fear and uncertainty, insecurity and lawlessness, feel pessimistic. I am optimistic. Because of my experience in the 58 crowded and wonderful years of my life, I feel optimistic.

In my childhood, the divisions and hatreds between American citizens were terrific—between Negro and white, native and foreign born, Jew and gentile, employer and employee.

I have lived to see these divisions and hatreds gradually diminish, and to see the beginnings of understanding, tolerance, interest, appreciation, and respect between the various groups which make up the fabric of our population.

I have lived to see the establishment and development of organizations and projects dedicated to promote friendship and cooperation between all American citizens, and to secure and protect their rights under our Constitution: The Civil Rights Congress, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Welfare Conference, the

National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Jewish Congress, some of the trade unions—to mention only a few.

I have lived to see my Negro people, and other minority peoples, begin to break down the shameful, artificial, deliberately erected barriers in the fields of education, employment, the professions, real estate.

And I have lived to see the establishment and development of organizations and projects to promote and increase understanding and cooperation and friendship between the people of our own country and the peoples of other nations: the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Council on African Affairs, the India League, the China Welfare Appeal, the Good Neighbor Policy, the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs—to mention only a few.

Now I don't want anybody to misunderstand me. I am not bragging about the pitifully slow development and implementation of democracy here in these United States. Some people point with pride to these things as signs of progress. I do not agree with them. I consider these things not as progress but as precedents only, as indications of what can and must be done.

I am proud of our Constitution and our Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court decision to end segregation in our public schools—so proud that I will never rest until these magnificent principles and decisions are put into practice for every single American citizen.

I know, as you do, that what has been done is not nearly enough; but what has been done is enough to show that democracy, cooperation and friendship can be achieved, that there are people and organizations

ready, willing and able to help us to make them a reality.

Our job, as I see it, is to persuade more people to do more work along these lines, to explain to them the desperate need for this kind of activity on every level, to inform them about the methods developed and successfully practiced by the governments of the Soviet Union, the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, the New China, to achieve unity, cooperation and friendship among their citizens.

It is our job to inform more people of the hopes and plans and work being done in the New India, Indonesia, Burma, to unify their people and develop their countries.

It is our job to inform them of the tremendous and exciting and practical projects developing in the United Nations, designed to promote cooperation, development, understanding and tolerance, progress, friendship and peace in this great wide wonderful world.

When we get discouraged and disgusted and feel we are not making enough progress here toward freedom and democracy for all our people, we must remember that ours is only a small, local part of an immense world.

When we protest the loss of certain of our freedoms here, we must remember that while *we* have been losing ground, millions of people in remote parts of the world have been *gaining* ground; nations have been born, people have been freed from many years of foreign domination and control.

But in looking at this larger, more cheerful picture, we must remember how these gains have been won—by continuous, unrelenting, organized work and sacrifice.

Remembering this, we cannot be

discouraged, but can take heart and courage and inspiration to begin all over again to recover our own precious freedoms.

It can be done. It has been done. It is being done now in some parts of the world, especially in Africa and Asia.

Revolutionary changes have taken place so rapidly in our New World, that we so-called advanced peoples of the West find ourselves old-fashioned and backward, clinging to old outworn values, old ways of life, fearful of trying new ones.

Formerly backward countries are now leading the world into a new era, and our own country is in grave danger of becoming really backward and isolated.

Some years ago I was deep in the heart of Africa, in the remote bush country, and Africans in villages were asking me to help them break down the wall of silence which the colonial powers had built around them.

Today some of these Africans have come out of the bush to the United Nations, to present their petitions in person to the Trusteeship Council.

There have been so many profound changes and so much wonderful progress, in so many parts of the world, particularly to the East of us, that we Americans are hard put to learn about, understand, and keep up with them.

It is our great responsibility, I think, to learn as much as possible about these changes, these new countries, new peoples, new ways of life, to understand, appreciate and respect them, and to tell others about them, in preparation for living together with them in peace and progress in the world which belongs to all of us.

I feel I am very lucky, and know

I am very happy, to be able, in some small way to participate in this work of searching out, accumulating, analyzing, and then sharing constructive information about the countries and peoples of our New World by working as a correspondent in the United Nations and writing for NEW WORLD REVIEW.

I want to thank all of you who prepare, edit and publish our magazine, and all of you who buy it and read it, for making this work possible for me.

And I want to especially thank Paul, once again, for his magnificent example to me through the years. He in his own gifted way has shown me what it means to win friends and understand people, or rather I should say, to understand people and thus win friends.

He has used his extraordinary gifts to learn music and languages so that he could the more easily and directly talk to, sing to, and come to know different peoples.

He has used his brilliant mind to study their new and different social, economic and political systems.

And as a result, we Robesons find ourselves no strangers in this new, very different, challenging and fascinating world, but have rather found many new and warm and wonderful friends everywhere.

While we Robesons are very grateful indeed for all the kind things you have said about us, I want to say clearly on our behalf, that we know we don't exist by ourselves, but in a world of people. Whatever we have been able to do thus far, and may be able to do in the future, will be because of the work, the cooperation, the understanding and friendship of many other people here and abroad—you particularly among them.

We thank you.

RAYMOND ROBINS

by JOHN A. KINGSBURY

AT DAWN on Monday morning (September 26, 1954) the beloved Colonel was laid to rest in a grave beside his wife under the huge 'Altar Oak,' a short distance from the family home" on Chinsegut Hill, Brooksville, Florida. "Lisa von Borowsky, often referred to by him as the 'daughter of Chinsegut,' read the same passage from Isaiah, Chap. 35, that the Colonel had read at the funeral of Mrs. Margaret Dreier Robins nine years ago. . . ." (From the *Brooksville Courier*, September 30, 1954)

Raymond Robins was a deeply religious man. It was this that gave him his burning passion for social justice. Following our last visit with him at Chinsegut Hill, he wrote me a letter, from which I quote:

"I see the creative program of Lenin the Great as I saw it work in the first months of Soviet power in what had been the land of the tsars. A classless social order in which the producers, hand and brain, controlled all natural resources in production for use, and none for profit, the whole people sharing in all production and the title being in the people in perpetuity. . . . World peace and . . . more abundant life for the least of these His brethren, being the Kingdom of God on earth, for which the Great Galilean lived, labored and

suffered and was crucified near two thousand years ago. . . .

"These are mighty days! Suffering seems to have ever been part of the cost of truth. . . . In the promotion of American-Soviet friendship you have elected a cause that may involve much suffering, but you will keep the faith, and I hope I shall also. With abiding love, both now and ever-more, Raymond Robins."

Alas, we never visited Colonel Robins again, but up until his last illness, from time to time, I received letters of like tenor—letters which breathed a profound religious faith; letters which reiterated his conviction that the fundamental struggle in the world today is the age-old struggle between property and people. He always declared his faith that, in the long run, "The people will win."

Yes, I can see the indomitable Colonel now. As the "daughter of Chinsegut" wrote me about a year ago, after he became quite ill:

"It is wonderful to watch the consideration and helpful spirit which abounds in R.R. He is always cheerful and never complains. You get the sense that he is sitting back and saying: 'I have done my part. Now take the ball and carry it through. I'll cheer you on.'"

I know only a few Americans—or men of any other nationality—of the mettle of Raymond Robins. He had the human quality of Abraham Lincoln and of Walt Whitman.

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY is Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The editors of "*New World Review*" share the profound grief here expressed at the loss of that great and good American, Colonel Raymond Robins, who, in his words, "Never lost faith in the USSR nor ceased to advocate friendship with that great country as our only hope of peace." In his memory, we renew our dedication to the cause to which he gave himself so unstintingly.

In the first days of the Russian Revolution in St. Petersburg, Raymond Robins, then head of the American Red Cross in Russia, acted as intermediary between our government and the leaders of the Revolution. He sought to bring to our government the truth of what was happening there, and set himself the task of persuading President Wilson to recognize the Soviet regime—probably the first such proposal made to our government. He continued the fight for recognition until it was won—bringing back to President Roosevelt in 1933 a report on Soviet progress and a historic interview with Stalin.

In those early days, Lenin's door was always open to Colonel Robins.

In 1950, Colonel Robins told Mrs. Kingsbury and myself that his talks with Lenin ranged the whole field of philosophy—religious, political, economic and social. They debated the subject of the relation of religion to government. Robins took the position that regardless of one's views on religion—whether Christian, Jewish, Moslem, or any other, this motive is so deep seated in mankind and society that no nation can long hope to survive which ignores its power. While Lenin took another view, he assured Colonel Robins in their last interview that he would never forget what he had said, nor what he had tried to do to influence the President to recognize the Soviet regime in the interest of peace.

In spite of his confinement to his

beloved hilltop in the past fourteen years, Colonel Robins continued his extraordinary range of reading of many newspapers, periodicals and literature of different countries, including the Soviet Union, always passing on his information and ideas about the Soviet Union to others. He had kept up his connections with varied organizations, notably those supporting friendly American-Soviet relations and peaceful co-existence, over many years.

Colonel Robins was a member of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and a generous supporter of its work, as well as of *New World Review*.

When the sad news came of his passing, I said to my wife: "We shall not look upon his like again."

Closing my eyes at night, thinking of that great American, Raymond Robins, in fancy I sit before him, listening to his melodious voice, speaking of worldwide friendship and peace, repeating his favorite passages from the Bible, among them this one from the great Hebrew prophet:

He shall judge between the nations,
and shall decide for many peoples;
and they shall beat their swords into
ploughshares
and their spears into pruning
hooks;
nation shall not lift up sword against
nation,
neither shall they learn war
any more.

USSR and Disarmament

New Soviet proposals offered in the UN by Vyshinsky revive hopes for a reduction in arms and a ban on atomic weapons

DURING the past year, discussions have proceeded between the United States and the Soviet Union on President Eisenhower's proposal of last November for an international atomic pool for peaceful purposes. Other discussions on control of atomic weapons and arms reduction took place during the year in a sub-committee of the UN Disarmament Commission, among the United States, the USSR, Britain, France and Canada. While no agreements were reached, the clarification of viewpoints that took place opened the way for more fruitful discussions at the current session of the UN General Assembly.

In his opening speech at the Assembly, Secretary Dulles had insisted that the attitude of the Soviet Union had been wholly negative throughout the discussions on the atomic pool plan, as well as in the matter of arms reduction generally.

The publication of excerpts from U.S. and Soviet documents recording the negotiations (*New York Times*, September 26) showed that the Soviet Union had, indeed, criticized the atomic pool plan in its present form. It pointed out that the main weakness of the plan is that it in no way meets the basic need of eliminating the threat of atomic war, and that the agency proposed by the United States could develop not only materials for peaceful use, but vast quantities of fissionable materials suitable

for weapons could be piled up as well.

Throughout the exchange, the Soviet Union reiterated its own proposal, which it had insisted be part of the discussion, that there be an international agreement renouncing the use of atomic weapons, as a step toward their complete prohibition. Such an agreement, the Soviet Union held, would open up broad possibilities for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

This proposal was categorically rejected by the United States, on the ground that *it would increase rather than decrease the danger of war*, and because "there could be no certainty that these assurances would be observed." The Soviet Union rejoined that on this basis obligations under any international treaty must be placed in doubt.

However, throughout the exchanges, the Soviet Union expressed its desire to continue to explore possibilities of agreement. In its note dated September 23, the USSR declared that, while it had not yet been possible to harmonize the views of the two governments—

Inasmuch as reconciling the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union on this question has an important significance for the achievement of international agreement regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the Soviet Government deems it desirable for both governments to continue efforts to

bring the positions of the parties closer together.

The Soviet Union supported the United States move to include the atomic pool proposal on the agenda of the General Assembly.

Thomas J. Hamilton, UN correspondent of the *New York Times*, threw an interesting sidelight on the real attitude of the United States with respect to its invitation to the Soviet Union to join in its plan. Reporting that the United States wants the proposed new agency for developing peaceful uses of atomic energy to be on some basis corresponding to a specialized agency rather than a part of the United Nations itself, he commented:

The unwillingness of the United States to have the program directly carried out by the United Nations arises primarily from apprehensions about the reaction in Congress if the Soviet Union as a member of the United Nations decided to take part in the hope of sabotaging the agency. It is assumed that the Soviet Union would be less likely to join the proposed agency than if it were a direct part of the United Nations.

(*New York Times*, September 30)

Vyshinsky Offers New Soviet Resolution

On September 30, Andrei Y. Vyshinsky offered a new Soviet resolution in the UN General Assembly on arms reduction and atomic weapon control, offering sweeping concessions to meet Western objections to previous Soviet proposals.

Former Soviet proposals, it will be remembered, dealt separately with atomic weapons and conventional armaments. They proposed banning of all atomic and mass destruction weapons as a first necessity, through simultaneous conventions, one pro-

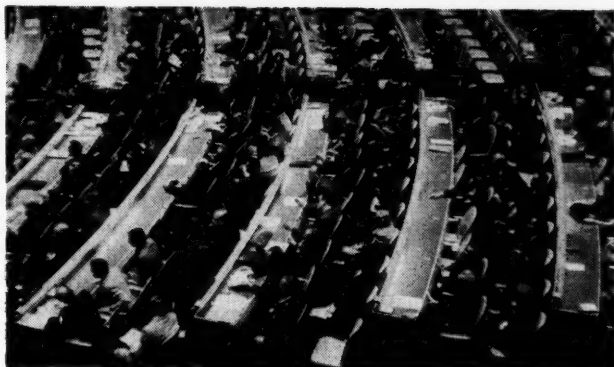
viding for the prohibition of such weapons, the other for international control and inspection to guarantee enforcement. With relation to conventional armaments, they proposed a one-third across the board reduction in arms and armed forces of the five major powers, to be completed within one year.

The main argument of the United States had been that such an arrangement would favor the Soviet Union because it would eliminate the atomic weapons in which the United States claims superiority while leaving the Soviet Union in a superior position with relation to armed forces.

The Western plan, sponsored by the United States at the 1951 Paris General Assembly session, was to begin with a complex and lengthy census of all arms and armed forces, each category to be completed and approved before the next was started, atomic energy coming last, with concrete measures for arms reduction postponed indefinitely, and no time table set for the completion of the work. The basis of the U.S. plan for the control of atomic energy was to be the Baruch plan for international ownership and control of atomic resources and production which has since been tacitly abandoned.

On June 11, during last summer's secret discussions of the five-power sub-committee of the UN Disarmament Commission (including the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, Canada and France), an Anglo-French compromise proposal was offered seeking to bring closer together the Western and Eastern viewpoints, which was accepted by the United States. While the Soviet Union continued to press for what it considered a more effective method, it at no time rejected the Anglo-French

A plenary session of the Ninth General Assembly of the United Nations which is considering new Soviet disarmament proposals



—United Nations

proposal, as it was said to have done.

The new proposals offered by Vyshinsky at the United Nations provide that the Anglo-French proposals serve as the basis for a treaty to be prepared by the UN Disarmament Commission to be submitted to the Security Council, a treaty which would cover both atomic and conventional weapons, and which would begin with reduction of the latter.

The first provision of the proposed treaty is that all states within six months or one year, shall reduce their armaments, armed forces and state budget allocations for military purposes to the extent of 50 per cent of agreed quotas, based on military strength as of December 31, 1953.

Thus, the Soviet Union has offered an important compromise in now proposing that arms reduction apply to all nations instead of the Big Five only, and in agreeing that the percentage of reduction shall be a matter of negotiation in the drawing up of a treaty, rather than a straight one-third reduction.

Simultaneously with the putting into effect of this provision, the USSR proposes that a provisional international control commission be set up under the Security Council, with

the right to request the necessary information on measures for reduction of armaments and armed forces and to control the fulfillment of these obligations by all states.

When the first step has been completed, the states will then undertake the reduction of the remaining 50 per cent of the agreed upon quotas of armaments, armed forces and budgetary allocations, to be completed within another six months or one year period.

Simultaneously with the implementation of this second step, prohibition of nuclear weapons is to go into effect, to be completed in the same period, all production of such weapons to be ended at the beginning of this second step. This section of the proposed treaty begins with the following paragraph:

Complete prohibition shall be enforced on atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, with the termination of the production of these weapons and their complete removal from the armaments of states: all existing atomic materials shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

Also simultaneously with this second step, the proposed treaty provides for the setting up of a perma-

nent international body to control the fulfillment of the above measures with regard to both atomic and conventional weapons, and that:

This international body shall have authority to exercise control as well as inspection on a permanent basis to the degree necessary to ensure the fulfillment of the said convention by all states.

Thus, it is clear that the Soviet Union, while preferring the immediate prohibition of nuclear weapons, is prepared to abandon its insistence that this step come first, and to make a start with reduction of conventional arms in order to break a stalemate that threatened any progress toward disarmament, as well as to accept, though within agreed upon time limits, a reduction in armaments by stages instead of all at once.

It should be understood that the Soviet position on an international organ for control and *inspection on a permanent basis*, to be set up simultaneously with the agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons, is not a new one. It has been held for a long time, and was reached in the course of a whole series of previous concessions made by the Soviet Union in order to facilitate agreement with the Western countries.

The final point of the Soviet disarmament resolution asked that the UN Disarmament Commission study and make concrete recommendations relative to the proposal in the Franco-British memorandum of June 11 "To prohibit the use of nuclear weapons with the exception of their use for defense against aggression." It is clear that this Franco-British formulation could be subject to misuse in view of the lack of agreement in the United Nations as to what con-

stitutes aggression, and the position of the United States in equating all efforts toward social change by people's liberation forces, with aggression.

Prior to the introduction of the Soviet disarmament proposal, a pall of gloom and futility had been hanging over the General Assembly, due to cold war tensions, and the perversion of its principles and charter by the continued exclusion of the Chinese People's Republic.

But Mr. Vyshinsky's proposals, opening up new possibilities for constructive achievement, electrified the proceedings.

United States delegate John Cabot Lodge, while bitterly attacking Vyshinsky for his statements about U.S. foreign policy, declared that the proposal "will, of course, receive our careful and earnest consideration." Jules Moch of France called it "The most important step they have taken in our direction." Britain's Selwyn Lloyd declared: "It is a cause for satisfaction that after years of apparently profitless debate, the Western proposals of June 11, and Russian acceptance of them as a basis, hold out the possibility of progress in this all-important field."

UN correspondent Thomas J. Hamilton wrote in the *New York Times*, October 3:

The prospects for international control of atomic energy, which had become the most hopeless of UN lost causes, have suddenly revived as a result of the surprise new Soviet proposals. If they mean what they seem to mean, there is now a real possibility that a way can be found to banish the specter of destruction by atomic or hydrogen bombs.

When consideration of the Soviet proposal began in the Political and

Security Committee of the General Assembly, it was clear that forces had been at work behind the scenes to hamper the process of reaching agreement. British and French delegates, who had at first warmly welcomed the new Soviet initiative, began throwing at Mr. Vyshinsky a whole series of complicated and technical questions. The United States, particularly, seemed bent on emphasizing the points of difference that remained, in extending the area of disagreement rather than of agreement. (A position, of course, quite compatible with its pursuance of the goal of re-arming Germany.)

In his replies, Mr. Vyshinsky sought to answer as many of the questions as possible, at the same time pointing out that many of them fell within the realm of details that would have to be a part of the actual negotiations on the treaty rather than of the general principles properly the subject of the general debate. He declared that some sort of flexibility must be inherent in any plan, and that the Soviet Union was ready to make changes in its proposals. As more and more objections were raised, particularly in relation to the nature and functions of the control organ, Mr. Vyshinsky said:

Let us sit down around the table and let us start working on a convention, and a convention will incorporate these things.

Mr. Vyshinsky insisted that there was now agreement in principle, and that divergences about methods could be settled by negotiations. He kept emphasizing the need of further concessions by both sides and the fact that positive opportunities for agreement now exist.

The main burden of Western objections, mainly inspired by the

United States, centered around the question of control and inspection, in the case of both atomic and conventional weapons. James J. Wadsworth, deputy permanent U.S. representative, referring to the fact that Mr. Vyshinsky had pointed out that during the war certain button factories in the Soviet Union manufactured munitions, asserted:

The international control commission must therefore, in our view, have the right to inspect button factories in order to determine whether or not they are manufacturing munitions....

He coupled with this the assertion that any control organ "must clearly have the full run of a country."

It is pertinent to ask, in considering the motive of the United States in raising these objections, to what extent the U.S. authorities would be prepared to welcome to our country an international committee, presumably including Soviet Union representatives, which would inspect not only atomic installations, but which would have the full run of the country, including its button factories.

In striking contrast to the insistence of the United States on unlimited inspection in the current UN Assembly discussions, was its opposition to any such controls over the rearming of Germany in connection with the recent nine-power conference in London, where Premier Mendes-France had urged the necessity of an armaments control organization based on equal and strict mutual inspection. On the eve of the conference, General Alfred M. Gruenther, Allied Supreme Commander in Europe, declared that inspection of German armaments would be impracticable. He told a group of French manufacturers:

If you're going to have a police state with every baby carriage inspected to see if it's making guided missiles, it's going to be very difficult to make it work. You people are going to have to take an intelligent point of view. I ask you not to put upon your representatives impossible conditions on which they will be unable to get agreement among the other eight powers.

General Gruenther declared that the safeguards any country is going to get are "largely those that come from the heart."

It would be nice to have something of that spirit in the United Nations where, in answer to expressions of U.S. and British distrust of Soviet motives, Mr. Vyshinsky declared that there must be a modicum of confidence involved in any international negotiations, adding, "If you proceed on the assumption that we're going to hoodwink you, then it's no use."

The main objection now being raised by the United States to the Soviet proposal for an international commission for control and inspection under the Security Council is that such a commission would not itself have the power of punishment for any violations, which would be in the hands of the Security Council, where the veto is operative. The United States insists that the commission itself must have the right to impose sanctions such as the shutting down of any plant where a violation was found, and cutting off of fissionable materials. (Such a policy implies a return to the terms of the Baruch Plan, which would give the international commission managerial powers and control of fissionable materials.)

The Soviet Union agrees that the control organ "must be a mighty and powerful organ." It makes clear that

in the day-to-day operations of the Commission, which would be on the basis of an agreed-upon treaty, the veto would not operate. But it maintains that when a violation of the international agreement on arms reduction or production of atomic weapons occurs, this would constitute a threat to the peace. Under the United Nations Charter only the Security Council may deal with threats to the peace and impose sanctions.

Jules Moch of France expressed complete agreement with the Soviet position on this. In a statement in the General Assembly on October 19 he declared:

We have never confused sanctions, according to Articles 39, 41, etc., of the Charter with the very functioning of the control organ. We have never dreamed of granting or giving powers of sanction, according to the sense of Article 39, to the control body, because it is absolutely unthinkable that two bodies who might take contradictory positions, would have this right at the same time.

The Soviet Union has now agreed to sponsor a joint resolution with the United States, Great Britain, Canada and France, referring the various proposals that have been made on arms reduction and atomic weapons control, including the new resolution of the Soviet Union, to a subcommittee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. While the United States takes the view that this resolution is of a procedural nature only, the USSR, supported by India, considers that it involves matters of substance. In any case, the fact of such joint sponsorship is an important one.

May this be an augury for agreement on the main issue of disarmament and the banning of atomic weapons.

Soviet College Studies

And How the Students Live

MUCH has been written by travelers in the Soviet Union and by students of that country about the phenomenal growth of education there since the Revolution of 1917. This vigorous development has been one of the remarkable aspects of the Soviet Union's rising position in the world today. The increase in the number of higher educational establishments alone has been nearly tenfold. Vast areas that were formerly illiterate now have their own colleges and universities and even Academies of Sciences. The Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan is but one of the shining examples. Before the Revolution only 2 per cent of the population was literate and there were no higher educational institutions. Today, the Republic has 27 such institutions as well as its own Academy of Sciences.

The story of this enormous development in education can be found in many source books, both American and Soviet. It is a story that needs telling again and again, especially today when journalistic hacks and so-called "scholarly" and "responsible" sources seek to discredit every phase of life in the Soviet Union.

It is the thrilling story of the intellectual growth of 200 million people, a development that, as you shall see, out-paces some of the advanced countries of Europe.

It is very good that now this story is being retold. This time it is recounted in a recent booklet by I. G. Petrovsky, the Rector, or head, of Moscow State University and a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He deals with one aspect of the story, higher education in the Soviet Union.

For the most vivid illustration of the accomplishments in this field, he turns to the non-Russian republics of the USSR and cites the following figures: In Tadzhikistan, 58 out of every 10,000 persons are studying at higher educational institutions; in Turkmenia, 60 out of every 10,000; in Kirghizia, 64; in Uzbekistan, 71; in Azerbaidzhan, 93. These peoples, formerly completely illiterate or semi-literate, have already outstripped a number of Western countries in their level of development of higher education. Thus, in Sweden, 21 out of every 10,000 are studying in higher educational institutions; in Italy, 32 out of each 10,000; in Denmark, 34; and in France, 36.

But Academician Petrovsky does not limit himself to generalizations and statistical comparisons. He sets forth the kind of information that the readers of this magazine have often requested. How are studies organized in the Soviet colleges and universities? What is the period of study? What courses are given? Do

the students have electives? How are scholarships granted? How do the students live? And the answers to many, many more questions seldom found in the usual source books.

This article, drawing upon Academician Petrovsky's booklet will limit itself to these aspects of higher education.

Instruction in the higher educational institutions is based on curricula approved by the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR. These curricula cover all types of instruction: the general lecture courses, the seminars, laboratory work, classes, and practical work whether done in the institution or outside.

In addition to required courses, senior students at universities and other higher educational institutions have the choice of a number of elective courses—both lectures and seminars—which they select in accordance with their interests and the fields in which they are specializing.

In the first years of study the subjects taught are the same for all the branches of a particular faculty (or school). Provision is made for specialized courses and for actual specialization in the different branches in the senior years.

The amount of work to be covered in a given subject, the main problems to be dealt with and the required and supplementary reading material, is shown in the curriculum program, a copy of which is given to each student.

The academic year is divided into two terms, the first from September 1 to January 23, and the second from February 7 to July 1. Examinations are taken at the end of each term on the subjects taken.

The period of study ranges from four to six years, depending on the

specialty. At teachers' training institutes and agricultural institutes, the period is four years. At universities and technical colleges, it is five. At medical institutes, it is six.

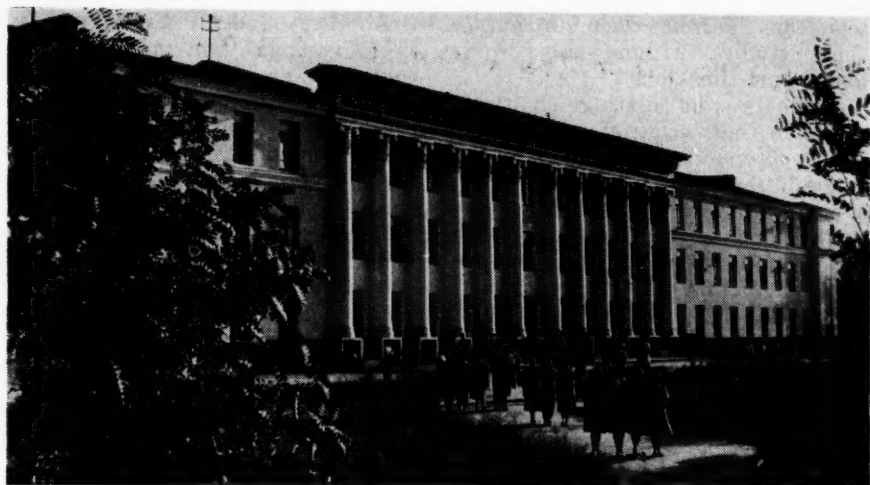
At technical colleges the final year is devoted to a graduation project which the student submits to a special state examining commission. In the universities, these are presented at a session of the department, and in addition the students take final examinations before an examining commission appointed by the Ministry of Higher Education.

In all the institutions, the lecture is the principal form of instruction. In addition, laboratory work has an important place in subjects connected with the natural sciences, as do seminars in the study of the humanities.

The main work in the seminars is the individual report, which the student prepares on his own with the help of his faculty advisor, which is read to the entire seminar and discussed by the rest of the students. A valuable feature of the seminar is the summing-up by instructor, who gives a thorough analysis and evaluation of the report and discussion.

A feature of education known to only a few colleges in America but common to all technical institutions in the USSR is the student's practical work. The purpose is to teach the student to apply his theoretical knowledge. Students of technical colleges work in factories as foremen, technicians and engineers during their practice period. In addition, they are given specific jobs at the machines where they must spend part of their practice period.

The students at the Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute, for example, do their practical work in a shipyard



New university building in Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, where before the Revolution only two percent of the entire population was literate

or factory. In this way they learn the production processes they will have to direct in the future. At the end of their practice period, they take the technical knowledge tests required of all factory workers, as well as tests entitling them to be rated as skilled workers. Each student, in addition, has an individual task in connection with technical aid to the factory. During the practice period of 1951, for example, students of this institute designed 90 new appliances and made improvements in 85 technical processes.

Every graduate of a Soviet higher educational institution is given work according to the specialty studied. While still a student he already knows where he will work when he has graduated. Posts are allocated by a state commission which takes into account the personal wishes and inclination of each student.

The economic aspect of studying at institutions of higher education is

taken care of by a system of stipends and scholarships, and low-cost facilities provided by the government.

All students making normal scholastic progress in Soviet higher educational establishments receive state grants that range from 220 to 600 rubles monthly, depending on the year of study, the type of institution and the student's scholastic achievements. Those students whose work is considered "excellent," receive an addition of 25 per cent to the normal grant.

The number of these grants, which are awarded by the director of each institution, is not limited but depends entirely on the number of students making normal scholastic progress. In actual practice, nearly every student receives a grant. At Moscow University, for example, 95 per cent of the students are receiving grants.

The grants are sufficient to cover the students' usual requirements

and thus permit them to pursue their studies without any worry about part-time jobs.

Students who distinguish themselves in their academic or research work receive special scholarships, some of them as high as 780 rubles a month.

The tuition fees at Soviet higher educational institutions range from 300 to 400 rubles a year, or 25 to 30 rubles a month. But even this small fee is not required from a substantial number of the students, such as the children of parents disabled or killed in World War II, ex-servicemen, those who achieve a high level of academic work, and others.

How college students plan their budgets is illustrated by Academician Petrovsky, who cites several students at Moscow University. Sergei Sokhin, for example, a fourth-year student of philosophy, receives a grant of 450 rubles a month. Because of excellence in his scholastic work he is exempt from paying any tuition. He lives in the old dormitories (the science departments of Moscow University have a magnificent set of new buildings which include modern dormitories) where accommodations, as in all the dormitories, or hostels, of Soviet higher educational institutions, cost him 15 rubles a month. This includes a room that he shares with another student, the use of a hot plate for light cooking, and other conveniences, including the laundering of bed linen which is issued to the students by the administration. He eats in the students' dining hall at a cost of 175 rubles a month. He spends up to 80 rubles a month on books, subscribes to magazines, goes to the theater once or twice a month, has a season ticket to the Conservatory and frequently goes to the cinema.

Another student, Kazbek Gioev, in the second year in physics, receives a grant of 320 rubles a month. He is exempt from tuition because his father was killed in the war. He lives in the hostel and therefore his main expenses are under 200 rubles a month.

The dormitories are equipped with many conveniences for the students, and their trade union looks after their general welfare. Sokhin, for example, spent part of his summer vacation at the university's health resort on the Black Sea coast. Full cost of accommodations there would have been 900 rubles, but he paid only 200, the balance being defrayed by the students' trade union.

The trade union's arrangements for health and holiday accommodations and sports camps are very extensive. In 1952, more than 1,900 undergraduates at Moscow University received holidays in this way, either free of charge or by paying a very nominal sum. The trade union also arranged for more than 4,000 undergraduates taking hiking trips through the Urals, the Caucasus, the Sayan Mountains, the Kola Peninsula and the Tien Shan and the Altai mountains. In all, about two-thirds of the students at this university alone took advantage of the opportunity to have a vacation with expenses paid in part or in full by the trade union.

Moscow University has two clubs at which undergraduates, members of the faculty, and other university workers can enjoy lectures, plays, films and concerts. The clubs also have groups for theatricals, dancing, piano, violin and other musical instruments, choral singing, and painting. There is also a students' symphony orchestra, a band and an orchestra of Russian folk instruments.

Corliss Lamont Fights to Save The Bill of Rights

THE HONOR ROLL of patriotic Americans fighting to defend the Constitution against those who are seeking to overthrow the basic foundations of our government and bring fascism to our country, continues to grow.

On October 14, Dr. Corliss Lamont, author, philosopher and Columbia University lecturer, was indicted for "contempt" of Congress, along with Abraham Unger, and Albert Shadowitz. They had invoked the First Amendment as protecting their rights as citizens and their freedom of speech, in refusing to answer improper questions put to them by Senator Joseph McCarthy, sitting as a one-man committee.

The questions to Dr. Lamont dealt chiefly with his book *The Peoples of the USSR* which had been listed in an army bibliography. Dr. Lamont, announcing his intention of fighting his case through to the U.S. Supreme Court, declared that "As for my future, no personal sacrifice can be too great for carrying on the battle against the enemies of democracy." In a statement regarding his indictment, Dr. Lamont said:

The American Bill of Rights is the greatest Constitutional document on civil liberties in the history of mankind. It is our proudest possession. Each generation must defend it anew. As part of the continuing struggle, I gladly enter into the legal battle that now confronts me.

For many years Dr. Lamont has been in the forefront of the struggle for civil liberties at home and for a peaceful policy in international relations. He is well known to NWR readers for his many valuable books and pamphlets and the articles he has written for us over the years on developments in the USSR and on the necessity for peaceful co-existence. He has consistently sought to bring home to Americans the

fact that there is no threat of aggression from the Soviet Union, and that it has pursued an unswerving policy of peace from the day of its birth.

By inclination and profession a teacher and philosopher, Dr. Lamont, as in the present case, has always been ready to leave the shelter of study and classroom, and make the sacrifices demanded of all those who enter actively into the struggle for the realization of the things they believe in.

Previously a Senatorial candidate himself on the American Labor Party ticket, Dr. Lamont participated in this year's ALP campaign in New York on behalf of John T. McManus, its candidate for governor, as an important way of bringing the issues of McCarthyism before the people. In a campaign radio speech he listed among the examples of McCarthyism in action:

The recent unsuccessful Nixon-Knowland effort for American military intervention in China was McCarthyism. The same is true of Secretary Dulles' policy of rearming Western Germany with its resurgent Nazi tendencies. . . . In 1954, the Eisenhower administration and Congress made an all-time record, by pushing through eight anti-subversive bills that violate the Constitution. These measures enact much of McCarthy's program. . . . Congress . . . is legislating America steadily in the direction of fascism.

For his courageous stand in facing the possibility of a prison sentence in his own case, for his forthright defense of all issues that will further the well-being of the American people, for his unbending stand in favor of a policy of peaceful co-existence as the only course for our nation's safety, Corliss Lamont deserves the fullest measure of gratitude and support from all who continue to hold high the banner of American democracy and peace.

Shostakovich's Tenth

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

MUSIC is one side of life in which the war mongers and witch hunters have not been able to erect a barrier between the people of the United States and those of the Soviet Union. This was apparent when on October 14th and 15th the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra under Dmitri Mitropoulos gave the first American performance of the new Tenth Symphony by Dmitri Shostakovich, to an enthusiastically applauding audience. A few days later an American company, the Concert Hall Society, issued a recording of the same work, played by the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra, under Eugene Mravinsky (CHS 1913), and another company announced that a further recording was in prospect.

The interest in this premiere reveals the fact that Shostakovich has won a firm place in the affections of American music lovers, in spite of the fact that no other composer of modern times has been so subjected to bitter attacks or sneering innuendoes by the press. The esteem is also seen in the fact that four American orchestras have recorded his Fifth Symphony and at present five rival versions of it are on the market.

The profound truth emerges that a great composer serves not only his own land and people, but all the world, adding to its treasure house. In other words, his works belong to everybody, and people do not easily allow themselves to be robbed of what is their own.

The hostility to Shostakovich's art shown by so many of the music critics,

as against the affection felt by the public, is not due to purely musical questions. There is an underlying political reason. An artist such as Shostakovich shows in each new work an expanding love for people and reflection of their sorrows, joys, conflicts and aspirations. He represents a boldness and a social view of music as against the self-centeredness and lack of human feelings in so much "modernistic" music.

A composer inspired by such humanist feelings obviously does not fit into the caricature of the Soviet Union as a land of "party censors" and "slave camps," so dear to much of the press.

But the myth must be preserved, as can be seen in the notes by Irving Kolodin which were printed both in the New York Philharmonic program booklet and, somewhat modified, on the jacket of the Concert Hall recording. They seem to have been written in fear that any expression of warmth for the music, or failure to meet a set quota of anti-Soviet innuendoes, would cause him to be hauled before some court on "guilt by association."

The *New York Herald Tribune's* Paul Henry Lang, an esteemed scholar when it comes to medieval music, likewise exhibited the usual unscholarly disdain for facts in his innuendoes against Soviet Union musical life. He also genuinely disliked the music, writing, "It is just something Russian that is a little strange to us. For those nurtured on Western music cannot completely identify themselves with this music." The attitude is one deep rooted in the sections of the German middle class from which Lang comes, who regard the bloody hysterics of Richard Strauss' "Elektra" and "Salome" as "civilized" and the Russian attention to the common people and peasantry as "barbaric."

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN'S books include "Art and Society," "Jazz: A People's Music," "How Music Expresses Ideas," and his latest "Realism In Art."



Dmitri Shostakovich, whose Tenth Symphony had its American premiere in October by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra under Dmitri Mitropoulos

But on the other hand Olin Downes, of the *New York Times*, who has many times been critical of both Shostakovich and the Soviet Union, found his "Western" sensibilities perfectly attuned to this music. He wrote, "This is obviously the strongest and greatest symphony that Shostakovich has yet produced. One would say that it is the first score in the symphonic form that proclaims the complete independence and integration of his genius."

In the new work, Shostakovich has mastered the qualities of classic symphonic form, the epic and heroic portrayal of conflict and resolution, and has recast them in new terms that represent his own "voice" and reflect his own times. The nearest parallel is to his own Fifth Symphony, especially in the sombre first and third movements. It is as if something of the Fifth Symphony mood and style were being taken up again by a composer who, however, almost two decades later, has not only greatly matured and experienced a joyous growth but has also gone through heart-rending experiences, suffered grievous losses among those dear to him, seen his beloved land partly overrun by Hitlerite invaders, and now again sees the maniacal cry of war raised by those who are willing to risk

the lives of all humanity against their avid demand for investments.

The symphony is dedicated to the cause of peace, but it is wholly different in character from his beautiful "Song of the Forests," with its abundance of full-throated song, and its portrayal of the Soviet people, young and old, eagerly turning to the mastery of nature. The awareness in this symphony is that the fight for peace is the most serious matter facing humanity, and that it can be won, but only with determination and travail.

It is not an easy work to grasp on the first hearing. It is a work both long and tightly packed, sustaining its moods over long periods, building up its conflicts slowly, yet with no padding or repetition, and with every bar seemingly coming direct from the heart. And only with successive hearings do we realize with what unobtrusive mastery of musical tools Shostakovich has executed his great project.

Almost all the material, of all four movements, can be derived from the short germinating theme heard in the brooding opening to the first movement. This theme engenders the two lyrical motifs of the first movement, one tenderly sad, the other agitated and hopeful, the strife between which creates

the development section of this movement.

The short, fast second movement is not joyous, but driving in its intensity of conflict.

The slow movement that follows starts with a lovely melody that also seems derived from the "germ" theme. Then reflective passages follow, and there is a powerful climax, with sardonic waltz-like strains, in which the conflict of the entire symphony reaches its peak.

The finale takes up the drive of the second movement, carrying it through to a conclusion of irresistible vitality.

Thus the symphony is one single experience, from beginning to end, portraying the emotional travels of a mind boldly exploring every doubt and hesitation, and winning through to a pow-

erful affirmation of the victory of the forces of life over those of human destruction.

The fact that the Concert Hall Society recording is available is fortunate not only for those who did not hear the New York performance, but even for those who did. Not only does it enable the music to be studied as it deserves, but it provides a somewhat different view of it. While the New York Philharmonic Symphony played magnificently, and Mitropoulos is a masterly director, the music seemed to me to emerge from their hands too hard and brilliant, with much of its tenderness sacrificed for brilliant aural and dynamic effects. And it is precisely the human aspect of the music that is best revealed in the reading by Mravinsky and the Leningrad Philharmonic.

"NEWS RE-FIT TO PRINT"

The Salisbury Series

THE SERIES of articles written by Harrison Salisbury in the *New York Times*, after his return from five years as its Moscow correspondent, have been characterized as "a degradation of journalism" and a grave disservice in American-Soviet relations, by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The Council raises serious questions as to the motives of the *Times* and the author of the articles in its *Report on the News* of October 8, aptly titled "News Re-Fit to Print."

The Report points out that Mr. Salisbury's series constitutes "the simple, unashamed repudiation of his own writing" in both the spirit and the letter, on practically every subject he reported upon while in the USSR, and gives as an example:

... in Moscow, in 1950, Salisbury cabled "There's an overwhelming de-

sire for continued peace. There appears to be no segment of the Soviet public that desires war or will look with enthusiasm on the prospect of war with the United States." The desire of the Soviet people for peace, whether he was reporting on a new hydro-electric plant, school, or price-cuts in consumer goods, was the underlying theme of his on-the-spot observations cabled from Moscow. But in New York in 1954, reviewing his years in Russia, he wants the reader to forget what he said about the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union in 1950 and to believe that present actions in the direction of peaceful co-existence on the part of Soviet leaders are but a facade, a temporary maneuver rather than a basic policy.

As an example of Salisbury's method, the Report points out that by raising the question, "Did they put Stalin to death?", Mr. Salisbury

seeks to plant this idea in the minds of his readers, while at the same time he is forced to admit that he has no verifiable facts at all behind the horrendous Whodunit he concocts, saying, "all that does not mean that Stalin did not meet a natural end." The Report continues:

To any thoughtful reader of the *New York Times* editorials, the reason for featuring this series of lurid tapestry, of wild speculation, is clear. Peace-hungry people the world over are demanding that the great powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, sit down in a conference to iron out their differences. The world-wide clamor for peaceful co-existence, which even the *Times* is forced to report, only calls forth its editorial scorn.

The Report then notes that the pretext advanced by the *Times* for publishing these articles was Soviet censorship. However, in comparing the Salisbury articles written in Moscow with those written in New York, it is clear that it is not a question of Mr. Salisbury writing now what he was unable to send from the Soviet Union, but of now writing the *exact opposite* of what he wrote then. Mr. Salisbury himself, in an article in his series dealing with Soviet censorship does not accuse the censor of re-writing his dispatches, nor of demanding that he include anything he did not voluntarily choose to write. One can only assume therefore, that a gigantic hoax has been perpetrated, either in the previous articles—written over a period of five years—or the final series. The Council asks:

Does the *New York Times* want its readers to understand, without saying so, that for years its correspondent deliberately planted friendly and favorable articles about the Soviet

Union, thereby deceiving the American public? Are we to conclude that Mr. Salisbury is confessing to journalistic fraud? . . . Manifestly, if there was any purpose to it, it could not be a journalistic one. In what area did that purpose lie?

The Council suggests where the answer can be found:

We are frankly depressed by the fact that no protest came from the journalistic fraternity against this affair of the *Times* which casts a deep shadow upon American correspondents everywhere. As a foremost anti-Soviet organ and proponent of the cold war, the *New York Times* seemed to believe that in the present atmosphere of the cold war its cynicism, as revealed in the Salisbury episode, would go unnoticed. The *Times* proceeded with the series, timed to the opening of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York when international tensions are somewhat abated. The series was apparently designed to counteract this trend and start a new round of anti-Soviet propaganda.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet Union has not risen to any provocative bait that might have been hidden in this episode. It has opened its doors to another *New York Times* correspondent, Mr. Clifton Daniel and given him the kind of travel facilities accorded to Mr. Salisbury, as well to a number of Congressional visitors from this country. It would welcome many more American visitors if the State Department would give them passports, as it does visitors from all over the world. It has nothing to hide. The stakes for the American people in honest reporting about the Soviet Union are too great to permit acceptance of journalistic frauds of this type, perpetrated for cold war purposes.

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