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New World

REVIEW



Members of the Daugava Sports Club of Riga out for a sail. Other photos of Latvia today on pages 24-25

**Lao Sheh Describes His Life in New China
British Musicians in USSR • Toward Easing
the Cold War • Vietnam Since Geneva**

NEW WORLD

Review

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A Little

Reminder

BY THIS TIME all our subscribers have received an urgent appeal for funds to tide us over the difficult summer period.

Many of you have responded promptly and generously. We want therefore to take this opportunity of thanking you for your wonderful support.

We also want, however, to impress upon you the tremendous problem we face in meeting our financial obligations. As we have told you before, our drastic economies have helped us to overcome past obstacles. But, as always with a publication such as ours, we face new ones. The main one now is the slow summer period.

Won't those of you who have not yet responded to our appeal do so now? Your contribution, mailed in today, will enable us to continue our work for international understanding and world peace.

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

Toward Ending the Cold War

by JESSICA SMITH

THE DESIRES of mankind are focussed today on the ending of the cold war dividing the world into two hostile armed camps. These desires have led to the new period of intense diplomatic activity which James Reston of the *New York Times* characterized recently as "A vast if dispersed effort to negotiate a peace treaty in the cold war."

The Tenth Anniversary session of the United Nations closed in San Francisco in an atmosphere of hope that it would make a new start toward fulfilling the yet-unrealized goal of becoming a real power for the maintenance of world peace.

While this meeting was of a ceremonial nature only there is no doubt that the over-all results were positive, and that the United Nations has gained in strength and prestige thereby. While the cold war was reflected in a number of the speeches, the general trend was overwhelmingly for the easing of tensions.

Summing up the spirit of the gathering, Dr. Eelco van Kleffens of the Netherlands, presiding officer, declared at the closing session that the participants had reaffirmed their determination to settle their disputes by peaceful means "and to live together in peace and amity."

The American people could only welcome the reaffirmation of the U.S. Government's support for UN purposes given by President Eisenhower in his opening address, and

his pledge on behalf of our country:

We shall work with all others—and especially through this great organization, the United Nations—so that peaceful reasonable negotiations may replace the clash of the battlefield. . . .

We, with the rest of the world, know that a nation's vision of peace cannot be attained through any race in armaments. The munitions of peace are justice, honesty, mutual understanding and respect for others.

So believing and so motivated, the United States will leave no stone unturned to work for peace. We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace.

Welcome, too, his statement that there must be a new kind of peace, one in which the atom, instead of man's slayer, "will become his most productive servant."

It was left to Secretary General Hammarskjold, however, to be the first to pay tribute to Franklin Delano Roosevelt as the man who initiated at the height of the Second World War, the negotiations and planning which culminated in the San Francisco conference which brought into being "this world institution dedicated to peace."

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, reaffirming the support of the USSR for the United Nations and its purpose to "secure peace, friendship and cooperation among the peoples," recalled that it was the same impulse

that brought together the anti-Hitlerite coalition headed by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, that had led to the formation of the United Nations.

While mentioning no power by name, he said it was necessary to face the fact that present day international tensions are the result of policies in some countries of setting in motion an unprecedented armaments race, engaging in large-scale construction of military bases, forming new military blocs and alliances, and the presence of ominous propaganda for an atomic war.

He enumerated recent achievements in the direction of peace and said that there was no doubt of the important role of the United Nations in international life and the positive aspects of its work, urging that realization of the principle of peaceful coexistence recognized by the UN Charter

... is inseparable from the task of strengthening mutual trust among nations, of putting an end to the "cold war" and the arms race and of developing international economic co-operation on a wide scale.

Molotov declared further that realization of this principle required an end to the abnormal state of affairs whereby the Chinese People's Republic, representing a quarter of the world's people should continue to be deprived of its rightful place in the United Nations. He also proposed that the UN take appropriate action to settle the question of the return to China of Taiwan (Formosa) as an integral part of its territory.

Molotov's specific proposals for steps to be taken to establish the necessary trust among nations were:

Implementation of the General As-

sembly's well-known resolution on the termination of war propaganda in all countries;

Agreement among the great powers to dismantle military bases, in foreign territories;

Development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and large-scale industrial, scientific and technical assistance to countries which are less fully developed technically;

Agreement between the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Britain and France on the withdrawal of their forces from Germany, with the exception of small contingents to be temporarily left behind, and strict limitation of local police forces in both parts of Germany;

Settlement of outstanding Far Eastern problems in accordance with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity;

Removal of any discrimination hampering the development of wide-scale economic cooperation and international trade;

Extension of international cultural ties, through a wide exchange of delegations, and the development of tourism.

Outlining again the draft Soviet proposals to the UN on May 10 on disarmament and atomic weapons prohibition, under strict international control and inspection, Mr. Molotov declared that his government had accepted all the Western proposals with regard to reduction of conventional armaments and "it is up to the USA and the other Western powers to make the next move." He closed with an expression of the good-will of the Soviet people for the people of the United States, a reminder that the consolidation of peace depends largely on these two peoples, and a pledge that his government would do everything possible to support the United Nations in its endeavors to bring about last-

ing peace and international security.

The speech by Secretary Dulles, two days later, served to counteract much of the positive effect of President Eisenhower's opening statement. He supported the policy of regional military alliances as a necessary defense against threatened aggression, made a number of attacks on "international communism," bitterly assailed the People's Republic of China, spoke of the "servitude" of the nations of Eastern Europe, sought to cast doubt on the sincerity of recent peace moves of the Soviet Union, attributing them to "making a virtue out of necessity."

But despite the negative tone of Mr. Dulles' speech, the consensus of opinion is that the opportunities afforded by the San Francisco meeting for personal contact between him and Mr. Molotov, reported to have taken place in a friendly spirit, have helped provide a more favorable setting for the forthcoming big-power talks than existed before.

It was notable that Mr. Molotov agreed to accept most of the U.S. terms for the conference, although it is clear that the Soviet Union would have preferred to have a less limited arrangement both with regard to time and substance. The general tone of the press reflected the very strong general impression made by Mr. Molotov's warm and conciliatory attitude in all his contacts. James Reston reported in the *New York Times* of January 26, that in his talks with all the thirty-seven foreign ministers of different countries present in San Francisco, the Soviet Foreign Minister's general theme was "that it was time to end the cold war, nothing less."

This was further underlined by the swift expression of regret by the Soviet Union at the shooting down

of the United States plane that occurred during the UN session. While the Soviet version of the incident differed from that of the United States, claiming that the U.S. plane had been over Soviet territorial waters, and had also opened fire, it declared that weather conditions left open the possibility of error, and offered to pay half the damages.

Now people everywhere are looking to the forthcoming top-level conference, scheduled to open July 18 in Geneva, as the greatest opportunity yet offered for concrete steps toward easing world tensions.

Public opinion in the United States and around the world has been the main factor in bringing about the new trends in our government's foreign policy.

The great need now is for continued public pressure to make sure that our government enters into the forthcoming negotiations with the intention that they succeed.

There are already indications that the desire of the people for concrete results is having some effect as seen in the agreement of the Administration to extend the negotiations to six days, instead of only four.

Of special significance was the Senate's action in voting down 77 to 4 McCarthy's effort to torpedo the Geneva Conference by a resolution requiring the President to get an advance promise that the status of nations "under Communist control" in Eastern Europe and Asia should be discussed.

Yet there have been many signs that our government continues to hold a negative attitude about the possibilities of success at Geneva.

There was a strange irony in the fact that Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov arrived in New York on the way to the UN session, with peace-

ful greetings to the American people, and went calmly on a sight-seeing tour of New York, including the Metropolitan Art Museum, while the American people were going through an H-bomb attack presumably launched by his government. In this test some 8,000,000 of us were supposed to have been killed, more than that wounded, 71 of our cities laid waste, 25,000,000 made homeless. The timing could hardly have been less happy. For the impressive and growing list of the actions of the Soviet Union are convincing evidence to many that there is no danger of such an attack. Stewart Alsop wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune* May 20, reporting on the Washington scene:

... You will find men whose opinions you respect speculating seriously that the Soviet may be genuinely anxious to make a European settlement which the Western powers can accept.

And in a series of articles written from Moscow in early June, Raymond Brandt, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, quoted Western diplomats in Moscow, including U.S. Ambassador Bohlen, as believing:

... the new leaders are sincere in their call for disarmament, including the "A" and "H" weapons. The highest Soviet officials repeatedly have said the armaments race is a waste of money and one has conceded the Russian atomic projects are expensive for that reason. They believe disarmament will be high on Russian proposals for the agenda of the Big Four "summit" meetings.

In the recent period we have seen a series of moves on the part of the Soviet Union that should

serve to convince the most skeptical.

On May 11, the Soviet Union published its new proposals to the United Nations on arms reduction and limitation and prohibition of nuclear weapons, with far-reaching concessions to Western views on the level of armaments, and the strictest provisions yet proposed for international inspection and control, opening the way for new possibilities of agreement on these all-important issues.

The Warsaw meeting to coordinate the armed forces of Eastern European countries loosely under a joint command, followed the ratification of the Paris pacts for the rearming of Western Germany and the entry of the German Republic into NATO. But it should be noted that the treaty signed on May 14 provided for its own dissolution in the event of the establishment of an all-European security system, and that the question of participation of the armed forces of the German Democratic Republic in this system was postponed for later consideration.

Then came the successful conclusion of the peace treaty with Austria, after the preliminary negotiations in Moscow, resulting in the establishment of an independent, neutral Austria, pledged to join no military alliances, with all foreign troops and military bases removed from its territory. It should be remembered that conclusion of an Austrian treaty had long been the main issue on which the Administration had insisted as necessary to prove the sincerity of Soviet peace efforts.

The Soviet mission to Yugoslavia followed, resulting in the new agreement on friendly cooperation in the future (See page 42). And as a side issue to this, the offering of invitations to a group of Western correspondents to visit Moscow. This

is a further extension of an intensified trend during the past year of encouraging visits to the USSR by individuals and delegations from many countries, including the United States. Frank Kelly of the *New York Herald Tribune*, arriving in Moscow a week later wrote in his paper on June 19 describing the mood in Moscow "as one of friendliness and courtesy toward foreigners, particularly Americans."

The June 7 note of the Soviet Union inviting Chancellor Adenauer to Moscow to discuss establishing diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic was interpreted by the press as heralding a sensational change in Soviet foreign policy. But the Soviet Union had previously raised the question of diplomatic relations with the GFR, and its proposal for an all-European Security system made during and following the Berlin conference in the winter of 1954, provided that both East and West German Republic might enter such a system until a unified Germany was possible.

At his San Francisco press conference Mr. Molotov declared that the basis of German unification should not be an extension of either the West or East German regime, but "a matter to be settled by the German people themselves on the basis of free all-German elections."

Meantime the Soviet Union has continued to strengthen existing friendly relations and reach new agreements with other countries. In fulfillment of its agreement with the Chinese People's Republic, the USSR completed the transfer of the jointly held Port Arthur naval base, withdrawing all Soviet troops and turning over all installations to the Peking Government. Negotiations have

been proceeding in London between Soviet and Japanese representatives.

Prime Minister Nehru of India received the most enthusiastic reception ever accorded a foreign statesman by the Soviet Government and people, on a state visit which resulted in a strong declaration on mutual cooperation and friendship.

Parliamentary delegations from Sweden and India made visits to the Soviet Union as a result of a proposal made by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR last winter for exchanges of such delegations among nations to strengthen international peace.

These conciliatory moves on the part of the Soviet Union were matched by similar moves on the part of the Chinese People's Republic. What the press calls a "de facto cease fire" reigns in the Formosa Strait. Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai renewed his offer of bi-lateral negotiations with the United States to ease tensions in that area. While insisting that the liberation of Formosa is an internal matter, he indicated a willingness to see it accomplished by peaceful means. The first group of imprisoned U.S. airmen have been released. V. K. Krishna Menon, India's chief delegate to the United Nations and foreign affairs adviser to Premier Nehru, brought back hopeful word to UN Secretary Hammerskjold and U.S. Administration leaders regarding the possibilities of a peaceful settlement with China after his visit to Peking.

Add to all this the positive results achieved at San Francisco and there is ground for high hopes of a real relaxation of international tension and a start toward ending the cold war—in the measure that there is no relaxation in the struggle for peace.

LAO SHEH

AUTHOR OF RICKSHAW BOY

Describes His Life and Work In People's China

IT'S NO EASY JOB—I can assure you—to pack into an article two or three thousand words long my reflections on all I've experienced, learned and gained in these five years since the founding of our Republic. So, how about indulging in a simple chat, a talk about things that are fresh in my mind? This may not result in a well-constructed essay, but perhaps in this informal way I can convey to you better some of the thoughts nearest my heart. After all, it's sincerity and truth that count most, not fine writing.

In these five years, I've written

LAO SHEH is widely known in this country as the author of the novel "Rickshaw Boy." Other novels include "Lao Chang's Philosophy" and "To the Fair." His new plays, produced in China after the liberation include "The Ballad Singer Fang Chen-chu," "Dragon Beard Ditch," and "Spring Flower, Autumn Fruit," have been widely acclaimed. For "Dragon Beard Ditch" he was honored with the title "People's Artist," by the Peking People's Municipal Government. Lao Sheh is a pen name, the author's real name is Shu Sheh-yu.

quite a lot—chiefly stage plays and short popular pieces. I know I'm not a specially good playwright. Why then have I gone on trying? As I understand it, a play should let people see on the stage other people just as much alive as themselves. Its impact should be direct, so that it instantly moves and influences its audience. Let the people educate the people: that's the point of a good play. A play will get the quickest response if it takes full account of its audience. I love our new society with all my heart; I've been eager to tell others what I've understood, so that they may share my understanding and love the new society as ardently as I do. Political fervor fires creative desire—that is the inner urge that prompts me to write. I have to write, whether I can write well or not.

I have only to keep my eyes open, and all the new building and change going on around me crowds in and moves me deeply. The more I see, the more I'm moved. There's no gainsaying the evidence of one's eyes; facts speak louder than words. I love the new society, because in it

people are free and happy; the rotten past is done with for good; the streets are clean and tidy; everything is in good order; and there is startling progress everywhere. So isn't it only natural that I should feel excited and happy, loving the new people and things? I know that the new society is good, very good, a hundred times better than the old society. So I simply must write. It's unbearable to keep all the things that make you happy to yourself!

Would it be right to say that I have no difficulties in writing? Of course not! I have plenty.

But, as I've seen in the past five years, overcoming difficulties and not yielding to them is the very essence of the new spirit and conduct of our people. As I've said, progress is being made with startling speed. Why? Because workers, peasants, soldiers, professors, technicians—all who have a job to do—don't shrink from difficulties. It's a spirit that can move mountains and drain seas. Isn't it a miraculous achievement that under present technical conditions such vast schemes as the Chingkiang Flood Diversion Basin, the Kuanting Reservoir, the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the like should have been completed ahead of time?

We writers must learn from the people who show this titanic energy. What others do, a writer can do too. Although what I know is still superficial, I can learn. If my first manuscript fails to fill the bill, I listen to suggestions and revise it. If enthusiasm means anything, it means dogged determination to subdue difficulties. If you turn tail the moment you run into trouble, what sort of enthusiasm is that?

It is possible some one will ask:

"When a veteran writer has to start to learn and to accept criticism, doesn't it lower his prestige?" No, it does not. In my opinion, to take delight in learning, to be ready to accept criticism are honorable, not degrading, they are marks of courage, not of weakness. In our new society, the quality of a man is shown by his efforts to keep abreast of events and absorb new knowledge and experience. If I refused to move with the times, and with a sneer put down my pen, I should lose not only my dignity, but my life as a creative writer.

Now, perhaps my readers will understand why I have spent so much time producing those short, popular pieces. I've aimed, in little stories, to bring home to the people the importance of hygiene, to explain the Marriage Law and the foolishness of superstition.

There is nothing unbecoming to a writer about pieces that are small, unpretentious and popular; the point is that they should reach the people to good effect. For example, I wrote in a hurry a not too good little popular operetta called *Willow Well*. While the Marriage Law was being publicized all over the country, it was staged in many places in various local styles. Naturally I don't know just how much positive effect it had, but I know it must have had some. There is some satisfaction in that—to know that my little piece found its way to the people and that I'd found a way of serving them. That's as far as I'll go: I still don't consider my little operetta to be very good.

In this connection I ought to mention that, when I set my hand to creative work, large or small, I always get every consideration and

all the help I need from the government.

In the grim Kuomintang days, I lived perpetually as it were in a wilderness. Nobody paid any attention to me or cared if I was working or not, or whether I was dead or alive. The Kuomintang had only one concern when it came to writers—to censor their manuscripts. They showed no hesitation in banning books and arresting their authors.

Today, when I want to write something, I can get all the documents and reference materials I need, temporary assistants, travelling facilities to visit places of interest and suggestions from the authorities.

When the People's Art Theatre was rehearsing my play *Spring Flower, Autumn Fruit*, the mayor and two vice-mayors of Peking came to the rehearsals two or three times, although they were extremely busy. We discussed how the content as well as the form of the play could be improved. After the run of my play *Dragon Beard Ditch*, the mayor of Peking, acting on a proposal from the people of the capital, presented me with a certificate of merit. The Communist Party and the government hold literature in high esteem. So do the people. How, then, can a writer remain unmoved and idle? I've written for thirty years, but it's only in the last five that I've taken the rightful place of a writer in society.

I'm respected and encouraged and materially well looked after and rewarded. I have a guaranteed income from my writings and royalties on my published books. Unlike pre-liberation days when I had to worry about a livelihood, I now have money to spare. I have been able to buy several precious little paintings of

our great old painter Chi Pai-shih and some small vases and bowls of the Kanghsi and Chienlung periods. Though slightly cracked, they are still charming and vivid in color. So in my little house I have fascinating paintings and beautiful porcelain to feast my eyes on. In my little courtyard, I have various kinds of flowers—those which are not too much bother to take care of. I have trouble with my leg and can't stand too much physical exercise. Planting and watering flowers is just the right sort of recreation for me. I no longer live in a wilderness!

I work all the year round. I refuse to rest unless illness overtakes me. I've written quite a lot, but I still feel it's not enough. How many new people and things can be written about! The activities of our workers, peasants and soldiers are always an unfailing source of inspiration. Every factory, every village and every army unit is treasure trove; precious stones and rarities of all kinds can be unearthed anywhere.

Try to write about the workers, peasants and soldiers: that injunction has opened up a new world to writers, and what a rich and beautiful world! Again, to write for workers, peasants and soldiers: that is a new, honorable task for writers.

I'm almost ashamed now to read what I wrote before liberation—mostly faint, colorless personal impressions that don't amount to much. At first glance they seemed to give a kaleidoscopic view, to have covered the whole gamut of life; but upon closer examination, how trivial and inconsequential they seem. At that time, I didn't know what ought to be written, nor to whom my writings should be addressed, so I fussed over those few faint impressions.

Now when I take up my pen I've got a definite and clear-cut purpose. To fulfill it, I have to go into the thick of life. Does the writer lose something when he works in this way? No, he has everything to gain. He cannot write freely without taking something genuine from life.

Before liberation, I was always worrying about the subject-matter of my writings. Even if there had been no censorship—that vicious system of curbing free thought—I should still have worried.

Today, I can go out and observe life freely. Only when you live a life that is rich and full can you write proficiently. If I were to close my eyes to reality and concoct something fantastic out of my imagination, it would be a sheer waste of effort; I would not be making good use of my freedom. People don't want to read empty, unintelligible abstractions. They read for education and recreation. What they want are works that show them how to lead a happier and more beautiful life!

In order to produce works which not only reach a high artistic level but also reflect the outlook of our time, I have taken an enthusiastic part in studies organized among Peking literary circles—both political and vocational. Soviet theory on art and literary work has helped me immensely and led me to a better understanding of the creative method of socialist realism.

Last year, I studied the question of the central task of our state in the period of transition during which our country is working toward a socialist society. That helped me to see and understand our tasks far better. It is perfectly clear to me now that our country is forging ahead in a well-planned way to a bright and

a most glorious socialist future.

Besides making myself acquainted with actual life and taking part in writing and studying, I help in the editorial work of the popular literary periodical—*Shuo-shuo Chang-chang* (Story-telling and Ballad-singing). In editing this periodical, I come into contact with many problems connected with folk literature, and have thus enriched my knowledge of the tradition of folk literature and the development of national literary style. I gain both knowledge and pleasure from my practical work; and I have come to know the joy of "voluntary and conscientious labor."

My knowledge of classical literature proves useful in the effort to solve the problem of preserving the traditions of our national literature. I have explained to young friends on the editorial board of *Shuo-shuo Chang-chang* and elsewhere the merits of our classical literature and, according to my lights, how they can best learn from and make use of that legacy.

Chairman Mao has given us a splendid maxim: "Let all flowers bloom together; cultivate the new and discard that which has outlived its time." Our creations should neither be confined to the old styles, nor ruthlessly severed from our historical heritage. They should combine a socialist-realist content with a great variety of forms.

Well, I have written as many words as was required of me, but I haven't even related a tenth of my life and work within these five years, and all the pleasure and experience I have derived from it. But if something which has come from the depth of my heart has reached yours, then I shall not care much if my article is rather ill-constructed.

Six in Search of Friendship

British musicians visit and perform in the USSR, find warmth and friendship and, incidentally, make a film

by LEONARD CASSINI

FOR A PROFESSIONAL musician to have played five concerts and two broadcasts in twelve days is not remarkable, nor is it exceptional to have traveled fifteen hundred miles each way for the purpose. These things happen frequently in the lives of many internationally known artists and no one need pay particular attention. But when these very statistics are related to certain times, places and people they assume a significance that lifts them from the realm of figures to that of public relations.

So it happened to us. Six in search of friendship.

The times were the first days of last June; the places were Moscow and Leningrad, and the people were Martin Lawrence, bass-baritone; Alan Loveday, violinist; Kenneth Wright, Head of Music at Television; Evan Senior, Editor of *Music and Musicians*; Sylvia Checketts, Secretary of the Music Committee of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR; and myself, pianist. And these were the facts that made the matter important, for we were the first British musicians to have visited the Soviet Union, as musicians.

The greeting at Vnukovo Airport both fitted and confirmed the impor-

tance of the occasion: flowers, movie cameras, and eminent faces beaming all round. Obratzsov, Bezrodny, Galina Izmailova; I recognized them at once. On the way into the airport building we were introduced to the others, among them Madame Arapova, of the Ministry of Culture, the charming and efficient deputy-chief of the Foreign Section.

Customs officials, normally a ubiquitous feature of airports everywhere, seemed to be absent, and we swept through without formality out on to the broad highway that was to take us the thirty kilometers to Moscow.

The big Russian cars took us at a steady pace, so that we could enjoy the countryside lying peacefully under the warm afternoon sun. The rolling road had been half consumed when ahead of us and slightly to the left we detected a faint, enormous outline. At first I felt as though I had accidentally skidded across the borders of reality into fairyland and this was the fairytale palace.

Steadily the amazing structure grew more solid out of its embracing mists until we were able to recognize it as the new building of the Lomonosov State University. On close inspection, as we traveled along

its huge flank and then across the facade, it seemed to my taste to be overloaded with decoration—as a beloved child would be, whose mother could not resist adding a ribbon here, a frill there. Superfluous, but understandable.

Then the cars dipped in salute down the gentle gradient of the Lenin Hills and we were in Moscow.

And here I feel the need for the assistance of a little music to help evoke the feeling of friendly majesty that inescapably engulfs you as you glide over the bridges towards the great Kremlin. This lovely walled city, perfectly preserved and in daily use, gives Moscow a unique feeling of historical continuity.

Installed in the National Hotel, which overlooks the Kremlin from the Manezh Square side, we were soon deep in conference with Ministry of Culture officials. Throughout our stay they were to smooth away difficulties, take care of all manner of day-to-day details, and meticulously carry out our requirements.

First came the concert tour: Where, how many, when? Discussion showed that only Moscow and Leningrad were practical possibilities. Kiev, which would have liked to have us, had just come to the end of its season of special events in honor of the 300th anniversary of the union of the Ukraine with Russia. The other main centers were too far away, bearing in mind Martin Lawrence's limited time.

Thus the contours of the visit were already being sketched in: Lawrence was to sing two solo recitals in Moscow, on June 2 at the Chaikovsky Hall (Martin raised his eyebrows and murmured, "Blimey!" for this was the evening of June 1), and on the 6th at the Large Hall of

the Conservatoire; then off to Leningrad for another solo appearance at the Philharmonic Hall on the 8th. On the 3rd I was to begin my work with a recording for the Broadcasting Service, on the 4th I would take part in a recital of Loveday's, on the 5th Loveday and I would appear in a sonata recital at the Small Hall of the Conservatoire, on the 7th Loveday would play the Elgar violin concerto, and I would play the John Ireland piano concerto, with the symphony orchestra of the Radio Committee, at the Chaikovsky Hall under conductor Vasili Vasilievitch Nebolsin. The 6th, which for a moment I had thought would be free, turned out to contain another recording session for the radio. On the night of the 7th, immediately after the orchestral concert, we were to entrain for Leningrad, where Loveday and I were to repeat our Moscow sonata recital and orchestral concert, this time with the Leningrad Philharmonic under Rakhlin.

That seemed to dispose of the musical side of the program. But discussion was only beginning. The really spectacular matter had not even been mentioned.

Several weeks before we were to leave for Moscow, it suddenly seemed to me a great pity that no one but the six of us should see what we were going to see. If only a film could be made and shown in England! But how? To make a request for a film team to be invited at the same time seemed rather unlikely to succeed, since the group was already complete. And in any case, who could send such a team at short notice?

There seemed only one solution: to organize an Anglo-Soviet film team on a novel basis—scriptwriters and

co-producers Anglo, film technicians and co-producers Soviet.

After some suspense over the preliminary negotiations, we learned that both sides had agreed in principle. We had already started on a draft script, and now worked intensively to get ready the final version, which was immediately transmitted to Moscow; the next step could only be taken there, after we arrived.

And so it was, on that very evening of our arrival. With express speed a crack team of four cameramen were appointed to the job, together with a director and Stalin prizewinner, Kristy, as producer. The Moscow Documentary Film Studio was at our disposal, and, much to our delight, within twenty-four hours the first reel was being shot, at the Glinka celebrations in the Bolshoy Theater.

From that moment they scarcely let us out of their sight. They saw what we saw, and at the same time saw us seeing it! If this sounds like a contradiction, try two cameras!

Our concerts were invaded, and our hotel rooms. Cameras, lights, wires everywhere. "Kindly walk across the pavement to the car! Once more, please. Thank you. Now kindly walk back across the pavement to the hotel! Once more, please. Thank you." And so on.

As you can imagine, our first twelve days were spent between practice studio and concert hall. The orchestral rehearsals had gone rather well, we thought, considering the unfamiliarity of the works. And the recitals in Moscow received excellent notices; thoughtful, analytical, friendly. The halls were crowded, audiences attentive, and very persistent in demanding encores.

There was some disagreement in the group as to their powers of discrimination. Some said that the ovations accorded certain Soviet artists who were clearly past their prime was a sign of incomplete musical understanding. Others said that these ovations proved not lack of discrimination but kindly recognition of past achievement.

I was pleasantly impressed by the quality of both orchestras with which I played, as well as by the magnificent Bolshoy Theater orchestra. But I did feel that neither the Ireland nor the Elgar concerto was given its full value. It was not musicianship that was lacking, nor good will towards the music, but simply lack of familiarity with the characteristics of the English school. This will be remedied in the near future, I am sure.

Waiting backstage before appearing on the platform is a trying time for every artist. It was made easier for us by a matronly woman who tiptoed about the artists' room, supplying hot, sweet and milkless tea whenever we required it. If not tea, then liqueur chocolates, or oranges.

The word oranges unlocks a whole store of recollections.

Most of us decided to visit the air display held at Tushino. So did most of Moscow. There must have been a third of a million people present. The sky was cloudless; a perfect setting for formations of jet fighters and light bombers, helicopters and graceful gliders. The Muscovites turned their faces upwards, narrowed their eyes in the glare, licked ices. They also queued for oranges, which have been rather scarce up to now. But the orange-sellers made it a condition that a bottle of champagne had to be bought with each purchase

of oranges. This surprising condition was accepted calmly by the Moscow public. They washed down their picnic lunches with champagne and ate oranges, suitcases full.

If the oranges led me to Tushino, then champagne takes me straight to the Bolshoy. *Swan Lake* was on a night or two before we left. This was an opportunity! Plisetskaya was dancing, and I had heard of her quality. The young conductor Rozhdestvensky was in charge. I have only one comment to make about the performance and about Soviet ballet. There is no other ballet. I was so moved by the first act that it was as much as I could do to stagger out into the foyer and drown my tears of joy in sparkling Soviet champagne.

Even the *corps de ballet* was breathtakingly graceful and poetic. The maturity of the school was evident in every movement of every artist, and in this category I include the scene-shifters, who made miracles happen with the minimum of machinery.

The one criticism I have of Soviet ballet productions, as well as of opera productions, is a tendency to overload the stage with scenery, though I admit that I am venturing into the dangerous minefield known as "taste."

Did I say that the cameras scarcely let us out of their sight? That was metaphorical, of course; we had many solitary expeditions in Moscow and Leningrad. Leningrad was unbelievably intact, so intact that one was likely to forget the dreadful hammering that it had received in its eighteen months' siege. This superb city is a never-ending delight to anyone interested, as I am, in architecture.

It is also a city of music lovers, for our three concerts there were packed to the eaves, and I had to repeat the last movement of the Ireland concerto as an encore; a rare and touching experience.

At Leningrad, our party of six dwindled to four; Lawrence left for England a day before us, Loveday for Moscow a day after us, and on June 12 the rest took off for Tbilisi in Georgia. We dined splendidly that evening at Moscow Airport, watching the planes queue up in the air for permission to land, just as busy as London Airport. Then as the light faded from the sky we rose again for the hop to Kharkov.

I opened one eye at about 4:30 a.m. and saw that our IL-12 was droning steadily above the Black Sea. We kept the Riviera east coast at arm's length for an hour or so, watching the grandiose backcloth of the Caucasian Mountains slip by, the mighty Elbruz hidden in the clouds.

We turned inland and touched down at Sukhumi, Kutaisi and finally Tbilisi. In this distant spot the musical pace was just as hot as in Moscow. Nothing is neglected in the effort to continue the traditions of Georgian culture. The Georgian language, quite unlike any I had heard before, is paramount. All drama and opera is produced in the native language, and the pride taken in the achievement is evidence of their cultural independence. Georgian classics are honored and studied, and contemporary composers like Balanchivadze and Taktakishvili are busy continuing their work. The Conservatoire is flourishing and we heard an excellent rehearsal of the first act of *The Barber of Seville*, sung and acted with considerable skill and

even more promise by a group of students.

Once more we were startled and overjoyed by the beauty of the ballet. Vakhtang Chabukiani, probably the world's finest male dancer, is head of all Georgian ballet, and takes part in productions himself, dancing with consummate skill, although at one time he had given up active work on account of a foot injury.

It was a sensation of being in the middle of a gigantic powerhouse of creation that I took away with me from the Soviet Union. The atmosphere of artistic encouragement is remarkable, and criticism is free and vigorous because no one believes that the whole truth has yet been found. Khachaturian's new ballet, *Spartacus*, was played to an audience of musicians at the House of Composers while we were in Moscow, and though seriously criticized is included in the Bolshoy Theater's autumn program.

Taken up with fundamental artistic problems, which are to a large extent obscured from our eyes by the

struggle for our daily bread, Soviet composers in mass have had little time to study the fine work done in Britain. They admitted this freely themselves. "Where," they asked, "can we get British music, scores and records?" The welcome query is being answered in a practical way at this moment, and soon many hundreds of recordings of British music and musicians will be flowing across to them.

If we can claim that it was our visit that stimulated this interest, the efforts of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR in making it possible will have been worth while a thousandfold.

We went to make friends, and we did make friends, because the friends are there for the making. We earnestly hope that our film,* the truthful factual record of our visit, will generate among millions of British people the wish to do the same.

* Under the title "We Visit Moscow," the film was warmly received by both public and press when shown in New York. It has also been shown in Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

AMERICAN REPORTER IN THE USSR

THE VAST changes and achievements accomplished in the USSR in the past ten years are noted in a series of articles in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* by Raymond P. Brandt, chief Washington correspondent of that newspaper. Brandt is one of the many American newspapermen who have recently visited the USSR. His travels took him to Moscow, Stalingrad, Yalta, Zaporozhe, Rostov, and Kiev. His articles are by no means uncritical but they also record the solid achievements he has seen. His brief survey, he says, indicates that "the Soviet people have made great material progress during the last 10 years of peace." In an article titled "Soviet Transforming War-Leveled Stalingrad into Impressive and Important Industrial City," he describes "the heroic and monumental" treatment of the city planning. He points out that a principal avenue is called Peace Street, and that on other streets there are banners reading "Peace for the Whole World." He describes in detail a collective farm near Rostov. In general his reporting is a factual account and an honest attempt to give his readers a straight description of life in the Soviet Union.

Georges Enesco 1881-1955

PEOPLE'S RUMANIA recently mourned the passing of their most beloved musician, Georges Enesco, who died in Paris, on May 4. Obituaries that were published in the press throughout the country characterized him as "Rumania's greatest musician and one of the most prominent musicians of our time."

In honor of the great composer and violinist, a series of decrees were issued whereby the State Philharmonic Orchestra of Bucharest was named after him; the Liveni Commune, the little village where he was born, was given his name, and a street in the capital will be named Georges Enesco Street. In addition, there is to be established an international competition for young virtuosos—the Georges Enesco Competition—to take place every three years. The Ministry of Culture announced a contest for the construction of a statue and bust of the musician. And there are now established five Georges Enesco Awards to be given to senior students in composition and interpretation classes at the conservatories.

For more than a week following the musician's death the Rumanian broadcasting station transmitted a cycle of commemorative musical programs preceded by lectures delivered by prominent figures.

Georges Enesco was born on August 19, 1881, in Liveni in Northern Moldavia. At an extremely early age he revealed remarkable talent, starting to play the violin at four. His musical education began at the Vienna Conservatory, where at the age of seven he studied the violin under George Hellmesberger and composition under Robert Fuchs. In 1892, he

went to the Paris Conservatory. Here he studied the violin with Pierre Marsik and composition with Gerdalge, Massenet and Faure. His talent as a composer was already manifest the year before graduation by his first symphonic work, Rumanian Poem.

After graduating in 1898, with first prize in the violin, Enesco embarked on a prolific career as an interpretative violinist and, when there was some time to spare from his intensive concert work, as a composer. He was considered one of the great interpreters of Bach, and his serious approach to the interpretation of the music of other composers is contained in this excerpt of a letter he wrote to his pupil, Yehudi Menuhin:

"In any composition you must consider the individuality and inclinations of the author. Read his biography, make a close study of the traits of his character, try to gain insight into his intentions, to understand what the composition meant to him and what message he wanted to convey. Let his ideas and sentiments sink deeply into your consciousness and try to convey them with abstraction of your own person, availing yourself of your talent and ability for a single purpose, that of truly expressing the author's ideas."

Among Enesco's compositions are Rumanian Rhapsodies, Suite for Violin and Piano, Impressions from Childhood, Village Suite for Orchestra and Overture on Rumanian Motifs.

After the liberation of Rumania from the fascists, in 1944, Enesco was recognized as the outstanding musician he was by being elected a foundation member of the Academy.

Vietnam Since Geneva

by KUMAR GOSHAL

EVENTS in North and South Vietnam during the twelve months following the Geneva truce agreements have presented a sharp and illuminating contrast: gradual establishment of political, social and economic stability in the North; increasing chaos, corruption and violence in the South.

The contrast has been so obvious that British, French and American correspondents have been obliged to take notice of it. In August last year, for example, even as the U.S. was organizing SEATO—the Far Eastern equivalent of NATO—to maintain control of its vested interests in the region, *U.S. News* (Aug. 20, 1954) reported that corruption was widespread in South Vietnam and soldiers were deserting the U.S.-dominated “shaky [Diem] government . . . afraid of its own shadow, aimless and doubtful. . . .”

Two months later (Oct. 10, 1954) the same weekly's correspondent Robert P. Martin found in South Vietnam's capital Saigon “the same smell

of death that shrouded Shanghai and other great cities of China before they fell to the Communists.” Martin reported: “Gambling casinos and night clubs . . . do a soaring business. . . . A new 300-girl brothel has opened in a compound patterned after an American motel, run by Binh Xuyen, a gangster organization that controls all the opium, gambling and prostitution traffic. . . . Its chief is also head of South Vietnam's police. . . . Corruption is on a massive scale. . . . Speculation is rampant and profits are enormous. . . . Powerful cliques and individuals are struggling to get into office—not because they want to fight communism, but because they want power and profits. . . . Very strong criticism is reserved for the U.S., [whose diplomats] still operate on the theory that, if enough U.S. dollars are poured into Vietnam, the Communists can be beaten.”

The U.S., nevertheless, continued to support Roman Catholic Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, who has had the backing of American Catholic leaders since 1948. To consolidate his position, Diem distributed key posts in the government to his relatives. His government, as the London *New Statesman* put it (Jan. 15), began to model “itself on the military dic-

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tatorships of Formosa and South Korea." The Paris *Le Monde's* Robert Guillaín reported (Dec. 2, 1954) that, although "without U.S. support [Diem] would melt away in two months," U.S. Embassy officials in South Vietnam were "pleased with him because he has that rare, precious quality in Asia—he is a convinced pro-American."

Within six months after the Geneva agreement sentiment for peace and unity had become widespread in South Vietnam, sometimes manifesting itself in an unusual manner: columnist Joseph Alsop reported from Saigon (Dec. 17, 1954) that there was "a good deal of eyebrow raising" at three banquets given by French officials when the cook served cold fish, cold chicken and a rich cake, with "Peace" spelled out in mayonnaise. The Diem government cracked down hard by arresting and placing on trial 22 leading members (including Catholics and Buddhists) of the Vietnamese Movement for the Defense of Peace, organized "to rouse public opinion in favor of the Geneva Agreement and to ensure . . . general elections . . . in 1956 as prescribed."

Correspondents found a very different picture in Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam. *Le Monde* correspondent Max Clos, who had been warned by "experts" that journalists might end in jail if they stayed in Hanoi with the Viet Minh, reported (Nov. 6, 1954): "Once more the 'experts' were wrong. Nobody has been imprisoned. Nobody has been openly bullied. Yet in a few days the Viet Minh [after taking over from the French] radically transformed Hanoi . . . without violence, by a technique [of] imposing nothing, forbidding nothing. . . . We have seen the perfect functioning of the system which

gave the Viet Minh its victory in the north. Its force comes essentially from the fact that it touches a chord . . . in any kind of human being: the desire to lead a more honest life, more useful to his country; the ambition to take part in a great collective effort."

A picture of the "great collective effort" in North Vietnam, which "has its own constitution [and] an honest and efficient administration" (*New Statesmen*, (Nov. 13, 1954), has been given by a Vietnamese trade union leader. He reported in the World Federation of Trade Unions bulletin how formerly destroyed and deserted towns were being rapidly rebuilt and repopulated; electricity had been restored in many towns; railroads, bridges, irrigation works had been repaired; blacksmiths were forging thousands of agricultural tools and soldiers were helping the people build houses and revive production; "patriotic businessmen, foreign capitalists and workers in industry" were being encouraged on the basis of a policy that "benefits both employers and workers."

The glaring contrast persuaded *Le Monde's* Guillaín to comment: "We may perhaps not have to wait until the July, 1956 elections to see the red flag floating over Saigon. . . . How could it be otherwise when the striking contrast is clear even to eyes closed for the longest time between the regime at Hanoi and the one that is already completing the process of decay in Saigon?"

Finding that the Diem government had no roots among the people, disruptive forces began a struggle for power in earnest last April. On one side were the Binh Xuyen, the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao "sects," armed in the past by the French to keep the country and the people divided; on

the other side was the Diem government. The Americans accused the French of continuing to supply arms to the dissidents surreptitiously; the French complained that the U.S. was elbowing France out of Vietnam altogether.

In a frank analysis of the situation, *France-Observateur* (Apr. 14) wrote: "Diem appears profoundly as 'the Americans' man' who no longer believes in the efficacy of France's presence. . . . Already U.S. military instructors are replacing . . . the French instructors with the [Diem] government forces. The material of [Diem's] army is entirely American. The U.S. military services have been so extended that some do not hesitate to speak of a veritable embryo of an expeditionary force. The temptation may therefore be great for some people to give their support to all those, whatever their real motives, who fight the Diem government and have a chance to overturn it. . . . It is . . . hard to dispute that at present the French military authorities in South Vietnam have a favorable attitude toward the three big feudal groups, which are now the surest partisans of the 'French presence.' . . ."

As the struggle for power erupted into violence at the end of April, the *New York Times* (May 1) said the clash resulted from "a deep and open conflict between the big powers directly involved—the U.S. and France." Much of the city of Saigon was destroyed by fire and shell, the official death-roll listed many hundreds with thousands wounded, and the French marched in 10,000 Moroccan troops to restore order. In the city's French-protected zone "the sidewalks were full of French and Americans drinking aperitifs" while within a stone's throw there were "the thump of mortars, the whine of

rifle-fire, screams of ambulance sirens, cries of newly wounded and sobs of newly bereaved" (*Associated Press*, April 29).

By June there was relative calm in Saigon. But Diem's "victory" over the Binh Zuyen, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao was deceptive, for he adamantly opposes elections scheduled for July, 1956. C. L. Sulzberger reported (*N. Y. Times*, June 8) that, although Secretary Dulles has secured the unenthusiastic support of Britain and France for Diem, the South Vietnam Premier "appears to have no intention of heeding advice that national elections be prepared for." Diem has paid no attention to Ho Chi Minh's call for joint consultations regarding the elections agreed upon at the Geneva Conference.

Washington itself has shown little enthusiasm for national elections in Vietnam, indicating its belief that such an election would result in overwhelming victory for the Ho Chi Minh government. Washington is also interested in keeping a foothold in Vietnam through a controlled government such as Diem's. As long ago as last December, *U.S. News* reported (Dec. 10, 1954) the opinion of "some American officials" that only by somehow postponing the all-Vietnam elections could South Vietnam be kept "out of Communist hands." The same picture came from Robert Guillain's report from Saigon in *Le Monde* (Dec. 2, 1954): "The pattern evident everywhere, never officially admitted because it is absolutely contrary to the Geneva armistice terms, is to block the July, 1956 elections, to prevent the reuniting of Vietnam's two halves and, as in Rhee's Korea, to make the southern half an anti-Communist bastion." On January 30, CBS-TV's Walter Cronkite reported frankly that Washington has told

Diem the elections need not be held.

Ho Chi Minh has advised recent visitors (*New York Times*, June 8) that Vietnam cannot be compared to Korea; that the "division of Vietnam was a military demarcation and provisional" and can endure only "pending general elections which will bring about unification."

At this writing, North Vietnam under the Ho Chi Minh government is forging ahead with economic, political and social development, while South Vietnam under Diem remains in chaos and dominated by the U.S. France is evidently trying to salvage what she can from a lost colony through "coexistence" and even maintenance of economic and cultural relations with North Vietnam, while the U.S. insists on regarding North Vietnam "as a menace and South Vietnam as a barrier against it that must be maintained and strengthened" (*New York Times*, April 29).

But the picture may change sharply in the near future. The Bandung conference gave notice that other Asians and Africans will be keeping watch on the development in Viet-

nam; and any China-U.S. conference for "relieving tension in the Far East" will necessarily include discussion of the status of Vietnam as a whole. In any case, U.S. hold on South Vietnam will be precarious at best because of popular support for the Ho government even in the South. Visiting an area in South Vietnam formerly controlled by Ho's guerrillas, Joseph Alsop felt (Dec. 20, 1954) "horried, helpless admiration for the Communist achievement . . . for the courage shown, the incredible difficulties overcome, the sheer brilliance of the political-military feat [in] a huge region with a population of close to three million with no local resources except its rice production, with no hope of serious outside aid. . . ." The people of South Vietnam are hardly likely to forget such achievement and transfer their support to the corrupt and puppet Diem government. The way the wind is blowing has already been indicated by the consultations between the two political groups in Laos and the plea for coexistence made by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia at the Bandung conference.

ATOMIC SHOWERBATHS

A BRAND NEW health resort, Byelokurikh, in the Altai Mountain in the Soviet Union, gives Soviet vacationers atomic treatments, according to *News-Facts About the Soviet Union*, published in Toronto.

"In addition to the usual rest and recreation facilities provided at such Soviet vacation spots," the Canadian newsletter declares, "this one boasts unique atomic treatment outfits. The warm springs are radioactive; you can drink the water or swim in it. Latest variations are atomic showerbaths, which are said to give the bather something super in the way of a tingle and glow. It's long been known that certain atomic radiations, far from being harmful, are beneficial to human beings. Soviet scientists claim great benefits, and widely use atomic materials for certain ailments. Medical opinion in other countries is divided on this question."

SOVIET LATVIA

We present here a brief view of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, in size of population the tenth republic of the USSR. It is one of the youngest of the Soviet republics, just fifteen years old, but its accomplishments are substantial. The following article is taken from "Sixteen Soviet Republics," by Nikolai Mikhailov, the Soviet geographer and writer whose series on the hydroelectrical developments in the Soviet Union is concluded in this issue. Photographs of present-day Latvia will be found on the following pages.

SOVIET LATVIA lies on the coast of the Baltic Sea, where the wide Gulf of Riga cuts deeply into the mainland.

Latvia, which joined the Soviet Union in 1940 and is a Union Soviet Republic, has a territory of 25,000 square miles and a population of about two million. The population of the republic is composed of Letts, who comprise the overwhelming majority, and of Russians and Jews.

Nature in the Latvian Republic is very beautiful, wooded hills alternating with deep valleys and picturesque lakes. The sea coast too is beautiful: sand dunes overgrown with pines stretch along the shore.

Rich meadowland, fir, birch and aspen groves and waving fields—this usual landscape of Latvia now contains novel features, a sign of the new times. There are the herds of the collective farms at the streams, tractors, beet-harvesting combines and flax-pulling machines in the fields, the new villages with new homes, and new bridges across the rivers.

The biggest river in Latvia is the Daugava (Western Dvina). It flows through the republic from the southeast to the northwest, dropping into the Gulf of Riga. The Kegums Hydroelectric Station, erected on the Daugava, was undertaken by the Latvian capitalists with

the aid of Swedish capital, but they never brought it up to planned capacity. The Germans during the occupation period destroyed everything that had been built, but after the war, with the aid of Leningrad's industry, Latvia restored and equipped the station.

Much has been done to restore and advance national economy in Soviet Latvia after the Second World War. The ruined factories were rebuilt, new industrial enterprises have been built, and the cultivated area has been expanded. The sea ports of the republic are very busy.

Electrical engineering, machine-tool construction and shipbuilding are being further advanced.

Sea fishing is being well advanced. The coast is dotted with fishermen's villages. Now it is not individual fishermen with primitive implements who catch sprats at sea. The fishermen have formed cooperatives, and the state has provided them not only with new sailing boats, but also with motor boats and trawlers. New fish-processing factories have been built along the coast.

Dairy farming, pig breeding and poultry farming are the principal branches of agriculture in Latvia. Potatoes, fodder grasses, rye and wheat are cultivated.

Never before have machines been used in the fields of Latvia in such

great numbers as today. Many machine and tractor stations have been set up in the republic equipped with modern farm machinery of Soviet make. The peasants of Latvia are successfully working in the collective farms.

The capital of Soviet Latvia is Riga, one of the oldest cities in Europe. Along with blocks of modern flats, the city has narrow crooked lanes, ancient houses with steep tiled roofs, and old cathedrals and castles that have survived through the ages.

The tall ancient towers seem to be immersed in deep slumber, but the towers of our days, the factory chimneys, are very much alive, puffing up smoke which is swept away by the sea-breeze. The factories of Riga, the biggest industrial center of the Baltic, are working at full capacity.

After the war the factories and mills of Riga were modernized. They received the most up-to-date machines from Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and other Soviet cities.

The enterprises of Soviet Riga (the new factories as well as the old ones) supply radio sets, telephone equipment, engines, and cars for the electric railways. These comfortable coaches are turned out by a factory which previously produced only locks and horseshoe nails. A heat and power station was recently built in Riga.

The Latvian workers are rapidly mastering the new technique and thousands of innovators in production are to be found in their ranks.

Emilia Vagana, a worker of the Bolshevikka factory is well known in Lat-

via. She has completed more than ten annual production quotas in the five-year period. When asked: "Why did you not work like this in bourgeois Latvia?" she replied:

"My production today is of interest to the people for whose benefit I am working."

Riga is building with the new life, and is a beautiful city. But it will be made still more beautiful. The Latvian architects, in cooperation with the architects of Leningrad, have prepared a project for a new square, Republic Square, on the bank of the Daugava. Monumental buildings for government offices and for the Academy of Sciences will be erected in the midst of a park.

The citizens of Riga are constantly improving and beautifying their city. From early spring until late in the autumn the air in Riga is filled with the fragrance of flowers, and more flowers are being constantly planted as well as new trees—lindens, maples and chestnut.

A park was created in Riga in the summer of 1949, laid out in the midst of a dense pine grove on the shores of the wide Lake Kish.

Other wonderful places for rest are the seashore health resorts in the neighborhood of Riga.

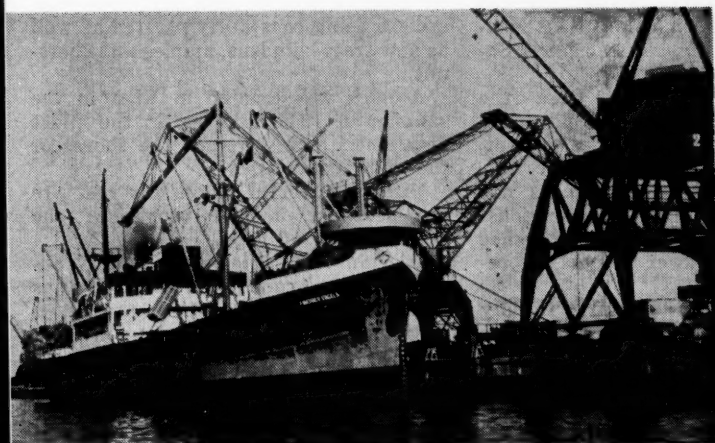
Latvian culture is being rapidly advanced. An Academy of Sciences has been established, and there are seven institutions of higher learning in Riga alone. Theaters, museums and numerous public libraries are functioning. Journals and newspaper are published in the Lettish language.

YOUNG CHINESE GEOLOGISTS ON FIELD WORK

MORE THAN 6,000 Chinese geology students are working in field courses this summer, two and a half times the number that did field work last year. Most of them will be assigned to 174 geological and survey teams under the Ministry of Geology. Some will explore for oil in Sinkiang, Chinghai, Kansu and Szechwan provinces. Others will join survey teams prospecting for ferrous and non-ferrous metals. Some will be attached to survey teams working along the Yellow and Huai rivers.



The center of Riga, the capital. Below: The port accommodates ships from all parts of the world



Harvesting wheat. Latvia has 1,452 collective and 82 state farms and 107 machine-tractor stations



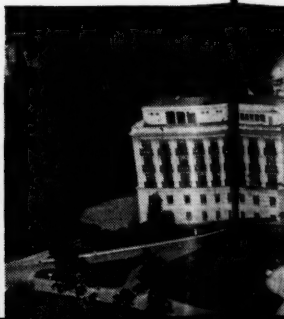
LATVIA

Some recent photos
one of the youngest
sketch on the previous

Dressed in colorful
public perform folk



The main building of
vacation resort run



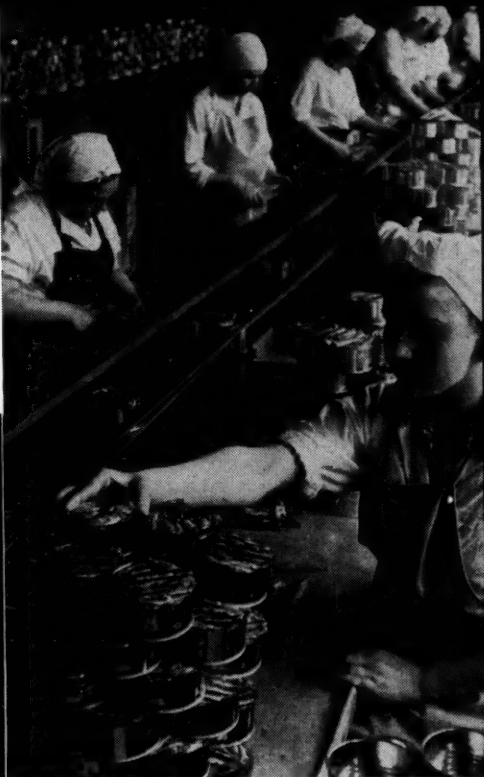
ATVIA TODAY

ent photos of 15-year-old Soviet Latvia,
e youngest of the Soviet republics. The
the previous pages gives some statistics

d in colorful costumes, fishermen of the re-
perform folk dances at a festival in Riga



main building of the "Kemerī" Sanatorium, a
station run by the Latvian trade unions



A Riga cannery (above) and flower
garden (below) for landscaping a factory



BEFORE AND AFTER BANDUNG

by

ESLANDA ROBESON

IN LONDON nearly twenty years ago, I had the great good fortune to meet Jawaharlal Nehru, whom I thought then and know now to be one of the most important and fascinating leaders of our time. As I talked with and listened to him, I had the exhilarating feeling that I was participating in history and the future.

And indeed I was. For I was listening to dynamic and constructive ideas and plans for a free and independent India and Asia, free and in-

dependent peoples in a democratic world. Nehru's country was not yet free, and he was regularly put in prison by the British, but he was then as now a brilliant, effective and beloved leader of India. Today, as Prime Minister, he is a most important leader of Asia.

In those days in London, Nehru talked about India, about China, about passive resistance as a practical weapon in the fight for independence. India and all of Asia will be free, he said, so confidently that I believed him. I didn't quite know when or how, but I *knew*. We in Asia will be friends and neighbors, Nehru said; we will follow Asian ideas, ideals, and ways-of-life; we will take what is good from the West and try to avoid Western mistakes. We in India, Nehru said, are preparing ourselves in every way possible, for our new era. I remember it all as if it took place yesterday, those conversations with Nehru in London nearly twenty years ago.

Nehru went back to India, and to prison. I read all his books, and everything else I could find about contemporary India, China and Asia, and watched with fascination the exciting developments there. Later I went to Africa, where I saw everything in a new light—the freedom and independence light. If Asia could be free, I thought, Africa too could be free and independent. And perhaps, if the white colonial West continued to be so adamant on maintaining the color bar, maybe non-white newly independent Asia and non-white soon-to-be-independent Africa might possibly join together to offer massive opposition to the color bar. Wouldn't that be something, I thought.

That was back in the 1930's.

Nehru had said firmly, with the gleam in his eye and the dream in his voice: India will be independent, Asia will come into her own. And Nehru was right. It took a lot of organized, determined steadfast passive resistance, and a lot of wonderful people went to jail. It took a World War and a United Nations. But most of all it took resistance to make the dream a reality. Finally Indian patriots came out of prison to lead the people to independence, and the British were forced to go back home to Britain.

Independence became a highly contagious state of mind in Asia and Africa. Everywhere the people organized strong resistance movements, and soon Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon were sovereign states. China became a People's Republic. The contagion spread to Indo-China, to Kenya, to the Gold Coast and Nigeria, to North Africa, to the French Cameroons and to all of Africa.

When five of these newly independent Asian nations—India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan—issued a call last winter for a Conference of Asian and African nations to convene at Bandung, it was no ordinary call to an ordinary conference. It was due notice to the world-at-large that a new era had begun, a new orientation in world affairs was taking place. World affairs would no longer be discussed, planned and settled exclusively by the white Western colonial powers. At the very least, Asian affairs would be discussed, planned and agreed upon by Asians in Asia, and if Africans could and would join them, then the matters of importance and interest to the two continents would be arranged by the peo-

ple for the peace, security and well-being of the people of these two continents, and, they hoped, for the people of the world.

So the stakes were very high at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. The stakes were peace, achievement and preservation of independence, abolition of racism, and friendly economic and cultural co-operation.

The peoples of Asia and Africa who have spent so much of their lives fighting for independence, want now to use that precious independence constructively. They do not want to spend the rest of their lives fighting—and fighting some one else's battles at that.

The Asian-African Conference was a unique type of diplomatic conference, because out-moded, frozen, clumsy, formal, procedures were thrown out of the window as useless, ineffective and totally unsuited to the new and challenging situation; unprecedented, unorthodox extremely practical and effective methods were used.

People who had no diplomatic relations with each other were invited. People who didn't know, or barely knew each other were invited. People whose opinions on very important matters were poles apart were invited. Some nations deeply committed to anti-Communist alliances, some committed to Communist alliances, and some committed to no alliances at all were invited. (Twenty-nine of the thirty nations invited accepted, attended and participated in the conference.) No formal agenda was announced. When this heterogeneous group assembled at Bandung they agreed upon their own agenda. The press was not permitted to sit in at the committee

discussions. The delegates were invited there to work, not to perform for the press, radio and television—"those appurtenances usual at international conferences" said V. K. Krishna Menon, of India. The committee sessions were not secret, they were merely private, he added.

At this very unorthodox conference, matters of general mutual interest and concern were discussed freely and frankly; the participants disagreed on some points and agreed on others. At the end, they issued a *unanimously* approved joint communique on the very important matters they did agree upon, and they are already implementing their agreement.

Although this was a new era type conference in the sense that it was wholly unprecedented as regards personnel and procedure, nevertheless it must be remembered that the delegates there officially represented their governments. Therefore it is reasonable to expect that the joint communique, which was hailed enthusiastically by the participants, and by the press and the peoples they represented, will be implemented by those governments and peoples.

When we remember also that Chou En-lai and Jawaharlal Nehru who brilliantly represented two of the most important countries in the world, were very active participants and contributors to the conference, the possibilities for the future as a result of this momentous meeting at Bandung appear very exciting and hopeful.

At the conference, new and world-important friendships were initiated. During the conference, some wonderful negotiations took place on the side: Chou En-lai signed a treaty with Indonesia resolving the trouble-

some problem of dual citizenship for overseas Chinese; he publicly offered to negotiate directly with the United States to relax tension in the Far East; and when rudely and wantonly attacked by pro-Western delegates, and baited by the Western press to answer, then Chou En-lai, with monumental restraint and dignity, calmed the dangerous waters by stating: "My delegation did not come here to quarrel."

Since the Conference, and perhaps because of it

- Some neighborly visits have been exchanged among the participants, and more are projected.
- Important new economic ties and mutual assistance plans are already being consolidated.
- Four American fliers imprisoned in China have been released.
- V. K. Krishna Menon undertook a mission to People's China and has reported to the United Nations and the U.S. Administration concerning the possibilities of relaxing tension in the Far East.
- Jawaharlal Nehru is now making a long-postponed visit to the Soviet Union and being rewarded with ecstatic public acclaim.
- Plans for the "summit" talks of the Big Four Powers, so long delayed, gained remarkable momentum as the Bandung Conference exerted its impact on world opinion.

And repercussion from the Asian-African Conference have only begun to appear. They will continue and grow, and will surely be manifested in the next General Assembly of the United Nations. Great interest in and support for the UN were

shown by the delegates at Bandung. Seventeen of the twenty-nine nations represented there are members of the UN. In the resolution unanimously adopted, the seventeen are pledged to reconstitute themselves as a consultative group to initiate and support all measures for peace, disarmament, self determination, non-interference, human rights, friendly international relations and economic cooperation in the UN.

Asian and African leaders, Asian and African press, Asian and African peoples proudly and delightedly agree unanimously that the Asian-African Conference at Bandung was a unique event in world history and an unqualified success. This success is also welcomed by the great majority of the people in the Western world who want peace and who are now pressing the war forces to retreat.

Belfrage the Victim—You the Target

THE SEVEN WEEKS detention in a federal prison of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the progressive weekly the *National Guardian*, highlights the viciousness of the Walter-McCarran law under which he is held for deportation. This is the law that President Truman, in his veto message, called "worse than the infamous Alien Act of 1798."

The imprisonment on May 13 was the culmination of two years of harassment of the editor, who has been a permanent resident in this country since 1937 and who, as a member of the Army control team charged with de-Nazifying the German press, served directly under General Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters.

Back in May, 1953, he refused to answer questions concerning his personal beliefs put by McCarthy's investigating committee. The following day, complying with a directive from McCarthy, an official of the Immigration Service attended the hearings. The very next day, Belfrage was arrested in the *Guardian* office on a deportation warrant and sent to Ellis Island, where he was held nearly a month before release on bail.

The sickening odor of McCarthyism is unmistakable.

Long costly litigation ensued: the Government trying vainly to have the

bail revoked; the Immigration Service pushing for deportation based on alleged membership in the Communist Party in 1937—some fifteen years prior to enactment of the Walter-McCarran law.

In May, the Board of Immigration Appeals found Belfrage deportable. He was arrested at once, and confined in the West Street Federal Prison. The vindictiveness of this act is beyond doubt. For since the closing of Ellis Island, aliens awaiting deportation are held in detention centers—not in jails.

This brutal injustice in the case of Belfrage, who has never been charged nor convicted of a crime, was condemned by the *New York Times* in a editorial on June 11.

Belfrage, although the victim, is not the target of these repressive actions. The first target is freedom of the press, in this case, the *National Guardian*, which the McCarthyites and the McCarranites hope to cripple through the loss of its crusading editor and through the enormous expenses involved in litigation. But the second target—and the most important—is every publication, every democratic American, whether alien or citizen, who dares to criticize the Administration, who dares to uphold with vigor and dignity the American Bill of Rights.

AN AMERICAN'S REPLY TO

"American in Moscow"

by RUTH CLARK

HARRISON SALISBURY has written a sad and indecent book.* Sad because the author who through dispatches sent from Moscow showed that he has the ability to report what he actually saw, has completely succumbed to the pressures of the times. An indecent book because he now reveals in his own words that he went to the Soviet Union, not with a desire to find the truth, but full of prejudice and hostility and prejudgment: "Moscow was the capital of a system of government, a scheme of philosophy and a way of life which my . . . certainly individualistic personality detested" (page 2). "It was good to be laughing in Russia but I wondered how long it would be before I stopped laughing" (page 3). "I could remember as clearly as yesterday my own departure from wartime Russia . . . and saying to myself. . . . Never again. . . . Never will I touch foot on Soviet soil again" (page 4). This was the mood of the man who the *Times* hoped could "contribute to a

better and more friendly understanding."

How different the impressions that our two stays netted. For I, too, was an American in Moscow; I was an American mother, who came with her two small children, one but a baby, to live for almost three years in the Soviet Union, three years of rich impression and exciting living. True I came as a friend, someone who had followed with interest the progress of the Soviet Union. But this did not make me blind or unobjective. Perhaps it worked the other way, for I came expecting more than Mr. Salisbury, and found it.

To Harrison Salisbury, "Moscow spelled trouble. . . . And quite possibly danger." On his first day in Moscow: "The fog of suspicion and fear hung over Moscow like evening mist over a tamarack swamp . . . nor was it confined to Russians" (page 17). Really searching my memory and my notes, I can't recall any fog or tamarack swamp, the first day or any other day for that matter.

How well I recall my first day. Standing outside of the October Sta-

RUTH CLARK, as the wife of the American Daily Worker correspondent Joseph Clark, lived in Moscow several years.

* AMERICAN IN RUSSIA, by Harrison Salisbury. Harper & Bros., New York, 1955. \$4.00, 328 pp.

tion waiting for a taxi truck. The sun was bright on an unseasonably warm October day. My little boy was playing with an American pull toy. A little Russian girl waiting with her parents came over, attracted by the toy. In a moment the two were playing together. Language was no barrier to friendship and laughter. I remember the warm smile of the mother, the cordial glance of the father.

I recall the first ride through the streets of Moscow, looking at signs that I could not read, swept for the moment by a terrible homesickness but comforted by the unharried look on people, the sound of their chatter and their laughter.

I recall the kindness of the people in the hotel, the tolerance of strangers for my inability to speak their language, the warmth and love they immediately extended to my children. I recall the old Bolshevik living on our corridor who used to shower my son with candy, and the light in his eyes the first time that my boy thanked him in Russia. I recall the kids scooting around the halls of the hotel on their small bikes. Can you picture it at the Waldorf?

From adolescence I had read all I could about the Soviet Union. Unlike Harrison Salisbury, Marx and Lenin did not bore me. Here was something new in the world, and I wanted to know about it. I was no idealist coming to the Soviet Union. I knew that I was coming to a young country with an old history. I knew that many of the people I passed on the street had been born in semi-serfdom, had lived through civil war and famine, and intervention, and the hard years of construction, the good years of the late thirties, and

then again invasion—and the most brutal destruction of history. All this in thirty-five years. Sure I found the clothes shabby by our standards, sure some of the amenities of our daily existence were missing, but that wasn't all I was looking for.

What do they have that they didn't have before? In what direction is the country moving? What makes it tick? How do the people feel about their system? Something was happening—and none of the thousands and hundreds of thousands of words of anti-Soviet material I had read in the United States had the answer. How had one of the most backward countries in the world become one of the greatest? How had a semi-feudal peasant country become a great industrial land? What did this country have that millions of people had been willing to die to defend?

This was my mystery. How different from Harrison Salisbury's mystery and intrigue: "The longer I sat and thought, the more sharply I began to question my wisdom in returning to Moscow—so cold and unfriendly seemed the mood of the city . . . perhaps it was not quite so dangerous as it first appeared" (page 34). "In fact from now on in Moscow my real problem would be the direct and simple one of survival, a fight for sheer existence" (page 83).

I didn't and I don't comprehend the form of masochistic enjoyment one of my fellow Americans was undergoing. Each morning I fearlessly delivered my son to the kindergarten, confident that at the end of the day I would call for a happy little boy. Then I would wrap my daughter in her blankets, and off to the park we would go. There I would sit with the

other mothers and grandmothers, trying to follow their conversation, getting their advice on the proper attire for children in the cold Moscow winter. In all of my many conversations with Russians, I never met anyone hostile to me because I was an American. This at the height of the cold war.

To me the great revelation of *American in Moscow* is not of the picture of Russia it gives, but of the attitude of the man who wrote it to the people he was writing about. "No longer were they gray, faceless animals" (page 31) (a description of women repairing streets). "Here was this woman, strong, honest, naive. There was absolutely nothing wrong with her as a human animal. She could work and she could suffer and she could bear children who would be, like her, as strong as oxen" (page 45, a description of a young Russian woman H. S. met). "And here I think is the true indictment of the Stalin regime and the extent to which it debased or allowed to sink to its natural level the taste of the Russian masses" (page 70—a commentary on the extraordinary display of gifts and handiwork presented to Stalin on his 70th birthday).

Read through the book and in a country of over 200 million people, Harrison Salisbury seems to have come across only two Russians he admired. There is Galya—the girl from his past—and there is the wife of one of his colleagues. He says that he has read up on Russian literature and history. I don't doubt it—but I find difficult to understand the true "Russian intellectual" who "was capable of sitting for hours beside the phonograph playing one collection of American popular songs after another" (page 112).

How sad to live in a country for so many years—and to leave without one sweet memory. There are so many people I hope to see again some day—many of them just passing but memorable passing acquaintances. There was the little nurse's aide in the children's hospital where my son was operated upon. I promised her that I would surely come back to see how the entire city would soon look like a garden if the Russians were left alone to make their garden. There was a friend from Stalingrad whose family had survived the war in a dugout—and who entertained us in his lovely modern apartment on Peace Street. I, too, had a Russian teacher, one of the loveliest, softest yet most determined people I ever met. She became one of the dearest friends I have ever had. She brought me no tales of wild parties and scandals. Instead she told me of her years in the town of Dudinko, far north of the Arctic Circle, where she had been part of a theatrical group putting on performances of Ostrovsky, Gorky, Shakespeare, and how people had traveled miles and miles by dog sled to see the performances.

I had no grapevine in Moscow. I had no embassy friends to feed me facts or fiction. I learned quickly the "truthfulness" of the diplomatic sources. The favorite joke for a while at the Western embassies was about "those stupid Russians—imagine they started to build a skyscraper on the Sadovaya ring—and it leans so badly, they are afraid it will topple—and they have stopped all work on it." They were still telling this story when the entire foreign ministry of the Soviet government occupied the building and when these "diplomatic sources" went

there to make their courtesy calls.

Now Harrison Salisbury seems to have had all sorts of sources. On page 157 he has "since been told by a person who has at least second-hand knowledge of some of these events that the full story of the Nineteenth Party Congress and the events that culminated in Stalin's death will never be written." And on page 188, "the first was on a report which one of the senior ambassadors in Moscow had received from a Russian source. This report was that Beria had been arrested. However the source was not regarded as reliable and I felt that if the news was true it would be circulating more widely in the city of Moscow and that we should be hearing it from other Russian sources such as maids and chauffeurs."

Perhaps Salisbury is not to blame for some of the stuff in his book, maybe it just was his sources. For example that fellow he met at the ballet in Leningrad who confirmed his theory that the Russians had decided to let Leningrad go to pot. Why in Leningrad they had no subway, and all the plans to build one were put aside. I wonder if Harrison Salisbury mailed his friend the clipping that his successor, Clifton Daniel, had in the *New York Times* recently describing the new Leningrad subway.

And then of course there was the story of the Indian Ambassador who saw Stalin shortly before he died and noticed that he doodled wolves—a fact which Ambassador Menon has vigorously denied.

And there are always the important things that one can see for oneself. At least if nothing else can be said for the Soviet Union, "The Soviet Premier (referring to Malen-

kov) has good table manners and eats in the European rather than the American style"—and I am sure that there must be some significance to the fact that Marshal Zhukov ate four apples and two large cucumbers at the party for Chou En-lai.

I admit a lot of these significant developments slipped by me. As often as I went to the theater and as much Shakespeare as I saw there, I never got quite the insight into the Soviet leaders as Salisbury did from a production of *Othello* in Georgia. The play, he declares on pages 100 and 101, shed light upon "Georgian character." Instead of a normal attentive audience, he was able to see the "fixed and rigid gazes" of people who saw deceit, not of the players in the play, but of "friends and foes . . . treachery of wives and sweethearts." "It seemed to me," he writes, "that my trip to Georgia had given me all the keys I needed to understand the complex character of the man the world knew as Josef Stalin."

There is no chapter as bizarre or byzantine as the chapter on Stalin's death. Friend and foe, including Harrison Salisbury, found it a profoundly moving time (as indicated by his dispatches).

For anyone with eyes to see, there was beauty and dignity and love that day of mourning. There was the simple eloquence of my son's teacher whom I met in the center of town. She was crying quietly. "Forgive me," she said, "but you know we have worked together so long, he and I have been through so much together, and now to have him go." She was mourning the death not only of her leader, but of her friend and co-worker.

Harrison Salisbury came to Rus-

sia full of animosity, and he left full of animosity. He can write a book, and he can write articles in the *New York Times* and he can lecture—but he can't answer the question: "What makes Russia tick?"

I am not a politician. But I think I found the answer: I found it in the complete confidence with which the youth face the future. I found it in children of serfs who today are scientists and engineers. I found it in parents, who have no worries about the education of their children. I found it in old people who have no fear of old age. I found it in the farmers and their families pouring into the theater to see Anna Karenina in the town of "Sunshine"—miles from Moscow. I found it in the friendliness and joyousness of my son's companions at school, children who were used to special privileges—because they were—children. I found it in the constant use of the word "Nasha" (ours) and the infrequency of the word mine. In the hundreds of job opportunities listed all over town. In the constantly increasing lines of baby carriages,

and T-V sets and washing machines—in a country where 35 years before there had not been enough shoes to go around. I found the answer in the confidence of the people of Stalin-grad who had completely rebuilt their city, in the joyousness and the courageousness with which the Soviet people took up the slogan "Peace Will Conquer War."

Harrison Salisbury says "People who thought that the threat of war could be banished from our lives were surely the greatest idealists of all times. Never in man's history had it been banished and who were we so overweening in our pride to think we had the key to Paradise."

As a mother, I must, I do reject this cynicism, this nihilism. All over the world there are millions of parents like myself who believe that war can and must be banished, that man can and will live with fellow man, that two different systems can exist side by side. This is our responsibility. Perhaps we cannot give our children paradise—but surely we can give them the promise of a world of peace.

VITALITY AND EXCITEMENT IN MOSCOW

PROFESSOR J. Bartlet Brebner, who with Professor R. B. Powell represented Columbia University at the 200th anniversary celebrations of Moscow University, gives these impressions of their 10-day visit in an article in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, of June 15: "We were asked what we wanted to see or do, were given the best available in accommodations, food, transportation, and entertainment. . . . Even ten days of moderately varied experience were enough to infuse a visitor with the sense that both vitality and expectant excitement were widespread. . . . In the city, vitality and excitement were evidenced by endless demonstrations and new constructions and by scores of queues. . . . Since the bare necessities of life are cheap, and the people therefore have money to spend, they seemed to us to be almost spendthrifts on luxuries, from delicatessen or cosmetics or amusements to fancy clothes or cameras or radios, records and television. Books are cheap, but enormous editions are rapidly exhausted. . . . The passionate interest in arts and letters is very evident."

LEIPZIG FAIR

Points a Lesson

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

IF, AFTER the end of the war, the countries of Eastern Europe, headed by the USSR, had together imposed an embargo on the import of a large number of goods which the United States, Britain and other industrialized countries of the West earn their living by exporting, and, under cover of such "protectionism" had expanded their own productive capacity to such a degree as to be able very largely to satisfy their own and each other's requirements in those goods, there would surely have been an outcry all over the Western world. And Western manufacturers and exporters would have cried out against "unfair discrimination" if, following that hypothetical embargo, the Chinese People's Republic had decided to meet its own requirements of such goods out of the surplus production of Eastern Europe, refusing to buy these from the Western countries which are in a position to supply them (and in some cases at lower prices than those

quoted by Eastern European countries).

As I walked round the exhibition halls at the recent Spring Fair at Leipzig, in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), it struck me that the situation which I have visualized above has in fact materialized. But it has been the result, not of a tariff policy of the countries of Eastern Europe, nor of "unfair discrimination" by the Chinese People's Republic, but of the "cold war" trade policy pursued by the U.S. State Department, as exemplified by the Battle Act, and by the British Board of Trade (though it would clearly lead, as is now actually happening, to the bankruptcy of Britain).

There are very few things which, individually or collectively, the Eastern countries cannot produce, and are not, in fact, producing. In some cases, it is true, the quality is somewhat below that of the West, but in the case of such countries as Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, which are not novices in heavy industry, quality is as good as, indeed often better than, the best of which the West is capable. Furthermore, in a number of cases, these Eastern countries are in a position to export to Western customers goods

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which the Western countries may not export because they are restricted as "strategic."

I met a Hollander at Leipzig who has for some years been doing good business buying high-grade machine tools from Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic—many of them classified, under the Battle Act, as "strategic"—and selling them to Western Europe and Indonesia!

It was obvious that there was something wrong—very wrong—with the calculations of the economic "experts" who had advised this "cold war" in trade, and no less with the mentality of the "statesmen" who, in face of this evidence (of which they must for some years now have been advised) persist in that futile policy, the self-defeating nature of which will be brought out, I think, by the following two examples.

Let us consider first the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with a population of only eight millions. Before the war she was economically as under-developed as present-day British Malaya, Burma or Indonesia. During the war, she was stripped clean of everything of value by Nazi Germany. After her liberation (September 9, 1944) and the cessation of hostilities in Europe, she received no help at all from UNRRA, as did, for instance her neighbor Yugoslavia. When offered U.S. "aid" under the Marshall Plan, she preferred her policy of mutual aid with the USSR, which is generally represented as designed to reduce her to "colonial" status and to "economic exploitation" by the USSR. The result was seen in her exhibit at Leipzig. Side by side with her traditional agricultural products, rugs and textiles (the output of which has been greatly expanded) were exhibited mining lo-

comotives, diesel compressors, tractors, agricultural machinery, machine tools and electrical equipment. And she is actually exporting these last to such countries as India and China.

According to the economic and political teachings to which we in the West are accustomed, this should have been impossible. But look what is happening in Czechoslovakia. Economically, Czechoslovakia is a miniature of Britain: an industrialized country which must export its manufactured goods in order to pay for essential imports of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials. Unlike Bulgaria, she received substantial post-war aid from UNRRA, which enabled her to rehabilitate her productive capacity to something like its pre-war level.

On this basis, she might have enjoyed some years of ephemeral prosperity, as Britain did, by exploiting the post-war sellers' market for her textiles and other light industrial products. Her government had the sense, however, to see that "prosperity" on such a basis, which had been subject to much fluctuation in the period between the two world wars, would simply fade away in a post-war world, where her former customers for light industrial products were going, more and more, to produce these for themselves. She had the good business sense, therefore, to study the world market, to consider what the world would want most to import and what it would be most profitable for Czechoslovakia to export, and to make plans for a vast expansion of productive capacity in heavy industry.

When it became apparent that the conditions attached to the receipt of "aid" under the Marshall Plan would—perhaps deliberately—frus-

trate the execution of this long-range plan, that aid was rejected. Since Czechoslovakia has gone ahead with aid from the USSR (again allegedly designed for her subjection and exploitation).

As the result, Czechoslovakia was "in the market" at Leipzig with whole industrial plants of all kinds, such as are urgently in demand in all the under-developed countries (and also, incidentally, in countries like France, which have been prevented by their own policy with regard to Germany from having their war damage repaired by the people responsible for it). She can supply such plant, machine tools, etc., on a relatively large scale and without unreasonable delay, moreover, because her factories which produce them are not burdened with prior claims from the armed forces, for rearmament.

Because her heavy industry has been protected by Western policy, as mentioned earlier in this article, against Western competition during the difficult period of its reorganization and expansion, and has enjoyed a favored position in the vast Eastern markets represented by the

millions of people living east of the so-called "iron curtain," Czechoslovakia has been able to adopt large-scale production techniques which have so reduced production costs as permit her now to offer high-grade products to the West at competitive prices! Such competitive power—and it is not unique—is made more effective by the fact that it is accompanied by a trade policy based on "equality and mutual advantage," and with no political or other "strings" attached. These factors clearly recommend themselves to under-developed countries such as have recently convened at Bandung.

These two examples would seem to refute the defeatist attitude adopted by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in its recently published Report, "Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-Developed Countries," which I have just finished reading. They seem also to call for radical rethinking in all the Western countries, before it is too late for them to find that place in the post-war world for which they are equipped—and without which their economic future is a sorry one.

NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND BOOKS IN CHINA

CHINA now has 265 newspapers, including 17 with a nationwide circulation. Twenty of the newspapers are published for the minority nationalities in seven languages including Mongolian, Uighur, Tibetan, Yi and Korean. Circulation of newspapers is now 4.7 times that before the liberation of China from the Kuomintang.

Of the 305 magazines published in China, more than half have a nationwide circulation. Twenty-eight of them are in the minority languages. Magazine circulation is six times the number before liberation.

This year China's book publishers will issue more than 300 new titles for worker and peasant readers. Half of them will be novels, folk tales, plays and poetry; one hundred titles will be on general educational subjects and popular science.

Decking the Land With Forests

by NIKOLAI MIKHAILOV

THE planting of forest shelter belts as another form of regulating surface drainage has been employed more and more extensively in the Soviet Union in recent years.

Outside the waterless wastes in the USSR, as in the USA, there is a vast area in which droughts recur periodically. There is more precipitation in this area than in the deserts and farming is done without irrigation, but the periodic droughts result in crop failures.

The south of the Ukraine, the Lower Don, part of the Northern Caucasus, the Middle and Lower Volga areas, the Southern Urals, Northern Kazakhstan and the southern part of Western Siberia are all droughty areas.

To combat this menace, collective and state farms and machine tractor stations apply advanced methods of agriculture—a precise system of crop rotation, deep plowing, fertilization, vernalization, and new drought-resisting varieties of plants are sowed. For spring sowing the land is plowed chiefly in summer and fall of the year before, which enables the soil to retain more moisture. Screens are put up on the fields, brushwood is scattered, walls of snow and ice dikes

are erected and rows of sunflower are grown to serve as barriers. This helps to retain the snow, and consequently moisture, on millions of acres. Ponds and reservoirs are built on the fields to irrigate sections lying next to them.

All this has already yielded results: the crops have become larger. But drought still occurs.

The battle against drought is at the same time a fight against the washing away and blowing away of the soil—erosion, which is well known in many areas in America.

There was practically no attempt to stem erosion in old Russia. The land-hungry peasant's plow could only loosen the top soil and the water from the melted snow and rain easily washed it away.

In the USSR agriculture became socialist, large-scale and mechanized, and a real systematic battle was launched against erosion. This battle would have been fruitless if it were not conducted under a single plan over a large territory.

Proper cultivation, scientific alternation of crops and the use of fertilizers give the soil a crumbled, structural shape, which makes for greater absorption. On the sides

of ravines trees are planted so that their roots can bind the soil. Across the slopes small embankments are erected to lessen the destructive activity of the waters. Plowing is done across the slopes thereby cutting down the force of the flow. Barriers of corn and sunflower are grown on the slopes.

Soil erosion can be completely eliminated through the application of all the achievements of agricultural science. An important means of combatting drought and erosion is the planting of forest shelter belts.

Over an immense territory belts of forests are planted on the fields athwart the prevailing winds and on the slopes that are washed by the spring waters. The trees—oak, ash and maple—planted in the woodless steppe, protect the fields from the hot dry winds, check the melting of snow and the flow of the spring waters, and keep the winter crops warm. On fields barred by the forest belts wind velocity is cut practically in half, which means a considerable drop in evaporation.

By the beginning of World War II, more than a million and a quarter acres of forest shelter belts had been planted in the USSR and thousands of nurseries laid out. This work has been conducted more extensively since the end of the war.

In the forest steppe and steppe zone of the European part of the USSR several large state forest belts consisting of two to three strips, each one from 100 to 200 feet wide, have been planted. These are the Belgorod-Don River, the Kamyshin-Stalingrad, Voronezh-Rostov, and the Penza - Yekaterinovka - Beshenskaya-Kamensk belts. In addition, forest belts, mainly 30 to 60 feet

THE AUTHOR

Nikolai Mikhailov is a prominent Soviet geographer and writer. He is a member of the editorial board of the illustrated magazine *Soviet Union* and many of his book have been published in our country and throughout Europe. Among his books published here are *Land of the Soviets*, *the Russian Story*, and *the Sixteen Republics of the USSR*. This is the fifth and concluding article on hydrological developments and the fight against drought in the USSR.

wide, but in some instances nearly 200 feet wide, are being planted in all fields. Collective farms in the forest steppe and steppe area of the European part of the USSR have some 300 million acres of land.

Forest shelter belts, however, are grown not only in the European part of the USSR but elsewhere, as in the vast steppes of Siberia.

The transformation of nature will radically change the appearance of the forest steppes and steppe land.

In the USSR the steppe is being changed. Woods will become part and parcel of the landscape. They will stretch in long belts across the fields, occupying wasteland, sands and the slopes of ravines. And these woods will consist not only of oak, ash, maple, pine or larch but also fruit trees—apple, pear and cherry.

Recently I had occasion to fly from Moscow to the Caucasus, crossing an immense steppeland area from north to south. Over great stretches particularly in the Voronezh Region and the Kuban, I saw fields crossed far and wide by forest belts.

True, most of these shelter belts are still young. It will be some years before their beneficial effect will be felt in the battle against drought and erosion. But there are many places in the USSR where the forest belts have reached a greater height and the part they play in the effort to win high yields is considerable.

One such place is what is known in the USSR as the "Stone Steppe." The Dokuchayev Black-Earth Zone Farming Institute, which I visited, is located there.

Half a century ago, on the advice of the Russian soil scientist and geographer, Dokuchayev, forest belts were planted in the Stone Steppe in the southeastern part of Voronezh Region, near the divide between the Don and the Volga. Today they are fully developed, and during Soviet years many new belts have been laid out.

The grain crop in the Stone Steppe doubled in a short time. But the real test came in 1946. That year the Stone Steppe proved to be in the very heart of a terrible drought which struck the south of the USSR. Nevertheless, bumper crops of grain were harvested there. Winter wheat yielded 1,450 pounds per acre, winter rye as much as 1,300 pounds, and spring wheat around 1,000 pounds—three or four times as much as were harvested on the fields which had no forest belts.

Approaching the Stone Steppe I was amazed to find a landscape which I knew had not been created by the blind forces of nature but by the intelligent effort of man. Amidst open, solidly plowed-up dry steppe-land, straight belts of rustling forests appeared before me like a mirage. There are over a hundred of these belts.

I went out to the rectangular fields bordered by the dark green wooded walls. In those large squares were golden wheat, grey oats, green alfalfa and bright yellow sunflowers. Turning my attention to the soil, I took a handful of black earth. It was crumbled and structural, not the dustlike black soil of the open steppe. I could hide from the hot sun in the shade of trees which stretch in the steppe like ribbons. There it is cool and the birds chirp. I was told that before afforestation the Stone Steppe counted forty-seven species of birds, and today 167. I descended to the lakes which have been created in the beds of former ravines. There I found flocks of geese and ducks. The slopes of the banks are overgrown with raspberry shrubs and cherry trees. The washing away of soil and formation of ravines had long ago ceased.

Later, I saw much the same kind of landscape in Novo-Annenskoye District on the Lower Volga, where some collective farms planted forest belts twenty years ago. I rode on horseback around the forest belts on the Bolshevistskoye Znamya Collective Farm, famous for its bumper crops, and I could see the effect of the forest belts on the plants. It was late in October, and many of the squares had been planted to winter crops. I noticed that in the middle of the squares, far from the forest belts, the crops, as is often the case in late autumn, had already become yellow and were withering. But closer to the forest belts they were still green and fresh.

Grown forest belts are to be found in other parts of the country too, as, for instance, in the Gigant State Farm on the Northern Caucasus plain. The fine landscape seen there

today will, in a few years, be seen throughout the southern steppes.

I have told of the battle waged by afforestation against drought in the USSR. But afforestation in the southern areas of the USSR is not confined to the planting of shelter belts in the narrow sense of the word. Forests are being planted on large stretches of sand, particularly the massive sand expanses in the lower reaches of the Volga, Dnieper and Don rivers.

Once I drove in a car along the left bank of the Don in the region where the cities of Korotoyak and Liski lie. I became interested in the view before me: on a huge stretch of land the sandy wastes lying close to the river were covered with rows of young pine just about rising above ground. Our car skidded in the sand, and I thought, that's the last mean trick the sand will play, for soon the sandy expanses will be covered with woods which will bind them and grass will grow.

Exactly the same picture can be seen on the so-called Aleshki sands in the lower reaches of the Dnieper. The binding of the sands by forests of trees is in full swing, and the sands which at the slightest breeze used to rise into the air and settle on the fields as dust, are now covered with vegetation.

In the northern outskirts of the Bokhara Oasis in Central Asia the sandy desert was advancing on cities and arable land along a front of more than 60 miles. It covered populated places, and nearly 200,000 acres of arable land was ruined. But now the sands have been halted by Soviet foresters who have grown the famous "Bokhara Covering," from Shafrikan to Karakul, a forest belt 75 miles along and nearly two miles

wide. Trees are planted in the desert from planes skimming the ground.

The extensive planting of forest shelter belts in the USSR, besides helping to regulate the discharge of water also influences the climate. Summer temperatures are lower on the fields and there is more moisture. As a result, beneficial changes are taking place in the atmosphere over a wide territory. In the European part of the USSR western winds prevail in the main; they will penetrate deep into the country not as dry as they used to be, and will distribute moisture over a considerably wider expanse.

Thus a beginning has been made in influencing the climate. But it is only a beginning. The phenomena of the atmosphere are too vast to cope with by ordinary techniques.

But mankind has now mastered a force which in time will undoubtedly make it possible to control the climate, to do away with or sharply mitigate unfavorable aspects of its effect on the life of people and on their economy. I refer to atomic energy.

The Soviet Union has already started using atomic energy for peaceful purposes. In the summer of 1954 an atomic electric station of 5,000 kw. useful capacity was commissioned. This station supplies electric current to industry and agriculture in the districts around it. Soviet scientists and engineers are now at work designing electric stations working on atomic energy of 50,000 to 100,000 kw. capacity.

Atomic energy is becoming a real force in the peacetime economy of the Soviet Union. And it will bring the subjugation of nature for the good of humanity to a new and immeasurably higher stage.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA

THE VISIT of Soviet Party and Government leaders to Belgrade, May 27 to June 2, resulted in a reconciliation that was embodied in an agreement on constructive cooperation. The final removal of the tensions between the two countries and their concrete decisions for the future, are an important contribution to the strengthening of peace.

The determination of the Soviet Government to heal the rift with Yugoslavia was made clear from the outset of the talks. In an extraordinarily forthright statement on the arrival of the Soviet delegation, Nikolai Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, repudiated the charges against the Yugoslav Government and Party that had led to the rift, as having been based on materials "fabricated by enemies of the people." He declared :

We are deeply convinced that the cloudy period in our relations is past. We, on our part, are prepared to take all the necessary steps in order to remove all the obstacles in the way of the complete normalization of relations between our states, of the promotion of friendly relations between our peoples.

The agreement reached by both sides on this course was embodied in the joint declaration at the end of the talks signed by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and J. Broz Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

The joint declaration emphasized the mutual desire for normalizing relations as conforming with the interests of both peoples as well as contributing to the easing of world tensions and the strengthening of peace. It declared that both governments based themselves on the following principles:

The indivisibility of peace as the basis for collective security; Respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and equality among states; Peaceful coexistence among nations irrespective of differences in ideology and social systems; Mutual respect for and non-interference in internal affairs of any political or ideological nature "inasmuch as questions of internal structure, differences of social systems and differences of concrete forms in developing socialism are exclusively the concern of the peoples of the individual countries"; Development of bilateral and international economic cooperation and elimination of all barriers to such development; Assistance through UN agencies and in other forms in line with UN principles to the national economy and to economically underdeveloped areas in the interests of their peoples and world economy; Ending of any form of propaganda and misinformation hampering constructive international cooperation; Condemnation of "any aggression and any attempt to establish political and economic domination over other countries"; Mutual recognition that "the policy of

military blocs aggravates international tension, undermines confidence among nations and increases the danger of war."

The second section of the declaration, dealing with international issues, reaffirmed joint support of the principles of the UN Charter, and their agreement that the role of the UN be strengthened by giving the People's Republic of China its legitimate seat, as well as admitting all other nations meeting Charter requirements.

It expressed mutual desire for fresh efforts by all nations to reach agreement on such essential points as arms reduction, prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and on the establishment of a general system of collective security, including a treaty for European collective security.

Such efforts, it said, would aid in such issues as "an agreed settlement of the German question on a democratic basis and in conformity with the wishes and interests of the German people and the requirements of general security, and the satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China with regard to Taiwan [Formosa]."

It acclaimed the results of the Bandung conference as a contribution both to strengthening the political and economic independence of the Asian and African peoples, and

to international cooperation and peace.

The third section outlined concrete steps to be taken to fulfill the determination of both sides "to develop their future relations in the spirit of friendly cooperation," and promote international cooperation and peace. These steps included:

Strengthening of economic ties and expanding economic cooperation by the elimination of the consequences of the previously existing rift, on the basis of new treaties.

Development of cultural relations and the conclusion of a convention on cultural cooperation.

A convention on setting up of information services with the aim of keeping the public of both countries accurately and objectively informed about the other, on the basis of reciprocity and in the spirit of UN decisions.

Mutual cooperation in the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy on the basis of UN recommendations.

A convention to settle questions of citizenship or repatriation of citizens of either nation in the territory of the other on the basis of respect for humanitarian principles and the free will of the persons concerned.

Mutual support of "cooperation among the public organizations of the two countries through contact, exchange of socialist experience and a free exchange of opinions."

CENTENARIANS IN THE SOVIET UNION

A CENSUS by the Biological Research Institute of Kharkov University reveals 4,425 people in the Soviet Union between the ages of 100 and 110. Three quarters are women. There are 717 over the age of 110, and 40,000 over the age of 90. The Institute is studying their lives with the aim of finding ways of extending human life. A new branch of science, age-physiology, has been created.

The Atom "Spy" Cases Examined

A review by ALVAH BESSIE

THE ATOM SPY HOAX, by William A. Reuben, Action Books, New York, 1955. 504 pp., \$3.75.

WILLIAM REUBEN'S thesis is in his title. It is a bold thesis and he has spent three years and five hundred pages in documenting it.

Baldly stated, it is simply this: that every alleged case of an "atom spy" ferreting out U.S. secrets of the A-bomb for the Soviet Union, was a hoax.

Reuben proceeds from an excerpt from the U.S. Congress Joint Report on Atomic Energy, published in 1949:

"... Actually, the basic knowledge underlying the explosive release of atomic energy—and it would fill a library—never has been the property of one nation. On the contrary, nuclear physicists throughout the world (including those who live behind the iron curtain) were thoroughly familiar with the theoretical advances which paved the way for practical development of an atomic bomb. . . ."

If, argues Reuben, there never was a "secret" of the atomic bomb, no one could ever have stolen it or even tried to steal it.

All the alleged atom-spy cases culminated in the death by electrocution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on June 19, 1953. And it was Reuben, through his articles in the *National Guardian*, who sparked the first doubts in the minds of millions that the Rosenbergs were actually guilty as charged.

Before they died, more millions throughout the world were convinced of their innocence, or—at the very least—that there were major questions surrounding this case which had not been resolved.

Their very prosecutor stated that the Rosenberg-Sobell case was "a necessary by-product of the atomic age." This

is a very significant statement and the word "necessary" is key.

In his preface Reuben says the purpose of his book is to reconsider the premises on which such a judgment "once came to be completely accepted in the United States, and to try to ascertain whether everything that has happened in America in the first decade of the atomic era, so completely symbolized by such a proceeding as the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, is really a necessary by-product of our age, or whether, by artful manufacture, it has only been made to seem so." (Italics mine, A. B.)

Reuben then proceeds, in this book, to examine each and every alleged atomic spy case, beginning with the Canadian trials which stemmed from the "revelations" of Igor Gouzenko, through the cases of Allan Nunn May, Fred Rose, Sam Carr, Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, Hiss, Coplon, Remington, Klaus Fuchs, Harry Gold, Alfred Dean Slack, the Greenglasses (David and Ruth), the Rosenbergs, and Sobell, who sits today in Alcatraz.

Reuben examines the transcripts of these proceedings, weighs the evidence for and against each defendant, traces the relationships between the cases. This was a formidable task, and if there are still some questions which "The Atom Spy Hoax" does not resolve, it is entirely natural.

For in innumerable instances the "evidence" against the so-called atom spies as never been revealed. In most—if not all—instances, they were "tried" in the newspapers long before they ever came to trial in a courtroom, and found "guilty."

Reuben punctures innumerable popular myths about these trials in the course of his long and carefully rea-

soned argument. He examines what it has been possible to determine about the "confessions" of Fuchs, Harry Gold, May, the Greenglasses, Bentley and Chambers, and he gives reasons why some of these confessions were made, which tie in convincingly with his major thesis.

He exposes innumerable discrepancies between what the government prosecutors *said* about the Rosenbergs and the Greenglasses—and what was actually demonstrated through the evidence.

And he makes this statement: "And how—without Julius Rosenberg's willingness to give up his life—would other Americans ever be able to judge the real nature of the services performed by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI? And to realize—and understand the significance of the fact—that, save for confessional evidence, such a crime as Soviet atomic espionage remains, after almost a decade of the Cold War, as unproven as Salem witchcraft?"

Fundamental to Reuben's basic thesis was the "necessity" of the prosecutors, acting for the Canadian, British and U.S. governments, to tie into one neat package the words "Communist" and "spy."

That such a "necessity" exists can

scarcely be doubted by anyone who reads the daily newspapers; it is at the heart of the Cold War against the American people. And perhaps this was what Prosecutor Saypol meant when he referred to the Rosenberg case as being a "necessary by-product" of the atomic age.

The government has never made any effort—nor been able—to prove that any avowed Communist ever committed an act of violence, let alone espionage or sabotage. And the Rosenbergs, Reuben reminds us, were not even shown to be members of the Communist Party.

Perhaps the strongest aspect of Reuben's enormous book is the tone of voice in which he goes about it: never argumentative; never hortatory; never agitational; never sensational.

Patiently, slowly, he puts together what is known about cases that have—in large part—remained "top secret," so far as the actual facts are concerned. Whether or not the reader can agree with all the implications of Reuther's arguments, these facts add up to a structure that will shake the complacency of any honest person who believes that the two words comprising the Cold War "package"—Communist and spy—are actually synonymous.

A Quaker Approach to Peace

A review by **RICHARD MORFORD**

SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER, A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence. *Prepared for and published by the American Friends Service Committee* (20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.) 1955. Board binding \$1.00; paper 25c.

PEACEMAKERS of high or low estate should at all times heed the thinking of the Quakers. Through long study of and devotion to the things that make for peace, they possess extraordinary competency.

Long admired for their religious idealism, they deserve respect for the political realism they have applied to the international scene in recent years. A series of studies begun in 1949 has put forward practicable measures for the easing of world tensions and moving toward international peace. In 1949, they spoke plainly on *The United States and the Soviet Union*; in 1951, they outlined *Steps to Peace*; in 1952, a study discussed *Security through Disarmament*. Now in 1955, they say *Speak Truth to Power!* A fifth study, on the

United Nations, is now in preparation.

The political analysis of *Speak Truth to Power* (the title is taken from a charge given to eighteenth century Friends) is sober reading and in most respects sound. This reviewer must continue to criticize, however, the easy acceptance of what are called "facts" about the Soviet Union, although unsupported in the pamphlet: "The police state, government by terrorism and thought control, slave labor, mass deportations." And their apparent willingness to go along with charges of "communist imperialism" against the Soviet Union, and the accusation of "wielding its power through armed force." There are evils in the Soviet Union but generalizations of the above sort are inadmissible without considerable and responsible documentation.

However, the present study serves nobly the cause of world peace when, in a chapter on "The Enemy Redefined," it rejects the devil theory in history as applied to the Soviet Union, branding as "tragic oversimplifications" the idea that the devil is Russian—or American. Rather, say the Quakers, the real evils that have driven the world to the present impasse spring from the *false values* by which man has lived in *East and West alike*: lust for power; denial of human dignity; "practical atheism" or secularism; the cult of violence. The final resort of the major nations is force and violence.

"War and preparation for war now require total effort and involve total destruction, not only of life and property, but of spiritual integrity as well." On this premise the study marches bravely into a discussion of the method of non-violence or pacifism which is argued to be the only and ultimately "relevant," "realistic," and "practical" approach in the face of the present arms race. "They that take the sword will perish with the sword."

Don't cast the Quaker pacifism aside lightly. Get this pamphlet and follow through their careful thinking on the subject—an integration of the political, the moral and the religious—the "politics of eternity" they call it.

Whatever the virtue or danger in pacifism, I suspect the Quakers will gladly go along with the rest of us in the future as in the past in the effort to get our nation and the other nations to take the "specific next steps to reduce tension and thereby move gradually away from the reliance on force" even though they think that a totally new approach may be necessary to rescue the world from destruction. All of us can agree to get behind the current discussions in the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations, for instance, and push for the banning of the A and H bombs, for agreements controlling, limiting and gradually reducing all armaments.

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