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**New World**

**REVIEW**



*Eastfoto*

*Fun at Peitaiho, popular North China summer resort.  
For a report on their radio programs, see page 31.*

**Geneva, the Way to Peace • Railwayman Sees  
USSR • Fun and Study in Poland • Nehru's  
Visit to the USSR • Motels in the Caucasus**

# NEW WORLD *Review*

AUGUST

1955

|                                                                 |                   |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----|
| Geneva—Signpost on the Highway to Peace                         | Jessica Smith     | 3  |
| Nehru's Visit to the USSR                                       | Susan Warren      | 7  |
| A Canadian Railroader Views the Soviet Union                    | R. L. Patriquin   | 11 |
| At Helsinki the People Join Hands for Peace                     | Gordon Schaffer   | 14 |
| Why the USSR Urges Cultural Relations                           | A. Denisov        | 17 |
| Chess Players, Athletes and Farmers Point the Way to Friendship |                   | 22 |
| Fun While You Study                                             | Margaret Schlauch | 26 |
| China's Young Radio Network                                     | Lin Ta-kuang      | 31 |
| Motels in the Caucasus                                          | Ralph Parker      | 35 |
| Behind the Figures of the UN Economic Reports                   | Victor Perlo      | 39 |
| Book Reviews                                                    |                   | 44 |

JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*  
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## Your Answers Will Guide Us

YOU will probably remember that together with our last appeal for funds we enclosed a questionnaire asking for frank criticism of our magazine. We asked you how you would like us to improve it so as to meet your interests and needs.

Your generous contributions and your answers to this questionnaire have been coming in steadily. The answers are most interesting and will be extremely valuable as a guide to our further work.

As soon as we have received a sufficient number of replies to warrant drawing conclusions, we will marshal the answers, prepare a report for you so that you will know what the thinking is of most of our readers, and we will then act, as far as it is possible, in accordance with the wishes you have expressed in your replies.

But to assure us that our conclusions are correct, we need more replies. If you have not yet done so, won't you please fill out your questionnaire and mail it in today?

And, as our needs continue to be urgent, won't you please—if you have not yet done so—send in as large a contribution as you can?

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### NEW WORLD REVIEW

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

# GENEVA

## *Signpost on the Highway to Peace*

**T**HE COMPELLING demand of the people of the world for peace found its response in Geneva. The main, immediate task of easing international tensions was accomplished. The agreement on continued negotiations by the foreign ministers means that the heads of the four powers are committed to seeking other means than war to solve their differences. This is a long step toward ending the cold war.

Of priceless value to the future negotiations is the new atmosphere of mutual confidence created by the statements made at Geneva by President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin that each believes the other sincerely desires peace, and the subsequent statement by Nikolai Khrushchev in Berlin that "both sides won the conviction that neither side wants war."

President Eisenhower declared as he landed on American soil to find a heart-warming welcome awaiting him from 5,000 at the national airport, that there is "evidence of a new friendliness in the world." Even Secretary Dulles called it "a good conference."

The praise bestowed on President Eisenhower by both the European and American press for his positive role at the conference will undoubtedly have a strong influence on his future conduct of our country's foreign affairs. This was apparent in his radio broadcast of July 25th. While stressing the difficulties and differences that remain, he urged avoidance of pessimism. He expressed hope that assurance of a new

spirit of conciliation in contacts of each side with the other would be carried out, and expressed the conviction that the people of the world want peace and that "every other individual who was at Geneva likewise felt this longing of mankind."

It was good to hear our President, assuming for our country an equal share of responsibility for translating the generalities of the Geneva conference into specific agreements in future negotiations, declare:

"Then is when some giving on each side will be definitely necessary."

This is a far more positive approach than that expressed by Secretary Dulles when he said "We didn't give anything away." Reciprocity must be the essence of negotiations. Conciliation, agreement, depend on giving—not by one side, but by both. The President's recognition of this was also implicit in his statement that the fullest measure of agreement had been reached by all sides on the matter of "a freer flow of news across the curtains of all kinds," of exchange of books, of visits, and particularly of peaceful trading.

Not the least of Geneva's achievements was the spirit of friendliness displayed and strengthened in the numerous personal and social contacts for which it created the opportunity. Who can assess the value of the renewal there of the warm wartime friendship between General Eisenhower and General Zhukov?

The conference started off auspiciously with agreement on the agenda, which included the four points:

German unification, European security, Disarmament, Development of East-West contacts.

Midway in the conference, much of the American press reflected the views of those who did not wish it to succeed. Headlines screamed about "deadlock," editorials sang the old tune of "Russian intransigence."

No one could expect an easy solution of the German problem after the years of division. The West, having accomplished ratification of the Paris Pacts for the rearming of Western Germany, took the position that the question of German reunification must precede the question of a European security system, and made clear their intention that a united Germany should be a part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, took the position as it had all along, that the decision on the rearming of Western Germany and its inclusion in NATO made the problem of reunification much more difficult than before, and that it must proceed by stages. It proposed, instead of a Europe divided into two systems of military alliances, an all-European security pact, open to all nations of Europe as well as the United States, in which both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic would participate, as a first step. Such a system, it said, would facilitate German unification and the later entry of a united Germany. At the same time, the USSR made a new concession in accepting the reality of the Paris pacts, suggesting that during the first period of two or three years existing treaties and obligations be continued, with a pledge of non-aggression between the member nations of the two systems, and a

pledge of no further increase in armed forces on the territories of other states. At the expiration of this first period, it proposed that the Warsaw treaty, the Paris agreements and the North Atlantic Treaty be dissolved, permitting an all-European security system to come fully into effect.

The USSR made clear that it supported German unification as soon as conditions were ripe for it, with free elections, but that both German republics must take part in negotiating this solution, and in the meantime increased rapprochement and trade between the two republics should be developed.

On the question of disarmament, the Soviet Union had already made its main concessions in its proposals of May 10 (See June NWR, p 33) accepting fully the Western plan for the level of armed forces, and proposing a stage by stage plan for further arms reduction and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, under strict control and inspection.

The Western nations continued to hold to the position that a fully developed inspection program should come at the beginning. Here President Eisenhower made his sensational proposal for an exchange of blueprints of the entire military system of both the United States and the Soviet Union, and mutual aerial photography.

Since it would seem obvious that the practical implementation of such a proposal would be of an extremely complex nature, and perhaps in actuality not feasible or acceptable to either nation, it was natural that the Soviet Union did not take it up immediately as a matter for discussion, but preferred to take it on its face value as an attempt on Eisenhower's part to find a way of dramatizing



the sincerity of his desires for peace.

It was noteworthy that at the beginning of the conference, Premier Bulganin expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to contribute materials to the "atoms for peace" fund.

Constructive statements were made by all the participants on the question of East-West contacts. Of special importance was President Eisenhower's call for the lowering of barriers which impede the interchange of information and freedom of people to travel anywhere. He declared that "trade in peaceful goods is an important factor" in achieving the goal of improving the conditions of life of our own people, and that "If trade is to reach its maximum capabilities in this regard it must be both voluminous and world wide."

The important result of the discussions is that however wide the differences remain on certain issues, it was agreed to include all the various proposals made, in the directives issued to the foreign ministers to guide their October negotiations.

The directive linked together the problem of German reunification and European security as both in the interests of consolidating peace. It instructed the foreign ministers to consider the various proposals, including a security pact for Europe or part of Europe; limitation, control and inspection with regard to armed forces and armaments; establishment between East and West of a zone in which the disposition of armed forces would be subject to mutual agreement. It expressed agreement that the settlement of the German question and reunification through free elections shall be carried out "in conformity with the interests of the German people and of European security," and provided

for participation of both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic in discussions.

The directive on disarmament expressed agreement of the four powers to work together to develop an acceptable system of disarmament through the sub-committee of the UN Disarmament Commission, at its next meeting August 29 in New York. It also instructed the foreign ministers to discuss disarmament.

On East-West contacts, the Geneva directive read:

The foreign ministers should by means of experts study measures, including those possible in the organs and agencies of the United Nations, which could A) bring about a progressive elimination of barriers which interfere with free communications and peaceful trade between peoples and, B) bring about such free contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of the countries and people concerned.

Each of the heads of government in his final speech sounded the note of the new, hopeful relations achieved.

Britain's Sir Anthony Eden declared that the conference had more than achieved its purposes. He hailed "the new spirit of conciliation," concluding: "If we can continue our work together in the spirit of this meeting, what is hopeful promise today should become solid performance as events unfold." Premier Faure of France spoke of the importance of the very fact of the meeting, the spirit which governed the debates and the mutual understanding which resulted from it.

Premier Bulganin declared that the conference "has a positive meaning for the easing of tension in the relations between the governments and for the inevitable increase of

confidence between them."

He expressed regret that such questions as the restoration of the legal rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations, and the "indisputable rights of the Chinese people with regard to Formosa" had not been taken up.

The Soviet Premier pledged his country's full efforts to facilitate the wider cooperation for which the conference had laid the basis, adding:

We all recognize the importance of the decisions made here. They are the beginning of a new stage in the relations between our countries. They will facilitate the strengthening of confidence between us, between our peoples . . . If this same spirit of cooperation is shown by all of us, as it has been shown at the Geneva conference, this will be a reliable pledge that the noble goal of the maintenance of peace will be achieved, and the peoples will be able to look calmly toward the morrow.

President Eisenhower began by expressing his welcome of the friendliness of the preceding speeches, but interpolated a comment that he could not acquiesce with certain of Bulganin's statements. He proceeded with a positive assessment of the Geneva results, which he summed up:

In this final hour of our assembly, it is my judgment that the prospects of a lasting peace with justice, well-being and broader freedom are brighter. The dangers of the overwhelming tragedy of modern war are less.

Discussing the responsibility of the foreign ministers in seeking to reach concrete agreements, he stressed the need of conciliation in their negotiations:

I trust we will all support the necessary adjustments which they may

find their governments must make if we are to resolve our differences in these matters.

An immediate positive result of the new spirit in international affairs launched at Geneva, was the State Department's announcement that direct talks will take place in Geneva on August 1st between ambassadors of the United States and the Chinese People's Republic on the question of the release of detained U. S. civilians and airmen and "other practical matters," and Secretary Dulles' indication of his readiness subsequently to meet with Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai.

It was significant that President Eisenhower's opening words at Geneva were "We are here in response to the peaceful aspirations of mankind," and that in his radio address on his return he declared that the peace aspirations of the American people were the guiding force for the American delegation. Referring to the bi-partisan, "almost unanimous" support of the country, the President told his listeners:

Aside from this, we had during the past week thousands of telegrams of encouragement and support from you as individuals. Along with these came similar telegrams from great organizations—church organizations, business and labor organizations.

It was such communications, such pressures from the American people, that undoubtedly were a main factor in bringing about the Administration's final acceptance of a summit conference. Their continuance in the months to come will be a decisive factor in keeping our country firmly on the highroad to peace!

JESSICA SMITH

# NEHRU'S VISIT TO THE USSR

by SUSAN WARREN

**N**O SOONER had the U. S. press —70 strong, dedicated to division and jokingly referred to by the Asian-African representatives as "the largest delegation to Bandung"—counted Indian Prime Minister Nehru "out" because of the "defeats" and "annoyances" he was alleged to have suffered at Bandung, than the latter, unperturbed and without so much as a "by your leave," moved on to the greatest triumphs of his career as world statesman and courageous fighter for peace. Nehru's European trip and particularly his 16-day sojourn in the Soviet Union served to focus the world's political and diplomatic attention on India as a leading independent Asian state speaking with the newly found voice of Asia. For he came motivated by the principle written into the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Cooperation adopted at Bandung—the principle of "living together in peace."

Soviet-Indian relations as expressed in the exceptional warmth, cordiality and receptivity of host

and visitor alike and in the joint statement made by the two Premiers—Nehru and Bulganin—lifts the concept of peaceful coexistence out of the twilight realm of "possibility" into the broad daylight of living reality. Coexistence is here to stay!

Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union was exceptional in all ways.

Inspired on both sides by the necessity of preserving peace so that both peoples could, in the words of the joint statement continue "according to its own genius, traditions and environment" their titanic labors toward a new and better life, it excited universal support among the Indian and Soviet peoples and stirred in them feelings of national pride, heartfelt friendship and supreme confidence. The official statements, speeches, interchange of telegrams, etc., associated with the visit reflect its deeply felt, spontaneous, popular character. There are none of the usual "dry as dust," "meant for the archives" exchanges and niceties dictated by protocol. So pervasive was this spirit that even the press was moved to wonder: Under the head "Nehru in Moscow; Ovation Stunning" the *New York Times* recounted:

It was incredible the reception . . . for Prime Minister Jawaharlal Neh-

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SUSAN WARREN has long been a student and writer on Far Eastern affairs. She was formerly the editor of the publication "Far East Spotlight."

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ru of India . . . Foreigners were amazed. Russians said they had never seen anything like it . . . what was unexpected was the tens of thousands of Soviet citizens who came out in the streets to greet the visitor with smiling faces and bouquets of flowers . . . unchecked by the police they pushed into the roadway as the time approached . . . they pushed so far they left a lane only barely wide enough for Mr. Nehru's . . . car to squeeze through. It was a sunny June day and the mood of the people matched the weather. They were gay and friendly and they clapped and shouted greetings.

And the Indian people? In a story describing the tumultuous throngs acclaiming the returning Nehru, A. M. Rosenthal of the same newspaper wrote from New Delhi that

Men, women and youngsters sat under a 105 degree sun and in sweltering humidity to greet India's leader . . . Mr. Nehru's reception abroad, especially in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia had become a thing of pride for millions of Indians. Thousands of persons leaped over the barricades . . . Guards had to fight to clear a path for Mr. Nehru . . . the Prime Minister had to keep warding off heavy garlands of flowers thrown at him by his admirers.

Twenty minute films of the Prime Minister's Soviet tour are being shown throughout India. Taken by an Indian cameraman they follow Mr. Nehru through humming steel mills, airy schools and the beautiful rest homes of the Crimea. They also show the wildly cheering, vast crowds that greeted him in Stalin-grad, Georgia, Ashkhabad, Uzbekistan, Alma-Ata, the Altai, Magnitogorsk, Sverdlovsk and Leningrad.

Reports from India indicate that all parties, right, left and center, applauded the Indian-Soviet joint statement. Indian newspapermen covering the tour of the Prime Minister were reported in the *New York Times* to believe that "he has gleaned many new ideas for his country's second five year plan now in preparation." Nehru, himself, at a press conference in Moscow on June 21 said that Soviet authorities indicated that they would give technical assistance to India in her economic development plan. He cited a Soviet steel plant now being erected in India with "of course no political strings attached" as the type of assistance India wanted. At the same press conference he revealed that he had invited Bulganin to visit India and that the Soviet Premier had accepted.

Reflecting the strength and confidence rooted in this popular support, Nehru and Bulganin made speeches before 80,000 Muscovites at the Dynamo Stadium marked by hope for man's future, faith in the possibility of removing the most serious international frictions and a friendly outstretched hand to all nations. Nehru viewed the present world situation as a "psychological moment in history—a turning point." Shunning the hopelessness, suspicion and contempt for man and his works so prevalent today he said: "Science and technology have freed mankind from a large part of its burdens and have opened up new vistas and given us new strength." If the world should go insane and permit war "it can destroy itself." But if peace prevails mankind is on "the threshold of its greatest discoveries and triumphs."

Bridging the longing for peace of the Soviet and Indian peoples to that

of the great majority of the world, Soviet Premier Bulganin said:

Carrying on an active struggle for the relaxation of international tension, for peace and cooperation among peoples, the Soviet Union and India are consistently guided by the principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. The great jubilee session devoted to the tenth anniversary of the United Nations has opened at San Francisco. In all parts of the world the people express the profound hope that this jubilee session will be the beginning of new measures directed to insure peace and international security.

At the Central Airport in Moscow, in the early morning of June 23, Jawaharlal Nehru stepped up to the microphone and said a few brief words of farewell to the Soviet people:

I think I am going away both richer and poorer than when I came. I consider I am leaving richer because I shall have many memories of our friendship and of the reception I was accorded by you. I am leaving poorer because I am leaving my heart behind.

On June 24, the *New York Times* carried an editorial entitled "Nehru

and Bulganin." The writer noted that the Indian Prime Minister taking leave of Moscow had said he was leaving part of his heart behind. Speaking for the *New York Times* he quipped, "We might be forgiven for thinking that he also left a part of his common sense behind."

For any American who had followed the speeches, read the joint statement and caught the conciliatory, friendly spirit of the Indian and Soviet peoples as reported in the *Times* itself, such a statement is staggering in its stupidity and blindness.

It is against just such abuse of their own common sense that the American people are more and more finding a voice. Patience with that strange, upside-down, Alice in Wonderland logic whereby every international arrangement which implements peace is paraded as a "defeat" for the U. S. and every rebuff to the relaxation of world tension an American "victory" is wearing thin. The "common sense" of the *New York Times* is, fortunately, not that of the American people who will find both heart and head in the practical proposals for peace made in the memorable joint statement of Nehru and Bulganin.

## **Highlights of the Joint Statement by Bulganin and Nehru**

Moscow, June 22, 1955

**FIVE PRINCIPLES**—The foundation of friendship and understanding between the Soviet Union and India rests on the following principles:

a. mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty

b. non-aggression

c. non-interference in each other's internal affairs

d. equality and mutual benefit

e. peaceful coexistence

The Prime Ministers expressed the conviction that these principles are capable of wider application and that



in their observance by nations in their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust and world tension.

**BANDUNG CONFERENCE** — The Prime Ministers acclaimed the results of the Asian-African Conference as of "deep significance not only to the participating countries but to the cause of world peace."

**RELAXATION OF TENSION**—The Prime Ministers recognized and welcomed the fact that there "have been signs of improvement in the general international situation."

**TAIWAN (Formosa)**—In the Far East, while there has been a lessening of tension, the causes still remain. "It is the earnest hope of both Prime Ministers that it will be possible to satisfy the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in regard to Taiwan by peaceful means."

**UNITED NATIONS**—" . . . the continued refusal to admit the People's Republic of China to the United Nations lies at the root of many troubles in the Far East and elsewhere . . . it is important that all states which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter should be admitted . . ."

**INDO-CHINA**—The Prime Ministers gave special attention to the situation in Indo-China. They exhort all govern-

ments concerned with the carrying out of the provisions of the Geneva Agreements to discharge their obligations. In particular they strongly urge where elections are to be held preliminary to a political settlement, the efforts of the Governments should be directed to full implementation of the Agreements.

**DISARMAMENT** — "Nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war. At the same time there should be a simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments . . . The recent Soviet proposals on disarmament were acknowledged as a substantial contribution to peace."

**MUTUAL COOPERATION** — "The Prime Ministers believe that, under the ægis of the five principles enunciated in this statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical cooperation between their two states. The fact that each country is following a system which is molded by its own genius, traditions and environment should be no bar to such cooperation. Indeed, the essence of true coexistence, in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith, is that states with different social structures can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good."

## **CHINA'S PLANNED INDUSTRIAL GROWTH**

CHINA'S total industrial output is planned to increase 98.3 per cent during the first Five-Year Plan ending 1957, according to Li Fu-chun, Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Some of the planned increases in 1957 compared with 1952 follow: *Steel*, 4.12 million tons, against 1.35 million (3.1 times); *Electricity*, 15,920 million kilowatt hours, against 7,260 million (2.2 times); *Coal*, 113 million tons, against 63.53 million (1.8 times); *Generators*, 227,000 kilowatts, against 30,000 (7.7 times); *Cement*, 6 million tons, against 2.86 million (2.1 times).

tributor to our magazine.



# A Canadian Railroader Views the USSR

by R. L. PATRIQUIN

We are happy to present this eye-witness report of a visit to the Soviet Union by R. L. Patriquin, a retired Canadian locomotive engineer. He was born in Detroit Lakes, Minn., in 1888, and started firing at Fargo, North Dakota, in 1907. He went to Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada, in 1909 and hired out as a locomotive fireman. He was promoted to engineer in 1912 and retired in 1952. "I have been a member of the trade union movement ever since I started railroading," he writes.

**I** ACCEPTED the invitation to join a delegation to the Soviet Union on the understanding that I would tell the truth of what I saw there, without fear or favor and let the chips fall where they may. The delegation was sponsored by the Canadian Soviet Friendship Society and VOKS, the society in the Soviet Union organized to promote friendly, cultural relations between the USSR and all countries.

We visited Moscow, Leningrad and Tbilisi, Georgia. There were eight in our delegation from Canada, three of whom spoke Russian, so one did not have to depend on the three interpreters or guides who accompanied us. Even if you can't speak the language, you have to be pretty dumb not to be able to judge if people are well fed, well clothed and reasonably contented.

We were taken wherever we re-

quested, went alone if we liked, visited with people in their homes—a locomotive engineer, a street cleaner and an old-age pensioners' home. We visited factories, trade union halls, a railway roundhouse, cooperative enterprises, theaters, a collective farm, the Lomonosov University, a Jewish synagogue, the Kremlin and other places, and I will say without fear of successful or rather truthful contradiction, that nowhere in these so-called free countries are the common people better off than in the Soviet Union. Of course they have not some of the things we have today, like a car in most families. But I will stake my very life on it that in the Soviet Union they would not tolerate some of the conditions that the unemployed and some of the old-age pensioners are living under in this country today.

The right to a job is guaranteed

in the Soviet Union. As a trade unionist, I was amazed at the power the trade unions wield in their economy. They have no highly paid labor leaders there, most of the union work is done by the trade union committees free, i.e., from the bottom up rather than from the top down. The full-time trade union workers are elected every year by secret ballot and can easily be removed if they do not do business.

The manager of a large factory in Leningrad told us that he could only hold his job as long as he gave satisfaction to the trade union committee and the trade union committee has to satisfy the workers. A worker cannot be fired without the consent of his trade union committee, and they do not fire them, they may as an extreme measure reduce them.

Soviet people can own their own home and there is no mortgage on it, nor can they lose it if they are unfortunate or unable to work. They also can quit any job if they wish, but they do not have any parasites or drones there. Those who do not work do not eat.

I saw many factories in the USSR, and they have just as up-to-date machinery as in the USA. As I saw it in the Soviet Union, safety is not sacrificed for speed. In a country that mines a huge amount of coal, they have not had a major mine disaster in 20 years, nor have they had a major passenger train wreck where lives were lost in that time. In all industry human welfare comes first. You do not have to go very far, nor for very long in the Soviet Union to be aware of that, nor need you be very bright to see it.

To sum up my observations in the Soviet Union, I would say the outstanding features of their life and

accomplishments are the genuine democracy and power of the trade unions (98 per cent unionized) in the economy of the country.

They have the best medical care without worrying about doctor bills or hospital bills. The medical health plan of the Soviet Union is the pride of the country. No country in the world has the facilities, doctors, hospitals, sanatoriums and nurses that they have. Preventive medicine is becoming so effective in that country that when you visit their hospitals your first impression is that there are nearly as many doctors, nurses and orderlies on duty as there are patients.

And the way they are educating the children and young people is really wonderful. Practically no one goes to work under 18, and a large majority go in for higher education. They have plenty of technical schools where young people can learn trades, more than one if they desire, without serving apprenticeship at low pay as is the practice here.

I am sure the USSR is the only country where there is practically no prostitution, no skid row, and no venereal disease. Even Harrison Salisbury was not able to point to such social ills.

In the *December Readers' Digest*, Harrison Salisbury has an article on the Soviet Union. He spent six years there as a journalist, speaks Russian and admits going wherever he pleased.

In one section of this article he writes on how the workers live. I investigated that part and my observations certainly can't substantiate his statements.

Then, about the Jews, he wrote in part, and I quote: "the Government encourages anti-Semitism . . . there is only one synagogue left in Mos-

cow and the Jews are afraid to attend . . ."

Well, I attended a Jewish service there together with two of our delegates who were both Jews and spoke the language. The Chief Rabbi for all Russia had his office there, and three other rabbis. What we found was at complete variance with what Salisbury wrote. There is no anti-Semitism nor anti any nationality. That is against the law and is not tolerated. They told us that there are three more synagogues in Moscow. The one we visited was filled, about 800 people. The Chief Rabbi said, "There is no Jewish problem in the Soviet Union, and there are Jews who hold top jobs in Government and management."

One more example, *Readers' Digest* of April had an article by Ellsworth Raymond, "Russia's Angry Farmers."

Well, from what I saw of food and meat in the stores and shops, that article is a big laugh. There is no rationing in the USSR today, and

I never saw such a quantity and quality of food as I saw on the tables of restaurants and hotels, and working people eating it. One could write a small book on this subject alone. Previously I would not have believed that men of supposed integrity could stoop so low as these reporters writing about the Soviet Union.

We visited a state farm and a collective farm and if those people are dissatisfied, then I am stark, raving mad. The collective farm had a school with 467 students, from 5 to 17 and that was a wonderful sight indeed.

Everywhere we went people spoke of peace and friendship. The people are not wasting time and money on civil defense. Having been tried in the crucible of war and come out victorious, they have faith in their leaders to keep them out of war. Many wise men have spoken for co-existence so I will not go into that. Hate is a corrosive element that grows and grows; no man is big enough to hate and reason too.

## T-V PROGRAMS IN THE SOVIET UNION

THE FINEST plays on the Soviet stage forms part of the television fare available to Soviet T-V audiences. Last year the Moscow T-V Studio broadcast 160 plays performed by various drama and music theaters. In addition to Russian and Soviet plays, these included Hugo's *Ruy Blas* and *Les Misérables*, Balzac's *Eugenie Grandet* and *Stepmother*, Dickens' *Dombey and Son* and *Little Dorrit*, Shaw's *Pygmalion*, Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Othello*, Wilde's *An Ideal Husband*, Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, Lope de

Vega's *Dog in the Manger* and other Western classics.

Besides plays, T-V programs feature popular science films, both Soviet and foreign, concerts, sports events, lectures, readings by well-known writers and poets. There are two or three children's plays each month, and special children's programs, with special news reels, are a regular feature.

There are no commercials. According to the director of the central studio, V. Sharoeva, Soviet T-V has but one aim, "to satisfy the growing cultural demands of the people."

**AT HELSINKI**

# The People Join Hands For Peace

by **GORDON SCHAFFER**

**T**HE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT of the Helsinki Peace Assembly was that it rose to its opportunity as the spokesman of the ordinary people who in the main reject ideologies and who are by no means convinced which side is correct in the controversies of the cold war, but who desperately want peace. Opponents of the Communist attitudes were not only invited to the conference; they were encouraged to voice their criticisms. The Rev. D. C. Candy, an observer from the Church Peace Mission, Toronto, for example made one of the first speeches and he bluntly stated the fears of many Christians in Canada that the world peace movement is the political arm of communism. He was very doubtful about the reception he would get. Some of us spoke to him before he was called on to speak and encouraged him to be as controversial as he wished. After he had spoken, he was not only given warm applause, but he was

appointed to the committee which drafted the final resolution.

Let me be quite frank. The world peace movement, contrary to what its enemies have said, has always been willing to admit critics. But never before has it accepted the co-operation of critics to the extent it did at Helsinki. The world peace movement has begun to achieve its purpose of uniting in a common front of peace all except the tiny minority who plan war or think in terms of war. In the past it was predominantly in the hands of the left wing because in the clash of politics, there was little room for compromise between the people who (no doubt sincerely) believed that the napalm bombing of Korean villages was a necessary defense against aggression and the people who equally sincerely believed that the Korean war was provoked by Syngman Rhee and the supporters of the China Lobby.

It was difficult to find a point of agreement between people who looked to NATO as a "protection from tens of millions of armed Russians" and people who saw the build-up of the West in Europe as a threat of war against the countries who

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had set out on the road to socialism. But today such lines of division are no longer there.

The second great achievement of Helsinki was that it was grown up enough to take advantage of this new situation. The peoples of Asia have embraced the world peace movement as their own. A few years ago the United States destroyed its own influence in Asia when its spokesmen said, "Let Asians fight Asians." The peoples of Asia replied with the Bandung Conference and the principles of coexistence of Nehru and Chou En-lai. The new spirit in Asia was shown by the delegation from Japan which included every section of opinion and by the Indian delegation which spoke with the authority of a country which is taking world leadership.

The delegations from France and Italy included a number from the Right and in particular from the Catholics. One Italian Catholic told the assembly that the Catholic Church was now one of the most important allies in the struggle for peace. The Vatican is not switching overnight to progressive policies, but it is beginning to understand the warning which Bertrand Russell voiced in a special message to Helsinki, before he launched the appeal of the scientists.

The choice is not now between communism or anti-communism; it is between life and death, and not only death for this generation but for future generations. The Catholic Church cannot advocate death and so we saw at Helsinki a bridge of peace between the great Catholic countries—Italy and France in the West, Poland and Hungary in the East.

The work of the conference was performed mainly in commissions,

where every aspect of the world situation was discussed. Here again, the spirit of genuine compromise was noticeable. I believe when the story of these years is written, it will be seen that within the peace movement, the West taught the East a great deal. The frank discussions in the various commissions set up by the World Peace Council have worked out practical ways in which East and West could be brought together. The recent moves made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to create closer relationships with the West have been pressed for a long time by the peace movement. At Helsinki we saw the results.

The decisions were related to the immediate situation created by the impending Big Four Conference. The main resolution stated minimum terms for agreement. A European structure guaranteeing security to all the states of Europe and bound up with a united Germany, saved from the rebirth of militarism and remaining outside any military coalition was the first demand.

The second was for the evacuation of foreign troops from Formosa and the admission of People's China to the United Nations.

And the hope was expressed that out of such agreements would come a peace in which disarmament and the end of atomic weapons could be achieved. Simple demands, demands which every decent man or woman cannot fail to accept, but demands which will be resisted by those who still think in terms of military alliances and who are prepared to base their policies on war.

I spent most of the conference in the commission on Germany. The German delegation came from both republics but there were 100 from the West and 50 from the East. The



French and Italian delegations ranged from left to Christian Democrat right. It is quite clear that if the West insists on trying to bring a united Germany into NATO, there will be no agreement. It is equally clear that the unity of Germany cannot be achieved if the West refuses to recognize the right of the German Democratic Republic to be consulted. There can either be coexistence in Europe based on a united Germany within a system of European security, or a divided Germany threatening the entire world with

a clash between two armed camps.

With good will on both sides, it would be possible to start the creation of a peaceful Europe while the two German republics work out a basis of unity. But if the rearmament of Western Germany goes on the situation will become infinitely more dangerous.

The Helsinki conference recognized the danger, but it has proved the strength of the peoples mobilized for peace. It is precisely in that strength that the hopes of mankind rest.

## ***World's First Congress of Mothers***

**A**LTHOUGH not a line about it appeared in the big American dailies, a historic event took place in Lausanne, Switzerland, July 7 to 10, just a week before the heads of government meeting in nearby Geneva, where its echoes must have reached.

A thousand delegates from 68 countries met together in the first World Congress of Mothers seeking new ways for the mothers of the world to express their yearnings for peace and to save the lives of their children.

Women from the West, from the Far and Middle East, from Latin America, from Africa, from Iceland, from the socialist lands—women from all parts of the world attended the conference in Lausanne's great Exhibition Hall. Even a few women from the United States, from whom we may hope to hear more details later, were there, and many women of our country sent messages. They were working women, professional women, members of parliament. Organizations like the Society of Friends and the Women's International League sent observers. Delegates represented diverse

political and religious views, but found a common language in their determination to end war forever.

Mme. Eugenie Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, declared that the great need which had brought the mothers of the world together "is the defense of life itself, and it will triumph." She voiced the determination of women that all the wealth and labor now going into weapons of destruction must be turned instead to "building millions of schools, homes, laboratories, training scientists and doctors to conquer disease."

"Every child's birthright is a life free from insecurity and fear," Edne Hutchinson, an Australian member of the Society of Friends, told the delegates.

Another great peace gathering to be held this summer will be the World Youth Festival, which will meet in Warsaw, Poland, July 31st-August 14th. Young people of many countries will learn to know each other better through song, music, dance, dramatics and informal gatherings.

# WHY THE USSR URGES GOOD CULTURAL RELATIONS

by A. DENISOV

The Soviet Union has consistently pursued a policy of cultural exchange with other countries. In this article, Professor Denisov, President of the Board of VOKS, the Soviet Society for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, explains why they adhere to that policy and inferentially makes a plea for strengthened cultural ties with the other nations of the world.

## **1. Role and Significance of International Cultural Cooperation**

**C**ULTURAL RELATIONS are an important constructive force in the world. Established on a large scale, they meet the vital interests of the peoples of all countries.

First, they promote the enrichment of the various national cultures and world culture as a whole. The culture of every nation has specific features which replenish and enrich the treasure-store of world culture. Through cultural relations each nation experiences the beneficial influence of other cultures and at the same time is able to acquaint the other lands with the democratic and progressive traditions of its own culture.

But the fruitfulness of cultural exchange is not limited to the influence different cultures exercise upon each other. When international cultural relations reach their highest

form and result in cultural cooperation, this inevitably leads to new works and achievements in the arts, professions and sciences, through joint effort. This can be seen in collaborative efforts in medical, archaeological, historical, economic, political, judicial and other problems, the creation of new films, the staging of plays, and so on.

Secondly, international cultural exchange plays an important role in insuring good-neighborly relations throughout the world and is a sure path to mutual understanding among the nations. Close contact among people of different nations, their personal acquaintance, the exchange of scientific, public, parliamentary and sports delegations and theatrical companies, meetings at international scientific congresses and musical contests, extensive exchange of works of science and art, the regular holding of exhibitions and festivals, help people to understand one another and to set up and develop good

neighborly relations. This is of primary importance for the relaxation of international tension and to insure general peace and security.

Thirdly, international cultural relations always serve to consolidate friendship among peoples, a factor in international life that can hardly be over-estimated.

All this is being increasingly recognized by people of good will in all countries. Because the Soviet people have always advocated a policy of peace, friendship, and cooperation, they strive for an all-round strengthening of cultural relations with the peoples of all countries.

## **2. The Foundations of International Cultural Cooperation**

In entering into cultural relations with other nations, the Soviet people are guided by the following principles.

First, the recognition of state and national sovereignty, which underlies the USSR's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Second, the equality of big and small nations, irrespective of the specific features of their development or the level of their political, economic and cultural life. This the Soviet people consider one of the foundations of genuinely free and democratic international cultural relations. In addition, the Soviet people hold the view that the specific features of the cultures of different nations are in a way equivalent, for these specific features constitute the contributions made by each nation to the treasure-store of world culture. There is, therefore, a moral duty to respect the specific features of the culture of every nation. In recogni-

tion of this, the Soviet people appreciate the role and significance of everything positive in the field of science, culture and art of the peoples of other countries.

Fruitful cultural relations presuppose the recognition and implementation of the principle of reciprocity.

Finally, normal development of international cultural relations is impossible without recognition of the truth that fundamentally different economic and political systems can co-exist in peace and even cooperate in solving a number of very important general problems. Such problems are the insuring of lasting peace and security, and the organization of mutually advantageous trade, economic and cultural relations.

Since the establishment of the Soviet state experience has shown convincingly that economic, political and cultural cooperation is quite possible between states with different social systems, in their mutual interest and in the interest of consolidating world peace.

## **3. Forms of International Cultural Exchange**

The forms of international cultural exchange are so numerous that we can only note in a general way some of those which recently have been most widely developed.

Invitations to delegations and individuals from abroad to visit the USSR are constantly being extended by many Soviet public and government organizations and institutions. These include the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), trade unions, women's and youth associations, sports societies, associations of writers, architects and artists, min-

istries of culture, public education, higher schools, justice, agriculture, public health, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and others.

In turn, Soviet delegations visit foreign countries as guests of public and government organizations and institutions.

Last year the Soviet Union received over 8,000 foreign visitors, members of public and scientific delegations and artistic and sports societies, including people from the United States, China, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, Japan, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Iran, all the European People's Democracies, the German Democratic Republic, the German Federal Republic, Yugoslavia, France, Britain and Italy. The USSR also played host to representatives of Egypt, Mexico, Greece, Bolivia, Iraq, Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, all the Scandinavian countries, Canada, Spain, Portugal and a number of other countries. All of them were accorded warm hospitality.

People who come to the Soviet Union represent different sections of the population. They include men and women of different political and religious views, peasants, workers, students, office employees, cultural workers, civic leaders, clergymen, artists, scientists, housewives, painters, teachers, and other trades and professions. They come in all seasons of the year. There are periods when 40 to 50 delegations are simultaneously in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people offer their guests the possibility of acquainting themselves widely with the political system, the economy and culture of the country, with the internal and foreign policies of their gov-

ernment. They also afford the visitors opportunities to deliver talks and lectures on a variety of subjects, free to treat them from whatever viewpoint they hold. Soviet newspapers and magazines publish articles by guests from various countries.

There are many foreign students in the higher schools of the USSR. For instance, at the four departments and the post-graduate courses of the Moscow Conservatory dozens of citizens of the People's Democracies are studying.

Hakon Hupe, a Norwegian student who had been studying in the Soviet Union under the USSR-Norway students exchange program, told an Oslo press conference on January 19, 1955:

The usefulness of my stay at the new Moscow University was actually greater than I expected. The professors and teachers were very kind and helped me willingly, so that I established close contact soon after my arrival in Moscow . . . It is not difficult to start a conversation with the Russians, whether students or people in the street or in the tram cars. They don't hide behind their newspapers as people do here.

Last year, various Soviet delegations totalling 6,815 people visited China, India, Germany, France, Italy, Britain, the United States, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Korea, Mongolia, Japan, Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Egypt, Israel, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Algeria, Greece, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Coming to foreign countries on the invi-

tation of government and public organizations and institutions or as guests of their colleagues, the Soviet guests see the sights of these countries, acquaint themselves with the economic and cultural achievements, the life and customs of the peoples and share their knowledge and experience with them. Back home, they report to large audiences on their trips, publish books and articles and speak over the radio.

Soviet scientists take part in international congresses and conferences. They contribute to the promotion of international scientific cooperation, the development of science and to still greater application and popularization of the achievements of science and engineering.

Soviet representatives participate in almost all international contests of musicians.

Soviet people are members of many international public organizations, such as the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Cooperative Women's Guild, the International Organization of Journalists, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Astronomical Union and the International Union of Students.

One of the most effective forms of international cultural relations is the exchange of printed works of science, literature and the arts, primarily the exchange of books between the academies, universities, institutes, libraries and other similar institutions of the USSR and other countries. Especially important work in this respect is carried on by the Lenin State Library of the USSR, whose book fund numbers about 18 million copies of publications in 160 languages, including 6.7

million books published abroad. The library subscribes to books and magazines published in different countries and replenishes its store of foreign literature through international book exchange. In 1953, it conducted exchanges with 470 libraries and scientific institutions of 36 countries, and last year with 602 institutions of 40 countries, sending and receiving 339,000 copies of various publications.

In 1954, the library received from the United States, 16,000 books on history, economics, linguistics, law, literature and other subjects, and sent the same number of copies of Soviet publications to the Library of Congress, Harvard University, the University of Minnesota, Brown University and the editors of the "Chemical Abstracts." Unfortunately, there were difficulties, through no fault of the Soviet Union, in delivering scientific literature to the libraries of the United States. The halls of the Lenin Library receive 5,000 readers a day, issuing them more than 25,000 copies of publications, including foreign ones. Every day the library displays new publications received from abroad. Foreign magazines are kept on open shelves and are in frequent use. Requests to the reference department show that Soviet readers take a lively interest in foreign literature.

Besides foreign books and periodicals, various publishing houses of the Soviet Union issue on a mass scale foreign literature translated into the languages of the peoples of the USSR, as well as in the original. From 1918 to 1953, books of 250 foreign authors were published in the USSR in the original.

Various cultural and economic exhibitions from other countries, tours of foreign theatrical companies and



individual artists, performances of foreign athletes, foreign film festivals, concerts of music by foreign composers, staging of plays by foreign playwrights—such rich fare is a permanent feature of Soviet cultural life.

The Soviet people observe significant cultural dates and arrange celebrations honoring the outstanding personalities in the sciences and the arts of other countries. Recent grand celebrations included the jubilees of Avicenna, Rabelais, Copernicus, Chui Yuan, Leonardo da Vinci, Voltaire, Rousseau, Jose Marti, Chopin, Smetana, Dvorak, Petefi, Karadjale, Henry Fielding. This year the following great cultural anniversaries will be marked: the 150th anniversary of Schiller's death, the 100th anniversary of Mickiewicz's death, the 200th anniversary of Montesquieu's death, the 150th anniversary of Andersen's birth, the 350th anniversary of the first publication of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and the 100th anniversary

of the first edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.

As testified to by the activities of their government and public institutions, the Soviet people are favorable to any sincere proposal concerning the restoration, maintenance and development of cultural relations. More, they constantly display creative initiative in the field of international cultural exchange. In solving practical problems of this exchange they proceed from the truth that the peoples of all countries are vitally interested in a relaxation of world tension, in the development of world trade and economic cooperation and in the expansion and consolidation of cultural contacts.

The Soviet people want to see people of different races and nationalities exchange their experience in work, share the achievements of science, culture and the arts and create, by common effort, spiritual values called upon to serve the cause of peace and improve the life of people everywhere.

### SOVIET PEOPLE HONOR WALT WHITMAN

THE SOVIET PEOPLE marked the one hundredth anniversary of the first appearance of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in mid-June at a special evening held in the Moscow Conservatory. The memorial was organized by the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Writers' Union, the Society for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (VOKS), and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The meeting was opened by Alexai Surkov, Secretary of the Writers' Union, and a monograph on the American poet was read by the well-known Soviet literary critic, M. Mendelson. The oldest Soviet writer, Kornei Chukovsky, who has been translating Whitman's works for 50 years and is still active in popularizing his works in the Soviet Union, also spoke. There were readings of the works of the great poet and an exhibition of his books published in the USSR.



## **Chess Players, Athletes and Farmers Point the Way to Friendship**

**T**HE USSR is more and more playing host to American visitors. And, like all good hosts, the Soviet people are extending their guests a hospitality and warmth that seems to know no bounds.

Two events, both in the latter part of June, were typical. These were a ten-day competition between American and Soviet weight-lifting teams and an eight-day chess match between the best players of both countries. In each event respective Soviet fans jammed the places of contest, clustered around the American visitors seeking their autographs, read friendly articles about the American contestants in their daily papers, and cheered the Americans' performances with true admiration for a feat well done.

Over and beyond the actual results of either contest there was a major victory for both sides. For the atmosphere of friendship was all-pervading.

This was recognized again and again by the contestants themselves, by the American correspondents in the USSR and by other observers.

Thus, Clarence Johnson, head of the American weight-lifting team and Vice-President of the International Federation of Weight Lifters, declared in an interview with the Soviet press that he was sure this would be the beginning of stronger sporting ties and friendship between sportsmen of both countries.

The *New York Times* described the conclusion of the event as follows: "Ten days of harmony and amity between the Soviet Union and the United States in the sporting arena concluded tonight with wine, food, music and dancing."

On the opening day of the weight lifting contest, 15,000 Soviet fans packed the Green Theater in the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest and remained throughout, despite a cold drizzle. They roared with delight, according to the *New York Times*, as Paul Anderson, American heavy-weight lifter smashed world records. As other Americans performed, the Soviet spectators "applauded wildly."

The team also met Soviet athletes before an audience of 3,000 Soviet enthusiasts at the Circus Auditorium, in Leningrad.

The match ended 11:9 in favor of the Soviet team.

Before their departure, a banquet with all the trimmings—caviar, toasts of friendship and concert star entertainment—was tendered the American team. Each member was presented with a camera, the carrying case bearing a silver plaque commemorating the event.

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**THE CHESS MATCH** attracted so many fans that the stately Hall of Columns in the House of Unions, where the contest was held, could not accommodate them all.

This was an event of international interest, for the Americans were playing against the recognized world's strongest team. Every Soviet player is a grandmaster, and the head of the team, Mikhail Botvinnik, is World Champion.

The American team was headed by Samuel Reshevsky. Both he and Isaac Kashdan are grandmasters, the remainder of the team are masters.

In ceremonies preceding the contest, the Hall of Columns was decorated with the flags of both countries, both anthems were played and speeches of friendship were delivered by representatives of both teams.

The American press reported that the "Soviet audience was delighted" by the speech of Rosser Reeves, manager of the American team and Vice-president of the American Chess Foundation.

"I would like to utter a prayer," Mr. Reeves said, "that for the next 10,000 years the Russians and Americans will meet in a combat no greater than chess."

This was greeted with storms of applause.

As play continued over the eight days, the fans were generous with their acclaim of each American player who won his game or who was able to present his opponent with a difficult or unique problem.

The outstanding result of the match was the defeat of Botvinnik by Reshevsky by a score of  $1\frac{1}{2}:2\frac{1}{2}$ . Botvinnik retains his title, for that was not in dispute in this contest. But his defeat represented an outstanding victory for Reshevsky.

In the final match score, the Americans were down to greater defeat than when they played the Soviet team in New York last year. In Moscow the score was 25:7 in favor of

the Soviet team; in New York, it was 20:12. (Box score on page 38.)

But as with the weight-lifting match, here, too, a final winning score can, in the broad sense, be attributed to all sides. For friendship was the keynote, and that's surely victory enough for anyone.

The players were contestants in a friendly arena. The speeches at the affairs that were held around the match all emphasized this. The eager autograph hunters were evidence of it. The friendly and spirited luncheon that was given the American team in honor of Independence Day—with tables decorated in red, white and blue—was a mark of it. Here was amity and harmony amid competition. It was possible over the chess boards, and it can be possible across the seas.

THESE TWO EVENTS, because they both involved friendly competition, serve, if in a small way, to highlight what the Soviet Union means by friendly relations.

There is no doubt of the warm feeling the Soviet people have for us. This is attested to by the ever-increasing number of American correspondents who are now going to the USSR. At this writing a large group of American farmers are in the USSR studying Soviet farming. They are experiencing the warmth of Soviet hospitality just as the group of Soviet farmers, studying corn-hog farming in Iowa is being warmly received by the Americans.

Given more exchange of this sort, both in our country and in the Soviet Union, it is undeniable that such personal contact could thaw the abnormal cold war atmosphere, and do much to bring about that amity and understanding so essential to peace.

# US-USSR Chess Match In Moscow

Chess fans throughout the world followed the results of the tournament between the strongest teams of the U.S. and the USSR held in Moscow at the end of June and early July. The USSR won overwhelmingly by 25:7. These pictures taken during the eight days of play, record some of the masters at play and the intense interest of the many spectators that attended.



How the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions looked on the opening day of the match

U. S. Grandmaster Samuel Reshevsky autographs programs for eager fans

Some spectators just watch. Others play out the moves on their own boards



# USSR Match MOSCOW

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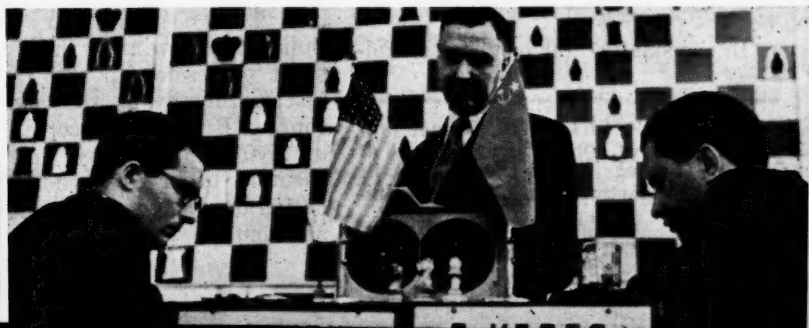
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Highlight of the match was the defeat of World Champion Mikhail Botvinnik (right) by U. S. Grandmaster Samuel Reshevsky,  $1\frac{1}{2}:2\frac{1}{2}$ . Botvinnik retains his title however for this was not a title match



Soviet Grandmaster Vasily Smyslov (above, left) defeated U. S. Champion Arthur Bisguier, 4:0. America's Robert Byrne (below, left) drew one game with Paul Keres, defeated by him  $3\frac{1}{2}:1\frac{1}{2}$



## Fun While You Study

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

**P**OLAND is a hard-working country. All of this generation will of necessity have to work hard—it could not be otherwise—in order to make good the wartime losses and destructions that are still vividly before us, in many saddening ways, even after the passing of a decade since 1945.

But with everyone working, no one idle either by privilege or by grim necessity, the atmosphere of hard work has a tonic effect. And under socialism there's this big difference: regardless of the obstacles caused by nature, inexperience, and wartime destruction—you are always spurred on by the feeling that you are working for people's welfare and not for profit. Instead of a personal "boss" exploiting you, there are your fellow-citizens employing you and benefiting from your efforts. That thought is good for a real lift to the spirits no matter how busy one may be.

In the small sector of private trad-

ing and production that exists in Poland, and in the much larger sector of private farming, such stimulus doesn't prevail to the same degree, of course. But even here, social life and social responsibilities affect individual producers in such a way as to make them healthily aware of collective life around them. This happens through contacts with the cooperatives, for instances, and the sports clubs and the recreation facilities that are made available to everybody through one type of organization or another both in town and country.

The recreations make you feel the advantages of our way of life here as much as anything else. I don't mean just straight holidays, though these are pleasant enough and universally enjoyed. Getting away from home and work to a real resort, to some place in the mountains or by the sea or at a spa, is a feature of life that Poles take very seriously. Summer and winter, there is a constant procession to and from these places. Mostly in the summer, of course. But many people are able to divide the holiday time allotted them in order to have a fortnight or ten days devoted to winter sports and another two weeks or so in the

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country—hiking, resting, swimming, sightseeing and such—during the hot weather.

It's not the style to go off on solitary vacations, especially not for young people. They definitely prefer group excursions. Older people may prefer "cures" at health resorts or just visiting quiet spots by themselves. Not to go away somewhere, however, is unheard-of.

Once I suggested half-jokingly to some colleagues that I'd consider it a fine vacation just to stay quietly in Warsaw and to be able to read in the University Library undisturbed by the routine of lectures, conferences and committee meetings. "What!" exclaimed a young assistant, scandalized, "with Warsaw so frightfully *hot* in the summer?" Recalling the long-drawn spells of really broiling weather in New York—the shimmer of heat from the pavements, the sizzling surfaces, the furnace-like masses of concrete—I could only smile. In Warsaw the days may sometimes be hot, but by evening there never fails to be cool relief. The air becomes sweet and refreshing under the deep blue of this more northerly sky. Summer in Warsaw in fact agrees with me; but like all others, I, too, take my flight to some spa or other for the ritual toning up that is expected of me and due to me as a worker in People's Poland.

However, the salutary provision for holidays is no doubt well known to our friends abroad, and there is no need for me to tell about it once more in detail. Perhaps it would be more interesting to mention the kind of activity which may arise in the course of work itself and provide an interval that is almost like a holiday, while at the same time something valuable is being accomplished.

Not long ago an example of this sort of thing occurred among university instructors specializing in linguistics. Since I was drawn into the activity myself, I can describe it at first hand.

When young scholars do research here, they are advised and directed towards certain types of general themes that have a meaning and use in relation to the needs of the national culture. Students of linguistics have been encouraged (among other things) to do research on the problem of the rise of national languages in modern times, in connection with the persistence of dialects and other tendencies which contradict the main tendency towards unified national speech.

On home soil there is much intensive research being carried on in Polish regional dialects of the countryside. In order to stimulate and encourage more fruitful work in adjacent fields of linguistics, the Academy of Sciences organized a two-weeks' conference last March devoted to this general topic. About 50 young scholars were invited to participate. They were sent off to a hostel of the Teachers' Union located at Zakopane, probably the most beautiful mountain resort in Poland, a famous center of winter sports. All expenses were paid by the Academy. The linguistic fields represented were: Slavic, Germanic (including English) and Romance languages. Delighted beyond words were the two assistants in my own department who were chosen to attend the conference because it was immediately connected with their dissertations in English philology.

For the two weeks of the conference a program of lectures and seminar discussions was carefully worked out in advance, with free

time interspersed for reading and also for walks and skiing on the snow-blanketed mountain-sides. The participants received a lengthy bibliography in advance. Copies of the books represented on it were shipped to the hostel and made available in the reading room.

Some days were completely free, but normally there were lectures in the dining room right after breakfast, from nine to twelve. Then came a four-hour interval that included dinner and allowed for walks, reading and naps; then from four to seven another period including seminars, reports and free-for-all discussions. The reading materials included standard older works of permanent value for their factual information, theoretical discussions (some controversial) and recent special articles.

The discussion of linguistic science initiated by Stalin in 1950, together with a number of articles in Russian and Polish that flowed from it, offered a guiding and unifying theme for many of the contributions. Nevertheless the conference by no means confined itself to mere scholastic commentary on previous works, nor to vague generalities repeating principles on which everyone was already agreed. Stalin's remarks were not just recognized as stimulating and corrective, as indeed they undoubtedly are. They were treated as pointers indicating the way to certain concrete and detailed studies to be realized in the future. It was a main purpose of the conference to see how these could be fruitfully carried forward.

Problems of the formation and integration of modern national languages were analyzed in relation to allied problems of political and economic history. Stalin's work on the

national question in general was one of several helpful Marxist texts used in this connection. Basic to all the discussion was the requirement of training and disciplined knowledge of actual linguistic research: histories of the languages concerned, editions of ancient texts, methods of dialect study, lexicography, and so on.

It was most gratifying to listen to the very competent arguments and commentaries advanced after every lecture by the young men and women present. And it was also a great pleasure to look on their healthy, relaxed faces, flushed from excursions under the snow-laden pine trees just outside. The very prevalence of sport shirts and ski-costumes among participants gave a festively informal air to the proceedings. It was further heightened by the jocularly of the professor in charge, who while strictly observing all scheduled limits on time and pertinent subject matter, contrived to do so in a spirit of unfailing good fellowship and humor.

Those of us who gave lectures were invited to appear in rotation, each one remaining for a space of three or four days. My own contribution to the proceedings was, from the scientific point of view, very limited. I spoke after the brilliant lecture of a colleague in Romance philology who summarized some original research (complete with tables and statistics) on the formation of the French national language out of late medieval dialects.

Coming after her, I offered a shorter statement about the similar factors prevailing in England, and about certain differences also in the English situation. Some of the factors concerned were the internal markets of England and France, the

migrations of workers, popular and courtly entertainment and above all the rise of a trading middle class in the cities.

My paper (which I had written out ahead, since of course it had to be delivered in Polish) took only half an hour to read. But after the very penetrating questions and comments directed to me by the students I found myself spurred to a fairly lengthy reply—a matter of 45 minutes of amplifying and clarifying without a written text to lean on. As an experience in using a language still imperfectly mastered I found this a most rewarding exercise.

From the days spent at the Academy conference at Zakopane I have taken away memories not only of mental stimulus but of physical pleasure in the surroundings. When I arrived the mountains were locked in winter and lavender-grey clouds hung over them, heavy with snow. The air tingled with frozen moisture and the scent of pine. I was glad just to sleep breathing it in my cozy, chintz-curtained room, and I barely noticed that I had a balcony of my own to step out on, and a window facing south-west. On the second day however the clouds broke, the wind changed, and the sun poured out. The mountain slopes and the valley were suddenly vocal with the sound of running water from the melted snow. The balconies and terrace of the hostel were at once filled with coatless guests reclining in deck chairs with their pallid winter faces upturned to the genial rays of the sun.

The last thaw and the warmth lasted until my departure. My last memory of Zakopane as I looked out of the window of my sleeper on the train was a picture of a very delicate early spring moon riding high over

the mountains in a sky suddenly grown clear and tender. Later the frosts and snow were to reappear, it's true, but this was our first taste of coming spring.

Another aspect of the physical surroundings which gave pleasure was the furnishing and equipment of the hostel itself. Several years ago such places, while already functioning and well ministering to Polish teachers on holiday, had often not yet been reconditioned and redecorated. This building got its overhauling, according to an inscription in the living room, three years ago. The result is a happy one. There are hangings of home-spun, home-woven peasant materials, chairs upholstered of the same, panels, occasional chairs and details of hand-carved wood, repainted walls, and renewed plumbing (including hot and cold water in the guests' rooms). The bright print curtains at the bedroom windows represent the kind of touch that may well have been missing three years ago. Such transformations occur gradually on all sides. Only by thinking back does one realize how deeply they go, how widely they are being brought to pass, and how much they mean in our daily living.

In connection with the young linguists' conference, it may be of interest to describe some other functions of the Polish Academy of Sciences, which sponsored it. A previous article in *New World Review* (Oct., 1951) has already described how the objectives of the Academy were originally formulated at the First Polish Congress of Science held in that year. Briefly, the general purpose is the organization, fostering and coordinating of research work being carried on in both the sciences and the humanities.

Though separate from the universities and the Ministry of Higher Education, the Academy cooperates closely with them. For instance, it is customary for university departments to make periodic reports on individual plans and group projects for research. These are discussed and assessed by committees of the Academy as well as the Ministry. As a result of recommendations by experts, the Academy may decide to subsidize a piece of work announced or in progress, or at least to give the author an encouraging subvention. The award of money quite often comes as an agreeable surprise to the recipient, and it helps him to solve specific problems such as obtaining materials, visiting archives and libraries out of town.

Finally the Academy may take a hand in the publication of books and reports by giving its sponsorship officially on the title page. Various journals in special fields of learning are published by the Academy's committees of experts (who are mostly but not always exclusively made up of university professors). The state's Science Publishing House (Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe) does the printing of these journals.

There is a constant series of learned conferences and sessions going on at the Academy building on Copernicus Place. Some of them, like the recent ones devoted to the Polish Renaissance and the Copernicus anniversary, are very ambitious, lasting for days at a time and at-

tracting numbers of non-specialists to the more general lectures. Others are more technical and limited. Distinguished foreign guests often come.

Semi-popular single meetings take place in honor of outstanding figures in the history of the arts and sciences, such as those singled out for anniversary honors by the World Peace Council. Next fall a very extensive commemoration will be devoted to the great poet Mickiewicz on the centenary of his death. His work and influence will be discussed from many angles, both from the point of view of Polish literature and the international aspects of his poetic creations.

At present all these activities are housed in the pre-war building of the Academy. It has been tastefully restored, but it is now inconveniently cramped in view of the greatly multiplied undertakings centered under its roof.

Soon, however, the fabulous new Palace of Culture, gift of the Soviet Union to Poland, will be ready for use. Many phases of the Academy work can be transferred to the Palace, though a certain amount will remain in the old, tradition-hallowed structure.

With the generous increase in available space, not to mention the modern equipment and facilities for administrative organization, the creative work of the Academy can go forward with greatly accelerated speed and effectiveness, serving the enriched culture of People's Poland.

## **POLAND OPENS PALACE OF CULTURE**

POLAND'S Palace of Culture and Science, magnificent gift to the Poles from the Soviet Union, was opened on July 22. The 2,800-room structure will house the Polish Academy of Sciences as well as theaters, museums, a library and radio and T-V studios.

# China's Young Radio Network

by LIN TA-KUANG

**C**OMPARED to her population, the number of radio receivers in China is still very small. Yet her radio audience is already among the world's largest. China's nationwide broadcasting system, with its central station in Peking and 57 local stations, now has nine and one-half times the power of that which existed in 1949, the year of liberation. Supplemented by a comprehensive network of relay, public loudspeaker and monitoring points, it serves hundreds of millions of her people as they work to build up the country.

From 6 a.m. each day until 2:30 the next morning the radio provides domestic and international news, keeps the people posted on the progress of the Five Year Plan, explains government policies and spreads knowledge of fresh ideas and discoveries in industry and agriculture. It also gives listeners in homes, factories and clubs the best of Chinese and foreign music, literary readings, talks on a variety of subjects, sports commentaries and many other items.

The relay posts, which play an ex-

tremely important part in increasing the number of listeners, now number some 5,300. Such a post usually consists of one portable receiving set with an amplification system and many loudspeakers. It not only carries the programs of the main stations, but is the starting point for local broadcasts—a unique arrangement which fills a need in this period when China's electronics industry is still unable to supply sufficient equipment to build regular radio stations on a large scale.

Although China's factories are turning out an increasing number of receivers, this too is still far from adequate. To meet the situation, the broadcasting administration in 1950 began to create a supplementary receiving network, whose key unit is the "monitoring post." Here an operator takes down commentaries, talks and news at dictation speed, which are circulated locally through printed or duplicated bulletins. In this way people in the most remote places are kept abreast of current events. Because of the vastness of the country and undeveloped communications, the regular newspapers still take a month to reach some such areas. Nonetheless, with the aid of the monitor posts they get the news in a matter of hours, even of minutes, through bulletins or organized listening groups which hear the broadcasts directly. There are now

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some 28,000 of these monitoring posts. As the output of radio sets increases and the income of the workers and peasants becomes higher, they will be replaced by receivers in the home.

Broadcasting policy is made by the State Council of the People's Government—which is in its turn responsible to the National People's Congress and thus under the control of the whole people. More immediately, everyday control of the programs is exercised by the listeners, who are very serious about it. The people's broadcasting stations received something like 45,000 letters of criticism and suggestions for improvement last year. In the first quarter of this year, 20,441 letters were received, representing three and a half times the volume of correspondence for the same period in 1954. As with the press and every public organization, each letter sent in must receive consideration and a reply. No administrator or announcer who ignores the opinions of listeners will last long at his job.

The history of the people's broadcasting in China, as distinct from that of the Kuomintang, did not begin with the establishment of our new state in 1949. It goes back to the earliest voicecasts from Yen-an, the center of the revolutionary forces before the liberation, which first came over the air in September, 1945. During the war against Chiang Kai-shek, Radio Yen-an had to move often, to mountain hiding places and remote villages. It gave the Chinese listeners their first true picture of what was going on in their country and the world.

It is because it upholds the revolutionary tradition of giving the people the strict and honest truth, and of serving the hundreds of mil-

lions of working folk instead of any special interest, that the radio plays such a big part in the historic forward movement that is going on in China today.

The radio has been a major mobilizing force in all the big movements that have taken place since the liberation. In 1949-52 these included the organization of people's rule all over the country, the land reform, the enforcement of the new marriage law that put an end to women's inequality in the home, the drive to uproot corruption, the movement to aid Korea and the two big nationwide health campaigns. More recently it has helped the progress of the socialist industrialization and transformation now under way throughout the country. It also constantly serves the peace movement, having been very active in the signature campaigns for the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the Five-Power Pact, and this year in the collection of 400 million signatures in China against the use of atom and hydrogen bombs.

Events of great national importance are not only broadcast over the regular radio network but relayed through specially erected loud-speaker address systems in factories, schools, public buildings and in the streets. Among them were the proceedings of the National People's Congress when it adopted our Constitution and elected the leaders of the government. The voice of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, as he gave the opening address at the First National People's Congress on September 15, 1954, was heard all over the nation.

The response was tremendous. On the day the Constitution was adopted, the workers of a cement plant in Hopei province worked with such a



will that they finished their 8-hour schedule in three hours, turning out 150 tons of cement above their quota. The same sort of thing happened in the countryside, where the peasants responded with extra efforts in cultivating the fields.

To help the people in their key task of industrialization, the radio programs popularize achievements in production, or help to solve day-to-day problems. Last November, for instance, a broadcast introduced a new method of oil extraction from cottonseed devised by a worker named Li Chuan-chiang. Within two weeks, letters had arrived from nine widely-scattered places telling of the results they had obtained by changing over to this method. One workshop wrote to say that on the second day after trying it, they had raised the oil output for each hundred-weight of cottonseed by a very substantial proportion. After a series of talks on new methods in brickmaking, some workers in Honan wrote: "It is as if someone had given us the way to unlock a door that we had been struggling to open."

Farm production too has been helped in many ways. In August and September 1954, a series of 20 talks was given over the Central Broadcasting Station on ways of improving the work of mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' cooperatives, and 762 monitoring stations in six provinces were informed in advance so that they could make the fullest use of the programs.

Hundreds of enthusiastic letters were received after each talk. A joint letter from five mutual-aid teams in Shantung said: "There are 156 of us who have heard the whole series. We think this is the most important program that has ever come to us. It has shown us how to change over

to the cooperative. We were racking our brains about the question, but it's clear now." Another group of listeners wrote: "We listen regularly, take careful notes, and then talk over what we have heard. Everyone finds this a great help. Those who arrive late are sorry to miss even a few words of the program."

When a further rural series was given on the same lines in November and December, it was used as a basis for classes for peasant organizers. It had to be repeated in January and February 1955, in response to widespread requests.

A weather forecasting service, run in conjunction with the Meteorological Bureau is broadcast for the benefit of agriculture and shipping. Many instances of timely gale warnings or announcements of sudden frosts have brought fishing boats back into harbor, or the farmers back to the fields to cover their seedlings. Thus lives and valuable food were saved.

Health broadcasts educate people in hygiene and simple medical facts. Talks such as "How to care for the health during convalescence from tuberculosis" or "The causes and cure of insomnia" have brought many grateful letters. And every morning, millions of people throughout China do setting-up exercises to the accompaniment of the regular musical calisthenics broadcasts.

The musical masterpieces of Europe, and various Asian countries, are becoming increasingly known to Chinese people through the radio. Broadcasting is also familiarizing the whole country with the folk music of China's many nationalities. Six recording teams, which went out last year to different regions, brought back some 430 folk-music programs that have already woven

new strands into our musical life.

Children have their own hour on many stations—with stories, music, plays, talks and special programs of all kinds. Thousands in Peking leave their play at six o'clock in the evening to crowd round the radio and listen to the voice of the famous story teller Lien Kuo-ju reciting dramatic, vivid instalments from our ancient classic *Shui Hu* (All Men Are Brothers) or other dearly-loved stories. When some of Hans Andersen's tales were given in the children's "Bookshop Window" program earlier this year, requests for repetition came in by every mail.

Broadcasts from the National Children's Music Contest from Peking in March and a series of violin lessons in April have started hundreds of children on the road to becoming musicians. "Radio Magazine," another children's program, combines education and entertainment in a highly popular way.

Many teachers like to use the radio for their classes. A middle school in Shansi province reported that as a result of group listening, the whole school was getting better marks in the examinations on current events.

Readers abroad, of course, know Radio Peking as the widely-quoted authoritative voice of our government and people. Foreign-language broadcasts were inaugurated in 1950, and are now given in English, Japanese, Korean, Viet-namese, Indonesian, Burmese and Thai—with others to be added in the near future. They now occupy nearly 12 hours a day. Letters from listeners in no less than 36 countries have been received in response to the English-language broadcasts alone. Many of these are answered in the "Listeners'

Letterbox" programs that are broadcast every Sunday.

More and more people abroad are acquiring the habit of listening to the short wave radio reports of what is happening in this country. These help them to realize that the 600 million people of China, whose immense weight has been wholeheartedly thrown on the side of peace, have helped tip the scales in favor of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among all nations.

On the domestic programs of Radio Peking, too, the entire country has heard the voices and sentiments of many distinguished guests from abroad. These have included, during the past few months alone, Prime Ministers Nehru of India, Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia and U Nu of Burma, Morgan Phillips, General Secretary of the British Labor Party, and numerous others. Performances by the many foreign music, theater and ballet groups, and individual artists who are constantly coming to Peking, are always recorded and re-broadcast to the whole nation—doing their share to promote international understanding and appreciation of the culture of other countries.

Such is the picture of Chinese broadcasting and its vast body of listeners, only six years after the liberation. Both the work and the audiences are increasing. Power will be stepped up further and 11,500 additional "relay posts" are to be set up before 1955 ends. At this moment, foundations are being laid for a giant new Broadcasting House in Peking to serve as the center for both domestic and foreign services, and plans are being laid for the first television station in all China.

# Motels in the Caucasus

by RALPH PARKER

ONE FEBRUARY EVENING there was flashed on the T-V screen, between a new Polish film and a conducted tour of the Red October Chocolate Factory, an announcement that a new chain of hotels had been opened in the Caucasus. Then there were views along the Novorossisk-Batumi coastal highway and the southern stretch of the road where the motorist has to take his place in lines of lorries loaded with tobacco or tea, of carts bringing grapes, peaches or tangerines to market.

There followed a few words about the terms and the services available to private motorists for whom these new hotels are intended. They are known as *pensionati* but the word, like most foreign words imported into Russia, is misleading: you pay separately for your room or bungalow and for your restaurant meals. Motels would be an apter description.

The new Caucasian motels were opened experimentally last summer, and I suppose I am the first foreigner

to have paid them a visit. I read of them on a notice board when taking my car by the Yalta-Sochi ferry across the Black Sea, and made a mental note to look out for them while driving. As it turned out, they came in very handy.

They are specifically meant for people touring in their own cars. Their appearance on the roads is a post-war phenomenon. It began with the building of a Moscow-Simferopol highway—800 miles of perfect road surface—and of a network of good roads linking to Caucasian spas. The big road-building program under the current Five-Year Plan has made it safe and easy to drive from Moscow to various parts of the country.

These roads differ from ordinary roads: they are state highways, and this places special obligations on those who maintain and use them. Every few score miles there are road masters' lodges where maintenance equipment is kept. The highways have their own first aid stations, and quite a large number of workers are kept in full employment sign painting, ditching, and so on. Sign-posting is thorough and informative: no driver has any excuse for finding himself stranded without gasoline or far from a hotel at nightfall or for passing a turning that

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

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leads to the home of Leo Tolstoy, the birthplace of Yessenin or the Turgenyev museum. Gasoline is cheap and plentiful.

From the beginning of April until mid-November the motor highways are dominated by private car owners. Driving their *Pobyedas* or *Moskviches*, they usually travel in parties, the outcome of many an evening's planning in the Moscow Auto Club. They are provided with maps that report the latest information on the condition of secondary roads or those parts of the new highways still under construction, and that give useful facts about amenities in the more remote regions. Many motorists sleep in their cars—the *Pobyeda's* front seats let down to form a bed—or pitch tents, and the Auto Club's maps give recommended camping sites.

The Soviet owner-driver is not expected to have quite as thorough a knowledge of car maintenance as the professional driver. But before he receives his driver's license he must have taken a course of instruction in the theory of the internal combustion engine and shown himself capable of carrying out those running repairs that most motorists in other lands pay a mechanic to do for them. Furthermore, serious errors in driving, not necessarily involving an accident, can lead through a series of down-grading steps to a loss of license—after which the motorist has to wait for six months before taking the tests again.

My own experience on the roads of the Soviet Union makes me think that while there are, as everywhere, bad, reckless drivers, the standard of driving is far higher than elsewhere, while the motorist's technical knowledge is in an altogether different class than abroad.

Defects due to careless maintenance, if they do not reveal themselves on the daily runs of several hundred miles across the steppe with which most tours begin, are likely to be detected by the local inspectors whose endorsement is required in the car's technical passport before it can be used on the dangerous mountain roads of the Crimea or the Caucasus. After a month's driving on these roads, I have no doubt that this system of brake and steering control is a useful safeguard against accident. Though much widening has been done during the past two or three years, the Crimean roads are such that a mechanical failure can have fatal results.

So it is with their cars in good condition that the well-trained Moscow motorists set out on the 3,000-4,000 mile tours so many make during their summer holidays. You will find among them workers and engineers, army officers, business executives, actors; occasionally a party of students using a borrowed family car, though, on the whole, the tourists show a higher proportion of middle-aged than one finds engaged in any other leisure activity in the Soviet Union. But wide as is the variety of age and social origin, the touring fraternity is linked by a *camaraderie* of the road which is itself an indication of the adventurous mood in which people set out.

There are of course degrees of adventurousness: an overnight stop at the roadside hotel at Mtsensk, lunch the next day in Kharkov, followed by a fast afternoon run to Zaporozhye and an easy third day across south Ukraine—a picnic lunch on a Scythian barrow or beside the salt lakes of the Perekop Isthmus—and then through the pass to catch the first glimpse of the Black Sea

as the sun sets and enter Yalta when the noble amphitheater of mountains is glittering with lights and their crest is only a smudge on the sky.

A drive so easy that one has ample time to recall what the names of the towns one drives through meant to the world a dozen years ago: Tula, Orel, Kursk, Byelgorod, Kharkov, Zaporozhye. . . . Time, too, to stop beside the simple dignified war memorial on the chalk hills above Byelgorod and study the battlefield from this point where the tanks launched their attack in the operation which, as Marshall Zhukov pointed out recently, left no further doubt about the outcome of the war.

And time to absorb a scene which seems to wear a gloss of novelty. Is it because almost every house, bridge, embankment, every foot of road in sight has been built or repaired since war swept over this land? Or because of the amplitude of the ever-changing sky over the steppe? Or because the absence of hedges and woods means that the whole of the land that stretches around changes its vegetation, renews its cover, every year?

Those who leave the Simferopol Highway at Kharkov and take the branch that runs through the Donets Basin to Rostov have less time for reflection: there are more built-up areas, more lorries on the road. But they are rewarded by the drive across the Kuban steppe and by the pleasure of choosing between a road that winds through the mountainous, sparsely-populated land of the Circassians (the Adigei) and another than runs on to Ordzhonikidze in North Ossetia and thence over the 7,000-foot high Krestov pass into Georgia.

After long days of driving, the two or three hundred miles of coast

road seem child's play. The new motels are excellent centers for short runs and are well placed for those who prefer to put their cars away for a time and take a walking or sailing holiday.

There are two salient features of a motoring holiday in these parts: its democratic nature and the feeling one has of running between the very ancient and the brand new. Except for a few *Moskviches* practically all the cars are *Pobyedas*; human relations are not complicated by those subtle distinctions that divide car owners in countries where there is a car to match every middle-class income.

There are differences in age, in upkeep and performance, but, after all, a *Pobyeda* remains a *Pobyeda* and provides the social observer with more information about its owner's character than his income.

On that fertile coast between Sochi and Batumi old and new jostle each other. Mankind was quick to realize what a gift the Black Sea had given it when its level dropped a few dozen feet and caused the coastal marshes to drain. From neolithic settlements in the mountain valleys the aboriginal Caucasians descended to the new coastal belt. Pioneers of the Iron Age—to this day old Caucasian blacksmith strike a blow each Thursday “to loosen the fetters of Amirani (Prometheus) whom the bronze-workers punished for discovering the secret of forging iron”—the ancestors of the Georgians made of Colchis a land famed throughout the Ancient World for its wool, its grain, its fruit and honey.

Yet war, earthquake, flood and misrule combined to leave few monuments and today a land whose place-names are laden with associations



of the past presents an appearance of newness. This is the result of the extraordinary amount of rural building, itself a consequence of the shift of mountain dwellers to the coast in the post-war years, and of carrying out of the plans for developing the health resorts.

The ninth century church at Gagri now lies within the walls of a trade union rest home; new hot-houses stretch to the edge of the celebrated Pitsunda pine grove; and the traveller who has armed himself with a Herodotus as well as the latest Soviet guide books to the region will not be surprised to find the name Kolkhida in the list of leading collective farms.

Long-distance motoring is, of course, only one of the developments resulting from the considerable output in private cars in the Soviet Union. The car has, as elsewhere, led to an extension of the residential areas of the cities: in the Moscow area, for instance, to the development of an attractive country area some forty miles west of the city;

in Leningrad, to that of the Karelian isthmus. At present the private motorist enjoys the advantage of highways capable of carrying a far larger volume of traffic than before. One can drive from the center of Moscow into the country with no more delay on the road than a minute or two at the street crossings. Another advantage of wide streets and a comparatively small volume of traffic is that parking is virtually unrestricted.

To convey an idea of the attitude of the authorities to cars, let me end these notes with a story of what happened to me one winter's day when I parked a very dirty car in a side street near the new State Department Store on Red Square. When I returned to it I found a militiaman standing beside it. The militiaman saluted and said: "Why do you look so bad?" "Bad?" I echoed innocently, "I feel splendid, thank you." "Not you," the militia-man replied testily. "I mean your car. It's filthy. Why not give it a washing? Tomorrow's New Year's Day."

### SCORE OF AMERICAN-SOVIET CHESS MATCH

| U S A           |    |    |    |      | U S S R         |    |    |    |      |
|-----------------|----|----|----|------|-----------------|----|----|----|------|
|                 | W. | L. | D. | Pts. |                 | W. | L. | D. | Pts. |
| Reshevsky ..... | 1  | 0  | 3  | 2½   | Botvinnik ..... | 0  | 1  | 3  | 1½   |
| Bisguier .....  | 0  | 4  | 0  | 0    | Smyslov .....   | 4  | 0  | 0  | 4    |
| Evans .....     | 0  | 1  | 3  | 1½   | Bronstein ..... | 1  | 0  | 3  | 2½   |
| D. Byrne .....  | 1  | 3  | 0  | 1    | Geller .....    | 3  | 1  | 0  | 3    |
| R. Byrne .....  | 0  | 3  | 1  | ½    | Keres .....     | 3  | 0  | 1  | 3½   |
| Horowitz .....  | 0  | 2  | 0  | 0    |                 |    |    |    |      |
|                 |    |    |    | )    | Petrosian ..... | 4  | 0  | 0  | 4    |
| Pavey .....     | 0  | 2  | 0  | 0    |                 |    |    |    |      |
| Kashdan .....   | 0  | 1  | 3  | 1½   | Taimanov .....  | 1  | 0  | 3  | 2½   |
| Steiner .....   | 0  | 2  | 0  | 0    |                 |    |    |    |      |
|                 |    |    |    | )    | Kotov .....     | 4  | 0  | 0  | 4    |
| Kevitz .....    | 0  | 2  | 0  | 0    |                 |    |    |    |      |
|                 |    |    |    | )    |                 |    |    |    |      |
| Total .....     | 2  | 20 | 10 | 7    | Total .....     | 20 | 2  | 10 | 25   |

# The Facts Behind the Figures

## Of the UN Economic Reports

by VICTOR PERLO

**T**HIS YEAR'S UN economic surveys of Europe and Asia\* present extensive facts about economic developments in the USSR, the European People's Democracies, and People's China. The reader could understandably be confused, not so much by the statistics as by the tortuous discussion of them. The authors employ a technique of qualification and counter-qualification, of equal valuing of both sides of every question—which leaves the reader with as much feeling of definite direction as a rider on a merry-go-round.

Of course, there are qualifications. Of course, there are negative as well as positive developments. But if the reader concentrates on the facts presented he will be able to discern the broad sweep of economic developments in the areas of socialist construction.

We see a continuous forward surge of industrial progress, breathing in its pace to dwellers in lands of up and down and alternate overtime and layoff.

We see a pronounced rise in living

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VICTOR PERLO, a leading economist, is a frequent contributor to our magazine. His most recent book is "American Imperialism."

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standards, contradicting the almost daily stories of "Iron Curtain" distress in the U. S. press and radio.

We see the proof that in a socialist society every relaxation of world tensions, every reduction in the burden of armaments, permits a giant thrust forward in industry and living standards.

We see the beginning waves of that flood of East-West trade which all the Canutes of Washington could not prevent, and which offers millions the prospect of peaceful employment in place of filling war orders.

Now for just a few of these facts.

### I. Economic Growth

In the USSR the output of basic industrial products has increased from 2 to 4 times over 1940, and by 50 to 100 per cent as compared with 1950. During 1954 over 700 power plants were under construction or being expanded, to add 74 per cent to existing capacity, with progress reported on several sizable atomic power plants. Despite a serious drought, progress was made in 1954 toward the main goals of agrarian policy. Livestock increased

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\* United Nations: Economic Survey of Europe in 1954, Geneva 1955; Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1954, Bangkok, 1955.

in all the main categories. Deliveries to the state of meat, milk, grain, cotton, potatoes and vegetables all increased, in some cases by a wide margin. The total sown area of the USSR has risen 50 per cent since 1913; and the past peacetime rate of growth is being tripled by the campaign for developing an additional 70 million acres in a region comparable in size to all Western Europe.

On the development of industrial technique and labor-saving methods, which in the last analysis "decides everything," it is worthwhile to quote from the UN report:

Existing steel capacity has been improved by the complete automatization of furnace-charging in the Ukraine, and the reported country-wide use of capacity as measured by the output of steel per square meter of open-hearth furnace was equal to the most efficient practice anywhere else in the world.

Development of industry in the European People's Democracies has not been so rapid as in the USSR because most of these countries were liberated from the Nazis later, and have less experience in socialist planning. But, by 1953 production of iron ore, steel and electric power was already double pre-war, and coal, cement and sulphuric acid 50 per cent more than pre-war.

"Paradoxical though it may seem in the light of such rates of increase," reads the UN report, "these basic products were nevertheless all bottleneck items, so great were the demands for them entailed in the increase of capacity in the engineering and chemical industries."

New China shows the most dramatic progress. Modern industrial

production in China rose by an average of 36.9 per cent *per year* in the rehabilitation period 1949-52, by an above-schedule 33 per cent in the first year of the five-year plan, 1953, and was scheduled to rise by "only" 18 per cent in 1954, because during the period of new construction the rate of industrial development necessarily has to be lower than when reconstruction of existing plants played a prominent part.

Charts in the UN report show China dwarfing all the other countries of Southeast Asia combined (excluding Japan) in the amount of increase in production of iron, steel, and electricity, and running far ahead of Japan also in the rate of growth, though not yet up to Japan in the amount of growth, since Japan's production was many times larger in the first place. Once hopelessly backward China has already emerged as the leading industrial power of continental Asia. And this is but the start. In the words of the hostile former premier of Japan, Yoshida, the 600 million people of China are:

investing heavily to increase its economic potential, investing at a per capita rate at least twice that of all current capital investment in Southeast Asia.

## II. Rising Living Standards

In the Soviet Union "Over the last two years a greatly increased share of the increment in industrial production took the form of consumer goods and goods destined for use in agriculture, light industry and house construction." Housing construction increased 14 per cent per year in 1951-53, 19 per cent in 1954. The gross value of textile and

clothing production in 1954 was 84 per cent above the pre-war level. The gross value of the food processing industries' output in 1953 was 66 per cent above pre-war. Building materials and ceramics have quadrupled. Production of other consumer goods showed increases over 1940 ranging from "only" two-thirds in the case of soap to two and a half times for pianos, 3 times for gramophones, 5 times for samovars, 14 times for radios, and the development in the last few years of mass production of television sets, refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners.

Propagandists hostile to socialist countries specialize in the line that improvement in industry under socialism is "at the expense of" the worker as a consumer. The influence of such propagandists is marked in the UN report's comment concerning the European People's Democracies that "in most countries of the region, consumption improved fairly rapidly after the war, reaching a peak some time during the period from 1950 to 1951, and then deteriorated." Yet this is immediately followed with a table showing a pronounced rise in per capita food consumption in East Germany between 1950 and 1953, and "considerable improvement over pre-war standards."

It is also shown that Czechoslovakia, from 1950-1953, realized decided improvements in per capita consumption of eggs and lard, smaller increases in wheat flour and sugar, and some decline only in meat, which remained, however, almost half again higher than in 1948. In comparison with prewar, production of textiles and shoes has risen enormously in the People's Democracies, and rapidly since 1950 also. In Hungary, for example, production of

leather footwear increased three times from 1938 to 1954, and 70 per cent from 1950 to 1954. In Poland the corresponding increases—up to 1953—were ten times and 60 per cent.

The UN technicians deserve credit for a table entitled "Standards of Health and Education in Eastern Europe," showing the scarcely believable progress in everything from doctors and hospitals to university students and numbers enjoying holiday facilities.

The report on Asia says little about living standards in China. However, one table presents the facts about the most important consumer goods industry, cotton textiles. By 1954 production of cotton yarn was 92 per cent above, and cotton cloth 109 per cent above the 1949 peaks. The significance of the greatest land reform in history for the living standards of half a billion peasants is passed by with the remark that the reform "has distributed the cultivated land more evenly"!

### **III. Benefits of Peace**

The report writes of the USSR, that in addition to the gains from the rise in industrial output

resources available for civilian purposes were increased still more through the cut in defense expenditure called for in the 1954 budget. In these conditions it was possible to allocate more to consumption while continuing to increase investments at the now customary rapid rate; and within the investment program increased emphasis was laid on agriculture, consumer goods industries and social capital without, however, neglecting the continued development of basic industries.

## And in China:

With the cease-fire in Korea, the tempo of economic development has been stepped up in 1954. The year's total budget provision for economic development was increased by 32 per cent.

In this connection, note might well be taken of a shift in the official propaganda position in our own country. The former line was that a militarized America was needed to match the supposedly inflated armaments of the USSR and China. Now events—and in particular the Soviet disarmament proposals—have made this argument ineffective. It is used, but less frequently. A new argument has risen—that so long as we can maintain the arms race, the socialist countries will be forced to match us, and will be unable to raise living standards, will, in fact, go into economic crisis.

One suspects that those who use this argument greatly overestimate the extent to which their own cynicism and corruption have penetrated the general public. People are not likely to accede to enormous tax burdens indefinitely for the purpose of trying to keep other people poor—especially when experience shows it is apt to boomerang on those who try it.

## IV. East-West Trade

The report on Europe shows that exports from Western to Eastern Europe increased more than 30 per cent in the first nine months of 1954 as compared with the same period of 1953. Every one of the fourteen Western countries for which figures are shown shared in the increased

Furthermore, the report shows,

trade of the socialist countries “with overseas, particularly underdeveloped” countries has increased even more rapidly. This features the export of capital goods from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany particularly, for industrial raw materials. Soviet and Czechoslovak trade offers have been accompanied by undertakings to deliver capital goods on credit. So this trade is having the dual effect of helping raise living standards in socialist countries, and helping underdeveloped countries create their own industries, without having to turn over the fruits of these industries to foreign owning corporations.

Here also, the dual benefits of East-West trade are becoming more obvious to everybody. Exports of United States goods to the USSR, China, and the People's Democracies will help these countries raise living standards and speed economic development. At the same time they will help workers here get peaceful jobs, with some prospect of relief from the burden of taxes now collected to finance arms spending. And of course, such trade means profits for the American exporters.

These considerations are having their effect—even if in a slow and discriminatory way. Henry Kaiser—the newly risen owner of a billion-dollar industrial empire—has little influence in Washington. His main armament contracts were cancelled two years ago. General Motors has a very well-known influence in Washington. Kaiser's Willys Motors was punished by the Government for selling 100 jeeps to Turkey, which, it was alleged, were then transported to Rumania. One week later General Motors was granted a license to ship 500 Chevrolets to Bulgaria—the first such transaction in seven years.



## **World Scientists Appeal for End Of War and Nuclear Weapons Ban**

**O**N July 9, the eve of the Geneva Conference, an appeal for the abolition of war and renunciation of nuclear weapons, was issued by eight world renowned scientists. The appeal was prepared by the late Albert Einstein and British philosopher Bertrand Russell. It is of special importance to Americans to know that Einstein joined in this appeal just before his death, as his last ringing message to us. Seven of the eight signers are Nobel Prize winners. Beside Einstein, they included Prof. Percy W. Bridgman, physicist, of Harvard; Prof. Herman J. Muller, geneticist of Indiana University; Prof. Leopold Infeld, of Warsaw University, and Professor Joliot-Curie of France. Prof. Linus Pauling of California, Nobel prize-winning physicist, has since signed the appeal. Others signers were Prof. Cecil F. Powell, Prof. Joseph Rotblat and Prof. Hideki Yukawa.

The appeal declares its attention to appeal to no one group, but to arouse a general understanding of the need for steps to be taken to prevent a military contest in which the issue must be disastrous to all parties.

It calls attention to the fact that in an H-bomb war the obliteration of great cities is only one of the minor disasters to be faced, since it is now known that nuclear bombs can spread destruction over much wider areas than had been supposed, and a bomb can now be made 2,500 times as powerful as that which destroyed Hiroshima. It continues:

No one knows how widely . . . lethal radioactive particles might be diffused, but the best authorities are unanimous in saying that a war with H-bombs might quite possibly put an end to the human race. It is feared that if many H-bombs are used there will be universal death—suddenly only for a minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration.

Declaring that experts do not yet know all the possible consequences, the scientists note "that the men who know most are the most gloomy."

They put the question starkly: "Shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war?"

They place the abolition of war itself as the main problem, since agreements reached in time of peace would not be considered binding in time of war. At the same time, they declare that an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments would serve certain important purposes in lessening tensions and fears of sudden attack.

The scientists declare that no issues between East and West can be decided by war in a manner to give satisfaction to anybody. They continue:

There lies before us, if we choose, continued progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings to human beings, remember humanity and forget the

rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.

The appeal proposes the calling of a world Congress of Scientists which would call on the scientists of the world and the general republic to subscribe to the following resolution:

In view of the fact that in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed, and that such weapons threaten the continued existence of mankind, we urge the governments of the world to realize, and to acknowledge publicly, that their purposes cannot be furthered by a world war, and we urge them, consequently, to find peaceful means for the settlement of all matters of dispute between them.

Following this appeal, on July 15 another group of scientists, eighteen

Nobel Prize winners for chemistry in an annual meeting in Mainau, Germany, issued a declaration urging all countries to renounce force as an instrument of national policy under pain of destroying themselves in a nuclear war. The scientists came from the United States, Britain, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and Japan. U. S. signers included Dr. Arthur H. Compton of St. Louis, Dr. Fritz Lipmann of Boston, Dr. H. J. Mueller of Indiana and Dr. W. M. Stanley of Berkeley, California.

The appeal to renounce force as an instrument of policy was based on the declaration that "The full employment of weapons today can infect the earth with radioactivity to such an extent that whole peoples can be annihilated. Neutrals can encounter death as well as the warring parties."

## American Tragedy of Our Time

A Review by ALVAH BESSIE

THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG, by John Wexley. Cameron and Kahn, New York, 1955. 672 pp. \$6.00.

TWO MAJOR BOOKS on the "atomic spy" mania which has gripped our nation for the past several years have recently been published. The first was William Reuben's *The Atom Spy Hoax*, which examined every alleged case of atomic espionage, on both sides of the Atlantic.

The second, which is devoted entirely to the most important political case of our time, is John Wexley's *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*.

It is almost impossible to evaluate the tremendous job which Wexley has done in this heavy volume. For it in-

volved three solid years of patient research into the record, as well as considerable traveling here and in Mexico to run down information.

It is safe to say, however, that this is the definitive book on the Rosenberg-Sobell case, and the book makes an unequivocal statement: that it was a frame-up and a fraud from start to finish.

Mr. Wexley indicts not only the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice, but also the prosecutor, Irving Saypol and the Judge, Irving Kaufman.

This is a serious charge and the 672 pages of this book provide detailed documentation of the allegation.

Central to the proving of his case—which cannot be proved with any finality until some time has passed—is Mr.

Wexley's very first chapter, "The Anatomy of Frame-Up."

There is no literal or politically conscious person who does not know that frame-ups have occurred, in which innocent men and women have been sent to prison for years, and even to their death. The list is long and shameless: Joe Hill, the Haymarket Case, Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys, the Martinsville Seven, Mrs. Ingram.

It is admitted now that most of these cases were frame-ups, and in the cases of Joe Hill, Mooney and Billings the Haymarket martyrs, and Sacco and Vanzetti (as well as Captain Dreyfus of France), we have learned exactly how the frame-up was accomplished, and why.

The problem, as Wexley states it, is that in most instances it is almost impossible to expose the frame-up while it is taking place; and he adduces the reasons for the difficulty.

For one, he says, the average decent person cannot bring himself to believe that those in power and authority in his own country would lend themselves to such ends.

For another, the actual facts of the case—the background material—never come to light till years after the frame-up has been accomplished, or exposed.

For every individual whose training or experience leads him to "smell a rat" while the given case is in progress, there are thousands, if not millions, who are willing to assume that "where there's smoke, there's fire" and that the forces of law and order are actually what they are described—and intended—to be.

"Falsehood flies," wrote Jonathan Swift, "and truth comes limping after it, so that when men come to be undeceived it is too late; the jest is over, and the tale has had its effect."

Yet, even before the Rosenbergs were done to death on June 19, 1953, and Morton Sobell was sent to Alcatraz for life, millions throughout the world had smelled "a rat" and raised their voices in protest.

For these millions had learned enough during the rise of Nazism in Germany and the experience of World War II to grasp—if only dimly—what were the "necessities" of the Cold War and how those who fomented it were working to perpetuate it and even heat it up.

It is no accident, therefore, Wexley points out, that the "atom spy" mania followed World War II; and more specifically, followed Churchill's Fulton, Missouri, speech and Truman's proclamation of the Cold War in 1947, and even more specifically, came to trial during the hysteria around Korea.

To trace the links in the chain, Wexley goes back to the alleged "confession" of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, who worked both in Great Britain and at Los Alamos in New Mexico.

The author introduces evidence that Fuchs was sent to Britain by the Nazis as a "refugee"; and, shortly after he was there, he was denounced to the British government as a German "Communist."

This denunciation, interestingly enough, came from none other than the Gestapo, and was therefore greeted with considerable suspicion by the British authorities who, when World War II broke out, interned Fuchs in a camp in Canada—which held only Nazis, German nationals and people known to be loyal to the Axis.

The chain of "evidence" that led to the death of the Rosenbergs and the imprisonment of Morton Sobell, Wexley shows, came from Fuchs, through Harry Gold and the Greenglasses.

Most of the "links" in this chain were never exposed to public view, either in the depositions these people gave to the FBI and the Justice Department, or even at the trials themselves.

Most people do not know, Wexley shows, that Gold was a psychopathic liar who was thoroughly exposed and even confessed to inventing a complete life-story for himself, in an earlier case—the Brothman trial which was, in effect, a "dry-run" for the Rosenberg case to follow.

Many people do know that Greenglass was questioned by the FBI for the alleged theft of uranium from Los Alamos, but few people know that his attorney, O. John Rogge, apparently engaged in lengthy bargaining with government authorities before the case came to trial.

As a result of this bargaining, says Wexley, Ruth Greenglass never was indicted and Greenglass was promised a light sentence. He got 15 years and prosecutor Saypol told the press that he would be eligible for parole in 5 years.

Few people know that Gold and Greenglass were in constant contact with each other, and with the authorities preparing the trial (including Roy Cohn) for all of 9 months before the case came to court!

It was during this period, Wexley shows, that the story involving the Rosenbergs and Sobell was concocted and the details of the "evidence" against them developed.

Of major importance in this book is Wexley's elaboration of the political motivation of the trial itself, and the roles played by various people involved in it. And this is probably the most important contribution the book makes, over and above the detailed analysis of every "fact" that came to light in the record, whether it cast a favorable light on the Rosenbergs and Sobell, or whether it damaged their case.

How important this book is going to prove has already been demonstrated—the very week that it was published!

A defendant in the Middle West was on trial and his attorney obtained an advanced copy of Wexley's book. The only witness against the defendant was Harry Gold, brought from prison to "prove" the case against him.

The defense attorney utilized Wexley's book to place before the jury the entire story of Gold, as it was exposed at the Brothman trial. The jury acquitted the defendant—and effectively destroyed Harry Gold as an "expert" on "atomic espionage" for all time.

It is safe to predict that John Wex-

ley's stunning achievement in this book will have even wider repercussions in the fight to free Morton Sobell from Alcatraz, and to vindicate the heart-breaking struggle the Rosenbergs made to prove their innocence.

The truth of the Rosenberg case may "come limping after," but there will be nobody who will say that "the jest is over." For it was no jest. It was the American Tragedy of our time.

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