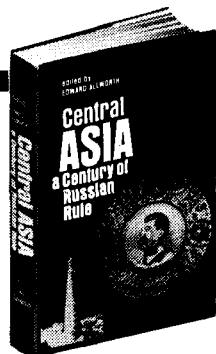


**Submerged peoples,  
Emerged peoples.**

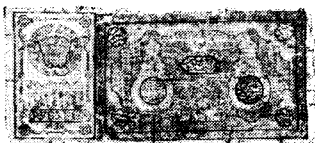


## CENTRAL ASIA

**A Century of Russian Rule**  
Edward Allworth,  
Editor and Contributor

With the capture of Tashkent in 1865, Russian domination of the vast mysterious area called "Central Asia" began. This book tells the story of the land and its peoples, and why and how during the last hundred years, Russian-style civilization was superimposed on the traditional culture—in language, religion, politics, economics, education, literature, music, architecture, and art. Contributors: Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, Ian Murray Matley, Karl H. Menges, Johanna Spec-  
tor, Arthur Sprague.

"The collected essays go a long way towards separating fables from fact... Allworth's volume is indispensable."—*Library Journal*.  
\$12.95



## THE EMERGENCE OF PAKISTAN

Chaudri Muhammad Ali

The ex-Prime-Minister of Pakistan writes of the tremendous upheaval that attended the establishment of the new sovereign states of India and Pakistan, and the momentous events in which he participated. He traces the origins of the conflict between Hindus and Muslims which proved insoluble by constitutional means and which even partition did not dissolve. Despite appalling bloodshed, Pakistan survived, and Muhammad Ali feels that the way in which it survived provides a lesson for other emerging nations. \$11.00



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# WHO—

# WHAT—

# WHY—

**M**AX ASCOLI draws a lesson from the second battle of Israel that, it is to be hoped, should be the last one of the war in the Middle East.

**T**wo of our staff writers with long experience in the Middle East went to Israel as war flared. **George Bailey's** vivid dispatch describes what he saw in visits to all three battlefronts; **Claire Sterling** deals with the mood and political pressures in Tel Aviv. . . . **Walter Laqueur**, director of the Institute of Contemporary History in London, pieces together evidence to show that the crucial Soviet role in the crisis was prepared well in advance. He concludes that although the Russians have received some setbacks, they have also made gains toward their long-term goals in the region. . . . And from Paris, **Edmond Taylor** discusses the implications of the Moscow-directed campaign in behalf of the Arabs and against Israel and the United States. It has divided left-wing and fellow-traveling groups but has also imposed a new hard-line phase of political warfare on Communist Parties that goes far to expose the illusion of détente.

**F**OR some years the idea prevailed in the administration that a balance of power had been reached in nuclear weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union, and that the arms race should be slowed to preserve the balance. Today, Russia's avowed intention to expand its system of anti-intercontinental ballistic missiles has spurred leading scientists and military men to warn that we are already at a disadvantage in the field and must without delay make the difficult and costly effort to build an AICBM system of our own. The question divides the defense community and, according to **Hanson W. Baldwin**, the Pulitzer Prize winning military editor of the *New York Times*, the decision must be made soon, for time is running against us. . . . Two new names have gone onto the ever-changing map of Black Africa—Botswana and Lesotho, both former British protectorates in the orbit of South Africa. A third neighbor, Swaziland, is on the way to independence. Because their relatively traditionalist

governments have begun to collaborate on development with the land of apartheid, they now are a focal point of contention between the radical and moderate African political forces. **No Mostert**, a South-African-born freelance journalist who has written widely for magazines in North America and England, recently toured the new nations. . . . **Denis Warner's** latest report from Vietnam sounds a warning of the build-up of North Vietnamese regular divisions facing allied troops south of the demilitarized zone probably signals the beginning of a bitter intensification of the conflict.

**F**ROM time to time we have pause to consider from varying points of view the romance of transportation, and what is popularly known as the impact of the automobile on our civilization. The present retrospective consideration is by **Margaret Creal**, for whom as a child, all roads led not to Rome but to her own small town of Grenfell Saskatchewan. Mrs. Creal now lives in the United States and is the wife of a Episcopalian minister and educator. . . . **Adele Zeidman Silver**, a free-lance writer, demonstrates the value of not being entirely up-to-date—at least as far as the museum business is concerned. . . . **Stephen Sandy** is an instructor at Harvard, and is the author of the recently published collector *Stresses in the Peaceable Kingdom* (Houghton Mifflin). It is available in both hard cover and paperback. . . . **Gene Baro**, critic, poet, and lecturer is the editor of *After Appomattox: The Image of the South in its Fiction* (Corgi). . . . **Werner L. Gundersheim** teaches at the University of Pennsylvania, and is working on a book about the Italian Renaissance in Ferrara. He has edited for Harper & Row a forthcoming volume, *French Humanism 1470-1600*, and has edited for Prentice Hall *The Italian Renaissance* (paperback). . . . **Norman Jackson** has just returned to his native England from a Fulbright year spent at the State University of Iowa. . . . **Jay Jacobs** often contributes to *The Reporter* in a double capacity, as writer and as artist.

Our cover for this issue is by **Bil Berry**.

And we were glad to share them—with hundreds of people from over 40 nations who visited us last year to learn about the telephone business.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## LEGISLATORS AND HELLER

**To the Editor:** Martin Nolan, in "Walter Heller's Federalist Papers" (*The Reporter*, June 1) rightly praises Heller's plan for sharing Federal revenues with states and localities. But Nolan also notes correctly that the plan offers no incentive to states to modernize either their own governments or those of their localities. Moreover, Heller's plan does nothing directly for our cities.

I therefore introduced on January 10, 1967, a bill that tries both to preserve the fiscal good sense of the Heller Plan and to remedy its defects. H.R. 1166 provides that:

1. At least fifty per cent of the Federal unrestricted or "block" grants would have to be passed on by the states to their local governments.

2. These block grants would supplement the present Federal flow of restricted or "categorical" grants, which may be spent only in specified ways for specified purposes. In this, H.R. 1166 agrees with the Heller Plan but differs from Republican proposals to replace categorical aid with block grants controlled mainly by the states.

3. Each state, in order to qualify for unrestricted grants, would have first to prepare a plan, to be approved by regional governors' conferences and by the prestigious Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, for modernizing not only its own government but also the local governments—the counties, towns, villages, and cities—which are its creatures. This recognizes that state constitutions and statutes are today the main barriers to revitalizing local government.

My plan, in short, is both to give needed dollars to states and to encourage them in their duty of modernizing themselves and their localities. Even though this plan will not cure every ill in our Federal system today, it tackles two major problems and is thus far better than no reform at all.

HENRY S. RUESS  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

**To the Editor:** As a member of the Maryland Legislature, I was particularly interested in "Walter Heller's Federalist Papers."

Maryland presents an unusual local government situation in that in Baltimore County, the largest and most heavily populated county, there is not one single incorporated town, while in other counties there are numerous incorporated cities. Perhaps the Maryland Legislature, with members representing all types of state subdivisions from the City of Baltimore, a separate corporate entity accorded a "county" definition in many of our local laws,

to small counties with incorporated towns, can act as a pioneer in bringing about some acceptable form of the Heller proposals.

MELVIN A. STEINBERG  
State Senate  
Annapolis, Maryland

## THE BURCHETT FILE

**To the Editor:** Denis Warner's article "Who is Wilfred Burchett?" (*The Reporter*, June 1) is of considerable interest to us because we have carried many of Burchett's articles. I intend to call this to the AP's attention promptly.

NORMAN E. ISAACS  
Executive Editor  
The Courier-Journal  
and the Times  
Louisville, Kentucky

**To the Editor:** My sincere thanks to *The Reporter* and Denis Warner for setting the public record straight and giving Wilfred Burchett the Communist label he deserves. As a former civilian journalist I have been deeply concerned that other publications have chosen to treat Burchett as any other objective reporter. A recent protest of mine to the editors of *Newsweek* fell on deaf ears. I hope they, the Associated Press, and the New York Times read Warner's article.

CAPTAIN LARRY R. LUBENOW  
U.S. Army  
Indianapolis, Indiana

**To the Editor:** In Denis Warner's article, "Who is Wilfred Burchett?" it is stated that "He [Burchett] also began an association with the Moscow publication *New Times*, which is now defunct." I have seen *New Times*, No. 20, of May 17, 1967. It appeared to be very much alive.

HOMER SMITH  
Chicago

## CZECH REALITY

**To the Editor:** "The Ricketty Czech 'New Model'" by Claire Sterling in *The Reporter* for June 1 describes aptly the economic mess created by the Communistic planners. May I quote for completion of the Kafka-like scenery an outstanding Moscow-trained Czech economist, Rudolf Selucky, presently in the doghouse of the Stalinist President Novotny. Professor Selucky wrote in the March issue of the mildly rebellious writers' monthly, *Plamen*:

"The growth of nominal wages in Czechoslovakia is perhaps the slowest of all industrially advanced countries. . . . The (inevitable) downward movement of retail prices was considered to be a socialist economic law; it was based on the assumption that prices will be lower and lower till one day we'll find ourselves in a Communist society, where no money will be necessary. . . . Life, however, proved to be more complex than this attractive,

though scarcely realistic theory. . . . [General price decreases] presuppose that we all worked well and that all of us will now benefit by them. . . . The reality convinced us soon, however, that not all of us worked equally well."

A second fundamental cause of the slow growth of wages was supposedly the unusually high growth of industrial employment. As the level of wages was decided administratively (by governmental action), the artificially created ceiling for wages "undermined, at a certain level, interest of people for a more effective work." This situation, one of the major headaches of all People's Democracies, in a highly industrialized country represents a major problem.

DR. J. A. BOUCEK  
Carleton University  
Northfield, Minnesota

## JUSTICE AND THE POOR

**To the Editor:** Wade Greene's "Helping The Poor Find Justice" (*The Reporter*, May 18) focuses on a great new legal frontier. We face the issue of how much national wealth should be invested in purchasing justice for the poor. Too many Americans because of lack of funds, information, and a shortage of skilled and interested lawyers must accept injustice where the well-to-do know how and can afford to assert rights through legal processes.

New institutions such as federally funded offices providing legal service for the poor, our national office for the rights of the indigent, group legal practice funded by labor unions and other private sources, legal-aid societies, and combinations that have not yet been tried will have to fill the need. As with expanding medical care, government funding will be needed. Since, however, so much legal representation will have to assert rights *against* government, special care must be taken to insulate new efforts from improper pressures.

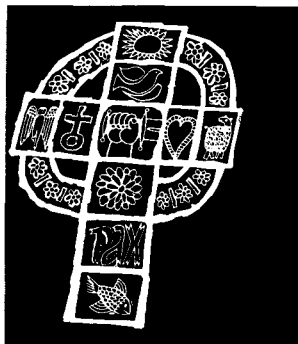
JACK GREENBERG  
Director-Counsel  
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.  
New York

## SHIPBOARD READER

**To the Editor:** Thank you for having rounded out my political status! About a year ago I made the decision to subscribe to *The Reporter* after having read several objective and meaningful articles therein on Vietnam while assigned to the faculty of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Shortly after receiving my first copy, I was upbraided by a friend for reading that "left-wing liberal organ!" Recently, another friend described *The Reporter* as a "right-wing reactionary rag." I guess that puts me right where I want to be, in the middle.

JOSEPH A. FELT  
Lieutenant Commander  
U.S. Navy





COMFORT AND TO CHALLENGE



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A significant study describes in detail the development of new towns in America. The authors emphasize California, but include a detailed discussion of Reston and Suburbia, two new communities near Arlington, D.C. This book will reward attention of public officials and scholars of urban development, planning, and economics. **\$5.50**

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*Madness in the Lives of the  
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JOHN B. EDGERTON

A study of former patients who return to society is marked by the stigma of mental illness, a problem more critical for them than their lack of competence. Mr. Edgerton allows the mentally retarded to speak for themselves, and offers conclusions based on new and different perspectives. **\$5.75**

### A Harvest of Russian Children's Literature

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*Foreword by RUTH HILL VIGUERS.*

By far the most unusual children's book of the year. Authors represented in this *first anthology in English* of Russian literature for children include Chekhov, Chukovsky, Gorky, Alexy and Leo Tolstoy, and Turgenev. The many selections—verse, stories, folktales, fables, poems, and excerpts from longer works—are arranged by age group (5 to 15 years) and reading interest. Here is a substantial sampling of what the Soviet child reads today!

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—*Sidney Hook*

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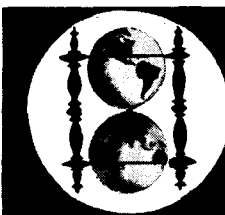
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Robert R. Hecht



## THE REPORTER'S NOTES

### As We Said Before

Among its many afflictions, the United Nations suffers from inadequate coverage by the press. During its slow season, which is most of the time, the U.N. is subject only to the scrutiny of the extreme Right, while everyone else looks on in bored and uninformed expectation. Nothing better illustrates this routine state of mind than the reaction when a crisis occurs somewhere in the world.

We have just been through another of these awakenings of attention in relation to the war in the Middle East. It was distinctive only in that the Secretary-General and the Indian government provoked some indignation this time for behaving in a fashion entirely consistent with their day-by-day performance in the U.N.

The legislative work of art known as the UAR-India-Yugoslavia substitute, which in fact incorporates the Soviet position, is nothing new at the U.N. These are the resolutions which the Soviets can endorse with a pious expression of support for the "compromise" of the "non-aligned" nations. Such gimmickry, along with other forms of log-rolling, back-scratching, and burial by committee, is highly reminiscent of practices of the U.S. Congress that many critics find so infuriating. But they are rarely noted, much less deplored. U.N. officials may undermine the organization's own small strength and erode its principles and its capacity to act. But by virtue of their identification with the U.N., their actions are thought to be above criticism.

A CASE in point is the still unsettled affair of the financing and organization of the so-called "peace-keeping operations." Simultaneously with the development of the Middle-Eastern crisis in mid-May, the Committee of Thirty-Three, which was

asked in 1965 to work out some acceptable solution to the problem that had deadlocked the General Assembly, was reporting that as of 1967 it had yet to reach a solution and wished the Assembly to redirect it to study the problem some more. A lot of political by-play has gone into this maneuver, which can only be understood against the background of what had gone before.

In 1964, the Russians, along with most of the Communist countries and the French, were upheld by the Assembly in their refusal to pay their debts for the Middle East (UNEF) and/or Congo operation. The position which would have obliged them to do so on pain of losing their Assembly vote had been originated by Dag Hammarskjöld temporarily espoused by U Thant upheld by a vote of the Assembly and affirmed in an opinion of the World Court. Nonetheless, as Soviet hostility grew, the ranks of the debt-collectors thinned, and those who held out were understood to be "wrecking" the U.N. In 1964, the United States finally began to back off too. The problem of the settlement of the old debt and of arrangements for future operations was then dispatched to committee for study and recommendation. Toward the end of summer in 1965, the Assembly reached what it called "three-part consensus": The attempt to penalize the debtors would be dropped, as would be the very notion that they were debtors. The Assembly would proceed with its work in normal fashion. And finally "voluntary" contributions would be made to alleviate the organization's financial troubles.

This last little bit of verbal hocus pocus was a way of letting the Russians and their fellow non-payers off the hook. Without the stigma of the term "arrears" or the compromise of principle inherent in the idea of assessment, they would cheerfully play their part by making a volun-