

NEW WORLD

15¢

Review

SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓
MARCH, 1951



American Delegates Report on Visit to USSR • The Great Debate—War or Peace • How the Chinese Transform Their Economy • What is People's Democracy • Mother's Place in Soviet Society • What the British Think of U. S. Policies

If there were enough like you...

There would be no war, no slaughter, no atom bomb nightmare over humanity, no hate among peoples...

There would be peace among nations, live and let live among neighbors, a future for our youth, instead of sudden death, if enough people felt like you...

But they do!

The vast millions of Americans want peace. All but a few maniacs dread war. Every mother and father, every son and daughter in the land wants to live, to breathe freely, yearns for an end to hostility, for an understanding among nations.

You can bring them that understanding!

You can help them realize that the New World of the Soviet Union, China, the People's Democracies is a friendly world, that America is not threatened, that the peoples of the East are peace-loving.

You can convince them!

By bringing others the New World Review. It will open their eyes. It will shut out the lies. Send us their names.

Each new subscriber makes one more like you for a peaceful world!

But to reach them we need dollars. People and dollars! How many can you send? Act now! Events permit of no delay!

NEW WORLD REVIEW

Suite 707,

114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Here are my dollars \$..... And on a separate sheet are the people. Send 8-month subscriptions at \$1.00 each to those indicated, and for the others, send them a sample copy of New World Review.

Name

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....

NEW WORLD Review

Formerly Soviet Russia Today

C O N T E N T S

March

1951

They Visited the USSR

Pauline Taylor, Mollie
Lucas, Theresa Robinson,
Carl Flodquist, James
Miller, Jacqueline Clack,
Dorothy Bushnell Cole

4

Outstanding Health Services

Dr. John A. Kingsbury

6

A New American Crusade

Abbott Simon

8

Our Sons, poem

Yuri Yakovlev

11

The Great Debate

Frederick V. Field

12

Transforming the Chinese

Economy Victor Perlo

15

What Is People's Democracy?

Peter Furst and

June Cannan

17

Mothers Discuss Their

Problems Amy Schechter

20

I Met These Soviet People

Holland Roberts

22

Peace Is Their Watchword

24

A Whole Country United in

Peaceful Construction

Rev. Robert W. Muir

26

Warsaw—A Month Later

Elizabeth Moos

27

British Reactions to U.S.

Policies D. N. Pritt

28

Linking Today with To-

morrow Ralph Parker

30

Review and Comment

Jessica Smith and

Frederick V. Field

33

Books and Films

38, 39

Your Questions Answered

Theodore Bayer

40

Our Cover shows a young Soviet Mother and her child. This month marks International Women's Day.

JESSICA SMITH
Editor

FREDERICK V. FIELD
Far Eastern Editor

DONALD SCHOOLMAN
Business Manager

Vol. 19, No. 1, March, 1951. Entered as second class matter, March 25, 1932, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Subscription \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 for 8 months (Canadian and foreign, add 50¢. Draw postal money orders or checks payable in New York). Published monthly by the S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 3-3855. PRINTED IN U.S.A. 209

Here we are, under our new title!

SINCE ANNOUNCING OUR PLANS FOR GREATER COVERAGE OF world affairs we have been literally swamped with approving letters. Our daily subscriptions have doubled. It is good to know that our readers share our own excitement in embarking on this new course.

This enthusiastic response shows how great is the hunger for knowledge of the new world of socialism and people's democracy in which a third of the world's people are already living, and for news of the great rising movement for peace sweeping millions of people in all countries into its ranks.

Few sources of information are left open to the American people on these most vital questions of our time. Yet only through understanding what is really going on in the sectors of the world where Socialism exists or is coming into being, can we learn to live at peace with the new form of society that none can deny is here to stay.

We shall do our best to help fill this gap.

This is a bold step we have taken. We have taken it without any advance assurances of new sources of income to enable us to enlarge our staff.

But despite all the "iron-curtain" nonsense, there are plenty of avenues of information still open to those who take the trouble to find them.

We are seeking out every possible person who can provide us with first-hand information, searching out every possible source of facts.

We are happy to announce that Peter Furst and June Cannan, two gifted and experienced young correspondents who have lived in all the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe since the end of the war will be regular contributors. Their first article on what is people's democracy appears in this issue. Articles on each separate country will follow.

Elizabeth Moos, the well-known educator, is making a special study for us of the child care and educational system in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Her next article will deal with Poland's babies and how they are cared for.

Charles Vertanes, Director of the Armenian National Council and Secretary of the Armenian Church Committee, has just returned from a survey of the religious situation in Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany and will write for us of what he found.

Frederick V. Field, our Far Eastern Editor, long time student of Pacific affairs, will furnish regular commentaries on Far Eastern Affairs and help us find experts qualified to cover specific problems of Asia.

Victor Perlo, the well known economist, is making a special study of economic developments in the new China, the results of which he is sharing with our readers, beginning in this issue. Articles on land reform and trade will follow.

Eslanda Robeson will write for us of the colonial liberation movements in the great continent of which she has written in her *African Journey*.

And, of course, we shall continue, as our main and paramount task, to bring our readers the completest possible information about the Soviet Union and American-Soviet relations, the key to all other international problems.

Nineteen Americans have just visited the Soviet Union. We are publishing some of their reports in this issue. There will be more.

Thousands of people from other lands, in delegations and as individuals, are constantly visiting the USSR and making careful studies of various phases of Soviet life. We shall secure as many of their reports as possible. The full report of the 1950 British Workers Delegation, which we are now publishing in pamphlet form, is an example.

We shall publish regularly every month the brilliant articles of Ralph Parker, formerly *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow. His next article is about the familiar, family things everyone wants to know about. He will report about living standards, the progress of the great peacetime construction projects, the giant hydroelectric stations and desert reclamation plans.

Our next issue will have an article by the world famous British lawyer, D. N. Pritt, exposing the "slave labor" lie. He writes about a Soviet corrective labor camp which he inspected, fully and freely, last fall.

Amy Schechter will continue to give us the rich results of her constant study of original Russian source materials, which reveal the problems, the plans and achievements, the underlying philosophy and the cultural values of the Soviet people.

This is only the beginning, a sample of the kind of thing we shall increasingly make available to you, material hard to find elsewhere, and which you will not want to miss.

As Americans, we are deeply concerned with what is going on in our own country, and all the things that are happening here which are so meagerly reported in the press. We shall bring you regular news of the developing peace movement.

There is so much work to do!

Work to change the foreign policy of our country from one of war to one of peace. Work to stop the horrible destruction of the people and the land of Korea, and the senseless dying of Americans. Work to stop the drive toward war with People's China. Work to stop the effort to put down people's liberation movements everywhere with armed force. Work to stop the revival of a Nazi army and the threat of a new war in Europe.

And along with all this, there must be new efforts to prevent the growing militarization of all our lives, the savage repressions, the drive against labor and the people's living standards. We must strive with all our might to prevent more murders like those of the Martinsville Seven and to insure the Negro people their rightful place of full equality in American life.

We must not let fascism come to our America! That means above all working for repeal of the infamous McCarran Bill under which an attempt is now being made to outlaw the Communist Party and if they succeed in that, all groups working for real democracy, progress and peace.

We cannot cover the whole world at once. We shall be cramped for space, but those who read us month by month will find indispensable basic facts about the existing and emerging new world today.

This first issue of *New World Review* is an enlarged one because the process of change we are going through has made it necessary to combine the February and March issues in one.

We have taken this bold forward step in full confidence that our readers, old and new, will provide the means to make it possible for us to do the task we have undertaken. The extent to which we succeed will depend in large measure on the extent to which you can help us. We need your financial help, more than ever before, generous as you have always been. We need your help in reaching out to many thousands of new readers. We need your suggestions as to how better we can serve your needs in our great mutual struggle for peace and understanding.

We enter our new path with a deep sense of the responsibility of our task of reporting the new world that is, in order to help secure the peaceful conditions essential for the growth of the ever-rising new world which all people of good-will are ceaselessly striving to bring into being.

JESSICA SMITH



American Peace Delegates in the Kremlin Palace in the Hall of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. After attending the Warsaw Peace Conference, they were invited to visit the USSR by the Soviet Peace Committee. They are, left to right, first row: Pauline Taylor and Jacqueline Clack. Second row: Rev. William Uphaus, Carl Flodquist and Charles Collins. Third row: Dr. John A. Kingsbury and Rev. Robert W. Muir. Fourth row: Charles P. Howard.

No Color Bars

Pauline Taylor

Youngstown Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Ohio Women for Peace

I CAN only say that I found from my trip to the Soviet Union that everything that the newspapers and radio tell us at home about that country is a lie, and the biggest lie is that Russia plans to attack other countries and is thinking only of war.

No country preparing for war would be erecting such vast construction and peaceful improvements—billions on irrigation projects, dams, canals. One project, a canal connecting the Don and the Volga, will irrigate an area as big as Belgium. They are building schools, polyclinics, workers' apartments, an extension to the subway. Most of these plans will take years to complete, like the plan for thousand-mile shelter belts of trees, which will take fifteen years. The Russians are counting on peace. They are spending over \$30,000,000,000 this year for social and cultural improvements, a billion dollars more than last year. They are spending only 18 per cent of their budget for military purposes; the U.S. is spending 80 per cent.

Racial discrimination was impossible to find, and looked upon by the Russian people as, say, cannibalism would be in the U.S. The people were even more interested in the Negro delegates,

and even kinder in their treatment of us than of the others.

Most impressive to me was comparison of conditions for the workers at the Stalin Auto Plant with those at the Ford Plant, which I have also seen. There was a lovely cafeteria, like a hotel dining room with its white table cloths and classical music while the workers ate. There were eleven kindergartens at or near the plant and a summer camp for the workers' children, day nurseries, a clinic, a sanitarium, a rest home for older workers, a School in the Forest for handicapped children, a Palace of Culture, 48 football teams and other sports. All this was provided for through trade union or factory money.

Leaving Russia, having seen the full strength of the peace movement, I became convinced that if all of us—church people, mothers, veterans, Negro people, will unite for peace—we will prevail.

High Culture

Mollie Lucas

Member UOPWA; collector of 3,000 signatures to the Stockholm Appeal; Chicago

WE WERE struck most of all by the high cultural level of ordinary people and their wide range of knowledge, their earnest desire for peace and the way they placed it as a demand they felt strong enough to back up—not a plea based on fear; their genuine welcome of progressive Americans as distinct from their hatred of American for-

The American

We Visited

sign policy; their leniency with American weaknesses; the way even children live and play peace.

They Want Peace

Theresa Robinson

Chairman, Civil Liberties Committee of the Women's Section of the Negro Elks; Washington

WHAT impressed me most in the Soviet Union was the passionate desire for peace. I remember a woman in Moscow who told me: "I never knew happiness in my youth in the days of the tsar. I never ate any meat. I had no schooling. I saw my mother in rags working to keep the family alive. Now my family is well and happy. My children are getting a higher education and going into the professions. You can see why I want peace and why I love Stalin."

I was impressed with the wholesomeness of the Soviet children. I found no child delinquency—the children were happy at study and at play.

No Signs of War

Carl Flodquist

Farmer, Leader of "American Rural Crusaders for Peace"; North Branch, Minn.

I BELIEVE that the thing which most impressed me as a delegate to the World Peace Conference in Warsaw and as one of the delegates invited to visit the Soviet Union was the confidence that the people of the Soviet Union and the new democracies have in the American people to stop their warmongers and save the peace of the world.

Where I found hatred and contempt for the American people in Britain, France, Belgium and other western countries, in the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia we were greeted everywhere with enthusiasm, particularly by youth and even children. They put hundreds of questions to us about the peace movement in the United States, about the mood of the American people, about their activities to thwart the plans of their leaders. They expressed confidence that the American people would stop the hands of those

the USSR — and Here Is Our Story

who would set off another World War.

I was impressed too by the fact that there is no war talk in the Soviet Union, no war hysteria or signs of mobilization for war. Ilya Ehrenburg, the Soviet writer, said that if anyone were to suggest throwing the atom bomb on the United States, he would be placed in a lunatic asylum.

Everywhere you see a tremendous activity in peaceful construction. I had an interview with Simon Hoshtaria, the Vice-Minister of Agriculture, who outlined some of their plans for agricultural development in the near future. He outlined their plans to change the dry climate of the steppes by the planting of three million hectares of trees, and the irrigation of thirteen million hectares of land. Their agricultural plans call for an increase of food production by 50 per cent in 1951.

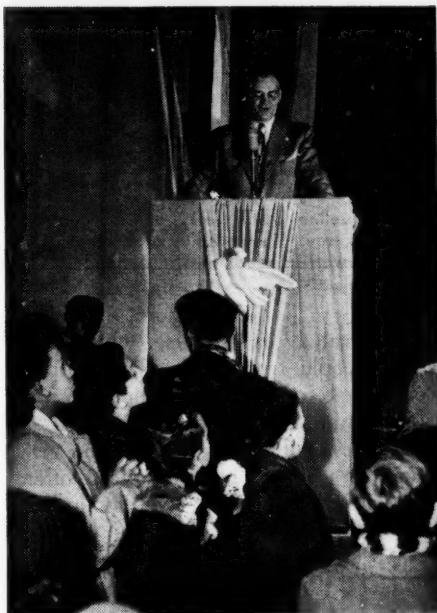
They Live Joyously

James Miller

Local 453, United Automobile Workers, CIO, Chicago

THE WELCOME we received in the Soviet Union cannot be put down on paper. The warmth it made me feel in my heart will linger for years to come. The hearts of the Soviet people were open to us. Whenever I had time to stop and think in the midst of all the excitement, I asked myself, "Where is the iron curtain?" I looked around, looked high and low, but I couldn't find even a curtain of air to stop us.

After the Peace Committee representatives met us at the airport, took us into Moscow in good, comfortable Soviet cars, settled us in our hotel and gave us dinner, they asked us to make



James Miller, Chicago trade unionist, tells on this page what he saw in the Soviet Union.

up our own program, and put down a list of all we wanted to see and who we wanted to talk to.

The city was opened to us, contrary to what I had heard in my own country. We went to factories, churches, cultural centers, nurseries, theaters, opera houses. We talked to trade union officials, workers, mothers, priests and students. Any questions we asked of anybody were answered promptly without hesitation.

After Moscow, we visited Leningrad, its people and its factories. Then we went to Stalingrad. After seeing Stalingrad I could see why the Soviet people want peace. We visited the historic battle grounds and saw with our own eyes what the Nazis did to this great city.

Anyone could understand that the people who had lived through the war there would ask for nothing more than peace to rebuild their city and let their children enjoy the fruits of their labor. Everywhere we went, everyone we spoke to would always end up by saying he or she wanted peace above all else, and it was clear the Soviet Union as a whole wants peace.

I saw new buildings going up, twenty-three and twenty-four stories high. The people were not building them to be bombed, but as places to be lived in and enjoyed.

I saw their children in the culture centers being taught not only how to read and write, but to be doctors, scientists, engineers, artists, musicians. I saw no toys representing guns, tanks, bombers or any instruments of war.

I found a whole people living together peacefully and joyously, without any discrimination of color or creed.

Stalingrad

Jacqueline Clack

Collector in Los Angeles of 4,000 signatures on the Stockholm Peace Petition; Member Independent Progressive Party; Editorial staff, "California Eagle"

STALINGRAD made the deepest impression on me in our visit to the USSR.

It was twilight, and snow was falling, as we climbed Mamayev Kurgan Hill where 47,000 Germans were slain, the whole tide of the war against fascism was turned, and civilization itself was saved. I felt as though I were walking on holy ground, as we reached the top

Dr. Holland Roberts, chairman of the American delegation that visited the USSR, addresses workers in a machine-building plant in Moscow. Some of the American delegates can be seen in the foreground. Articles by Dr. Roberts and Dr. John A. Kingsbury (foreground extreme right) will be found elsewhere in this issue.



of the hill and looked out over the hero city.

Among the crowd of Stalingrad people who saw us off at the airport was a gallant woman who helped to organize the civilian people in the city during the Nazi terrorism. She had three packages in her hand, gifts for us to bring back to America. One was a handful of the sacred Stalingrad soil soaked with the blood of her people who had prevented the invaders from taking the city. This she said was a token of the hospitality friends of peace would always find in her city. Another was a brick from a building destroyed in the Battle of Stalingrad, a token of the Soviet people's victory over the dark forces of fascism. And the third was a handful of wheat, symbol of the fertility of the land and the grain which the labor of the people offers all peace-loving nations.

What I saw in Stalingrad of the destruction of the war, and the heroism of its people now expressed in their peaceful rebuilding, made more clear than ever that we cannot have another war. Peace must conquer war!

A New Village Life

Dorothy Bushnell Cole

Program Committee,
Chicago Federation of
Women's Clubs; Chair-
man, Chicago Council of
American-Soviet Friend-
ship

WE WERE a peace mission, and, significantly, from America, and everywhere we were greeted with warm welcome, with shouts and speeches of friendship and good will.

Everywhere there was building for peace, peace-time pursuits, peace-time enterprise. We visited automobile factories, printing establishments, tractor plants. Did this seem war-like or aggressive? Everywhere we found a love of beauty and a safeguarding and cherishing of all that was beautiful that could not be identified with a war-like or aggressive people.

In each city members of the Soviet Peace Committee met us, accompanied us on our excursions, and banqueted us in the name of peace and friendship between our two countries. Such warm hospitality, such bounteous repasts, such *savoir faire* and old-world courtesy, such gentle encouragement to the more quiet and silent among us—all these things were richly rewarding and we blossomed and developed under the impact of our visit.

It was a heartening and rich experience for the white people in the delegation as well as for the Negro people.



Jacqueline Clack (left), of Los Angeles, says Stalingrad is proof that the world needs lasting peace.

being treated as equals, white and Negro people from all walks of life—housewives, trade unionists, doctors, professors, ministers, musicians—treated as equals, yes, but also treated to the very best that a whole nation had to offer.

I recall how on our last day in the Soviet Union we gathered at VOKS, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. There two economists took many of the questions we'd put to our interpreters during our stay and discoursed on them and invited more. We learned not only of some of the more familiar differences between socialism and capitalism, but those between socialism and communism, and so broad was our delegation and so varied our degrees of knowledge of Soviet economy that this experience was extremely acceptable.

Outstanding Public Health Services

Dr. John A. Kingsbury

Former Commissioner of Public Welfare, City of New York and Director of the Milbank Foundation; Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

THIS WAS my first visit to Moscow since 1932. As I stepped off the plane on that crisp November 24, 1950, the first striking change to greet my eyes was the fine airport with its modern facilities in contrast to the rather primitive airport I remembered from that earlier visit.

What a cordial welcome our American delegation from the Warsaw Congress received from the representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee and VOKS, the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. We were welcomed with flowers and warm embraces. Passports presented but no delays. No baggage difficulties. I was amazed by the beauty and grandeur of

It was new to many of us to learn that practically all production is mechanized and electrified, atomic energy is utilized for peace-time purposes, and that higher and constant education is open to all so that the Stakhanovite worker becomes not only the instructor of his shop-mate, but the instructor often at the engineering classes at the universities. The result is that differences between physical and mental labor disappear.

Then, too, we learned how with collective farms and complete mechanization of all agricultural activity, differences between city and country life disappear. The collective farm becomes so large that it becomes culturally a community that can support its own theater, clubs, sports societies, opera, etc. It takes on the advantages of urban life, and with its mechanization, the rural worker using intricate machinery and tools becomes the skilled worker like his brother in the city factories. When so much goods is produced, prices come down—when so much skill is involved, wages go up, and the whole results in a socialist, classless society, and then in an economy of abundance. Each will take from this abundance according to his needs, and so great will be this abundance that all need for money will eventually disappear.

Ten days out of a life-time that will while life lasts hang as a jewel in the center of a chain of days and hours and years, a jewel that will and must cast brilliance on our endeavors, cast luster on our efforts for peace, and will sparkle in times of light and darkness as it turns into the cement of American-Soviet friendship.

the airport waiting room through which we were conducted to large waiting Soviet-made limousines. We were whisked into the grand boulevard leading to Moscow. I shall never forget the ride in the light of the full moon, Jupiter shining in all his glory, the snow sparkling like multitudinous diamonds!

As we toured Moscow the morning after our arrival, I was amazed by the visible changes on every hand which have taken place in less than two decades. Witnessing all the new construction one could only ask oneself: How could these people be contemplating war? But impressive as were all the evidences of physical construction, I was chiefly interested in the special health

and humanitarian developments which have taken place. And since many of the other aspects of Soviet life are being covered by others of our delegation, I shall confine myself to the health services which had been my chief concern on my previous visit, when Sir Arthur Newsholme and I familiarized ourselves with the most comprehensive health and medical services in the world, which we later described in our book *Red Medicine—Socialized Health in Soviet Russia*. Thus it was of special interest to me to see the great strides made since that time in organization, methods and equipment.

Take, for example, the Ambulatory of the Polygraphic Works in Leningrad, which I inspected during our delegation's tour of the factory, and which is typical of the medical institutions attached to all large plants.

The "Ambulatory," as the name suggests, is an emergency medical and surgical service. But it is more than that. It is a clinic for medical examination of

cent of the employees in this plant are married women. At four and a half months expectant mothers are put on light work, and thirty-five days before child-birth the clinic physician requires the expectant mother to cease work, and she is not permitted to return to work till forty-two days after the birth of her child, or a longer period in case of complications.

Not only is such clinic service as well as convalescent care, if required, provided free to the patient. Full pay is continued for every worker during illness.

This Ambulatory provided many other services as complete as the maternity service. The thoroughness of the tuberculosis service interested me especially. Not only do all workers receive periodic examination, including X-ray. The treatment of tuberculosis cases, both medical and surgical, compares favorably with the best known to me. Moreover, the case-finding is as thorough as any case-finding with which I am fa-

convalescing are assigned light work during the day, and spend their nights at the Day and Night Sanatorium.

The Ambulatory of the Polygraphic Plant also has a cancer clinic for diagnosis and for treatment. While this service is affiliated with a Cancer Institute, the Ambulatory is equipped for supplementary treatment including deep X-Ray.

These are a few of the medical services I inspected in the Ambulatory of the Polygraphic Plant. The medical services are under the efficient direction of Dr. Anna K. Tatorkina, a graduate of the Pavlov Institute, who served at the front during the entire period of World War II. Since 1945, she has been Chief Doctor at the Ambulatory. She is assisted by a staff of nine doctors, eight nurses and several technicians.

In addition to the medical services of the Ambulatory, the plant maintains nurseries and a kindergarten, transferred to "Summer Houses" in season, a dining-room, a library with reading rooms. Not the least important is the "Red Corner"—a hall for meetings with seating capacity for more than 400. It has a stage with red and blue drapings and curtains, a lectern, a piano and extensive bulletin boards for the "wall newspaper"—a device for suggestions for improvement of conditions, equipment, processes and service, and for criticism of fellow-workers, including foreman, chief engineer and director!

One afternoon in Moscow, Tamara, one of our several competent VOKS guide-interpreters, took me to the Polyclinic Hospital Center for Moscow Train, Trolley and Bus Workers. There I was received by Chief Doctor Nemenov, with whom I spent three hours inspecting the institutions and discussing the Soviet Public Health and Medical service, with special reference to service of the Center and its many Ambulatories and clinics throughout the city of Moscow and suburbs.

It is not easy for one, familiar only with the American, or even with the British medical organization, to grasp the intricate and inter-related medical services of unions, clubs and cooperatives with municipal, Republic and All-Union Public Health and Medical activities. By and large, it can be said that the former supplement the latter, albeit, sometimes the tail seems to wag the dog.

This appears to be the case with the Tram, Trolley and Bus Workers Polyclinic which ministers to so many hundreds of workers through quite a complete and independent service. All the public health and medical services of Moscow, however, are available to these workers and many highly specialized services are utilized. However, all such

(Continued on page 45)



Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Chairman of the Chicago branch of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, and Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Chairman of the National Council, visit the Stalin Auto Plant in Moscow and inspect a passenger car.

all applicants for jobs in the plant, and for periodic examinations. When one enters any branch of service in the USSR his medical history is recorded, a record which follows him as he transfers from job to job. The Ambulatory either begins, or continues the applicant's medical history.

But that is not all. The Ambulatory is an admission bureau to hospitals, sanatoria or other health services, whether operated by municipality, state, cooperative or the union. It is also a treatment center both for minor injuries and for illness that does not require hospitalization. It is a pre-natal and post-natal clinic for women employees requiring such service. Forty per

miliar. All contacts in the family are examined. The members of every family in the apartment house where the patient resides are examined, and active cases discovered are treated as required. Hospitals and sanatoria are available for all patients. These institutions may be owned and operated by the state, by a union or by a cooperative. Many unions have complete tuberculosis service including sanatoria and convalescent homes. A unique institution found in many communities of the Soviet Union is the "Day and Night Sanatorium." There patients in need of rest or convalescence, medical care and special diet, may go to spend the day or night as their condition requires. Often patients

A NEW AMERICAN CRUSADE

by ABBOTT SIMON

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S casual announcement on November 30, that use of the atom bomb was under consideration, had an impact like a tremendous flash of lightning that shows a traveler that he is on the verge of a precipice. It brought home to the American people how close they were to World War III, and how isolated they would be in such a war. Hasty corrections by Truman's press staff could not allay the horror and revulsion with which this announcement was greeted in England, France and all of Western Europe.

The reverses suffered by American troops in Korea, the hasty retreat after the rash drive to the Manchurian border, the mounting casualties, stripped away the illusions spun by MacArthur's press releases. Pictures of wounded and frozen GI's and quadruple amputees, despairing letters from American boys in Korea

asking why they are there, reports of the wanton brutalities inflicted on the Korean people, began to stir up a mighty demand for peace.

Demands to end the Korean war and make peace with China began to widen out into opposition to the sending of more American troops to Europe, the revival of the Nazi army, the draft of eighteen-year olds and UMT.

A flood of letters to Congress, letters to the editors, statements by public figures, emergency peace meetings across the country, peace polls, telegrams to Truman from agonized mothers of GI's—these were only a few of the many forms in which the people in every part of the nation began to express their deep-rooted anxiety at American foreign policy.

This movement, welling up spontaneously from the very grass roots has now

crystallized into a definite, organized form, "The American Peace Crusade," which is already at work mobilizing the sentiments and efforts of the people into a mighty movement to head off war.

The initiators of the American Peace Crusade have agreed on certain basic principles, which are summarized on this page, around which all Americans who love their country, their families and peace can unite.

They have outlined three immediate concrete steps.

The first is a "Peace Pilgrimage" to Washington on March 15, "so that our Senators, our Congressmen and our President can learn of the will to peace among all Americans, regardless of creed, color, occupation or political opinion."

The second is the launching of a nationwide Peace Poll on the question: "Are you for withdrawing American

PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

IT IS TIME for Americans to lay aside their differences—political, religious, social—for the supreme objective of saving America from the catastrophe of wars with the people of Europe and Asia. We are convinced that the American people, Negro and White, Catholic and Protestant and Jew, are ready to unite and act for peace.

- 1. Our objective is simple and conforms to our most urgent national interest—Peace.**
- 2. We affirm that the co-existence of many social systems is possible. All problems between our country and the Soviet Union can be solved by negotiation.**
- 3. Peace can be achieved only by recognizing that great social changes are in process in the colonial countries.**
- 4. War in Asia can be ended by recognizing the Chinese People's Republic and recognizing its right to sit in the United Nations. We must abandon the needless futile sacrifice of American lives in Korea and the destruction of that country.**
- 5. We declare that the way to peace in Europe cannot lie in a burdensome armaments race or in the military revival of a reactionary Germany.**
- 6. We declare that peace lies in negotiation of differences in atomic arms control, in mutual disarmament, in a fundamental American-Soviet settlement.**
- 7. We call for a program of full use of our technological resources—including atomic power—for peace. This is the real alternative to the present waste of the genius and toil of our people for destruction.**
- 8. We call on all like-minded men and women from all walks of life to help launch a great, new American Peace Crusade to stimulate the search for peace on all levels, to arouse a mighty people's movement for peace, from the factories and farms, from the homes and schools and churches.**
- 9. We cannot wait for peace—We must win it!**

troops from Korea and making peace with China." The Crusade plans to reach millions of Americans with these ballots, enlist them for active work, and through this people's referendum for peace, influence the administration and Congress on this issue.

The third is a call for a People's Congress for Peace to be held in the Midwest in the late spring of 1951.

Perhaps the best way to make clear to those who want peace that they are not alone, that they hold in their hands a great potential power to impose their will on those who would drive our country into war, is to list in sequence some of the grass root actions that have taken place since the end of November. The items that follow are only samplings gleaned from meager reports in the New York press and from letters. They are multiplied by many hundreds of similar actions.

LAKE SUCCESS—More than 1,000 women held a prayer vigil at the United Nations, under the leadership of the American Women for Peace, demanding that fighting in Korea stop, that New China be seated in the UN and that the A-bomb be outlawed.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Dean John B. Thompson, Prof. Kermit Eby and Prof. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago, Co-Chairmen of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, an organization of religious leaders, scientists and educators with more than 100 local chapters in 30 states, wired President Truman condemning the threat to use the A-bomb in Asia and urging peace in Korea and acceptance of the proposal of a four-power conference.

BOSTON, Mass.—Twenty-one of the city's most prominent citizens proposed that the Korean crisis be resolved by withdrawing UN troops from Korea, removing the U.S. 7th Fleet from Formosan waters and seating China in the United Nations. Put forward by the so-called "Dover Group," signers were Erwin Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Joe E. Harrell, president of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company; Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Judge Charles C. Cabot, Ralph Lowell, banker, and other business and civic leaders.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Sixty-two community leaders, including clergymen, educators, civic figures, trade unionists, etc., urged President Truman to reject use of the A-bomb, called for a truce in Korea and negotiations by the major powers to solve the present world crisis.

AKRON, Ohio—The Akron Area Council of Churchwomen, representing seventy Protestant denominations, launched a campaign for telegrams to

President Truman, urging him not to use the atom bomb in Korea.

NEWARK, N. J.—The New Jersey State Federation of Teachers (AFL) wired President Truman urging against use of the atom bomb.

EUGENE, Ore.—Immediate evacuation of all U.S. troops from Korea was urged on President Truman by eighty-four Gold Star mothers and relatives of GI's.

NEW YORK CITY—The Harlem Trade Union Council wired President Truman that the atom bomb threat to

Mothers, demanding their sons be saved from slaughter, demonstrate at the UN for a halt to the Korean war and negotiations on world problems. The speaker is Clementina Paolone.



China and Korea "shocks and shames us as Americans, coming on top of the brutal use and treatment of Negro soldiers, as shown in what amounts to a life sentence at hard labor for Lt. Gilbert."

NEW YORK CITY—The New York Labor Peace Conference reported an overwhelming response to cease-fire peace messages and petitions being circulated among AFL local officials and shop leaders, indicating a changed attitude in many unions under the leadership of supporters of the Truman war policies.

TACOMA, Wash.—The Tacoma Chapter of the NAACP wired President Truman urging an immediate armistice in Korea, the withdrawal of all non-Korean troops and the seating of China in the UN.

SEATTLE, Wash.—The Seattle Emergency Peace Assembly, organized by 240 Protestant ministers and laymen, sent a representative east to present to President Truman and to Trygve Lie their program calling for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, admission of China to the UN and an immediate armistice in Korea.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Mrs. Ernest Miller, mother of a 20-year old son in Korea, inserted an ad in the Personal Column of a newspaper, asking the families of those trapped in Korea to telephone her. In three days she received

ABBOTT SIMON saw five-years service in the U.S. Army, including several years in the Pacific. He has been active during the post-war years in promoting the cause of peace and international understanding.

more than 300 phone calls. "What we want," she said, "is to bring our boys out of Korea."

CLEVELAND, Ohio—J. F. Lincoln, President of the Lincoln Electric Co. and a leading businessman in Cleveland, wrote to the *Cleveland Press*, "Let's admit we are the aggressors and let's get out of Korea."

BALTIMORE, Md.—More than 8,000 citizens of Baltimore, the Maryland Peace Committee announced, have written President Truman urging that we "negotiate now and save American lives."

DETROIT, Mich.—A poll of leading Michigan newspaper editors revealed that many of them, including the editor of the *Detroit News*, favor a "negotiated truce" with Communist China for immediate withdrawal from Korea.

CLEVELAND, Ohio—Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, leading Zionist figure, warned his congregation that the Truman foreign policy is dragging us into war.

NEW YORK—The Catholic magazine, *Commonweal*, urged "the thing to do is withdraw our troops from Korea on the best terms we can make."

IOWA CITY, Iowa—Three hundred petitioned President Truman to withdraw American troops from Korea and to enter immediate negotiations to end the war, and Hon. George Cosson, former Attorney-General of Iowa, in a letter to all members of the Iowa Congressional delegation, widely publicized throughout the state and over the radio, urged withdrawal of American troops, admission of China to the UN and mediation of the Far Eastern conflict.

ASSOCIATED PRESS—A survey of letters to newspaper editors, city by city, showed from 50 to 99 percent of readers' letters condemning the Truman foreign policies and demanding that American troops not be sent abroad.

FORT WAYNE, Ind.—The *News-Sentinel*, influential mid-west paper with a tri-state circulation area, declared "withdrawal of all troops from Korea appears to be our only alternative" if we want to end the slaughter of American lives.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Two hundred fifty delegates from youth organizations throughout the United States wound up

a 3-day conference on peace and militarization as they affect young people by setting up a permanent organization based on the premise that "peace is possible." Officers elected represented important Protestant, Jewish and Negro youth organizations.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—At sixteen discussion meetings organized throughout the city under the auspices of the Council on World Affairs, the majority favored admitting China to the UN and were in general opposed to our present policy in Asia.

RICHMOND, Va. — Frank Porter,



Thumbs down on the A-bomb! Two hundred young men and women demonstrate in the UN at Lake Success.

commentator for Radio Station WXGI, polled his listeners on: "Should we pull our men out of Korea?" Within a few minutes he had 98 telephone calls, all in favor of getting out.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Ernest T. Weir, industrialist and steelmaker, declared that if total war is to be averted, the United States must "resign itself" to the recognition of the Chinese Communists.

CHICAGO, Ill.—A Midwest Three-State District Council meeting of the UERMWA adopted a program "to fight for our wages and for peace in the world."

BISMARCK, N.D.—The North Dakota State Senate, by a vote of 36-5, passed a resolution demanding that Congress and President Truman order American troops out of Korea.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—A *Binghamton Press* Opinion Poll showed a 5-1 majority in favor of withdrawing American troops from Korea.

LEBANON, Ore. — Radio station KGAL newscaster asked listeners: "Do you favor the return of American troops from Korea or should we leave them there." Out of 136 calls in 30 minutes, 135 demanded the return of American troops.

HOUSTON, Tex.—A group of South Texas war mothers told the *Houston Press* they are thousands strong and threatened "to march on Washington" unless the "unnecessary slaughter of our sons is stopped."

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The *Louisville Defender*, leading Negro newspaper in Kentucky, polled readers with the question "What do you wish most for in the New Year" and received the answer unanimously: "World Peace."

PORTLAND, Ore.—Citywide circulation of a "Petition to Stop the War" started by a "Committee for National Security" organized by Protestant leaders, educators, Quakers and other civic leaders. Committee urges no teen-age draft, no UMT, withdrawal of American troops from Korea and a stop to all-out war preparations.

NEW YORK CITY—Trade union leaders in ten industries called on city's union membership for mass protest against rearming Germany.

DENVER, Colo.—The *UP* quotes Mrs. Emmet Stillwell, with six sons preparing for service in the armed forces: "Don't make me out the wonderful patriotic mother. . . I wouldn't mind if they were going to defend their own country, but this business in Korea doesn't make sense."

GALLUP POLL—Reported that of Americans questioned during the first half of January, three to one were for pulling out of Korea.

THESE, I repeat, are only samplings of the great swelling sentiment for peace. Despite the pro-war attitude of top labor leaders, more and more local trade union groups are taking action for peace. Hundreds of editorials have appeared in local newspapers calling for withdrawal from Korea.

A special article could be written on the excerpts that I have seen from hundreds of letters written to newspapers in cities and towns all over America. In New Orleans, Los Angeles or Philadelphia, Kalamazoo or Omaha, Elmira, N. Y. or Mobile, Ala., the vast sentiment of the American people is for peace. Wives and mothers, fearful for the lives of their loved ones in Korea, are especially vehement and constantly call for

action to demand that Congress and President Truman *bring our boys home and keep them home.*

Believing that the time is ripe for a people's movement for peace, stemming from such grass roots activities in every section of the country, a group of prominent Americans on January 31st, issued a call "to all like-minded men and women from all walks of life to join in launching a new and great American Peace Crusade." Basing itself on a program of negotiations between East and West as a basic approach, the initiators have outlined the series of steps noted at the beginning of the article.

The American Peace Crusade was initiated by eight leading public figures: Prof. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist of Cornell University; Dr. Linus Pauling, Director, Department of Chemistry, California Institute of Technology; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, sociologist and historian; Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President Palmer Institute; Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, gynecologist and obstetrician, Chairman American Women for Peace; Dr. Lucius C. Porter, former Professor of Philosophy, Yenching University, China, retired Congregational Missionary; Ernest DeMaio, International Vice President, UERMWA; Hon. Charles P. Howard, publisher and attorney.

The Crusade has already won the support of such figures as Thomas Mann, Paul Robeson, Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne, Bishop Benjamin Dagwell, Bishop Walter A. Mitchell, Bishop Arthur M. Moulton, Dr. Theodore Rosebury, Dr. P. A. Sorokin, Fred Stover, Hugh Bryson, Maurice Travis, Ben Gold, and a host of other leading trade unionists, religious figures, scientists, educators, Negro and Jewish leaders, leaders among farmers, women, youth and other groups.

The Crusade for Peace will be both a center for cooperation for existing groups and organizations who share common points of view on peace and wish to gain maximum strength by merging their efforts, as well as providing a channel for the countless thousands of individuals and small groups looking for some action program which can help assure peace for all of us.

For further information, for copies of the call to the "Peace Pilgrimage" and especially the Peace Ballot, you may write to the American Peace Crusade, 1186 Broadway, Suite 310, New York, N. Y.

As the statement of the initiators of the Crusade declares:

"The conscience of America will not permit us to evade our responsibility to humanity, to our loved ones, and to ourselves. WE CANNOT WAIT FOR PEACE — WE MUST WIN IT THROUGH OUR OWN EFFORTS."



OUR SONS

by YURI YAKOVLEV

Drawings by Fred Ellis

On the edge of his cot I take a seat
Softly,
Lest an awkward touch disturb his sleep.
Fearful of waking him I stroke his
hair gently,

My son's golden hair gently.
On the stony brows of sleeping streets
Waves of shaggy snow are pillowed,
Yet in this hour of silence and peace
Thoughts of my son's future
Keep me awake.

Slight and wan, the early moon rises
Above the dusky gleam of the Moscow
River. . . .

My son, warm and living bundle,
Sleeps,
His cheek resting on his warm palm.

And in this hour that night makes
solemn,

In China,
by his small son's bedside,
A soldier stands, in casque and
greatcoat,
A soldier with his war days over.

He, like myself, stands still and looks,
afraid of waking
The sleeping boy,
and shyly

The man's rough, firm hand
Steals over the boy's
black, bristly head.

He's drenched through
and cold,
Yet he stands there, staring,
Drinking in this vision
of the sleeping child—
This moment's reward
for the lonely years
of the war.
Carefully he draws off his helmet,

and unfastens his cartridge belt—
In his home he won't need them!
But his thoughts are troubled,
his heart uneasy—
this Chinese father's.

Your life and mine was one swift call
to action,
Hardship and grief—of these we had
their full measure.

Scathed by bullets we were, and shell-
shocked,
Comrade, our hair is streaked with grey.
Years were spent under heavy fire,
We lived in our uniforms for years,
With steel-like firmness

we signed our names
Under the word
—PEACE!

With vigilant eye
turn to the future, soldier.
You and I together, we will stand up
for our sons,
Ready to defend them
from all menace.

To the sons and daughters of the world,
The white
and the yellow,
the red
and the black-skinned peoples
We proffer our aiding hand,
And the fearless love of a father's heart.

See—
The World of Freedom listens rapt,
The air waves pulsate with the voice
of peace—
This is the hour when Stalin speaks
with Mao Tse-tung.

Of our sons,
of our sons, my distant comrade.

Free translation by Irina Zheleznova.



—Eastfoto

Chinese delegates (left) to the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. Right: Pak Den Ai, Korean delegate, addresses the Congress

THE GREAT DEBATE: WAR OR PEACE

**The foreign policy debate among the war-makers must
be countered by a real people's program for peace**

by FREDERICK V. FIELD

THERE is developing in this country, for the first time since the Anti-Fascist War, a widespread re-examination of foreign policy. The mass murder of Korean civilians by American troops, the horrible and total destruction of every town and hamlet on the Korean peninsula, the callous cruelty meted out to refugees from the battle line, have shocked and horrified millions of our citizens.

Some fifty thousand American families have already been directly affected by casualties—and according to the arrogant top brass not only is the end not in sight in Korea but far larger military adventures are being planned. Meanwhile the entire population has been affected by inflationary prices, by taxation for war, by an attack upon civil rights and free speech unprecedented in our history and by the growing militarization of our economy and life.

The wanton destruction of Korea, our reckless policies toward China have earned us such hatred on the part of the hundreds of millions of people in the Far East that even the middle-of-the-road government of India is forced to try to check the disastrous policies of Truman's administration.

The commercial press, radio and television claim that America is in the throes of a "Great Debate" on foreign policy, but what they are referring to is simply a dispute among those who take one side in the debate, the spokesmen for war. They are referring to the recent speeches which simply express dif-

ferences with Truman, Dulles and the other bi-partisan spokesmen for the administration as to the way a policy of war is to be pursued. Taft versus Truman or Hoover versus Dulles does not constitute a great debate; it constitutes an internecine dispute on one side only of the question of war or peace.

A great debate does, of course, exist between the people, who love and want peace, and the warmakers. But let us not confuse this genuine debate with what the propaganda organs of Wall Street label the "Great Debate." Let us not confuse those who want to live in a world of cooperation and mutual tolerance with a man like Taft who, while he castigates Truman's conduct over Korea, calls for immediate war against the five hundred million people of China.

At the same time we must recognize that the passion for peace in the hearts of the great masses of Americans has not yet found sufficiently powerful or organized expression. There is a nationwide cry for taking our troops out of Korea. Tens of thousands of parents are denouncing the plan to draft eighteen-year-olds, and more tens of thousands are distressed over the draft. There is angry protest over the rising cost of living, the treacherous abandonment of the highly publicized Fair Deal program. There are calls for American-Soviet negotiations to end the cold war, for a resumption of trade with China, for friendship with all people everywhere.

In the aggregate all of this amounts

to a substantial peace movement, but it still lacks organization and remains deliberately unrecognized by the powers that control the press, radio and television.

The task is to break through this curtain of censorship by organizing in such enormous masses and expressing demands for peace in such an overpowering voice that the peace forces can become a major political factor in the country, capable of turning back the warmakers.

The opportunity to do this exists today. The disasters which the present government policies have brought upon our nation and upon the rest of the world have caused a dispute within the war camp. Of far greater importance, they have brought into existence among the American people, a widespread resistance to the effects of these policies.

A danger exists that many sincere advocates of peace will be misled by the statements of Taft and Hoover, simply because they have spoken out against aspects of the Truman bi-partisan policy. The response to the speeches of these men and others who have voiced similar opinions, indicates only too clearly that, in the absence of well-organized expression of a genuine alternative to the program of the warmakers, thousands will follow the Tafts and Hoovers in the misguided belief that they represent at least something less evil than current administration policy.

For this reason it is important in building the people's alternative to a

war program to examine carefully the schemes of the warmakers and the disputes which they are having among themselves.

President Truman's recent State of the Union message to Congress is the latest explicit pronouncement before us on administration foreign policy, a policy which has admittedly abandoned all recourse to methods of diplomacy and negotiation, and depends on armed force alone.

The Truman Bi-Partisan War Program

The justification for such a policy, according to President Truman, is that the Soviet Union is the source of all that is evil and the United States, or, to be more specific, Mr. Truman's administration, is the source of all that is good. The Soviet Union, he claims, is and has been the active aggressor in Europe and Asia. It constitutes a potential threat to all peoples and all things. "Our homes, our nation, all the things we believe in are in danger," the President tells us. In another place he informs us that "The threat of world conquest of Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of world in which the free spirit of men can survive. This threat is aimed at all peoples who strive to win or defend their own freedom and national independence."

In sharp contrast, according to Mr. Truman, he and his colleagues have for five years "been working for peace and justice among nations." The United States is the leader of the "free nations." These nations do not have any aggressive purpose. "We want only peace in the world," says the President, "peace in all countries. No threat to the security

of any nation is concealed in our plans and programs." We are the champion of freedom everywhere. In the Near and Far East, for instance, whereas "Soviet Communism is trying to make these nations into colonies . . . we want their people to be free and to enjoy peace." "Our country," the President emphasizes, "has always stood for freedom of the peoples of Asia."

In these matters ex-President Hoover, former Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, Senator Taft and all the other critics from within the war camp have no dispute with Mr. Truman. On the contrary, they compete with each other to revile the Soviet Union and to project the myth that America's bi-partisan government is the noblest knight in the shiniest armor on the whitest horse passionately and courageously leading the plain people of the world to utopia.

According to Truman, "The Soviet imperialists have two ways of going about their destructive work." For one thing, "They use the method of subversion and internal revolution;" for another, "they use the method of external aggression." "We of the free world," he concludes, "must be ready to meet both of these methods of Soviet action." There being no evidence of Soviet external aggression anywhere, the President had to invent something new, the fabrication that any liberation movement of the people anywhere constitutes Soviet aggression.

Here again there is no significant difference of opinion within the war camp. Senator Taft, for instance, says that "Communism has introduced a new spirit of aggression into the world. It has inspired fanatical zeal in its advocates. It has adopted a combination of deceit,

propaganda, and strong-arm methods, which has spread its control over hundreds of millions of men and over many countries. Now," he says, "we are forced to use the same methods which Communism has adopted, or be swept away." Having depicted the devil Mr. Taft wishes to personify him.

In the matter of methods only there is some difference of opinion among Truman, Hoover, Taft, Dulles, et al. The President's program has already been in evidence for several years. It is implicit in his declaration that "the state of our nation is in great part the state of our friends and allies throughout the world." If we identify the friends and allies, we have a clue to the commitment. There is no mystery about the identity of these elements. They are the reactionary sections of the Western European nations, the monopolists, cartellists, landowners and rentiers and their political spokesmen. They are the monarchists and royalists in a country like Greece. They are the exiled fascists and traitors from the Eastern European democracies. They are the colonial rulers and their internal collaborators in the colonial world, the compromisers, sycophants and feudalists in those lands which have been given the formal trappings of independence. They are the Bao Dai's, Chiang Kai-sheks and Syngman Rhee's of Eastern Asia. And in Germany and Japan who are they but those very elements against whom we fought in World War II?

The program for which Mr. Truman speaks was put forward in his message in three parts. The first was the extension of economic assistance "where it can be effective," world-wide Marshallization, that is, of those nations or of those elements within nations willing to be Marshallized. The second was continuance of military assistance to those countries "which want to defend themselves." "The heart of our defense effort is the North Atlantic community," said the President. "The defense of Europe is the basis for the defense of the whole free world — ourselves included. . . . Strategically, economically and morally the defense of Europe is a part of our defense." This concept has found expression in the sending of General Eisenhower to command the armies of Western Europe, in the plans for the rearming of Western Germany, and for substantial American ground forces in Europe. Events in the Far East, of course, make clear that Mr. Truman's military program is not confined to Europe. In his message he states that "Our program of military assistance extends to nations in the Near East and in the Far East who are trying to defend their freedom."

John Foster Dulles, one of the Re-

Pak Li Ok and her son Pen Guk in anguish at the death of their kin, killed during an air raid by U.S. bombers in Korea. The ruins was once their home.

—Eastfoto



publican spokesmen of the bi-partisan government, is more explicit regarding the military program. He identifies the entire periphery of the Soviet Union and the new democracies as defining the area of potential and desirable encirclement by the United States and its allies. It is a formidable parcel of geography. Mr. Dulles informs us that "The rim starts near the North Pole, swings south along the border of Norway, Finland, Sweden, West Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia; then east along the border of Greece, Turkey, the Arab states, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Burma, Indo-China, and Malaya; then northward close to the Philippines, Formosa, Japan, Korea and Alaska." He does not believe that it would be "practicable" to build up in each of these more than twenty nations making up a frontier of some 20,000 miles "static defense forces." That would dissipate the military strength available. Instead, he says that "Around the rim of the captive world, the free world can create enough economic and political vigor, enough military strength and enough will to resist so that these areas cannot be cheaply conquered by subversive methods, by trumped up 'civil wars' or even by satellite attacks." "If the Soviet Union itself decides on open aggressive war," Mr. Dulles argues, "there is only one effective defense, for us and for others. That is the capacity to counter-attack."

If this elaboration of the administration's military policy is examined in association with the straw man of Soviet "destructive work" set up by Mr. Truman, its deeper meaning becomes apparent. When it is realized that the American government declares itself to be ready "to meet" subversion and internal revolution and then defines its line of defense as the entire periphery of the new world of socialism and people's democracy, the grave dangers of the situation become obvious. By ukase the bi-partisans can at any time declare any place along this periphery to be internally disturbed and according to their own previous definition, attribute this disturbance to "Soviet imperialism's destructive work." It would then be but an automatic step to bring Mr. Dulles' military "counter attack" into play and the world would be faced with another Korea, i.e., armed intervention in the military affairs of other nations under the moral cloak of "stopping aggression."

The President would have us believe, as the third part of his State of the Union message, that "we will continue to work for peaceful settlements in international disputes. . . . We are willing, as we have always been, to negotiate honorable settlements with the Soviet Union. But we will not engage in appease-

ment." Events have shown only too clearly that cooperation, co-existence, negotiation, adjustment or compromise—all these terms and indeed all ways and means which might lead to peaceful solutions are arbitrarily defined as appeasement. Again, by the method of establishing an *a priori* definition, however false and fraudulent, white becomes black. Negotiation is discarded by defining it as appeasement.

Mr. Truman pays fulsome lip service to the United Nations. He declares that "We will support the United Nations and remain loyal to the great principles of international cooperation laid down by its Charter." Here, again, his Republican colleague in foreign policy, Mr. Dulles, gives us a peek behind the facade. He says: "The United Nations, if it shows that it has the requisite moral courage, should be given the right to determine the fact of aggression so as to ensure the Charter goal of armed forces not being used save in the common interest." (Emphasis mine—FVF). Who is to determine whether the United Nations has the requisite moral courage to permit it to do what the Charter, to which the United States is committed by treaty, says it can and must do? Presumably if the United Nations fails to show the "requisite moral courage," according to the standards of Mr. Truman and Mr. Dulles they will feel quite free to discard its cloak of respectability and act on their own unilaterally. Mr. Dulles' statement, with its peculiar qualification, can have no other meaning.

The Hoover-Taft War Program

In their contributions to the internecine struggle within the war camp, both Hoover and Taft make admissions that indicate the cleavages which have become increasingly conspicuous among the bi-partisans as their policies have been met by one disaster after another. Mr. Hoover, for example, is disillusioned about Western Europe, the area which the President regards as "the basis for the defense of the whole free world." Mr. Hoover says of the Western Europeans, "their will to defend themselves is feeble and their disunities are manifest." He reaches the conclusion that "to commit the sparse ground forces of non-Communist nations into a land war against this Communist mass would be a war without victory." He admits that "the atomic bomb is a far less dominant weapon than it was once thought to be." He declares "It is obvious that the United Nations have been defeated in Korea."

Senator Taft's revelations are even more startling. "I do not myself see any conclusive evidence," he told the Senate on January 5, "that (the Russians) expect to start a war with the United



—Boris Eshmov, in Trud
"Friends" of the Chinese people

States. And certainly I see no reason for a general panic on the assumption that they will do so." In fact the Senator seems to think that the shoe is on the other foot, for toward the close of his speech he said: "The course which we are pursuing will make war more likely."

Mr. Taft made his views on Korea quite plain. "We were sucked into the Korean war by a delusion as to a power which never has existed under the Charter." Referring to the President, he said: "As a matter of fact, he had no authority whatever to commit American troops to Korea without consulting Congress and without Congressional approval. . . . The President simply usurped authority, in violation of the laws and the Constitution."

Many commentators greeted the programs advocated by Hoover and Taft as "isolationist." Nothing could be further from the truth. Senator Taft was more realistic in evaluating his position. A few days after making his speech before the Senate he told correspondents: "This is not isolationism; rather it could be called imperialism in which we must cooperate with our friends, the British, and others."

The Hoover program is premised upon making the Western Hemisphere a "Gibraltar of Western civilization." From this base the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are to be held by American air and naval forces with island frontiers in Britain "if she wishes to cooperate," on one side, and on Japan, Formosa and the Philippines, on the other side. To do this Mr. Hoover advocates large air and naval forces, but "We have little need for large armies." Our island frontiers, he believes, must be stiffened by a supply of American arms and armaments. If all goes well, according to this plan, we can then begin feeding "the

(Continued on page 42)

Transforming the Chinese Economy

An American economist describes the economic restoration under the Central People's Government and the reasons behind the rapid advances

by VICTOR PERLO

CHINA historically has been a weak and poverty stricken country. Its people have been ridden by feudal landlords and militarists and by foreign imperialists. Its food production has been insufficient for adequate nourishment, and food distribution so poor as to lead to recurrent famines affecting tens of millions of people. It has had very little industry, and most of that owned by foreigners. It has never had a truly unified national economy or financial structure.

The liberation of China has opened the way for a complete transformation of Chinese economy. Almost overnight China has become a great and dignified power politically and militarily. Within a historically brief period it will also become a great socialist power economically.

The general perspective for the period ahead was outlined on December 25, 1947, by Mao Tse-tung in a report in which he declared that the first objective of the revolution must be "to eliminate only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, not capitalistic economy in general," and stated that for some time to come it would still be necessary to permit the existence of capitalist economy represented by the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. He described the economic structure of the new China as being composed of three types of economy: 1) State economy; 2) agricultural economy under both individual enterprise and cooperatives, developing from the individual towards the collective basis; and 3) the economy of small and individual industrial and commercial private capital, and of industrial cooperatives.

These forms are described in detail in the "Common Program of the People's Consultative Conference" adopted Sept. 29, 1949, outlining the basic lines of economic development. This program makes clear that the primary object of the present period is the transformation of the Chinese economy from one which is overwhelmingly agrarian to that of an industrial nation, and states that the agrarian reform is the essential condi-

tion for the development of the productive power and the industrialization of the country.

Within this general perspective, the first stage is the restoration of Chinese economy to create the basis for industrialization, large scale collective farming, and thorough economic planning. There is no question of restoring the status quo ante. Many new features appear, features which foreshadow the later transformation to socialism. But for the present the main thing is to repair the extensive war damage, restore production, create order in economic life, and prepare the people and institutions of China for fundamental advances to come.

How long will this take? Chou En-lai, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, last September 30 said that "it will in effect take three to five years to revive the economy of China before it can be developed systematically."

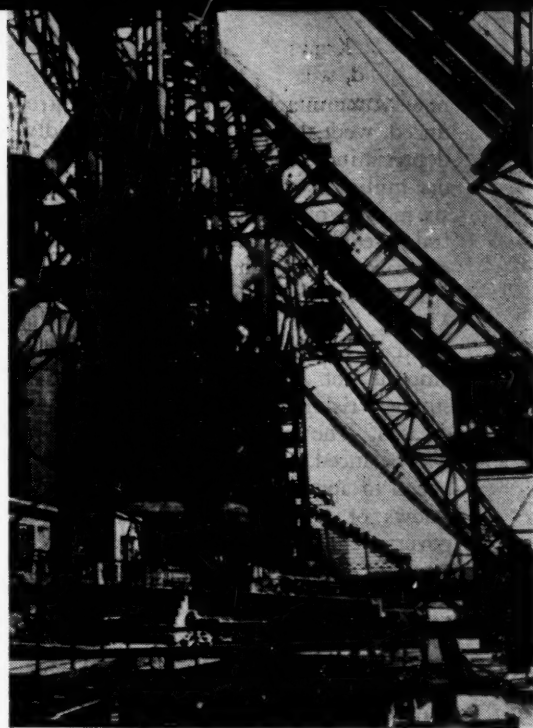
What has been accomplished already in this period of restoration?

Achieving Economic Control

The primary task was for the Central People's Government to take over the key instruments of economic control. This was no simple job in a country with such a wide variety of economic forms—a feudal landlord system in most of the Chinese countryside; tribal, largely nomad, organization in Mongolia and other national minority areas; a small peasant economy in the areas liberated in earlier years; handicraft industry owned privately and by cooperatives; factories owned by private capitalists, Chinese and foreign, by Kuomintang Government corporations, and by mixtures of private and government capital.

Despite these complexities the Government has already achieved the main foundations of economic control. It was able to do this without fighting the productive private capitalists. This is be-

VICTOR PERLO, a leading economist, was for many years employed by Government agencies.



—Eastfoto
Smelting house of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works in Manchuria, now restored

cause many large banks and industrial enterprises were owned not by private capitalists, but by bureaucratic Government Corporations controlled by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The government simply took these over, changing them from seats of corruption and profiteering by a few big families to powerful economic institutions of the people. Private banks continue, but alongside them are banks now owned by the Central People's Government. The government maintains control over the entire banking system by state regulation, and through a new central bank, the People's Bank. Private industry, including factories owned by foreign capitalists, continues. But the Government promptly took over the main enterprises in heavy industry. By the beginning of 1950 it controlled 70 per cent of coal production, 90 per cent of steel output, 50 per cent of pig iron, 78 per cent of electric power, and 70 per cent of machine building. The railroads are all owned by the state. Private trading has been subjected to various controls. State trading companies have established centralized stocks of grain and other staples, which inhibit speculation. In the Northeast, state trading companies have become active in retail trade as well, handling 50 per cent of all retail trade by 1950. State enterprises are supplemented by the cooperatives, which by July, 1950, embraced a membership of 20,000,000.

Restoring Finance, Transport

Inflation in Kuomintang China was at least as bad as in any other war-torn country. By August, 1948 prices had increased three million times over pre-war, rendering the currency worthless. The

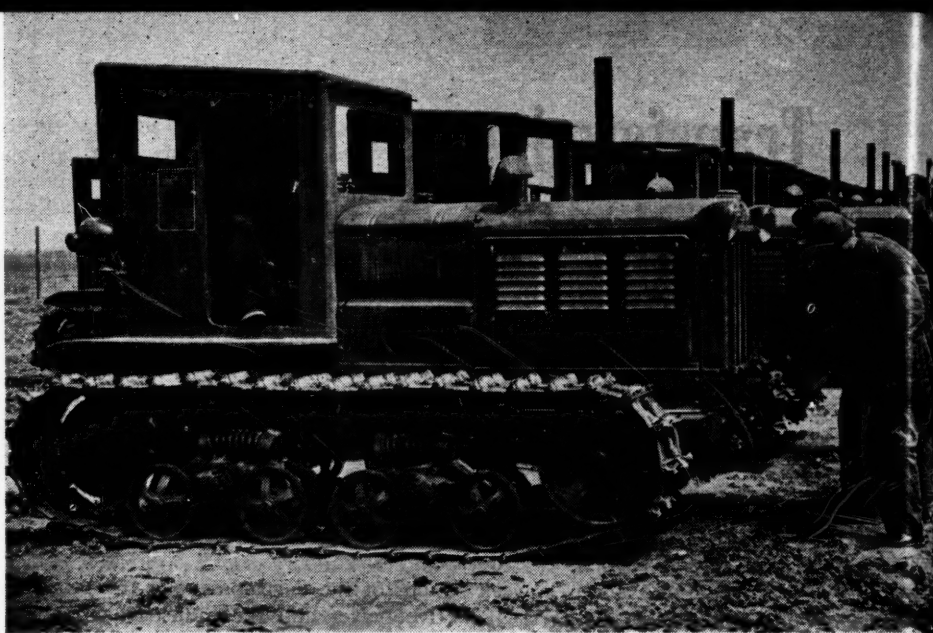
new Kuomintang currency, then introduced, went to pieces even more rapidly, depreciating in 7 months to less than one-millionth of its initial value. Within six months of its establishment, the Central People's Government essentially overcame this financial chaos. The rapid rise in prices was brought to a halt by March, 1950, and in the Northeast the trend of prices turned downwards. The amount of currency in circulation stopped rising, while bank deposits increased. The budget in the Northeast was balanced, and in the rest of China it began to approach a balance. The writer knows of no case in history where a government obtaining power converted rampant inflation into financial stability in such a brief period.

Railroad transport was in a terrible state after a decade of anti-Japanese guerrilla sabotage, Kuomintang neglect, and then, as Chiang's armies retreated, systematic destruction of rolling stock, bridges and tunnels. But by January 1, 1950, all of the major trunk lines in China were in working order for the first time in thirteen years. Transport loads, speed, and repairs far surpassed the Kuomintang standards on then liberated lines, and a doubling of freight and passenger volume was scheduled during 1950. By the end of 1950 construction was under way on new railroads.

This quick organization of finance and transport made possible a prompt recovery in industry and agriculture.

Restoring Industry

China's industrial progress starts with Manchuria, where heavy industry is concentrated. The liberation of the Northeast was completed in 1948, a year ahead of the rest of the country. China's economic strategy is to give priority to the restoration of Manchurian industry,



Tractor fleet of the tractor drivers school in Shaoantsao, near Peiping. The school is attached to the largest state agricultural enterprise in China.

—Eastfoto

which is basic for the development of the entire country's economy. The Northeast maintains a separate currency, to insulate it from remaining financial difficulties elsewhere. The separate 1950 budget for the Northeast allocated 53 per cent of expenditures to economic construction, compared with the 24 per cent—the maximum possible in prevailing conditions—in the budget for the rest of China. Hundreds of thousands of workers, and many specialists, have come from all over China to press forward with the rebuilding of Manchurian industry. Huge quantities of machinery and industrial materials flow into Manchuria, mainly from the USSR. The plan for 1950 called for \$160,000,000 of such imports.

American bombers destroyed industrial installations in Manchuria during 1944-45. The Japanese added destruction during their last days of occupation. The greatest damage was wreaked by the

Kuomintang during its occupation of southern Manchuria. At the great steel works at Anshan, for instance, only 1,200 of the 170,000 workers remained. The rest had been forced by hunger to flee the city or had been impressed into the Kuomintang armies. Most of the blast furnaces had been wrecked.

Skill is required to run modern industry, and still more skill to restore a devastated industry. The imperialists, who thought the Soviet people would be unable to manage large-scale industry, had the same illusion about the Chinese. Thus the British historian F. C. Jones, in *Manchuria Since 1931*, comments that the destruction of industry there did not matter so much, because: "China is too backward in industrial development to have hoped to take Japan's place."

The Chinese people are rapidly dispelling such illusions. In 1950 industrial production in the Northeast exceeded the plan, which had called for an increase of 93 per cent over the previous year. Production of iron, steel, and machinery were scheduled to increase several times. Steel production in the Northeast was to increase from 100,000 tons in 1949 to 540,000 tons in 1950. That is not quite 40 per cent of the peak production reached by the Japanese, but it is ten times as much steel as was ever produced under Kuomintang control in all China. The textile industry of the Northeast has already surpassed by 43 per cent the peak production reached under the Japanese. As wrecked equipment is repaired or replaced output is correspondingly increased. Already the Chinese have surpassed the rate of utilization of equipment achieved by the Japanese. Furnace output in the Anshan steel plant has exceeded the highest rate under Japanese occupation by 21 per cent. The quality of ingot steel from the Fu-

(Continued on page 44)

Increased production and better distribution means more consumer goods for the rural areas. These peasants are purchasing muslin just shipped from the mills.

—Eastfoto



WHAT IS PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY?

The first article of a series on the way of
life in the countries of Eastern Europe

by PETER FURST and JUNE CANNAN

SIX years ago, as World War II ended and Soviet and western forces occupied their respective zones in Europe and Asia, the term *people's democracy*, as the name of a new political form, was unknown to the general public.

But despite the persistent use of such false and misleading terms as "Soviet satellites" and "iron curtain countries," slowly but surely *people's democracy* has become part of the vocabulary of the western world.

In France and England where anti-Communist propaganda is somewhat less hysterical, one can hear even the most vehement opponents of people's democracy calmly using the words to describe the objects of their hatred. But even in the American capitalist press one reads of "so-called people's democracy" or "people's democracy" in quotation marks. The words have indeed become inescapable. More than 70,000,000 people in Europe and nearly 500,000,000 people in Asia describe their new lives with these words—lives of college educations for workers and peasants, free medical services for all, land for the landless, full equality for women and national minorities, adequate food, construction and peace. And as the new political form through which socialism is being built develops, worldwide discussions by Marxist scientists have pinned the words *people's democracy* down to their most concise and detailed meanings.

The Term Defined

Searching vainly for new levels for criticism, some western "sophisticates" have called *people's democracy* a tautological expression—since the word *democracy* in its Greek root also refers to people. They call it a meaningless catch-all, a cover-up for "totalitarianism." Others think of it as the same political form as existed in the USSR after the October Revolution. Still others think of it as a "third force" or a "middle road" between socialism and capitalism.

All these critics miss its essence.

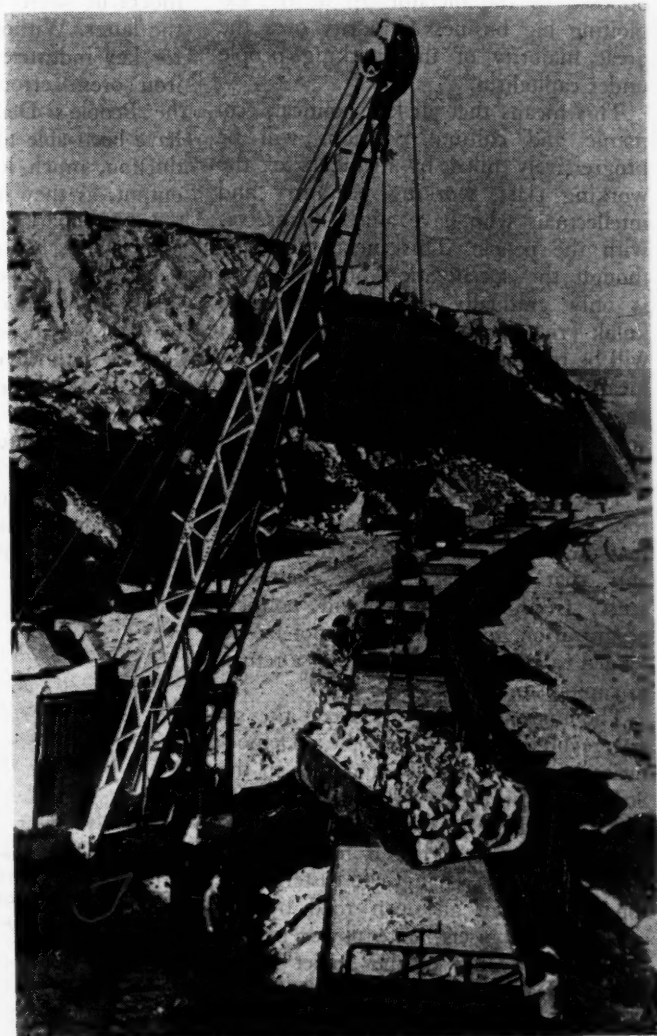
In the first place, the word *people* before *democracy* has the utmost meaning and importance—even though the English term may present some confusion not present in other languages. Particu-

larly in Eastern Europe has *people* never meant the landlords, the industrialists, the nobility or ecclesiastical hierarchy, but rather the working people, first the peasants on the land and then, as it appeared, the industrial proletariat as well. In addition, in most languages there is no difference between *people* and *nation*, which gives the word an additional overtone: the struggle of national groups against foreign oppressors. *People* means these things in English, too, but often has secondary meanings while one primary use of the word refers to persons, to any human beings, a usage which is sometimes capitalized on by propagandists to confuse the nonpolitical mind.

But in the Marxist view there is no such confusion. Politically, *people's democracy* stands in contrast to *bourgeois democracy*, thus distinguishing in terminology between these vastly different political systems; between the power of the working people and the power of the bourgeoisie; between the building of a socialist society and the preservation of a capitalist one.

A New Political Form

People's leaders in Europe and Asia—particularly after the desertion of Yugoslavia from the people's democratic camp—have made clear the definition and functions of people's democracy and the conditions in which it was able to



Much of the equipment used in building the Danube-Black Sea Canal in Romania is Soviet-made. This is a Soviet crane at work.

—Eastfoto



A plane of the Soviet civil air fleet prepares to spray a Czechoslovakian field against the Colorado potato beetle.
—Eastfoto

come about. It is, as Dimitrov, Rakosi, Bierut and others in Eastern Europe, Mao Tse-tung and Soviet theoreticians, have pointed out, a new political form of dictatorship of the proletariat, fulfilling all the functions of this dictatorship in the transition from capitalism to socialism. This must be understood in the light of the Marxist concept of a dictatorship in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people, leading toward complete democracy, as opposed to the dictatorship of the exploiting big business minority over the great majority of the working people under capitalism.

This means that all key political, economic and cultural positions will be progressively filled by members of the working class, working peasantry and intellectuals who have allied themselves with the people. This means that, although the socialization of agriculture is only gradually brought about, the kulak (rich farmer who exploits others) will be restricted and heavily taxed. This means that a new people's army, police and state security service composed of and led by working people will stand guard.

The new People's Democracies in Europe and Asia make no bones of the fact that they are states of workers and peasants, that democracy in the bourgeois sense, freedom of press and political organization, for example, cannot be extended to any groups advocating a return to capitalism.

The main difference between the social revolutions in the People's Democracies in eastern Europe and that in the Soviet Union is the relatively peaceful character of the eastern European revolutions. Whereas civil war followed the Russian change, change in eastern Europe was given an open road by the overthrow of fascist state power by the victorious advance of the Soviet Army and their own liberation struggles. Whereas the young Soviet power had

to defend itself against foreign intervention, the very existence of a strong Soviet Union prevented foreign armed intervention. And whereas the Soviet Union had to industrialize and construct socialism alone, the People's Democracies could depend upon substantial material assistance from the Soviet Union and each other.

In addition to outright grants of food during the early drought periods, Soviet trade agreements with the People's Democracies were immensely favorable to the latter. Without Soviet raw materials for key industries (coke, coal, cast iron, iron ores, ferrous metals, cotton, etc.) the People's Democracies would never have been able to resume industrial production, much less double their prewar output, as they have done in five years.

In Hungarian fields we saw cotton grown from Soviet seeds and with the help of the Soviet Union's best agronomists. In formerly backward Bulgaria, we saw great power projects equipped entirely with Soviet machinery and thousands of Soviet trucks and motor busses. In Romania, we saw new Soviet fertilizer and tractor plants, and Soviet cranes, bulldozers and other earth-moving equipment helping to construct the giant Danube-Black Sea Canal. In addition, the Council of Mutual Economic

Assistance, to which all the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union belong, ensures balanced and fruitful trade relations for all.

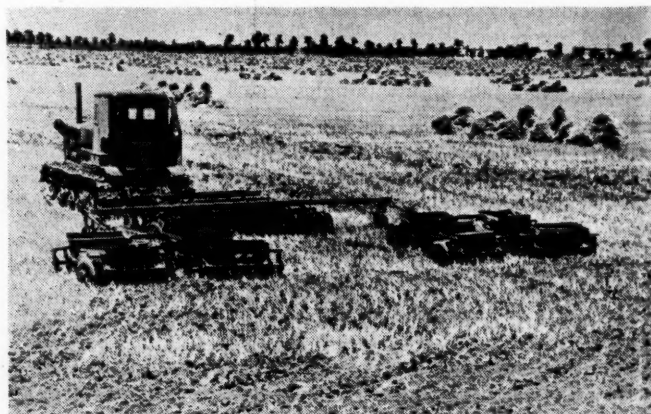
Rooted in People's Coalitions

Although the basic similarity, working class rule, remains, another difference between the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union at the beginning of its transition to socialism lies in the state structure itself. Whereas in the USSR, state power was embodied in the soviets (councils) which existed in factories, the army, villages, towns, and districts, pyramiding up to the Supreme Soviet, the existence of national fronts was the vital political factor in eastern Europe in 1944.

In eastern Europe, parliaments existed and political parties were formed, dissolved and reorganized. In eastern Europe, over and above the existing class structure—landlords, industrialists, the remnants of feudal aristocracy, shopkeepers, industrial workers, landless peasants, middle peasants, rich peasants (kulaks) and intelligentsia—there were the two basic political divisions: fascists and anti-fascists. The Nazi collaborators in government and industry were invariably composed of and operating in the interests of the landlords and big industrialists. But the anti-fascist forces which everywhere during the war had formed some kind of a people's front, included not only working class parties but also parties representing certain sections of the capitalists and middle class which had not directly collaborated with the Nazis.

When the fascists were smashed, thanks to the Soviet Army, by international agreement these anti-Nazi coalitions took over the governing power of their countries.

At Debrecen in Hungary, in December, 1944, the four Independence Front parties (Communist, Social Democratic, Smallholders and National Peasant) formed a Provisional Government which declared war on Nazi Germany, agreed on land reform and partial nationalization of industry. At Kosice in Czecho-



New farming machines from the USSR at work on Hungarian fields.

—Eastfoto

The authors have spent the past five years in eastern Europe. As working journalists they have witnessed the day-to-day change and the major events of the development of people's democracy in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and, before its withdrawal from the people's democratic camp, of Yugoslavia. PETER FURST was a staff correspondent of the British news agency, Reuters, for four years. JUNE CANNAN acted as correspondent of Canadian, British and American publications, including the "London Daily Express," "Religious News Service," and "Telepress." The authors have completed a book entitled "Operation Tito" which is scheduled to be published soon by Lawrence and Wishart in London.

In future articles, the authors will deal separately with each of the People's Democracies.

slovakia, in March, 1945, the National Front (composed of the Communist, Social Democratic, National Socialist, Catholic People's and Slovak Democratic Parties) formed a Government and agreed upon the expulsion of the Germans, land reform, nationalization of large industry. In Poland, at Lublin, on New Year's Eve, 1944, the first post-war Polish Government was formed of members of the Polish Committee of National Liberation and was later broadened to include the least compromised representatives of the thoroughly reactionary Polish Government-in-Exile (Mikolajczyk). In Bulgaria, the wartime Fatherland Front revolted on September 9, 1944, and established an anti-fascist government. In Romania, the coalition, called the National Democratic Front, formed a Government in March, 1945, under the leadership of Petru Groza. In Albania, the first Government was formed at Berat under the leader of the resistance movement, Enver Hoxha.

Elections followed which turned these provisional governments into the legal governments of their countries.

The programs of the different people's fronts had three basic principles in common: punishment and exclusion of fascists from state power, land reform and nationalization of basic industry, the latter a frankly socialist trend which was the result of a recognition on all sides of the practical necessity of central control of industry in the period of urgent reconstruction, the fact that big business collaboration with the enemy made confiscation automatic, and that the majority of parties in the fronts stood, and had always stood, for a socialist program.

Parliamentary Struggles

But a long pull lay ahead before people's democracy could be really established. Nationalization of industry, at best was only partial. Many key industries, the banks, domestic and foreign trade, remained in the hands of private capitalists or foreign monopolies. The

land reform, far from socializing agriculture, made landowners of hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers, and placed few restrictions on rich farmers who continued to buy and sell land and exploit their laborers. Representatives of former ruling circles still held key positions in state administration and education, and, in some countries, opposition parties of a semi-fascist nature (the Slovak People's Party in Czechoslovakia, the Freedom Party in Hungary, for example) sprang up outside the national fronts.

All this was not happening in a vacuum. From the very beginning, attempts had been made by the west to preserve capitalism if possible and restore the countries in Eastern Europe to their pre-war positions in an anti-Soviet cordon sanitaire. This could be done only by forcing the Communists and other left forces out of the governments, regardless of the election results, as was done successfully in France and Italy.

To the dismay of the west, in Bulgaria the Fatherland Front had gained 88 per cent of the votes in 1945 and won a second overwhelming victory a year later. In Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party emerged as the strongest party in the country in the 1946 elections. In Hungary, where the western reactionaries had particularly great hopes as a result of 25 years of fascism and the influence of the Catholic Church, rightwing forces were very strong. In the 1946 elections, the Smallholders, indeed, employing demagogic and chauvinistic slogans, gained 57 per cent of the votes, the Left 41 per cent. However, as the economy was stabilized and the terrible damage of war repaired under able Communist leadership, and the reactionary wing of the Smallholders Party leadership exposed as the tool of foreign and domestic reaction, the people turned to the Communist Party, which emerged as the strongest party in 1947.

Period of Crisis

It was on the issue of further nationalization that the two basic forces—those of socialism and those of capitalism—crystallized within the people's fronts.

In Hungary, for example, this split came in 1947, when the Communist and Social Democratic Parties introduced the Three-Year Plan for Reconstruction which was scheduled to advance industrial production 27 per cent over the prewar level. The Left stood for a minimum of foreign loans for the Plan, demanding instead the nationalization of the big banks. These, between them, controlled 60 per cent of industry, thus holding the key to success or failure of the Plan. The rightwing Smallholders leaders, intimately connected with big banking circles, wanted to leave the banks alone, demanding the financing of



—Eastfoto
A Soviet tractor on a test run near Wroclaw in the Silesian district of Poland.

the Plan with U.S. and British loans.

At the same time, they had already entered into an illegal conspiracy—under western direction—with the aim of ousting the Communists and taking sole power after the signing of the Peace Treaty and the withdrawal of Soviet forces. The plot was discovered. The rightwing Smallholders Premier, Ferenc Nagy, left for the U.S. His party's rank and file replaced the right wing leadership with leaders representing the interests of the people. The banks were nationalized and the Plan successfully fulfilled.

In Czechoslovakia, similar events took place at the beginning of 1948, when the rightwing cabinet ministers sought to sabotage the program of nationalization adopted at Kosice. Resigning from the Government, they hoped to provoke a crisis in which they might take sole power without and against the Communists. Working class demonstrations and the insistence of President Benes on the fulfilment of the Kosice program through a coalition cabinet led by Prime Minister Klement Gottwald as the leader of the strongest party, shipwrecked their plot, and it was they, not the left, who through their own resignations, found themselves out of the Government. Here, too, western "diplomats" had been involved on the side of capitalism.

The controversies over nationalization exposed rightwing Social Democrats as allies of the capitalistic remnants at home and Anglo-U.S. imperialism abroad. Isolated in their parties, they either fled to the west or became embroiled in conspiracies and suffered the

(Continued on page 41)

Young Mothers Discuss Their Problems

**Mothers are an integral part of Soviet life
actively helping to build the new society**

by AMY SCHECHTER

IT WAS A CASE of "Let George do it," as they used to say, or rather "Let Raya do it."

Raya Vasina is a highly talented young engineer at a big auto plant in the Yaroslavl region, an outstanding Komsomol, (member of the Communist Youth League) an excellent mother. The members of the Komsomol Committee at the auto plant describe her as the "ideal" Komsomol, but despite this laudatory attitude a conference of young mothers organized by the Yaroslavl Komsomol Regional Committee blasted the plant committee for their treatment of Raya.

"Raya will see about it, they say. But they don't at all take into consideration the fact that Raya is a mother with a three-year-old son, with a family. And quite untroubled, they keep loading one job on her after another," reports an account of the conference of young mothers sent in to the youth daily, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. "When a job has to be done it is obvious that the comrades say, 'Nichevo, Raya will do it! Our own Raya, what a girl she is!' And Raya of course really will do it, but in the meantime the committee's excessive zeal is preventing her from giving enough attention to bringing up her little son."

"Some of the Komsomol organizations have not yet learned to place a proper value on the individual, to care for the young mother and treat her with consideration."

This is typical of the constant discussions that strongly emphasize the necessity to remember that people are individuals with individual problems and needs, and remain the most important thing of all in the task of building Communism.

The Yaroslavl conference included women from the large textile factory, Krasnaya Perekop, where a majority of the workers are women, and that has a Komsomol organization of over 2,000, from the Yaroslavl Railroad administration, the auto plant, a shoe factory, a tire factory and many others.

N. Lavrova, wrote of the conference:

"What a fine good feeling the word Mother awakes in us . . . It is mother who caresses us when we are children and leads us into life with a steady hand."

. . . The work of raising children is not easy, especially for the young and inexperienced mother. A cordial relationship with the comrades among whom she lives and works means a great deal to her, and it is very important for her to remain a part of communal life and also not to bury away her desire to know more but to keep on with her studies.

"These and many other questions the Komsomol-mothers discussed at this unusual conference, at which the talking was not done by secretaries of district committees and delegates from leading organizations as is usual at regional meetings, but all of it by the youthful mothers themselves."

Especially strong criticism was voiced against the secretary of the leading Komsomol Committee, herself a woman, who should have known better, Asa Kukushina. When she happened to meet one of the young mothers, speakers said, she would throw an indifferent greeting at them in passing: "Well, how's everything? Your kid born yet? It's alright?"

"And that was all," adds the correspondent. "Asa Kukushina felt that this exhausted her responsibilities in regard to the young mothers!" And, she asks, "wasn't it this cold indifference that began the alienation of many of the young mothers from Komsomol groups? . . . The responsibilities of the young mothers are great—they have to make nourishing, tasty meals for her child, but not all of them know how to do this, perhaps to sew for her little daughter or son . . .

Was it really so difficult to consult the doctor on how to set up courses to teach the young mother these things? All this is nothing new and it is all very simple, but it was not done."

Young Nina Ribina who belonged to the Komsomol group at the Yaroslavl Railroad Administration was one of the speakers at the conference.

"Even now I can't forget the first two months after my little boy was born. Just think, not a single one of them bothered to come and see if I had a daughter or a son. And then I thought, our Komsomol group considers me useless now, there is nothing more to expect from me. It was an insult for them to think about me this way."

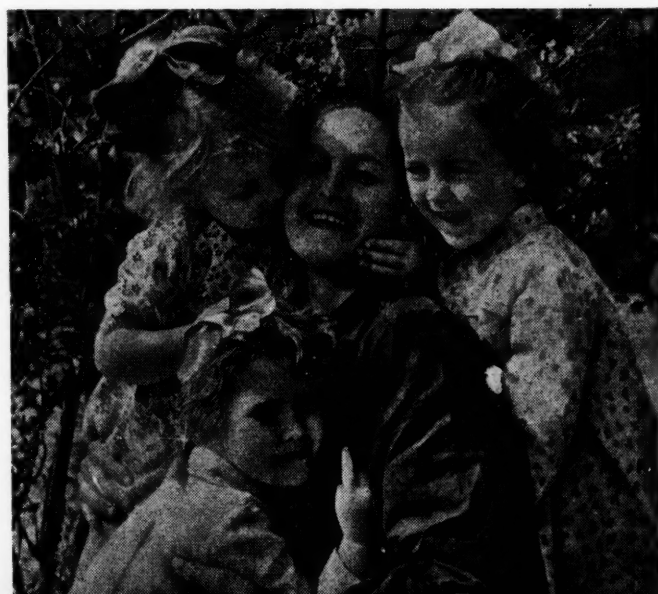
Komsomolskaya Pravda puts the sub-head "Justified Outrage" over the girl's story, and correspondent Lavrova adds her comment: "The birth of a child is a very great joy to its mother; it is quite unpardonable for careless and indifferent people to cast a shadow over her happiness."

Another young mother, Luisya Konienko, a former member of the Sverkhod Shoe Factory group, told the conference:

"The way they see it, if a Komsomol becomes a mother she's lost to them. The comrades don't want to understand that it's not us mothers who have cut ourselves off from the life of the collective, but the collective, the Komsomol committee, that has turned away from us."

In the report of this Yaroslavl con-

Mothers at work or at school have peace of mind knowing that the young ones are receiving the best attention and real affection at the kindergarten. Here is a Stalingrad kindergarten teacher with her charges.



ference, and also in numerous other communications to the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and other papers and journals, the Soviet concept of the mother emerges, equally distant from the perverted and foolish "Mom" ideas, and from the "Kinde-kuche" formula. The mother must have every aid in carrying out her day-to-day material responsibilities to her child and her family, but she must also be helped, and help herself, to remain a part of communal life, to keep on studying and broadening her knowledge and her personality both for her own sake and to make her fit to bring up her child as part of Soviet society.

Says the Yaroslavl report:

"The months pass swiftly and the young mother, without noticing what is happening, gets out of the habit of collective living; every day problems begin to blot out everything else. The infant is now a child and now he not only needs someone to feed him and sew for him but someone who can tell him wonderful tales, acquaint him with the world around him, educate him. And obviously the mother who can do this most successfully is the one who has not limited herself to household affairs but who participates actively in communal life, reads, studies, goes to the theater and the cinema. Such a mother has a great deal to give to her child, and will know how to train him as a real builder of Communism."

Anya Golovataya told the meeting about her children with enormous pride:

"I have two children, a daughter and a son. They never keep me from working or studying. In our factory we have first rate nurseries and kindergartens and my children grew up in them. Now they are already going to school; they are good at their studies and they even help me at home. We have a friendly happy home. I don't know about others but I find I can keep up with my work, handle my Komsomol assignments on time, and now I'm preparing to join the Communist Party. And I can't imagine living any other way."

Anya is right, says the correspondent. "In this country of ours all the conditions have been created that make it possible for the mother, busy with raising a family, to work, grow along creative lines, live an interesting life. To serve her there are doctor's consultations, nurseries, etc. She may go to adult evening school, study at technical institutes, visit theaters and clubs. But in many cases she forgets these possibilities, and through her inexperience is led astray by false ideas, beginning to regard her household duties in the same way our babushkas, grandmothers, once regarded them: You get married and then your whole destiny from there on is children and kitchen. It is the task of the Komsomol organization to help the young



A typical milk kitchen (upper) found in every district of Moscow where, under a physician's prescription and supervision, each child's formula is prepared. A kindergarten (lower) where children play and learn while mother works or studies

mother here too, aiding her to free herself of the harmful ideas long ago rejected by our whole way of life."

A number of letters, from both young men and women, to this same daily stress this need of the young girl, who has been active in communal affairs, not to bury herself away when she marries and has a family to look out for. They lay special emphasis on the great responsibility of Komsomol groups in this connection, even in the midst of the tremendous construction program in which the youth is playing such an important part today.

An issue of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* dated some time before the Yaroslavl conference, carries a leading editorial based on a letter received from Vladimir Smirnov. His sister, Valentina, has turned to him for advice: She has been dropped from the Komsomol organization for non-attendance at meetings and at study circles, and failure to carry out

assignments or pay her dues. She has a little boy, and family duties seemed to make these activities impossible.

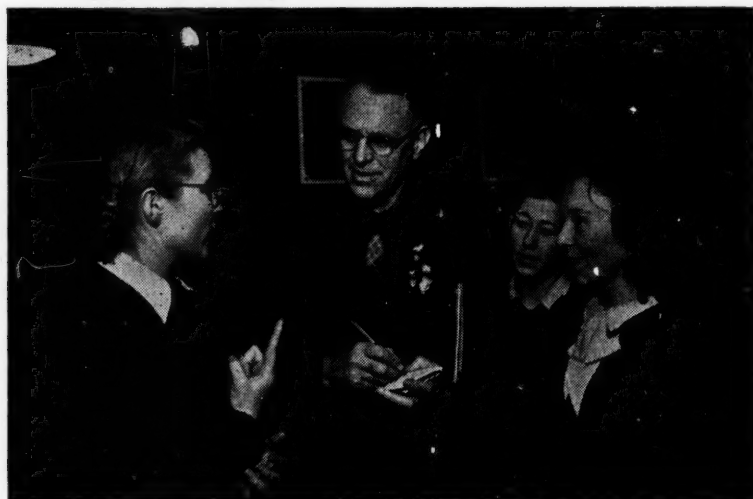
"At the beginning I did not think much about it, but now I feel that I have not acted properly. . . . I find myself outside of collective life." Her husband is a member of the Communist Party, and "always in the thick of events," and he "decides important questions."

The editorial says that Smirnov, blaming his sister, still more blames the Komsomol organization in the Pashsk district of the Leningrad region to which she belonged, and that "parted so lightly with a Komsomol girl."

"This letter," says the editorial, "raises important questions in connection with the education of our young women. In our country they occupy a most honored place in the ranks of Soviet workers; one of our most important victories is women's active participation in the communal life of the country. (Cont. on page 47)

I Met These Soviet People

by **HOLLAND ROBERTS**



In the Kirov House of Culture in Leningrad, Dr. Holland Roberts interviews some Leningrad University students

WHAT GREAT achievement of the Soviet Union stands out in the minds of the nineteen Americans who visited the USSR in November and December, 1950?

After going over in our thoughts the streaming, efficient production of the vast factories, the beautiful reconstructed cities with their mile on mile of newly built, modern apartments, the rich Palaces of Culture for the people, the free health program, the new democratic principle of unanimity exemplified in the Soviet election practices, and the preoccupation of the entire population with peaceful living, we came to one conclusion. The greatest accomplishment in the panorama of Soviet achievements is the people.

Human nature has been changed in the short period since the Revolution in so many fundamental ways that the old world can no longer exist. The Soviet people are final proof that mankind can become one family—peaceful, friendly, courteous, generous, happy—interested in the common good. They are irrefutable evidence that greed, racial, national and religious prejudice, the exploitation of men and women and children, and war, can be banished from the earth. Man need no longer be a wolf to man.

To show how this is so, I want to tell about the ordinary people we met casually in our travels and the conditions of their lives which have made them a new type of human being.

Alexandra Alexandrova is a hostess we met on the plane on the way to Stalin-grad.

She is an attractive, healthy brunette of 28 who was born near Moscow and has always lived there. Her parents were collective farmers; both of them died in 1933 when she was eleven, but she was well taken care of under the law which protects orphaned children, provided with every opportunity, and graduated in 1940 from high school where she gave particular attention to history and literature. She spent the war

years working at a heavy bomber base and then several years in an office as a clerical worker before she took a special one-month course to prepare her for her present work as an air hostess.

When Alexandra mentioned that she was married to a pilot, I asked her if she had met her husband on the job. Her eyes glinted as she replied: "First I married a pilot, and then I took up flying." Let no one mistake the situation—the pilot had come to her!

Her wages are based on the number of miles flown monthly and they vary from 1200 to 1500 rubles a month. Her husband earns 2500 to 3000 rubles monthly, and their combined income is ample for their needs. For convenience they have two furnished apartments, two rooms at a Moscow airport and a large room and bath in the city. The total rent for both apartments is 50 rubles a month.

Shakespeare Her Favorite

For recreation she and her husband go ice-skating and spend many evenings at the movies and the theater. She enjoys historical novels and we found common ground in Alexei Tolstoi's *Road to Calvary*, *Bread* and the prose of Siminov. She has read some of Howard Fast and Dickens and earlier a good deal of Jack London, but Shakespeare is her major center of interest. She has read all of his works. *Romeo and Juliet* is absorbing but *Hamlet* is always her favorite and she returns to the tragedy of the brooding Dane again and again.

There was no sign of hysteria or even excitement when I asked her about the danger of war. She answered with calm conviction: "The movement for peace is too strong. War will be defeated."

For contrast it was interesting to meet Adrian N. Volkov, the conductor on the sleeper in the train we rode to Leningrad. The train left promptly at midnight, November 28, from the Moscow-Leningrad Station, and as soon as we were out of the city I invited him to

come into our compartment and we began an hour-long conversation.

He is 62 years old, a longtime resident of Leningrad, and has worked on this one line for 27 years. Before that he spent 8 years on another. He was born in a village in the Kalinin district and worked as a laborer on his father's ten-acre farm. They could not make a living on this land and when he could get a job he worked in the nearby stove factory. During the first World War he spent four years in the army and then took an active part in the Revolution. Here he began his life work as a railroad man, and joined a squad of railroad workers to destroy the tracks and yards when counter-revolutionists of General Yudenich were approaching Leningrad. He was one of the workers who met Lenin at the railroad station on his return from exile in 1917.

In World War II he used his skill as a railroad man and during the siege of Leningrad he spent his entire time with his train. When the Germans cut the railroad in September, 1941, the train took a back route to Moscow. Once he saved the passengers by getting them out of the cars during a bombing attack. Finally, he went back to Leningrad in 1943 and served the troops in the trains as they moved about in the defense. For seven months during the siege of Leningrad he lived on 250 grams of bread a day and a small monthly ration of sugar. After the siege was lifted he went back on the line.

He is very proud of his family, a son, two daughters and five grandchildren. One son was killed near Smolensk in August, 1941. He spends his vacations with his son who is a Lieutenant Colonel and teaches in a military school.

His base salary is 700 rubles a month plus a third for long service, and an

extra amount for over-fulfilling the program, a total of 1,000 rubles a month. In addition, he receives a pension of 320 rubles a month which started at age 60. His three-room apartment in Leningrad has central heating, hot water from the central system, gas and electricity. His rent, plus fee for the radio, amounts to 60 rubles a month. His working day averages eight hours. On the 12-hour trip from Moscow to Leningrad he divides the working time with another man, then he has a day off before he starts the return trip. He has 18 days paid vacation and generally takes two or three additional on his own.

In 1939, he was ill and his union gave him a free ticket for a sanitarium where he spent three months at no cost. He came back entirely cured of his liver complaint, and a bundle of bonds which he had bought with the full salary he had been paid during his illness.

Who Can Order Me?

Of course I asked him about his position on peace. "All the railroad workers signed the Stockholm Appeal," he said with emphasis. "Now they're working at *storm tempo*; if the Plan calls for the repair of six locomotives, they do seven—one for peace. We're trying through our labor to establish peace in the world."

"Did you sign the Stockholm Appeal voluntarily," someone asked? "Of course," he replied. "Who can order me? I want peace. If there's war, my son may be killed."

Children occupy a special place in the life of Soviet people. In Leningrad, in the Kirov district, we visited a kindergarten. Here in a simple two-story stucco building we found four groups of children, twenty to twenty-five in a group. We came in during the children's rest period and saw them all asleep in their beds.

The worker in charge explained to us that each group of twenty-five children is housed in a separate section of the building with a special entrance. Each one of these units is directed by a skilled teacher who supervises their playroom, lunch room and sleeping room; and the individual lockers in the hall just outside the toilet. The pleasant woman in charge of the first unit introduced us to the nurse who served the entire group of nearly 100. In the building we were visiting additional medical service is furnished by a pediatrician who comes twice a week. She examines the children thoroughly in the fall and then again every two or three months, takes care of the illnesses reported by the nurse, prescribes special diets and supervises sanitation. In all, there's a staff of 21 for each 100 children.

Here as everywhere in our trip in the Soviet Union we found a deep concern

DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS was chairman of the American Peace Delegation that visited the Soviet Union. He is the President of the American Russian Institute in San Francisco and Director of the California Labor School.

for the welfare of the children which found its most visible expression in the carefully devised buildings and physical arrangements. Along with it and interwoven with it went love for each child as the teachers, nurses and other kindergarten workers told us about their work.

We saw how such affectionate care was lavished upon the children everywhere in the Soviet Union when we visited the Leningrad Palace of Culture in November. Here we saw the Folk Dance Club for girls 14 and 15 and for boys. We talked to one fine lad, Pinte, who took the lead. He is 18 and is working in a factory while he goes to high school. Quickly he took the initiative away from us to ask how the youth of the United States are working against those who call for a preventive war.

Children Ask Peace

"We wish that the older people in the world would demand peace and stop the war in Korea," he said. "My father was killed during the war and my brother injured. I hope that the Warsaw Peace Congress guarantees us against war. Give my greetings to the youth in the United States, especially the Negro youth and to the leaders for peace."

Pinte proved to be representative of Soviet youth. When I asked a sturdy boy in a Pioneer club in the Stalin Palace of Culture in Moscow (the Stalin Plant makes the famous ZIS luxury car and heavy duty trucks), "Why are you working for peace," he answered:

"It is a good question. We do not want war because we know what awful destruction it brings and our march to Communism will be delayed."

I turned to a tall lovely girl opposite him and she said with quiet conviction, "Of course we do not want war. We want to enter college. I would like you to tell the people and children of the United States that we Soviet youth all want to join hands with them against the instigators of war. We want to learn and to live our happy lives."

Soviet people, like people everywhere, grow upon you as their personalities reveal themselves in many different situations, but one of the most unforgettable characters in my gallery of Soviet friends I met only once at the farewell party given for our delegation by the All-Soviet Peace Society. She was a striking figure in the gleaming banquet hall, a tall woman with almost snow-white hair.

I watched the sympathetic understanding move among the shadows of her

changing face as she talked to our delegates and someone beside me asked, "Do you know who she is?" And then answered without pausing, "That's Zoya's mother."

Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya—and I had always thought of her mother as a subdued, weathered, little woman, standing battered but unbowed. And now this commanding, beautiful woman, in a black evening gown, all kindness and graciousness, making certain that all our delegates and especially our nine Negro members were enjoying this final evening among their Soviet friends. As she took my hand I could see traces of tragedy in her face but no self-pity, nor the brooding sorrow I looked for. Instead dignity and sure quiet strength.

As she spoke of her work in the great Soviet peace movement, I thought: Only nine years ago this fall your Zoya was leading her senior class here in Moscow's Public High School 201, and you saw her and her brother Shura off to school every morning and welcomed them home at night. You talked with them daily about the war and all of your hearts grew heavy as the fascist robbers drew closer to Moscow.

Soon you heard Zoya's decision, "Mother, I must leave school and join the Partisans. I must fight for our dear Soviet land."

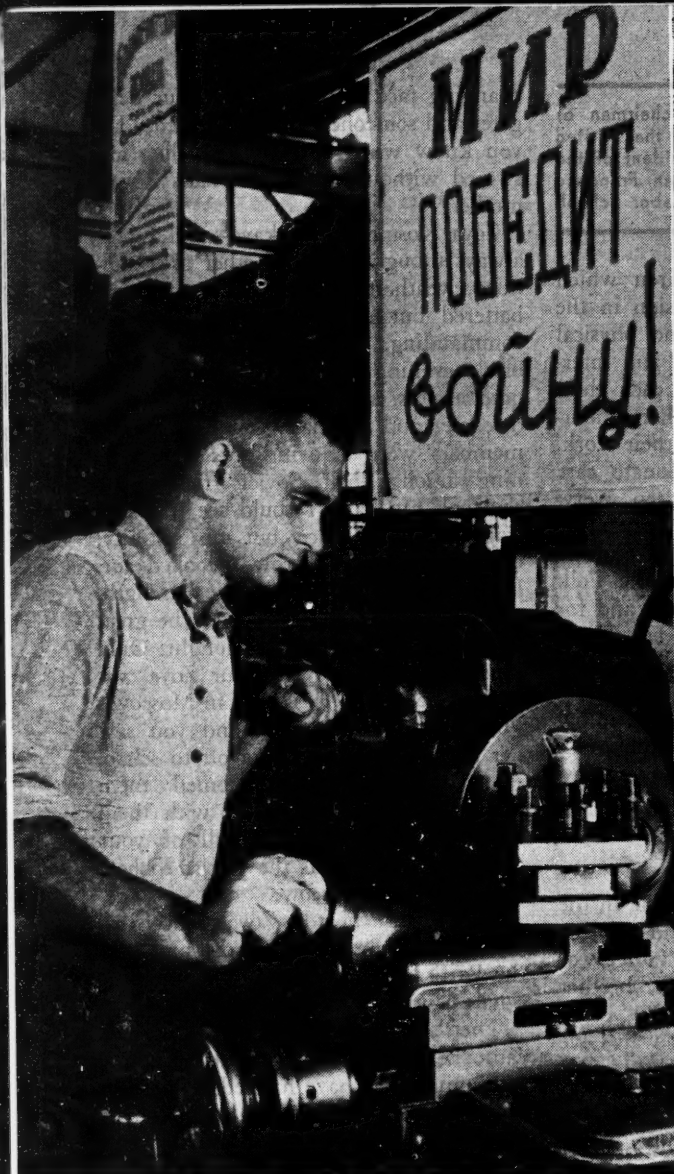
Then a few weeks of silence and word came: Zoya has been captured and the Nazi murderers have hanged her. That night you listened to Shura tell you that he and eight of Zoya's classmates had joined the Red Army. Shura, who was to suffer many wounds in the years ahead and to die thirteen days before Soviet power blasted the last Nazi from the bunkers of Berlin.

All of this and Zoya's flaming words of defiance as the Nazi noose tightened around her slender schoolgirl neck ran through my mind as I talked with her mother about our joint work for peace.

We Must Work for Peace

We must work harder, I thought as we said "goodbye," redouble our efforts and find new ways to build peace in America—to save other Zoyas and Shuras in both the Soviet Union and the United States, and to make certain that the lives of the mothers are filled with the meanings of life and happiness.

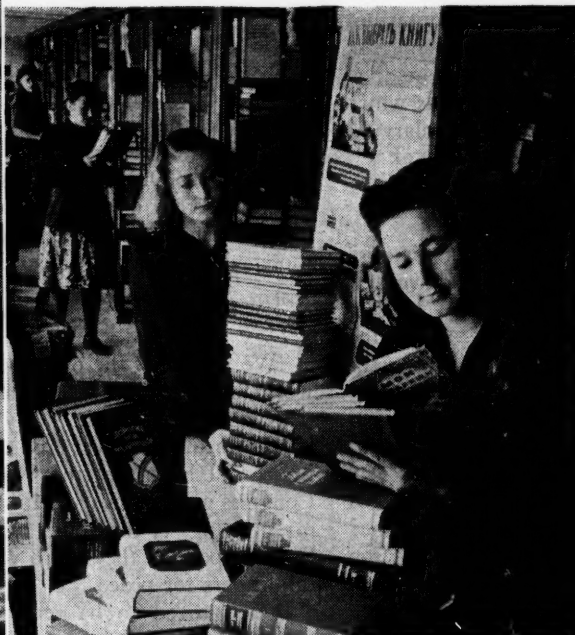
Our American delegation came back to the United States with the conviction that the Soviet people command the respect of all who know them. That they are united as no other people we have ever met, and that they are resolutely and single-mindedly working to develop the rich resources of their vast land, and that nothing—nothing except unprovoked aggression—can swerve them from the paths of peace.



"Peace Will Conquer War!" reads the sign over the lathe of Stalingrad Tractor Plant's outstanding high-speed operator. He is able to cut 1300 meters per minute.



Stalingrad Tractor Plant, only a few years ago the scene of the bitterest fighting, now turns out these tractors for peaceful work on the state and collective farms of the USSR.



Kaliningrad District book center serves 400 libraries, distributing some 250,000 books. This lot is for a village library in the area.



Byelorussian industry, war-torn and destroyed by the Nazis, is now producing in honor of peace.

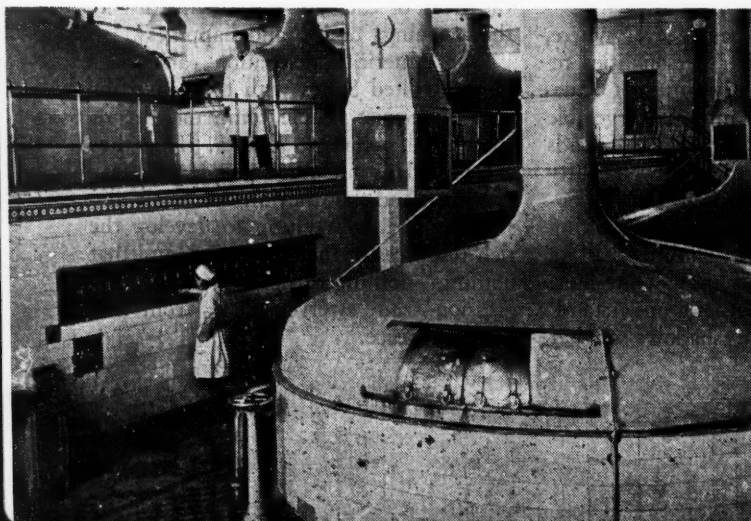
The nineteen American Peace delegates who recently returned from a visit to the USSR were all impressed by two things—the profound and universal desire of the Soviet people for Peace, and their intensive peacetime activity in every phase of life. These two observations, however, are really one. The end of 1950 saw the completion of the postwar Five-Year Plan. And what a wind-up! The output of consumer goods during the period increased

PEACE IS THE WAY

between 20 and 60 per cent. The volume of industrial production surpassed pre-war level by 70 per cent. National income was 60 per cent above pre-war, and labor productivity rose 40 per cent. How does this tie in with

This mechanized brewery pledged more beer for the people of the Soviet capital, and made sure that they got it

This gas appliance factory in Moscow is also standing watch for peace by making more and better gas ranges for homes

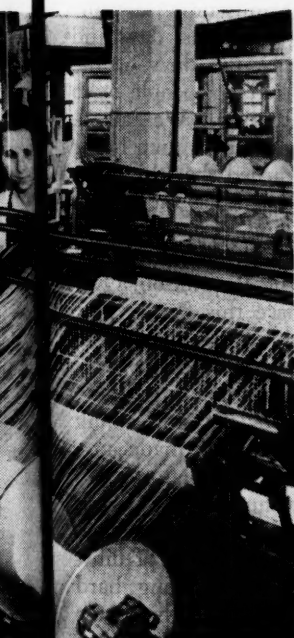




Estonian Academician Paul Kochorman helps a student with his research at the Tallin Institute



Working two coupled combines, this crew on a Stalingrad state grain farm pledged to fight for peace by harvesting 3,000 acres in 20 days



A miner in metallurgy who nearly tripled his plan for the second quarter of 1950 as his contribution to what they call the "Peace Watch"

dustry
ed, was all but
the N
ery mill boosted
onor
Peace Congress.

THE WATCHWORD

the Soviet peoples' deep love for Peace? Very directly. Last year they pledged to increase output above the plan—in every field—as a pledge to Peace. Concretely it meant exceeding daily, weekly and even monthly norms

of output. Specifically it meant overfulfillment of the grand Plan. Thus, the steel workers exceeded the Plan by 2,200,000 tons of steel, by 2,630,000 tons of rolled steel, and by 440,000 tons of iron tube. Oil workers produced 2,200,000 additional tons of oil; coal miners, an additional 14,000,000 tons of coal. On these pages we show a few fields in which the Soviet people, in the name of Peace, have added to the well-being of their land.

Milk trucks, off the line and ready to go into service. They were made at the Leningrad Machine-Building Plant.

Plenty of new buses for comfortable travel. These were just completed at the Stalin Automobile Plant in Moscow



A Whole Country United in Peaceful Construction

by REV. ROBERT W. MUIR

WHEN we first got to Moscow, we were asked to write down all the things we wanted to do and see. Our requests were many, and everything possible was done to meet them in the short span of our visit. On the go from 16 to 18 hours a day for almost two weeks our notebooks became stuffed with facts, and impressions drawn from those facts.

Take, for instance, the first day we were in Moscow. We toured the city in the morning: Moscow University, museums, libraries, dingy houses alongside the bright, new workers' homes, and houses which were going up in all sections of the city; stores bursting with people and adequately stocked, historic points of pre- and post-Revolutionary days, squares dedicated to Russia's great people; streets widened by moving large buildings without interrupting telephone, electricity, heat or water services!

In the afternoon we visited a department store where we purchased clothing equal to their vigorous weather. And then on to a concert at the Chaikovsky Theater. The singing and dancing were superb. When the announcer said, "This concert is dedicated to our dear friends, the Australians and Americans, who have come to visit the Soviet Union from the Second World Congress for Peace," instantly the audience of over 1,000 people stood up and applauded. The applause lasted for several minutes, and it was fervent. The Australians and Americans, quaintly, applauded back!

Emphasis on Peace

The emphasis was upon peace, and the impression was that these people were applauding not us Americans or Australians as such, but the whole prospect and necessity for peace. That was the impression of the whole first day.

We went to Leningrad, under the siege for some 900 days of the war. Bombed from the air, shelled from the ground almost continuously for three years, hardly a mark of the war remains today. We talked to 10-year-old youngsters, who seemed small in stature in comparison to our American 16-year-olds. This was because they had had little and sometimes no food for almost three years. We talked to workers in



Rev. Robert W. Muir, making a plea for peace, describes here what he observed on his visit to the USSR.

their homes and factories who had lived through the war. We talked to women who had themselves fought to preserve Leningrad from falling into the hands of Hitler. Yes, the people of Leningrad know war—and above all else desire peace.

We went to Stalingrad, the defense of which was the turning point of the whole war. We talked to children who had lived in Stalingrad during the siege, and who were now playing in the snow, throwing snow balls like any other group of youngsters anywhere in the world, and heard them explain how they had lived in the holes and trenches. We stayed in a hotel which was across the street from where von Paulus had surrendered. And everywhere one looked there were marks of destroyed houses and buildings. The destruction was so complete that even five years' work has not been able to wipe out the ugly scars of war. Stalingrad was saved—but at the cost of Stalingrad. Russia was saved—but at the cost of 15 million lives and over one-fourth of the nation's resources. Yes, the people of

REV. ROBERT W. MUIR is a Protestant Episcopal clergyman of Boston, Chairman of the Massachusetts Action Committee for Peace, and Co-Director of "Workers of the Common Life."

Stalingrad, and the people of the Soviet Union, know what war is—and above all else desire peace.

We went to their museums, saw the recorded life during the tsarist days and the recorded life since the days of the Revolution. We talked to people who have lived in both periods. We talked, for instance, to a family in its own home in Leningrad. We learned that this family (and countless others) has more than twice as much living space (dining room, living room and two bed rooms) as they had before the Revolution. Over and above living space this family now has a bathroom and kitchen, neither of which was included in the workers' houses before the Revolution.

We went through Soviet factories built since 1925, maintained and made productive mostly by their own efforts. We discussed with our hosts and friends the new hydroelectric plants and irrigation projects of Stalingrad and Kuibyshev. We watched women doing hard physical labor alongside men; they were going to the opera that night, sitting in the box once set aside for only the tsar! We visited their schools and churches, and talked to the teachers and church leaders. And from all these facts before our eyes, what were our impressions?

Soviet Progress Remarkable

My vivid impression was that the progress the Soviet people have made in such a short space of time is simply unbelievable! To see a whole people stand together for the reconstruction and building up of their country; to see mighty projects such as factories, dams, forests, houses, cultural buildings and the like spring up; to see an illiterate people suddenly write novels, produce first-rate films, and blossom in all cultural pursuits—drama, ballet, folklore; to learn of the development of scientists, artists, and technicians equal to any in the world—to see all these things that have occurred practically over night is simply to marvel again at the progress the Soviet people have made in such a short space of time!

There will be those die-hards who insist that these are the things the Russians wanted us to see. And they will be right. The Russians wanted us to see

(Continued on page 46)



WARSAW

A Month Later

A letter from ELIZABETH MOOS

Dear Friends:

I understand that some of the media of "information" in the United States, worried by the fact that some sixty men and women brought back first-hand news of the realities of life in Warsaw, have been trying to lessen the effect of this glimpse of truth by stories that there was a lot of "window-dressing" to impress the foreign visitors, that things after the Congress lapsed back into the sad state which the U.S. press has always described.

I don't think many people will be fooled by that sort of talk but just to have the record clear I want to tell you something about how Warsaw looked a month after the Congress.

I returned to that dynamic city of peace soon after Christmas. The progress that had been made in that month was astounding. Where there had been only a hole in the ground, there were homes ready for roofing. Blocks where there had been jagged peaks and twisted iron of some huge wreck were gone and a level space was being prepared for another park. The beautiful housing development for workers that I thought would need another six months to finish was being lived in.

Like a Motion Picture

I felt as one does when watching one of those scientific motion pictures where the growth process is speeded up and you see the buds open into blossoms and the fern fronds uncurl! A walk down the street was a series of surprises. New stores, new coffee shops. Many newly opened "milk bars" where for a couple of zloties one may have big mugs of hot milk or cocoa, eggs, rolls and butter. The store windows, far from having less goods—remember the story that the windows we admired were artificially filled to impress us?—the stores have a much greater variety and abundance of all sorts of things. Prices, you know, were reduced by 20 per cent for shoes and clothes the first of the year and what a variety and what excellent shoes there are! Food is much more abundant, especially vegetables and fruits. Recently frozen foods have been put on the market and they are cheap and good; butter and eggs are plentiful.

Certain aspects of the city that, in the rush of the Congress one might not be aware of, impressed me. The fact that

here, where in almost every block there is either a crumbling ruin with its rubble piles or a building being demolished to make room for a new one or a building in construction with all that means in the way of dirt, in spite of the fact that some streets and many sidewalks are not yet repaired, the streets are very clean. There is never a scrap of paper, never a bit of garbage to be seen. Huge trucks of the most modern design make a daily round and all day long the streets are being swept and scrubbed. We have had several snow storms but the streets were quickly cleared.

I have been going to the schools almost every day and I go when they open and watch the children come and I see what they wear. These folk know how to be warm and comfortable no matter what the thermometer says and the children especially are well clothed. Woolen ski pants, knit leggings, long woolen stockings inside high felt boots is the usual underpinning for all ages under twelve and even then plenty of the older children wear this sensible costume. The coats and hoods are often leather, embroidered and fur lined.

The tiny ones go about in fur coats and hoods often of white. I saw a group from a workers kindergarten start out for a walk. There were a dozen or more in these lovely white fur coats and hoods with tassels. Their sweet rosy faces are a delight to see.

This business of clothes is of course a superficial aspect of this place but because there seem to be such confused ideas about it, I mention the fact that on the street any day you see women construction workers in quilted coats and trousers and warm high boots, you see many more working women in ample wool coats with fur collars, skirts and felt boots. There are plenty too in modish suits and coats and hats, with stockings that look like nylon and dainty shoes protected by the elegant pale grey rubber glove-fitting overshoes.

The stockings, by the way are "stylons" a Polish nylon. Some women here tell me they are very good but that the French nylon is better and for the U.S.

ELIZABETH MOOS was formerly director of Hessian Hills School, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y., and is a graduate of the Russian Institute of Columbia University. She is now making a study of the educational system in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

brand they have not a kind word. Terrible! They used to want them, now they are so bad—"the first time you wear them they get tears and snags." In short—the people are well and suitably dressed.

Another bit of gossipy news that amused me was about the Voice of America. Everybody here has short wave and could listen if they cared to. They often turn it on—I heard it many times when I was in the mountains at a vacation home. But, they say, "why do they try to tell us about our own country? Such silly lies. You hear about how we have nothing to eat while you are at dinner stuffing yourself. You hear about how we are all sad and it comes over at a big gay workers party. Maybe they could tell things about the States, but for this nobody listens anymore."

Warsaw is pervaded with expression of the peoples' determination to defend the Peace. The lovely white doves still fly on windows of homes and schools and offices. There are thousands of posters, new ones every week and all on the theme of peace.

Peace in the Schools

The schools are doing a wonderful job of peace education. The little ones understand the world situation better than most adults in some other lands. They tell you clearly, we know there are two Americas, we know there is the one of Truman and MacArthur and bombs, and the other of peace-fighters. Tell them we don't want any more war. I have a poem that I heard in one school—when it is translated I will send it. There are so many songs and poems and plays on that subject! The paintings of the children and the youth tell the same story.

The Christmas trees that were in squares and schools and hotels and homes were decorated with the dove and "peace" in all languages. Because they know the way to work for peace, the trees had the 6-year plan in gay colors, and quantities of the tractors and trains and automobiles in bright paper were strung from top to bottom of the big Christmas firs. I want our delegates to be sure—I think they are—that if they had more time to have a deeper view of this nation their feeling of admiration and love for the people would increase. What we all saw then is permanent and growing stronger and surer every day.

BRITISH REACTIONS TO U. S. POLICIES

by D. N. PRITT

WHAT are the present reactions in Britain to U.S. foreign policy?

At the outset, one must realize two things. The first is that a high percentage of the British public is still only interested in foreign politics when these impinge directly on its daily life, as when men are called up from Army reserve, or sent to Malaya or Korea.

As crime and sex and pictorial matter take up most of the scanty pages of the press, very little foreign news seeps through to the public, and millions of people really do not know what is going on. For instance, the *Daily Herald* (the "organ of the Government") of January 22, devoted only a few inches of biased comment, with no real statement of the contents, to a long and important Soviet note giving the clearest possible warning that the USSR will not tolerate a rebuilding of German military force. Readers are thus kept entirely in the dark as to something which may affect their whole future.

The other main source of news, the BBC, colors everything with its peculiar anti-Soviet bias, so that the source is poisoned from the start.

There is thus no opportunity for most people to hear or consider "the other side" to any argument—a surprising situation in a country of so-called Free Press and free democracy.

The second thing to realize is that those who do take an intelligent interest in foreign affairs, whether on the Left or on the Right, have grown much more critical during recent weeks, not only of U.S. foreign policy but also of British Government timidity in resisting its dangers; and the criticism is now growing so quickly that it may really change the whole international scene.

Feelings of General Public

The outstanding fact about the feelings of the general British public is that practically everyone in every class really wants peace, and recognizes that if the United States decides on war, the United Kingdom, even if it should try to remain neutral, will inevitably become a legitimate

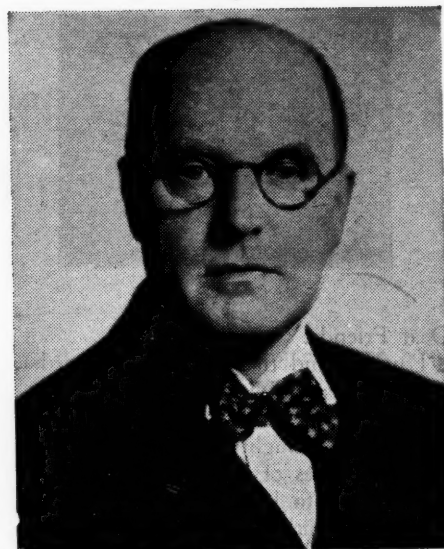
D. N. PRITT, K.C., distinguished attorney and former Labor M.P., is Chairman of the British Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR.

military target so long as our Government provides bombing bases for America on British soil. This means something very real to the British who have first-hand knowledge of what war means to their cities. To illustrate the longing for peace I may quote a small example from my own experience. A few weeks ago I wrote a protest to one of the national papers which had accused "Russia" of preparing for war. I gave a list of indisputable facts to show that Russia wanted peace, based on my recent visit, and I induced the editor to print my letter, though he printed side by side with it a virulent editorial seeking to deny all my facts. I myself was at once flooded with letters from people, almost all of them non-political, asking for assurances to give them confidence that I was right; and I learned unofficially that of the many letters written at the same time to the newspaper, over 80 per cent approved of my article or sought similar assurances. (The newspaper did not print one of these!)

Unfortunately, while all long for peace, too many accept war as inevitable. Years of Tory propaganda against the Labor Party have persuaded many that they have no democratic power to stop the Government doing what it wills—or what Washington tells it to will. Some of them say sadly: "We can't do anything to stop another war. We have to do as we are ordered, whether we approve or not." It is the task of the British Peace Committee to alter this attitude; and I think that more and more people are recognizing that if they want peace they can have it if they do something active to secure it.

It is fortunate for the cause of peace that U.S. foreign policy, the effects of rearmament at home, and the slow realization of the good behavior of the Soviet Union in international relations, are all likely to assist and widen the will to "do something positive about peace" in the coming months.

When the fighting began in Korea last June, the British public swallowed without much question the story that the North Koreans, acting on Russian orders, had attacked the South; and when the United States stampeded the United Nations into armed intervention the voices



D. N. Pritt

raised in protest in Britain were few indeed and mostly from the Left. Little was known about Korea, and no one then expected British troops to take part in the fighting, because the Americans, it was said, would end the whole business within a few weeks! When, however, it became clear that the North Koreans were fighting like lions against intervention, as people do when they have won their freedom and the right to build up their own country, and when reports from journalists began to betray the corrupt nature of the Syngman Rhee régime which British lads were asked to defend with their lives, some sections of the Labor movement at any rate became uneasy. Whilst still clinging to the official view that it was "all Russia's fault" and that the "United Nations" action was correct, they showed their growing disgust by criticism of the ruthless destruction by indiscriminate American mechanized warfare (cruelly manifest to everyone who watched a newsreel in a cinema; there were many instances of people walking out in the middle of newsreels on Korea in silent disgust and horror).

No False Heroics

They then buoyed themselves up with hopes that Gen. MacArthur would be restrained at the 38th Parallel and a compromise effected. The ordinary non-political citizen still took the line: "So long as my boy or my husband is not called up, this Korean affair has nothing to do with me." There were none of the false heroics of a "holy crusade against Communism" that accompanied the departure of American soldiers to Korea; but there was still a dreary acceptance of the "inevitable."

The clear warning by the Chinese Peoples' Republic that it would go to the help of the Korean people if the 38th Parallel were crossed was, of course, played down by official and press sources.

But when the effects of Chinese assistance produced severe military reverses for the so-called "United Nations" forces, there was a sudden and surprising reaction against any notion that the war might be extended to China. By this time, too, many British citizens realized that they were backing up a rotten régime in Korea, and the combination of arrogant boasts and disaster which characterized MacArthur's actions had so sickened opinion that suggestions that we ought to get out and leave Korea to the Koreans began to be voiced openly, even in the anti-Soviet *Manchester Guardian*.

To this slowly increasing anxiety, there came in December a dramatic shock. President Truman's ill-chosen remarks on the use of the atom bomb against China (modified shortly after) became known; and within minutes of the announcement the British public—including a large number of even Right-Wing Labor Members of Parliament—had reacted violently against any such proposal and were declaring that if Truman used the atom bomb to spread the war to China British troops should be withdrawn from Korea at once. The Prime Minister had to respond to the intense public feeling—expressed in most newspapers and above all in his own Parliamentary Party—and fly to Washington to talk to the President.

Anti-War Elements Mixed

The elements which go to make up the strong British resistance to war against China are mixed. The most general one is the fear that war against China would produce an immediate reaction by China's friend, Soviet Russia, and bring us all straight into a Third World War. There is also a good deal of incoherent feeling that if only MacArthur had been ordered to stop at the 38th Parallel the Chinese would never have intervened, and so "it is all the fault of the Americans."

But there is in addition an almost inexplicable but very widespread sympathy for the Chinese people and the New China. I call it "inexplicable" only because we have not been allowed to know very much about New China or about the corruption of the Chiang Kai-shek régime. But the fact remains that "China" is something positive in the minds of wide sections of the British public, cutting across party divisions as Soviet Russia did during the war.

To the business world, China with its great British investments and its long history of trade, the prospects of developing commerce under a decent and uncorrupt regime was attractive and important. To the old-fashioned "liberal" who still permeates all parties and classes, China was not a collection of "gooks" but a country whose cities were rich in

ancient culture, peculiarly unfitted to be targets for atom bombs. To the more thoughtful sections of the Labor movement, China was the greatest thing in history since 1917, for a popular revolution there had brought within measurable distance the prospect of Socialism for about half the world's population—the whole of poverty-stricken Asia. To the rest of the British public, the notion that America was telling us to "take on China" in a potentially endless war, when "Russia" was reputed to be going to attack in Europe "any day next week," just seemed plain crazy.

That mood has become more positive since Mr. Attlee's abortive visit to Washington. It is assisted enormously by the fantastic behavior of MacArthur and his fire-breathing colleagues in Korea and of the American politicians at Lake Success and in Congress. There is resentment over the losses in Korea as well as Malaya. Difficulties on the home front produced by the world armament drive are being more and more blamed on the Americans. Manufacturers in Britain are feeling the pinch of raw material shortages. The fuel crisis and the worsening housing prospects are linked with huge price increases and serious shortages in food and clothing; and every time a Minister opens his mouth it is to warn that things are going to get very much worse for everyone. The likelihood of a widespread call-up of "Class Z Reservists" (men who have already given good years to World War II) to march *with* the Germans *against* the Russians, is increasing this resentment. And the result of all this is a growth of the feeling that perhaps it is America, not Russia, which is most anxious for war. The abrupt end of Marshall Aid, too, and the indications that on China at least the British Government was daring to disagree with the United States Government, have made the ordinary man and woman in the street feel a little more independent than they have done for some years past.

All this, combined with the quiet but positive attempts of the Soviet Government to arrange a compromise before the final folly of rearming Germany on American orders is committed, is producing suspicion of American policy and more anti-American sentiment.

Although the British people have not the encouragement of knowing that substantial elements of the American population agree in condemning the policy of Washington and Wall Street—since the British press conceals that from them—they nevertheless condemn it themselves.

Here, again, reactions are mixed. Some few, definitely political, recognize in the speeches and actions of America's rulers the inevitable drive to war of a country deep in "the last stage of capitalism," and a good many more go as far as the common sense view that the peo-

ple who are leading the arms race and doing all the shouting for "defensive war" are the people to blame for present tensions and dangers. Still more people just get angrier and angrier at the way in which the American rulers order Britain about, occupy her territory with their troops and bombing planes, and generally reduce her to colonial status. This is the first time the British people have been at the "receiving end" of colonial subjection, and it has taken them some time to grasp what has been happening to them, largely because the propaganda build-up of "the Anglo-Saxon democratic family" which accompanied the "occupation" was very adroitly managed; but they are now understanding it more clearly, and are becoming as a result—illogically but understandably—anti-American instead of just anti-Washington-Wall Street-Pentagon. To speak with an American accent in Britain now is to invite hostile looks.

There is still, of course, a section of British opinion which slobbers over the rulers of America as our "saviors from Communism" and does not realize that those rulers may take us into a war from which many more Communist states may emerge; but that section is not increasing.

A few minor straws in the wind show how the wind is blowing. The *Economist*—an extremely pro-American weekly journal—recently printed a most malicious though unpolitical article on the horrors of American cooking! The *New Statesman* savagely attacked American TV and is violently opposed to American policy in the Far East. The *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* are alike worried at American behavior. There is hope for peace in all this.

British Government's Attitude

But what of the British Government? It is still some way from being forced by public opinion to any essential change in its policy, or any real revolt against Washington; but all signs point to its being driven to frequent minor rebellions which have some effect on Washington, and may indeed, over Korea and China, have prevented World War III from starting at the end of 1950.

No single Minister has spoken critically in public of American actions; and even the "revolting" section of the Parliamentary Labor Party is still timid. However, they are expressing their criticisms in their own constituencies in bolder terms, many of them are going through intense personal and political heart-searchings. Even among the Tories there are signs of uneasiness and anxiety at the kowtowing to the United States. Lord Salisbury has urged the Government to accept Moscow's offer for a conference; Tory M.P.s have associated themselves

(Continued on page 41)

Linking Today with Tomorrow

Our Moscow Correspondent describes new trends in Soviet art and literature—the individual's relation to society

by RALPH PARKER

IF ONE reviews the field of Soviet literature and the arts as a whole in this winter season—the watershed of the 20th century—there is one theme seen to be outstanding, a theme that links today with tomorrow, the effort of the Soviet people to found a Communist society.

"How should we live, how should we work to advance the dawn of Communism?" This is the question that the worker Sanya Solntseva asks herself in Surov's new play *Dawn Over Moscow* and that worries the financial adviser Zorin in another popular play now running in Moscow. And in that remarkable new film *Far From Moscow*, which Alexander Stolper has directed and Shelenkov and Chen Yu-Lan photographed, on the famous novel by Azhayev, the drama exists more in the reshaping of peoples' mental attitude towards their work than in the terrific struggle with the forces of nature they have to wage to carry out their audacious plans.

"How are personal interests best combined with the interests of society? How are the ever-growing needs of the people to be more fully met? How can the discipline of the plan be fused with the vast surge of initiative from the masses? What is now required of management? To all such questions the heroes of new Soviet plays are answering with their deeds and thoughts." Thus did one critic recently write of current productions on the Moscow stage.

RALPH PARKER, a former "New York Times" Moscow correspondent, is a correspondent in the USSR for papers in England and in this country. He is author of "Moscow Correspondent" and other works.

With similar preoccupations are concerned the principle characters of such widely read novels as Babayevsky's *Light Over the Earth*, part of the trilogy he has devoted to the theme of the development of character under the influence of the new environment created by the advent of electricity to the countryside, or *Kuznetsk Land* by A. Voleshin, the story of Siberian coal miners mobilizing their strength to combat the "imperturbable backwaters of conservatism" that exist in some sections of the management, or in Vera Panova's *Bright Shore*, the novel she wrote on a theme suggested to her by one of the real people she used in her first novel *The Train*, the director of a group of cattle-breeding farms.

Sergei, the enthusiastic young hero of Babayevsky's novel is talking to his friend, Victor, an electrical engineer.

"Can't you see the glow, the light that is rising over our land?" he asks.

"I can't say that I do," said Victor, with a melancholy smile.

"Why, we're starting to refashion Nature—Nature herself, you understand! Do you realize what that means? It means that our life is taking on a sweep-

ing new scope! Add to this our schemes of electrification and mechanization, and there you have an entirely new Kuban!" Sergei put his arm round his friend and gazed earnestly into his eyes, as though he were about to reveal to him the inmost secrets of his soul, then asked: "Tell me, Victor, don't you believe that Communism is already visible and tangible, here right before our eyes?"

"I must confess I don't see it or feel it."

"How can you fail to see it," Sergei asked with a broad sweep of his arms. "Just look at our Upper Kuban . . . a man must be blind not to see the life we have entered upon. . . ."

Or listen to Rogov, the mining engineer in *Kuznetsk Land*:

"He shrugged his shoulders impatiently and repeated in a loud voice:

"'A grand and glorious life! Do you realize that, Miners? And here you are beginning it haphazardly, stumbling and faltering, because you don't realize how much each of you has in him. . . .'"

Or, addressing his chief at a public meeting: "I have no faith in what you said today, Comrade Mine Chief. None whatever! Either you do not realize or you do not want to realize that the collective is shackled by fetters whose name is routine! . . ."

Rogov's ideas are shared by some of the miners. One of them is speaking at a production conference.

"Our esteemed mine chief keeps harp-

A scene from "Moscow Character" (left) at the Mossoviet Theater, and a still from "Far From Moscow," new Soviet color film, both of which deal with the Soviet citizen's relation to his society.



ing on one thing: 'We've got tradition. We've always been in the van.' Maybe that's true but I don't need to tell you we can't expect to go on living on past achievements for long."

And this is how another miner speaks. "In my opinion happiness consists in being at one with the people, in fighting for the people. . . . And also in being able to see the glorious future through the everyday life of the present, to be able to carry the future in your heart, to feel it throbbing in your veins."

Rhetoric Overcome

The critics have been quick to condemn a certain tendency towards rhetoric in the handling of this theme and have welcomed the new note of restraint struck in the latest plays, where the hero is being treated in greater depth.

A character in *Dawn Over Moscow*, Kapitolina Solntseva, the woman director of an important Moscow textile mill, is an interesting example of this new approach. Her record of achievement appears to be unblemished. The mill's output is 140 per cent above plan. But Solntseva has sacrificed her personal life for her work and is neglecting the upbringing of her daughter. Moreover she has fallen into a groove and is obsessed with the aim of producing more "yardage," overlooking the demand of the public for higher quality, brighter designs. This leads to sharp conflict between her and her family, her chiefs in the ministry, her seniors in the Party, and the rank-and-file workers under her. Until she realizes her mistakes she remains blind to the movement going on around her which one character describes as the struggle for a finer, more beautiful life.

The principle theme of *State Councillor* is somewhat different. Here the central character is the director of a building trust who has successfully built several large factories and electric power stations and who has developed a manner of overriding criticism and in particular of ignoring the Party's demands for respecting the plan. He favors 'storming-tactics,' taking unjustifiable risks and financial extravagance and the conflict in the play lies in the clash between his 'anarchism' and the Party's insistence on discipline.

It might be thought that such themes could not be handled, whether on the screen, stage or in literature, without a superfluity of dull didactic matter. One has but to imagine the result of tackling such subjects in the expressionist manner of the German theater of the 1920's! Soviet realism, however, sets its face against the impersonal manner so often adopted by writers of works on social themes. It is no less averse to the banalities of naturalism. In this, the style that is being worked out with so much dis-

cussion and experiment does really correspond to the desire of the public to see or read about characters with whom they are familiar in their work-a-day lives but in settings where that new world they believe to be in process of emerging is delineated more clearly, and often more brightly, than it appears to them in "real life," still wrapped in the integument of the present.

The playwright looking into the future is not depicting a "bright city" lying beyond high walls that still have to be torn down. "Our tomorrow has already dawned," as a young weaver puts it in *Dawn Over Moscow*.

Alexander Fadeyev has called on Soviet writers to look into the future and reveal the features of tomorrow, depicting the individual both as he is and as he should be. Put into practice, these precepts lead neither to utopianism or to a harsh didacticism because there reigns in Soviet life so complete an assurance that the pace of advance from the present to the future is ever increasing and because people are so confident that they know where they are going.

Moral Unity of Society

The success of the realistic manner is also contributed to by something that is often described here as the "moral unity of Soviet society," the existence of an immense field of principle, feeling, attitudes and values which the writer shares in common with the whole of the society he serves.

The factory director, the academician, the milkmaid, the demobilized Hero of the Soviet Union, the Arctic-station doctor—all central characters in recent plays and novels—are less remote from the ordinary run of people than they would be in any other society, and can be depicted not as members of separate castes but as average Soviet citizens, whose outlook on most things and whose behavior in most circumstances can be readily understood by all.

Thus a play about a manager of a factory or the director of a scientific research institute will not resolve itself into an examination or exposure of an entire category in Soviet society but will consist of a portrait of an individual who owes his position to his merit alone and who, were he to lose it, would fit in again at a more modest level without social unease.

In view of the altogether false conception of Soviet society as a structure of highly differentiated categories that is being circulated abroad, it is necessary to insist on the bond of fellowship that unites Soviet people of different generations, professions and positions in society.

There is a memorable scene in the film *Far From Moscow* which seems to me to convey quite clearly the amount of warm human feeling engendered on

those occasions when a collective meets to subject itself to that searching frank public examination that is known here as self- or auto-criticism, that major social institution which has been authoritatively described as "exposing the deficiencies and errors in the work of particular persons, organizations, and institutions on the basis of a free, businesslike discussion by the workers, of all the problems of economic-political life . . . (and) developing the ability to see, to uncover, to acknowledge one's mistakes and to learn from them."

The scene occurs during a gathering of engineers, planners and other experts engaged on a war-time project to lay a long stretch of pipeline in the Far East. Moscow, at that time under heavy pressure from the attacking Germans, has called for a shortening of the time originally estimated as necessary and this means scrapping old plans and adopting a more audacious one. Work has started on this but some of the experts feel that a distinguished elderly engineer is withholding his talents and not contributing as much as he could to solving the tremendous problems that have arisen as winter draws on and some means have to be found of laying the pipe under the frozen surface of the river.

It falls to a junior member of the designing-room to voice this criticism of his chief in the latter's presence and the scene, as filmed, most sensitively shows the lad's anguish as he leads the attack and the effort it costs him to place the public interest before his personal feelings of respect and affection for the engineer.

Essence of Self-Criticism

As the shafts strike home and the man who is their target bows his head and suffers, we are shown the faces of others who are present at this painful scene. There is nothing accusatory in their expression, no signs of any elation at the old man's humiliation, rather of eager expectation that he, as a member of their family, will recognize the justice of the charge. Were he to remain unmoved or stubbornly to reject the criticism, they would, one felt, have considered that the failure was theirs. And in this willingness to share the blame and to take the responsibility of putting wrong things right lies the essence of self-criticism, a process of correction that can only be effective if the collective-strength is great.

The scene brings to mind many others in recent Soviet plays and films, in *Court of Honor*, *Moscow Character*, *The Great Force* and others, where folly or egoism or short-sightedness or some other human failing are corrected by groups whose criticism, however stern, is never lacking in an offer to help. It is this approach to the resolving of conflicts

which, more than anything else, gives contemporary Soviet drama the "human touch," saving the play or film on social themes from didacticism.

Naturally, the theme of the struggle for the advance to Communism is closely linked with that of the struggle for a lasting peace. The maintenance of peace is inherent in all those works dealing with the bright dawning morrow, for to the people of the Soviet Union peace is a positive concept—not the absence of war but undisturbed continuation of their plans for a fuller, richer, finer life.

Prokofiev's Oratorio

But paens to the joys of peace rarely ring out without some sharp reminder, sometimes an undertone, sometimes an outspoken passage of condemnation of the war-mongers, that peace is gravely threatened. Sergei Prokofiev's new oratorio *On Guard for Peace*—the words are by Samuel Marshak, writer of children's verse and translator of Burns and Shakespeare—is an example. Scored for a chorus of male and female and boys voices and for contralto and treble soloists, it deals with wartime destruction and ordeals in the Soviet Union as they appeared to a child, with the heroes of Stalingrad who in the words of the oratorio "need no sword in their museum but whose greatest reward would be the gift of peace," and with the life of the child growing up amidst scenes of reconstruction with "Peace" the first word he learns to write in his school copybook.

Prokofiev, in his most felicitous manner, describes the doves of peace being released by children from casements all over the world and the growth of friendly links between young people in many lands that has been one of the most hopeful developments since the war, and, finally after a lullaby of haunting beauty, a stern passage dealing with Truman's attempt to ship arms to all corners of the earth and the angry answer he has been given by dockers and children.

A glance at the prospectus for 1951 of the Soviet film industry shows how the condemnation of war plans and the theme of their own plans for peaceful construction run in harness.

Twenty-six full length feature films have been planned for completion in 1951, 19 of them in the improved color-system on which such strides forward have been made here recently. There is to be a picture with a setting of the Baku oil fields, another entitled *The Battle for Coal*, a film version of Gulia's popular book about a Caucasian village *Spring in Saken*, Sergei Gerasimov's picture of the life of a village doctor, a screen-version of Babayevsky's novel *The Knight of the Golden Star*, which deals with the work of a demobilized soldier in Kuban countryside, biographical pictures about

Belinsky, the nineteenth century critic, Przevalskii, the famous Russian explorer, Felix Dzhherzhinsky the Bolshevik revolutionary, and the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko.

Not one of the films scheduled deals with the theme of war, the Soviet film industry having completed the task laid upon it of chronicling the main battles of the late war with the triumphantly successful *Battle for Berlin*. On the other hand several pictures are listed that have denunciation of war-mongering as their subject and these include Dovzhenko's *Goodbye, America*, Arnstam's *The War-Mongers* and Alexander Romm's *The World's Conscience*.

The absence of war scenes is also notable in the 1950 art exhibition at the Tretyakov Gallery, where again the emphasis is laid on scenes of peaceful construction with generous reference to the international movement for peace, particularly in a dignified canvas depicting Paul Robeson singing at Peekskill behind a protective line of progressive American citizens, and in a deeply moving group of sculpted figures speeding the Dove of Peace on her way, the work of Vera Mukhina.

Romantic Optimism

It would be misleading were the impression to be left that all artistic production at this period is dominated by the themes mentioned above. The observer who is on the look-out for work that provides clues to the present mood of Soviet Russia may easily err in overlooking the many books, plays, films etc. on which contemporary events have a less direct bearing, and thus draw too narrow a picture of cultural activities. A film like *The Horsemen*, for example, one of the most popular presented recently falls well outside the category of pictures with a moral, though few who saw this fast-moving adventure picture with its stampeding horses, its breakneck mountain riding, and exciting chases through the Caucasian gorges, could fail to have been stirred by its romantic optimism. (A review of *The Horsemen* will be found on page 39.)

Nor need one strain to find social significance in the delightful new ballet *Ali-Batyr* recently presented at the Kirov Theater in Leningrad, with Dudinskaya and Sergeyev dancing the main roles. *Ali-Batyr* is the story of a bird-maiden who strays into a dark corner of the forest and has her wings stolen by an evil spirit who wants her for his court among the mushrooms and the rotting tree stumps. She is rescued by a Tatar youth—the legend is a Tatar one and the music is by a young Tatar composer who was killed in the war—and she consents to be his bride.

During the wedding celebrations in the village the bride yearns to fly again

and is tempted to reassume the wings that the evil spirit leaves within convenient reach. She takes wing and is forced by a flock of ravens to land in the depths of the forest. Once again the Tatar finds her but this time they are together trapped within the flames of a forest fire, represented with commendable realism by the Leningrad producers. Ali-Batyr beseeches his bride to use her powers of flight to escape death, leaving him to perish alone. But she replies by flinging her wings into the fires. They are rescued but not before the audience has been driven nearly frantic with excitement.

To Leningrad, too, the credit is due for the first production of Dmitri Kabalevsky's new opera *The Family of Taras* on a libretto based on Boris Gorbатов's *The Unconquerable*, a novel of the occupation. As in most recent Soviet attempts to create new operas, the choruses are musically more distinguished than the solo parts, and Kabalevsky has enriched Russian operatic music with some splendid contrapuntal writing. There is also a fine dramatic scene when one of Taras' sons who has returned unexpectedly confesses that he had disgraced himself and the family honor by allowing himself to be captured alive by the enemy; and another constructed around the tragic feelings that arise in the minds of some young partisans who have to burn down their school house because it is being used by the Gestapo. It is in this scene that there is sung a chorus that rings most happily in the memory when heard in these days of peace, a song on the theme that after victory the young people will rebuild their school finer than it had been before.

Today, at the end of the five-year period of post-war reconstruction, when all the thousands of schools destroyed have been rebuilt, but when the joy of parents at seeing the new generation attending them is clouded by the knowledge that another war is threatened, this song has its undertones of poignancy.

Art Reflects No Anxiety

These feelings, however, are subjective. Soviet art today reflects no anxiety. Where the theme of the war-danger is approached, it is done so in a spirit of challenge. Not for one moment does any writer allow himself to express the slightest doubt that war is something that can be, and will be avoided; and this provides additional cogency to the presentation of the main theme of advance towards Communism, a goal which, many who ask whither the USSR is going might do well to take note of, is held to be attainable without the conquest of any land, without the extension of the Soviet frontiers or the conversion of any people to new ways—in short, at home, for the Soviet people themselves and by their own efforts.

Review and Comment

On German Rearmament

by JESSICA SMITH

JUST AS THE ADMINISTRATION REJECTED NEGOTIATIONS FOR peace in the Far East, so have its delaying tactics on Soviet proposals for a conference on Germany shown its determination to pursue a war policy in Europe based on a revived Nazi army and to sabotage all attempts at peaceful negotiations.

On September 19, the New York Conference of Foreign Ministers of the U.S., Britain and France, announced their intention to increase their armed forces in West Germany, lift the ban on war industry and carry through the rearmament of Germany. In attempted justification the three powers charged that the People's Police in Eastern Germany constituted "outright military units."

A few weeks later the Soviet Government, in notes to the three powers, denied the charges against the People's Police, declaring it exercised only those functions authorized by the Potsdam agreement. It countered with the charge that military units did exist in Western Germany, and in connection with the New York decisions warned gravely:

The Soviet Government states that it will not acquiesce in such measures of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France aimed at reviving the German regular army in Western Germany.

The Soviet Union then proceeded to take concrete steps to prevent the new threat of war. On October 20, it called a conference at Prague of foreign ministers of eight nations: the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic. The conference issued a statement warning of the dangers of a new war arising from the September 19th decisions and calling for:

1. A Four-Power declaration against the remilitarization of Germany and for the carrying out of the Potsdam agreement.
2. The development of Germany's peace economy; no restoration of its war potential.
3. An early peace treaty with Germany, restoration of German unity and withdrawal of occupation troops within a year after the conclusion of the treaty.
4. An all-German Constituent Council on a parity basis, to prepare the way for a provisional, democratic, peace-loving all-German Government.

Soviet Proposals for Four-Power Parley

On November 3, the Soviet Union sent a note to the United States proposing a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S., Great Britain, France and the USSR to discuss the fulfillment of the Potsdam agreement on the demilitarization of Germany and the creation of a unified, democratic Germany on the basis of the Prague proposals.

For seven weeks the Western Powers delayed their reply while they went full speed ahead with their plans for German rearmament. While it was clear that France, and to a lesser degree Great Britain, wanted the talks to take place, the U.S. took the accustomed position that any negotiations with the USSR are doomed to failure.

On December 15 the Soviet Government sent notes to Great Britain and France calling attention to its proposal for a four-power meeting and accusing both governments of violating international agreements and their treaties with

the USSR by pursuing a policy of restoration of the armed forces of Western Germany. The Soviet note charged that an outright military alliance is being prepared by the three Western powers with the Adenauer Government, creating a serious threat to peace, and warned:

To follow this course means to forget the lessons of the recent past, to forget the lessons of the history of German militarism, and to strive for the restoration of German militarism, which the Soviet Union cannot accept, and which cannot be accepted by the peoples of Europe who have borne the burden of German aggression and prolonged occupation during the First and Second World Wars.

To Great Britain, the Soviet Union declared that this position was not only contrary to the Potsdam agreement on demilitarization of Germany, but in manifest contradiction to the 20-year Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Aid of May 1942, in which both parties had agreed to take measures to render impossible any repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany, and not to conclude any alliance or take part in any alliance directed against the other. The USSR declared that in organizing the Western Union and the North Atlantic Alliance, directed against the USSR, along with present inclusion of Western Germany in both these groupings, Great Britain was violating and undermining the Anglo-Soviet Treaty; and that responsibility for the situation created rests with the Government of Great Britain. Similar representations were made to France in connection with the 20-year Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Aid of 1944 with provisions analogous to those of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty.

On December 18 and 19, ministers and generals of 12 Atlantic Pact nations met in Brussels and under pressure from Secretary Acheson, decisions were pushed through on German rearmament as the cornerstone of Atlantic Pact strategy of building up a unified Western European force under central (U.S.) command. To meet French objections, it was agreed that German units of up to 7,000 men would be integrated into divisions of other countries. In view of the rising opposition to rearmament in Western Europe, including Germany itself, the communique on the decisions was couched in vague terms, merely recording "unity of views on the question of Germany's rearmament," and inviting the western occupation authorities "to explore this matter with the Government of the German Federal Republic."

Having thus presided over the final burial of the Potsdam agreement on German demilitarization, the U.S. finally sent its reply to the Soviet note on December 22. Great Britain and France sent identical notes. Pressure of public opinion was too strong to permit an outright rejection.

The Western powers refused to confer on Germany alone, insisting that discussions include world-wide problems, and proposed a preliminary meeting of representatives of the four powers to draw up an agenda. The note defended German remilitarization, sought to put entire blame for the present difficulties on the Soviet Union. A "background" statement simultaneously issued by the State Department contained a long recital of Soviet "obstructive" tactics since the end of the war as against "Allied good faith and willingness to negotiate." Five days later American High Commissioner McCloy in Germany, stated officially that whatever happened in relation to the proposed talks, the rearmament of Germany would go right ahead.

The USSR answered the Western Powers communication in eight days, in a note labelled by the State Department as "very disappointing," trying to create the impression that it offered no hope for fruitful negotiations.

The Soviet note of December 30, however, clearly held the door wide open for negotiations.

The Soviet Government declared that since the demilitarization of Germany is the most acute question for Europe and for insuring international peace and security, it should be

given priority, but indicated that it would also agree to discussing other questions.

Differences between the Western powers became apparent in ensuing discussions on the nature of the reply to the USSR. The United States preferring outright rejection, while Britain and even more France, in response to popular pressure in their countries, were disposed to engage in exploratory talks.

On January 7, Britain and France unequivocally rejected the Soviet charges of three weeks earlier that the rearmament of Western Germany constituted a threat to world peace and violated existing treaties. Both countries insisted that the North Atlantic Alliance was not contrary to their treaties with the USSR, but "purely defensive" and directed only against "aggression itself." They insisted that it was made necessary by Russia's own maintenance of vast military forces and rearmament of other countries associated with it.

The Soviet Union countered on January 20 with new notes to Britain and France reiterating forcefully that remilitarization of Germany constitutes the prime threat to European peace and security. It again focussed attention on the need for a Council of Foreign Ministers meeting. It repeated the charge that the participation of the two powers in rearming Germany and war preparations under the North Atlantic Alliance violated their treaties with the Soviet Union, and compared the N.A.A. with Hitler's anti-Comintern Pact.

On January 24, the U.S., Britain and France sent notes again hedging on the Foreign Ministers meeting proposal, and asking the Soviet Union for "clarification" of its position. They stated that if the USSR agreed to broaden the issues beyond Germany the three governments were ready to set a date for an exploratory meeting of representatives, but failed to indicate what subjects they desired to add to the agenda.

The latest Soviet reply, of February 7, while again stressing the prime importance of the question of German rearmament, made quite clear that it considered possible the examination of other questions by the Council of Foreign Ministers as provided by the Potsdam agreement, agreed to the rights of all members to submit proposals for discussion and to a preliminary conference to work out the agenda.

While the USSR is doing its best to hold open the door to peaceful negotiations, the U.S. raises a new clamor about alleged Soviet intentions of starting war in the Balkans.

"Bygones Are Bygones"

"For my part, bygones are bygones," said General Eisenhower to his hosts in Western Germany, assuring them he "bore no resentment" against the German nation or the German people, and that the German officers and soldiers had not "lost their honor."

Thus he grovelled before those who on the eve of his visit had publicly assailed him for "having humiliated the Germans and favored the Russians at the end of World War II." With disarming candor he admitted that at the time of the conflict he did indeed bear in his heart "a very definite antagonism toward Germany and a hatred for all that I thought the Nazis stood for."

A hatred of all he *thought* the Nazis stood for. An unfortunate error, now to be set right by taking in the former enemies as allies at whatever price they ask under Hitler's own banner of anti-Communism.

Eisenhower's "bygones are bygones" was not addressed to these elements of the German people whom Stalin had in mind even in the midst of the war, when he declared in February, 1942, that the Red Army had no such aim as to destroy the German people and the German state, that it had no hatred for the German people as such, that "History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State remains." Nor did Eisenhower have in mind the Germany Stalin was addressing in October, 1949, when he said:

The formation of a peace-loving German Democratic Republic is a turning point in the history of Europe. There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving democratic Germany side by side with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to the bloodshed in Europe, and makes impossible the enslaving of the European countries by the world imperialists.

No, Eisenhower had in mind a different Germany, a different aim. He was appealing to those who bore equal responsibility with Hitler and his criminal group for the tens of millions of dead in the Second World War, the gas chambers of Dachau and Buchenwald and Oswiecim. He was telling them all would be forgiven and forgotten if they would now join with the warmakers in the West in their plans for a new world war.

To make good his words, a hundred of Hitler's partners in mass murder gained freedom or reduced sentences on January 31 and subsequently by order of U.S. Commissioner John J. McCloy and U.S. Military Commander Handy.

Alfred Krupp, head of the half billion dollar munitions empire which powered Hitler's murder machine, was granted an outright pardon, along with six of his aides. Krupp's citizenship was restored, control of his arms and munitions monopoly returned to him. When the Landsberg prison gates swung open for this war criminal, he was greeted, according to the *N. Y. Times* correspondent, "like a returning hero," feted with champagne and flowers. He is ready to make munitions again, he told the press.

Among the German war criminals saved from the gallows were the final six Nazi SS men of the 73 convicted of murdering several hundred unarmed U.S. soldiers and Belgian civilians in the infamous Malmedy massacre. Thus none of the participants in this World War II atrocity will suffer the just punishment meted out by the war crimes tribunal.

Others, whose sentences were reduced were former Major General Wilhelm Speidel, convicted of shooting hostages in the Soviet Union, a brother of the Lieut. Gen. Hans Speidel, member of the West German Committee negotiating with the West on German rearmament, with whom Eisenhower hobnobbed on his visit, and former Air Field Marshal Erhard Milch, State Secretary in the monster Goering's Air Ministry, who had been sentenced for life for exploiting and murdering slave laborers.

The U.S. review board declared that its actions were motivated by the principle of "tempering justice with mercy."

For seven murderers of our fellow Americans, for all the others guilty of mass murder, justice tempered with mercy.

For seven Negroes of Martinsville, Virginia, falsely accused of rape, neither justice nor mercy from the lily-white judge and jury in Richmond, Governor Battle of Virginia, Supreme Court Justices Vinson and Burton or President Truman.

Is this what Eisenhower meant when he boasted of America's leadership of the free world, representing "the highest culture man has been able to achieve upon this earth?"

Despite General Eisenhower's jaunty air of optimism, he could not escape the widespread evidences of mounting opposition to U.S. policies among the people in practically every country he visited, who called him the "European MacArthur."

His arrival in Paris was kept very quiet in view of the mounting indignation of French workers, expressed in work stoppages all over France. He was shielded by police from the protesting crowds of the people who showered him with flowers when he represented victory over the fascist forces with which he now seeks alliance. On his return trip, thousands of workers demonstrated throughout France, and more police were brought out to stop demonstrations than on any occasion since the end of the war. The government struck back with mass arrests, jailing 2,500 in Paris alone. Workers shouted "Eisenhower get out! We want peace!"

In Italy work stoppages in major cities greeted Eisenhower.



At Prague, representatives of the German Democratic Republic met with Soviet Deputy Premier Molotov and East European Foreign Ministers to oppose German remilitarization and plan unity. Front left, George Dertinger, head of East German delegation, with Mrs. Helene Berner.



At Frankfurt, General Eisenhower (right) met with West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (left) and World War II Nazi Generals to plan for the remilitarization of Germany, the revival of its armed forces and their integration with the North Atlantic Pact army.

er's visit, and in Rome a giant protest meeting of 100,000 was held, preceded by a two hour general strike. Two workers were killed and dozens injured in police reprisals during the nationwide demonstrations.

In Great Britain, trade union, veterans and other groups staged protests. Rising unemployment, dwindling food rations and soaring prices are bringing home to the British people what the subservience of their government to American war plans means.

In speeches on his return, General Eisenhower reached new heights of jingoism and superior-race arrogance. "Our simple modest action," he insisted, "should be feared by no one." But he made clear that he considered it America's mission to rule the world. Now who could object to a simple modest aim like that? Eisenhower also stated bluntly that his main purpose is to get others to do the fighting for us. Explaining why he had approved of Lend-Lease in the last war, he said:

If the United States could merely provide the rifle and get some one else to do the work that was necessary, I was perfectly content. Now I believe in this thinking of today, if we can put munitions in the hands of people that we know will serve on the side that is essential to our future security, to the kind of lives that our grandchildren are going to lead, the only thing we need to know is that they are going forward with us breast by breast, they are not lagging in their hearts or in their efforts.

Reversing the Verdict of World War II

It has long been known that every provision of the Potsdam Agreement has been violated in Western Germany, where Nazis are again in the saddle, occupying high positions in government, in industry, in the police force, in the courts, infesting the whole school system. Even the moderate democratic forms provided in the Bonn Constitution remain a dead letter. Anti-Semitism is on the upsurge. Numerous neo-Nazi groups are on the march. The cartels remain intact.

The plan for German rearmament has in fact been going forward for some time, with the help of pardoned and reinstated top Nazis, Ruhr industrialists and Reichswehr generals. Former Nazi generals have for some time been drawing up plans for a revived German army which are now the basis for the Western rearmament plans. The Ruhr steel mills are busy turning out the iron and steel that will be needed for the new war machine, and there have been numerous reports of production of war materiel by West German plants.

Every day brings new reports of the increase in West German armed forces and potential soldiery. In the *New York Times* of December 13, Drew Middleton reported that over 60,000 Germans who had been organized into battalions to relieve U.S. troops of special duties were now receiving military training and could well be the nucleus of a West German Army. A few days later (December 29) Middleton reported that 86,000 were available for these "labor service" units, all of whom had had military training in the past, since they were veterans of the German, Polish or Yugoslav armies and thus made good raw material for a new army. In the American zone, American recruitment offices have been opened for the hiring of auxiliary mercenary troops. Organization of an air force is under way.

On January 7, American, French and British occupation officials met with a German delegation to negotiate on Western Germany's entrance into the North Atlantic Pact and the terms on which a new German army would be integrated with Western armed forces. German negotiators included Lieut. Gen. Adolf Heusinger, former Wehrmacht operations chief, and Lieut. Gen. Hans Speidel, Rommel's Chief of Staff. The negotiations with these Wehrmacht officers were continued by General Eisenhower.

But while the former Nazi officers no doubt presented an impressive blueprint, the ability of the proposed new army to carry out the role assigned to it in heading up a new assault on the Soviet Union is another question. The German negotiators insisted their participation could only be on the basis of complete sovereignty for Germany and complete equality with the West. They wanted full divisions, under Nazi officers. They made clear that the price of their participation was America's support in reuniting Germany by force and getting back the lands they had lost as a result of their defeat in the war, with the help of augmented troops from the West. In other words, all they ask is the reversal of the verdict of World War II. But to make of Germany a battleground for the West's war against the USSR is another matter.

German People Oppose Rearmament

Last November 11, Edward Hughes revealed in an article in the *Wall Street Journal* that "most German men today would refuse to serve in the new army, and the public's anti-military sentiment is trending upward, not downward." He

reported that on the basis of polls conducted by the U.S. High Commission experts believed that no more than five per cent of West Germany's men of fighting age would volunteer for service in the Western Army, and less than ten per cent would serve if drafted. He reported that "neutrality cards" pledging the holder to fight for neither East nor West were being distributed and signed by tens of thousands of people in Western Germany.

In his *Times* articles, Drew Middleton warned that the enthusiasm for rearmament displayed by the Western German generals was not reflected among the people of Western Germany, especially in those age groups from which the armed forces would be drawn. With conscription sure to meet strong opposition, he suggested that the alternative of mercenary service offered a slender reed indeed on which to depend. He made clear that the movement against militarization cuts across all party lines.

The opposition of the German people to rearmament was further emphasized by the losses Adenauer's Christian Democrats have sustained in the last three elections. While Social Democratic leader Schumacher has demagogically appealed to the anti-militarization sentiments of the German people, he has made clear that he also stands for rearmament, wishing only to exact a higher price from the West than Adenauer.

While at top levels the West German Social Democratic Party has rejected an official Communist Party approach for joint action against rearmament, there are many instances of such joint action at lower levels.

Pastor Niemoller and others of the Protestant clergy with a large following have come out against rearmament, and there is also widespread opposition among Catholic workers. The anti-militarization movement is spreading rapidly among all sections of the population. "Ohne uns!" is the slogan raised everywhere in answer to the rearming plans, meaning "without us" or as Sam Goldwyn would put it "include us out!"

The attitude of the German people was further demonstrated by their warm reception of the proposals made by Otto Grotewohl, Premier of the German Democratic Republic, that East and West Germany each send delegates to form a constituent council on a parity basis to prepare a unity program, seek a peace treaty with the four occupying powers, and lay the groundwork for an all-German government. All through the Western zone meetings of all sections of the population expressed support of the proposals, and a storm of protest greeted Adenauer's rejection of them. Grotewohl, with the unanimous support of the People's Chamber, repeated the proposals in a direct appeal to the Western Bundestag on January 30, making clear that the proposed Constituent Council was to prepare the way for all-German elections. It is clear that the people of Western Germany will not be satisfied with any purely negative answer.

The Soviet Union's denial of the charge that it has rearmed Eastern Germany is verified by reports from many sources.

The conservative *U.S. News and World Report* of October 6 last, declared that the People's Police, "are not military units" and "are receiving no military training." It stated that the supposed East German Navy "will be more a Coast Guard than a battle fleet," that the "East German air force does not exist, even on paper." So-called "Preparedness Units," have only light arms, no reserve stocks of ammunition, a few old tanks. The magazine states that "East Germans are still prohibited from making their own arms," except for small-scale output of light arms used by police, and that, "contrary to reports there are no plants in East Germany producing artillery, tanks, planes or submarines."

Furthermore, any move toward rearmament is specifically against the law in East Germany. Following the resolutions against war propaganda of the Warsaw Peace Congress, the Government of the German Democratic Republic passed a decree providing severe penalties for anyone in Germany

advocating rearmament, attempting to draw Germany into an aggressive military bloc, or "propagating war or aggression or inciting to war by other means."

Most important of all, the East German economy has been converted to a peacetime basis, and any war potential eliminated. The power of monopoly capital has been destroyed, and the property of the former big monopolists connected with the Hitler regime has been confiscated and returned to the people. The agrarian reform deprived 4,000 Nazi war criminals and over 7,000 Junkers of land, which has now been distributed thus giving upwards of 2,000,000 peasants a stake in keeping their land at peace along with the workers and other democratic forces.

Thus there are strong allies throughout Germany as well as all Europe in the struggle to preserve the fruits of the World War victory over fascism which the rearming of Germany would destroy. The American people have a special responsibility in this struggle, since it is our government which is insisting on this suicidal course.

U. S. Rejects Peace in Far East

by **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN WAR AND PEACE IN THE FAR East was at hand when the American government bludgeoned the United Nations into rejecting negotiations in favor of branding China an aggressor. In so doing the United States took full responsibility for carrying the world another long step toward general war. The step was deliberate and calculated. It was forced upon a majority of the United Nations through cajolery, bribery, bullying and blackmail.

As the *Wall Street Journal* commented, "The European nations in the Atlantic Pact . . . voted with the U.S. but they did so, so to speak, under the lash. None could afford to alienate the United States in a showdown, but few hid their opposition." In one case the American "pressure" did not work, and the method employed was so repulsive to world opinion that the Truman administration now feels a gesture must be made to repair the damage. India had some time before applied for a wheat loan to alleviate a serious famine with which her people are threatened. It reached the Senate a short time before the final vote on the Korean question in the United Nations where the Indian and American delegations were leading the camps of peace and war respectively. Senator Connally, administration stalwart and chairman of the administration-controlled Foreign Relations Committee, shunted the India wheat measure off to a sub-committee pigeonhole on the grounds that there was no urgency about feeding a people who did not support American foreign policy. To her immense credit India did not give in to this outrageous blackmail and continued to oppose the Americans at the United Nations. But this was the exception to the rule.

The automatic majority by which the American government dominates the United Nations and, indeed, uses that agency as an arm of its own policies has never been so nakedly revealed. In the weeks preceding the vote American pressure to secure the necessary majority was so intense and so conspicuous that even the correspondents of the commercial press cabled dispatch after dispatch from the European capitals explaining precisely where and how the pressure was being exerted. In the UN Assembly itself the delegates of such seemingly proud countries as Britain and Canada, who early in the debate had warned against the American proposal and urged patient consideration of the efforts being made by twelve Asian nations under India's leadership to find a basis for negotiation with the People's Government of China, in the final days were performing the humiliating task of groveling before Washington's commands. Needless to say the delegates from the Philippines, Greece, Turkey and certain Latin American nations outdid themselves to curry favor with

the State Department. At one time General Romulo of the Philippines went so far as to join the twelve Asian nations working for peace in order to disrupt their efforts from within; he was shortly ousted from their deliberations.

With two exceptions the nations of Asia voted against the resolution condemning China or abstained. The exceptions were the Philippines, the government of which is completely controlled by the United States, and Thailand, whose feudal rulers have also thrown in their lot with the imperialist nations. Chiang Kai-shek's clique also, of course, voted with the United States, but as it represents nobody except itself it can hardly be called a third exception. Burma and India voted against the resolution as did the Soviet Union, while Indonesia and Pakistan abstained. Thus, all of free Asia opposed the American plan; only the captive governments of American finance approved.

In addition, the democracies of Eastern Europe voted against the American scheme and the delegate of the Polish government, Ambassador Katz-Suchy, along with Semyon K. Tsarapkin, representing the Soviet Union in the absence of Ambassador Malik, put up arguments which neither the Americans nor their puppets even attempted to answer.

The American resolution to censor China was thus opposed by delegates representing nations whose populations far outnumber the "automatic majority" obtained by the State Department and, furthermore, there was an overwhelming concentration of this opposition among the delegates representing Eastern Asia which the Americans were purporting to rescue from a fate worse than death.

Actually, as many commentators have pointed out, the whole affair recorded a sharp defeat for the United States. In the first place the United States wanted to give priority in its resolution to the imposition of sanctions against China, but had to recognize that no amount of bludgeoning could win support on this basis. A series of modifications had to be made in the wording, and even so, the United States could get no co-sponsors, and had to introduce its resolution alone. The sharp opposition of the Asian-Arab nations was manifested to the whole world, and the reluctance of those nations which voted with the United States made clear the extent to which the confidence of its own allies has been undermined by its policies.

Nothing that is written in the American resolution or that was stated on its behalf stands up. The Americans, not the Chinese, committed the original aggression. But for those who still doubt this original point, it must be plain that the Chinese warning against crossing the 38th Parallel was clear and that it was tantamount to an American warning against an enemy force crossing too far north toward the American boundary in Mexico. It is now generally recognized, moreover, that the Americans crossed that border, and later pushed forward toward the Yalu River, against the unanimous advice of its major allies.

The resolution notes that "the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has not accepted United Nations proposals to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement," but surely it must be plain to those who followed the debates that the only thing the Chinese turned down was the distortion made upon a twelve-power Asian group proposal by the Philippine delegate at the behest of the United States. Why did he perform this menial task? So that the proposal would be turned down. For how could war be spread if the proposal were accepted?

The Chinese in substance accepted the later formulation of the twelve Asian nations made after the State Department's agent Romulo no longer impeded their work. They accepted the idea of a seven-nation exploratory peace conference, and made absolutely clear that far from rejecting a cease-fire in Korea they were prepared to agree to arrangement of a limited cease-fire at the very start of negotiations. But by this time the American "pressure" was on and no serious discus-

sion of the new situation caused by the meeting of minds between the Chinese and the UN negotiators was permitted.

The State Department's Greek chorus alleged, during the debate, that the American proposal offered full opportunity for peaceful negotiation. The point was dismissed, just as had been the Chinese warning about the 38th Parallel, that the Chinese Government had officially declared that once condemned as an aggressor and once subjected to the work of the sanctions committee (also provided by the American resolution) no negotiations would be possible.

There is nothing in the whole world more evident than that the American government has set its course upon war. "War Is Inevitable" has become the official slogan of Washington. Anything to the contrary is subversive. Final proof of this fact, long evident from other deeds of the Truman administration, is found in the American behavior at the United Nations over the Korean question.

What does the American government plan to do? Certain things are clear. One is to continue fighting the Korean war as long as possible. Another is to negotiate a separate treaty with Japan whereby the latter country is re-armed (as Germany is to be) and controlled by the same forces (as in Germany) that brought on the last war and whereby (again as in Germany) the United States is given military bases and a privileged economic position. Another thing is clear: the American government's intention to use Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines or whatever other place d'armes it can obtain to try to overthrow the people's governments which now exist or which are in process of formation. Taiwan (Formosa) is to be held as a bastion against China. Other factors are less predictable because it is always difficult to figure all the next moves of a madman. It is certainly quite possible that Chiang Kai-shek will be advised to attack the Chinese mainland thus furnishing an "excuse" for American bombers and bombs (gasoline and atom) to pulverize the mainland cities. It is quite possible, even likely, that arms and funds will be air-dropped to bandit forces on the mainland. It is possible that the present full-scale arms-aid program for the French in Indo-China will be translated into active air and sea-power aid against the Vietnamese.

These are the things which are under active operation or consideration in Washington today. Peace, negotiation, conciliation—these are things which are not under operation or consideration.

Yet a war beyond Korea is not inevitable. The power of the bi-partisans in Washington is far from invincible. It is their vulnerability, evidenced by the Korean war to date, by the growing isolation of the American government from its allies, by the toughness of forcing through the UN resolution condemning China, by rapidly growing protest at home, and by the internal contradictions among the ruling circles themselves—it is this vulnerability which has forced them to their present mad boldness. But more than all else, the warmakers who group themselves around the White House and the Pentagon fear the increasing power of the people's democracies, the leadership of the socialist Soviet Union, and the rapidly organizing peace movement throughout the world, not excluding the United States itself.

We should neither cower in fear before these warmakers, nor under-estimate the danger which they represent. It is not a lonely struggle which faces our peace movement. On the contrary, it is an association with the overwhelming masses of mankind, organized in great peace movements in many countries and, in a number of others, organized as powerful national forces determined to build a better world in peace.

Can we, as Americans, have any answer to this latest outrage of our warmakers than to redouble our efforts towards organizing a massive peace movement which can at least hold them in check—or better, make a positive contribution toward the kind of world which all mankind desires?

No Ordinary Book

A review by JESSICA SMITH

ALL QUIET IN THE KREMLIN, by George Marion. Fairplay Publishers, New York, 1950. 183 pp. \$3.00.

IT TAKES more than an ordinary book to quicken the pulse of an old Russia hand like this reviewer, who has probably read more words about the Soviet Union than there are stars in the sky.

This is no ordinary book.

A discerning and gifted observer and reporter, George Marion has distilled for us the essence of the most important aspects of Soviet life, wisely limiting himself to presenting the significant, in detail and in the round, and in such a fresh and stimulating manner that it is hard to lay the book down.

It was not easy for George Marion to get his story. In his quest for the sensational "man-bites-dog" that makes news for Americans, he came up against the fact that the Soviet people he met were so absorbed in their work that they could not help him search out the dramatic highlights he was looking for.

"All I saw," he writes, "was a strangely tenacious people doing a simply staggering job of a kind and in a way quite inconceivable in our country."

And presently it dawned upon him that *this* was the story, this the sensation, this the key to Soviet life: the job itself, which explains everything you see, hear or feel in the Soviet Union. He found that not just the Communists, but the majority of the common people, are convinced that something new and heroic is being constructed in the Soviet Union and are engaged in its building with all their hearts and minds, using to the fullest extent the creative powers that reside in every human being.

This preoccupation with the job, with work, seems dull by American standards because our standards make work dull. To the majority of our people, work is a burden to be gotten over with, in order to get enjoyment in whatever margin of leisure remains. We make a living, the Soviet people make a life.

To the people living in the socialist society, enjoyment and creative expression are as much a part of their work time as their leisure time. They choose their own type of work, and whatever their choice, they continue to learn while they are on the job, to know all about what they are doing, to improve working processes, to invent better ways of work and better machines to do the work.

They do not feel themselves cogs in a machine, but a part of a great creative process. The experiences of each individual are generalized, passed on to others, made a possession of the whole community, and the individual workers become honored people,

warmed by the love and respect of their fellows. This is the answer to those who fail to understand the incentives that move men where there is no profit motive.

Having discovered this secret, George Marion is able to tell a story that pulses with emotion and excitement.

He recreates the meaning of the battle of Stalingrad and of its heroic rebuilding by technology plus people, but people most of all. He retells, better than I have seen it written down anywhere, the epic of Cherkassova, the kindergarten teacher who started the great movement which swept the nation in restoring wartime destruction by volunteer work of hundreds of thousands of women each day after their regular work was over.

He tells the story of a Stalingrad youth, a lathe operator who wanted to operate his machine at airplane speed, and found there was no alloy hard enough to stand such speed. With the help of specialists who knew English he searched American technical journals from which he hoped to find the secret of such an alloy, but did not find it, and so set to work to make it himself and created one harder than any known in the world, which is now being produced in quantity by Soviet industry. He was in fact only a schoolboy. Having missed his schooling during the war, he had at the same time been going to night school in his factory and, when Marion talked to him, was graduating that very week from the tenth grade.

But it is hard to catch the full flavor of all this in the retelling. The book must be read at first hand, for this story, for the accounts of the rich cultural life open to the whole people; the loving care bestowed on Soviet

children; the freedom of criticism and self-criticism encouraged and engaged in by Soviet leaders and people by which evils and mistakes are corrected; the scientific approach, applied without dogma in all fields; the results of the teachings of Michurin and Lysenko as applied in agriculture; the transformation of Soviet village life; the great new hydroelectric plants and irrigation projects to make the desert bloom; the need and longing of the people for peace—and much, much else.

A final word, addressed to those people who, although they are willing to admit some good in the USSR, consider it necessary to emphasize its shortcomings. Marion frankly admits the shortcomings, as did the Soviet people in talking to him. But, he says, while everything and its opposite exist in Russia, the important thing is to find what is *typical* and what is *true*, and he continues:

You cannot tell the truth by a malicious recital of all the "shortcomings" you find, nor, for that matter, can you get off the horns of the dilemma by an "impartial" or equal selection of the "good" and the "bad" things you see in Russia. The "good" and the "bad" are parts of one process, the painful process of building something so new that the Russians cannot guide themselves by anything man has done in the past but must plunge ahead into the darkness of the untried, winning great successes and making whopping big blunders. It is all one story, the story of future Russia in the process of becoming. That is why you can tell the truth about Russia only by describing the process, never by dwelling on the crudities. The failures do not balance the successes; you can see with your own eyes that the Russians are leaping over their past. The achievements are typical, the achievements are the truth.

Read *All Quiet in the Kremlin* and judge for yourself.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

CERVANTES IN RUSSIA, by Ludmilla Buketoff Turkevich, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1950. 255 pp., \$4.00.

IN EFFECT this is an extended descriptive bibliography of the works in which the role of Cervantes in the intellectual life of Russia may be seen—the translations, adaptations, critical studies and the works reflecting his influence, direct and indirect. How strong that influence was may be seen in the fact that one of the supreme Russian classics, Gogol's *Dead Souls*, was written at Pushkin's suggestion, in an attempt at a Russian Don Quixote. Dr. Turkevich's survey is carried on through Soviet times and one of its scholarly distinctions is that she does

not yield to the currently fashionable derogation of Soviet culture but acknowledges the range and depth of Soviet criticism in this field.

DON'T INHALE IT, by Emery Balint. Gaer Associates, New York. Drawings by the author. 222 pp., \$2.75.

THIS was written before Mr. Truman began nursing his H-Bomb. Mr. Truman might read it as a prophetic warning about the wisdom and humanity of that weapon. This pointed satire deals with another hurler of bombs who also found sanctimonious reasons for them. He built such wonderful bombs that, with every explosion, he succeeded in splitting the world in half, until he was left with a

world the size of Manhattan Island. For wisdom, pleasantly flavored with laughter, do read *Don't Inhale It*. It is one of the most successful satires of our period.

MAO TSE TUNG, RULER OF RED CHINA, by Robert Payne, Illustrated with photographs of Mao Tse Tung, Henry Schuman, Inc., New York, 1950, 303 pp., \$3.50.

THERE is confused thinking in this book because of the author's desire to minimize the warmth of the relations between the new China and the Soviet Union. This leads to a consistently unfavorable interpretation of past relations between the two countries.

The book, however, gives a useful historical background of the Chinese liberation movement from the time of the Taiping rebellion, on. It provides details of the development of Mao Tse Tung. It dashes cold water on the hopes of those who would like to see a Chinese Tito in him. And like every

straightforward reporter from China the author does not mince words over the tragic American mistake of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the obvious will of the Chinese people. Payne concludes: "Extraordinary mistakes have been made and are still being made because Americans in high places have failed dismally to understand the revolutionary changes in Asia."

THE PAGEANT OF RUSSIAN HISTORY, by Elizabeth Seeger. Longmans Green & Co., New York, 1950. With decorations and maps, 433 pp., \$4.50.

COMPARED with other books published today that deal, directly or indirectly with Russia, this one is comparatively objective. Well over a fourth of this brief and readable history of Russia, which brings the account up to the end of the Second World War, is devoted to the Soviet era. The treatment, while including some anti-Soviet

cliches, admits the essential democracy of the Soviet system and the enormous rise it has brought in the material and cultural well-being of the people. Nevertheless, readers seeking a one-volume survey of Russian history will be better served by Kunitz's *Russia, The Giant That Came Last*.

THE TRUMAN MERRY-GO-ROUND, by Robert S. Allen and William V. Shannon. Vanguard Press, New York, 1950. 501 pp., \$3.50.

PERIODICALLY exposé books on the administrations in Washington are published. The current one, on the Truman administration, is perhaps the worst of the lot—and the series was never distinguished for judgment or insight. It chit-chats about Truman and his intimate circle, and about the Cabinet, the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Supreme Court, the State Department and the Pentagon. Persons and policies are judged mainly by their degree of anti-Sovietism.

Men, Horses and Action

A film review by AMY SCHECHTER

THE HORSEMEN, produced by Mosfilm Studios, Moscow; directed by Konstantin Yudin; screenplay by M. Volpin and N. Erdman; photography by I. Gelein; music by A. Spadavikka. Released by Artkino Pictures, Inc.

ANOTHER Cossack film, this one is a pure action picture, exciting and colorful from the opening sequences that show a magnificently photographed nightmare stampede of great herds of wild horses in a steep mountain area, through the record of the exploits of a group of Kuban Cossack partisans behind Nazi lines, to the post-war "Festival of Horsemanship" with its races and terrific feats of Cossack trick-riding.

Go yourselves and surely take your boys and girls to see this one.

Though *The Horsemen* was made after *Cossacks of the Kuban* it is completely different from the Pirayev film. Director Konstantin Yudin has made a film that is altogether his own in spirit, in pace, its characterizations and camera work, in its atmosphere and use of color, though in both films this reaches an exceedingly high level. The straight action story-line, and the direct and simple character statement of "Brave People" as this is called in the original—is completed by color used with incredible skill, without any artiness, with warmth and subtlety. There are wonderful shots of trails and clearings and snowy peaks in the Caucasus, and exhaustive studies of the color as well as the dynamics of horses and more horses, singly and en masse.

And there is the color of night: particularly in the stampede sequences

something has been done that I have never seen before, the registering of the nuances of darkness, with the ghostly herds—dark forms on darkness—dashing through the almost black night, and then the almost imperceptible stirring of false dawn. Perhaps the most exciting of all are the color-statements about the beauty of ordinary things—of an old man's blue shirt, a woman's brown skirt, the whitewashed interior of a Cossack cottage, tawny hay ricks in a hillside field.

In *Cossacks of the Kuban* the people belonged to the vast open steppe regions of the Kuban, the rich grain-growing region that is said to have the most highly mechanized agriculture of the Soviet Union. In this film they are also Kuban Cossacks, they wear the typical red-topped fur Cossack hat, but they live in the foothill region of the North Caucasus to the south, and when the invaders come their partisan bands take to the mountains.

The Horsemen is about the people, and the horses, of a studfarm collective. Here they catch wild horses from the herds up in the hills, break them and train them for various uses, and race them. The traditional special bond between Cossack horseman and his horse is made very believable. The heroes are the young trainer and rider, Vasya Govorukhin. The term "jockey" is used too, but here that brings up visions of sharp-featured undersized men and a money-making racket, and even of Mickey Rooney, but Vasya is an open-faced, handsome Cossack youth, slender but finely built. He is also a marvelous horseman, and so is everyone, young and old, in this film, even the villain, Beletsky, who turns out to be



A still from the new, exciting Soviet film, "The Horsemen."

a Nazi spy and a top Gestapo officer.

Co-hero is the old trainer, Voronov, once a famous rider—still first-rate—he halts the stampeding herds (Vasya loves his granddaughter, Nadya). And Buyan, the horse that Vasya brings up from childhood, most splendid of all among so many splendid horses, and that later saves his master's life, must certainly also be rated as a co-hero.

Beletsky comes to the stud-farm as a trainer in 1937. Five years later, when the Germans invade Kuban territory, most of the stud-farm personnel join partisan bands up in the mountains. The old trainer stays behind in the occupied town near the farm, operating in a cab-driver disguise and relaying information about the invaders, with granddaughter Nadya posing as a collaborator, in town, and acting as liaison with the partisans.

The partisans find spy Beletsky planting signals to direct parachutists in a mountain meadow near their camp, and from there on the action leaps ahead at express speed. It is interesting that the spy, well done by a blonde young actor with the Baltic name of S. Solyus, is portrayed as handsome, resourceful, athletic, daring, and yet as a convincingly revolting Nazi *übermensch* type.

your QUESTIONS ANSWERED



by **THEODORE
BAYER**

ON SOVIET WORKERS

A number of readers have sent clippings from their local papers, containing stories about conditions in the Soviet Union. These stories emanate from the writings and teachings of American "experts" on the Soviet Union or of ex-Russians who have spent most of the time since the Revolution abroad, either in Europe or in America. An extension of these sources is to be found in some trade union papers, whose anti-Soviet editors pick and choose material which is heavily slanted against Soviet trade unions.

As an example the November issue of *Ammunition*, the UAW magazine, has an article which is full of distortions and factual errors concerning the Soviet trade unions and the rights of workers.

Are Soviet Trade Unions Free?

The article in question charges that Soviet trade unions are not free and that their activities are not controlled by the rank and file. What are the facts? We quote from the report of the British Workers' Delegation which investigated conditions in the Soviet Union in May of 1950:

"Our investigations proved that . . . the [Soviet] trade unions are 100 per cent democratic, they are controlled by the rank and file to an extent unknown anywhere else and they have powers and privileges which made us envious. It would be quite impossible for the trade unions, or any other organization, to compel the workers to do things that were not in their interest. Every decision on production, wage levels, etc., is taken not behind closed doors, but at factory meetings where all the workers attend together with the management."

Can Soviet Workers Leave Jobs?

Another charge in the article cites an alleged case of a girl factory worker in Russia who couldn't get permission to enter a technical institution. Later on the article gets a bit confused regarding this charge and instead of entering an institution, the girl wanted to take up another job. In either case, the charge is made up of the whole cloth. What is the truth of the matter? The Soviet Labor Code specifically provides that in case of entry into a technical school, college or university, a worker obtains his discharge from his place of employment automatically. No management can possibly destroy the right of a worker to leave his job under these circumstances without running into difficulty with the trade union commission or afoul of the law. As for leaving his job for other causes, the

British workers' report states categorically:

"The worker, on the other hand, has the full right to leave his job if he wants to."

Firing for Minor Causes?

Further on the article discusses the labor rules and provisions for discipline on the job and tries to create the impression that Russian workers may be dismissed and persecuted for slight infractions such as being 20 minutes late to work. Let us turn again to the report of the British workers:

"When one delegate asked how discipline was imposed on workers who were not pulling their weight, the Director said that this question did not often arise, but when it did a discussion was arranged between the worker concerned, the Shop President and the Director. It was felt that by such discussion rather than a rigid form of discipline could the desired results be achieved.

"If, however, such steps were not sufficient, the matter was reported at the monthly meeting of the workers, giving the opportunity for the whole matter to be debated. . . .

"The administration had the authority to dismiss a worker after those necessary steps had been taken, but only if the factory trade union organization agreed. The matter could go to the Disputes Committee, on which the mates of the worker would be sitting. Should one member of this committee disapprove of the proposal to dismiss the worker, the Director could not proceed. He would have to appeal to the Central Council of Trade Unions and when the case came up the worker would have to be present, together with the Shop President. If the Disputes Committee agreed with the Director the worker could appeal to the Central Council of Trade Unions, and, if necessary, to the courts. All these negotiations over disputes have to be settled within a short time—a matter of days: there is no dragging out of negotiations. . . .

"The effectiveness of this method was borne out by the fact that in the whole of last year only two workers were dismissed. We were greatly impressed by the obviously comradely relationship existing between the Director and his workers, who were united in the common task of helping their country on the road to abundance."

Passbooks for Blacklisting?

Another example of the distortion in this article is the allegation that the workers' passbooks are used by man-

agement to blacklist workers in the Soviet Union. The truth of the matter is that the so-called worker's passbook is something the Soviet worker prizes very highly. According to Soviet law the passbook states the qualifications of a worker, his general and technical education, and his experience record. This information is important because it relates to the kind of basic pay and the job the worker is entitled to. As is known, the Soviet worker improves his skills by attending technical schools afforded him free of charge on the job. Periodically the worker is entitled to an examination which transfers him from one classification to a higher one with corresponding increase in his basic pay, which of course, affects his overtime pay, his piecework rates and bonuses. The worker therefore cannot be given a job which carries less pay than he is entitled to. The management makes entries in the passbook of all the special premiums, bonuses and citations the worker has been awarded.

On the other hand, the law provides that the management may not enter into the passbook of a worker any record of disciplinary measures taken against him or any fines he may have been subjected to. In view of this, the accusation that the passbook is a means to a blacklist is definitely untrue and should be nailed as such.

ON BUYING SOVIET BONDS

Question: Is there an agency in the U.S. where money can be sent to buy Soviet or Eastern European bonds, or to deposit funds in savings bank accounts? A.N., New York City.

Answer: Americans can buy Soviet internal loan bonds on the same basis as Soviet citizens. Any American wishing to do so can pay the necessary amount to an American correspondent bank of a Soviet bank. The Chase National Bank in New York could accept such money for transfer to the Soviet Union, with an order on the Bank of Foreign Trade in the Soviet Union or the State Bank of the Soviet Union.

Soviet bonds so purchased could be sent to the purchaser here or held for his account by the bank in the Soviet Union. The interest in Soviet rubles could also be credited by the bank to the account of the purchaser.

We are sure that the same conditions would hold for the new Eastern European Democracies of Poland and Czechoslovakia. More detailed information on those countries could be obtained from the Polish Research and Information Service, 250 West 57 Street, New York 10, or the Czechoslovak Delegation to the UN, 6 East 67 Street, New York 21.

WHAT IS PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY?

(Continued from page 19)

penalties. Such actions exposed the role of those who advocated a "middle road" between capitalism and socialism, between western imperialism and the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union.

The Consolidation of People's Democracy

The working class now demanded organizational unity, and its demands could no longer be suppressed by right-wing leaders. There was no longer any reason for the existence of two separate working class parties, both standing for the same principle—socialist construction in alliance with the USSR. At unification congresses, the Communist and Social Democratic Parties merged into powerful united workers' parties, leaders of their countries in the building of a socialist future.

In the meantime, the other parties, particularly the Peasant Parties, had also split into right and left wings, the former small, isolated groups of "peasant" politicians, and the latter including the overwhelming majority of their membership, among them many small and middle peasants who had already chosen the socialist road by joining cooperatives and enjoying the benefits of state assistance.

At the same time, powerful people's mass organizations had grown up: the trade unions, women, youth and peasant movements. Now the people's fronts underwent a transformation from their wartime and early postwar composition. In Hungary, for example, the loose coalition of four political parties which formed the Independence Front of 1944 was reorganized in the Spring of 1949 into a new People's Independence Front, composed of all remaining political parties and the mass organizations, united in a common program of socialist construction, and putting up a united list of candidates for Parliament.

The Last Weapon Fails

People's Democracy was now consolidated and the road was open to a still higher form of democracy and greater people's participation in government through election of local councils.

During these developments, the enemy had not been inactive. Having failed miserably in every attempt to gain power by enlisting the aid of reactionary political and clerical elements, the west now passed from its subversive struggles in the political arena to thoroughly illegal espionage, sabotage and mobilization of its agents within the only remaining potent forces, the Communist and Social Democratic Parties. Tito's Yugoslavia, which by that time had already been gained for the western bloc through

infiltration into its Communist Party, played a key role in this new phase of the Anglo-American conspiracy against people's democracy. Outright coup d'états and, for some countries inclusion in a Tito-led anti-Soviet Balkan Federation, were planned. The outcome is known; the plots were smashed, their perpetrators, Rajk, Kostov, etc., were brought to justice.

They Want Peace

The 70,000,000 people who live in people's democracy in Eastern Europe today have made tremendous gains, gains which have raised their standard of living to all-time highs and assure them of an even brighter future. Industrial production in some branches is as much as 100 percent higher than before the war. Unemployment is a thing of the past. The consumption of basic food-stuffs is considerably above prewar, while whole sectors of the population are eating sugar, meat and milk daily, luxuries formerly reserved for holidays.

Every man, woman and child is covered by free medical insurance from cradle to the grave. Pensions sufficient for a decent standard of living are given all persons over 60. Working people receive paid vacation up to a month yearly, which they spend in the resorts of the former rich. The number of students in schools and universities, and the number of educational institutions, themselves, have doubled and tripled. People have more to spend on amusement; whereas before the war, up to 85 per cent of state revenues were derived from taxation, these revenues today stem mainly from the socialized sector of the national economy, while the overwhelming majority of the people pay no taxes at all. Culture flourishes; the theater and the opera are packed with working people who buy inexpensive season tickets through their trade unions.

It is difficult even to begin to describe what people's democracy has meant for the working people in the countryside—an end to feudal exploitation, ownership of their own land, higher yields through the benefits of mechanization and the use of fertilizers, the introduction of cooperatives, new village schools, libraries, theaters and movie houses, electrification for hundreds of thousands of homes lit only by flickering oil lamps a few years ago.

For women and national minorities people's democracy has brought absolute equality—equal pay for equal work, equal cultural and educational facilities. Any discrimination whatever, for reasons of race, creed, color, national origin or sex is outlawed. All these and other rights are established not merely by de-

creed but are embodied in the Constitution—and they are rigidly adhered to. Millions formerly disenfranchised now participate in self-government—in Hungary, for example, the number of those eligible to vote has increased from 2,200,000 before the war to more than 6,200,000 today.

With such achievements already behind them, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe have embarked firmly on the path of socialist construction. Ambitious new industrialization plans covering the next four, five and six years, are already underway. These projects are not plans for war; they are plans for peace. War would be a catastrophe for the working people of Eastern Europe, who have already learned all the bitter lessons of war. Fighting on the front of socialist construction, setting an example to other peoples in the world, they are fighting today for peace, not only for themselves, but for all peoples everywhere.

BRITISH REACTIONS TO U. S. POLICIES

(Continued from page 29)

with Labor "rebels" on platforms on China; and every M.P. is getting from constituents a flood of complaints as life and the prospects for the future grow darker.

On the whole, I think that we may say today of British public opinion, articulate and inarticulate, official and progressive, that it is at last flowing fast and strongly enough in the right direction to render real service to the cause of peace. More service is no doubt being rendered and will be rendered by the ever-growing evidence of quiet unprovocative confident progress in the arts of peace of the Soviet Union and her neighbors; more still by the heroic resistance of the Korean people and the fine comradeship of the Chinese people in assisting them to repel the invaders from their country. But we in Britain can at last begin to be no longer ashamed of the slow development of our own forces for peace.

CIO REPORT NEEDED

We are in need of extra copies of the
**REPORT OF THE CIO DELEGATION
TO THE SOVIET UNION,**
published as a pamphlet in 1946. If any
of our readers have copies they can
spare we'd appreciate receiving them.

EXQUISITE

**CHINESE HANDIWORK
In Mosaics, Mosaics and Embroidery**
Now available at bargain prices
from
NEW WORLD REVIEW
Write for details

THE GREAT DEBATE - WAR OR PEACE

(Continued from page 14)

hungry of the world" provided they, the hungry, "have already displayed spirit and strength in defense against Communism."

Meanwhile, the rest of the world is supposed to earn our further aid by showing to our satisfaction spiritual strength and unity. Lest anyone think that he is here referring to things of the spirit, the former President makes himself quite clear. "Today," Hoover says, "it must express itself in organized and equipped combat divisions of such huge numbers as would erect a huge dam against the red flood." A program of military aid which not only stretches across two oceans but embraces everything from Britain west to Formosa can hardly be termed isolationist.

Senator Taft doesn't stick the American neck out quite as far as does the administration, neither does he encase it in the famous Hoover collar. His program is more flexible than Hoover's, less loaded with advance commitments than Truman's. But make no mistake about it, Senator Taft is solidly in the war camp. Indeed he is the only one of the spokesmen we have mentioned who explicitly advocates an immediate war.

The Taft scheme of things, starts out, like Hoover's, with the local terrain. The purpose of our foreign policy "is not," says Mr. Taft, "to reform the entire world or spread sweetness and light and economic prosperity to people who have lived and worked out their own salvation for centuries according to the

best of their ability." And he goes along with Hoover in calling for a powerful air force and navy. The United States should avoid participation in a land war either in Asia or Europe and therefore we do not need a large standing army. However, says Mr. Taft, "I do not agree with those who think we can completely abandon the rest of the world and rely solely upon the defense of this continent. In fact, the very thesis of an effective control of sea and air by the free nations requires that we do interest ourselves in Europe and the Near East and India and the Far East, so that Communist influence may not extend to areas from which it is still possible to exclude it by many methods other than land armies."

What apparently, Mr. Taft wants to avoid is a war conducted on continental areas more favorable to his enemy and one in which large numbers of Americans become involved. That is one reason he doesn't like the Korean War. He wants others to do America's fighting for her. Moreover, like Hoover and other ultra-reactionaries, Taft is fearful of placing arms in the hands of large masses of the people, insofar as possible he wants a technological war conducted by air and sea and avoiding the use of large armed masses. The Senator, however, is rather flexible on this question of foreign commitments. He is quite willing to extend economic aid and he fully approves the kind of arms aid program now being extended to Indo-China, Greece, Turkey and the Atlantic Pact nations. Moreover, "there are some places where it may even be wise to commit some land troops if we can see a reasonable chance of success." Korea is not one of these, "but the entire Continent of Africa is connected with Asia and certainly we should assist in defending the Suez Canal as a means of maintaining our connections by sea, and North Africa where we hold valuable air bases."

Now we move, under Senator Taft's direction, to the Far East. The United States should make peace with Japan at once. Our treaty with the former enemy "should provide for assistance from the United States in the air and on the sea and temporarily perhaps with a few divisions on land until the Japanese can create their own land army for defensive purposes." But arming the former enemy is small potatoes in comparison with Taft's policy for China. Here is the way he put it to his fellow Senators:

"I believe the policy would also involve the support of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and the providing of arms

and other assistance which might enable him to defend himself and contest with the Chinese Communists in China itself at least until peace is made with them. It is ridiculous to talk about avoiding a war with Communist China when such a war already exists. When American boys are being killed by Chinese armies, and Peiping announces that they are fighting the United States and trying to destroy American forces, we might as well have a declared war. It would untie the hands of our military commanders and force the return of some of their army to China."

It is worthy of special note that both Mr. Hoover and Senator Taft include Taiwan (Formosa) in their scheme of things. In this they stand on common ground with the entire bi-partisan leadership for which President Truman and Mr. Dulles speak. It is also noteworthy that on this score they speak in harmony with General MacArthur.

All of these men look to the armies of Chiang Kai-shek—and by inference, of Bao Dai, of Quirino and the rest—to fight their battles. America—their America—the America of the bankers and industrial monopolists—is to produce the weapons, supply the planes, the gasoline jelly bombs, the atom bombs. America is to patrol the seas. America is to reap in dollars and military bases, the harvest that others have sown in blood. Not one of these men, neither Truman, nor Hoover, nor Taft, nor Dulles, nor any of the bi-partisans for whom they speak, advances a program for peace. Not one of them is on the side of the people.

The People's Alternative for Peace

Yet so fervently do the American people want peace that thousands upon thousands have been heartened by the criticisms of the administration voiced by Hoover and Taft, finding in them a hope, even though a dim one, that general war can be put off a little while longer.

But no American, surely, can mistake the Hoover or Taft programs for a genuine peace policy. Certainly it is clear to everyone that all these men speak for war and against the interests of the people and that they dispute among themselves only regarding the manner in which the war adventure is to be pursued.

Against these war programs there must be brought forward the people's alternative for peace. All the elements of the peace movement must be welded together. The housewife knows that it is the war program which is skyrocketing the prices she must pay to feed her family. The mother knows that it is the war program that threatens a not-

Don't miss out!!!

Keep up-to-date on what's happening in a part of the world we know so little about . . . the USSR, Eastern Europe, China and the Far East.

\$2

WILL BRING YOU ONE YEAR OF
NEW WORLD REVIEW
plus

**A Soviet City
and Its People**

by JOSEPH GARELIK

An intimate portrait of a Soviet Middletown and the people who live there.

NEW WORLD REVIEW
Suite 707, 114 East 32nd St., N.Y.C. 16

Enclosed please find \$2 for a
☐ new ☐ renewal subscription for
NEW WORLD REVIEW, plus a copy of
the book "A Soviet City and Its People."

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____ State _____

mal life, as well as the life itself, of her eighteen-year-old son. The small business man knows that it is the war program which through taxes and price manipulations, operated by the monopolists who themselves direct the program, threatens the existence of his business. The worker understands that the widening gap between wages and prices with its effect upon his standard of living results from the war program. And progressive citizens in all walks of life understand that it is under the aegis of the war program that their civil rights are increasingly denied and their ability to earn a living jeopardized.

Peace is the common objective. None will win his immediate issue—whether it be lower prices, a normal life for youth, a small business, or freedom of speech and assembly—unless he joins with millions of others in a huge campaign for peace.

To unite the largest possible numbers and to embrace the widest possible variety of interests, occupations, political and religious beliefs, the people's peace program must be a practical one.

Let us consider some proposals for the Far East, where the United States is now at war and where a program for peace must therefore begin.

First of all, the fighting in Korea must be stopped. It is plain that this cannot take place until and unless all foreign troops are withdrawn *under circumstances which will guarantee that the situation which originally brought them there will not be repeated.* Such circumstances include: The formation of an all-Korean government by the Korean people themselves and given the opportunity to get started without fear of foreign aggression; the withdrawal of American forces from the Chinese territory of Taiwan (Formosa); recognition of the government of the largest Far Eastern nation by immediate admission of the Chinese People's Government into the United Nations; and immediate negotiations among the powers most directly concerned regarding the policies to be adopted toward Japan and toward a Japanese peace treaty.

Along with these steps it is also clear that the Chiang Kai-shek clique must once and for all time be abandoned by the American government. American military assistance to the French puppet Bao Dai, the American puppets Quirino and Syngman Rhee, must also be discarded for the only role these people play is to keep their countries backward and in constant turmoil and to threaten international peace. By the same token the American government's policy of restoring to power those elements in Japan which were responsible for Pearl Harbor, a policy carried out unilaterally and with insufferable arrogance by MacArthur, must be discarded in favor of

those policies toward Japan laid down internationally and with American agreement at the Potsdam conference.

In the economic field the United States must, in the interests of justice, make restitution for the wholesale destruction of the Korean economy for which it is responsible. Trade with China must be resumed on the basis of mutual equality. Economic relations with other areas of the Far East must also be based upon mutual equality instead of the colonial type of economic relationship.

An immediate program such as this for the Far East should, of course, be accompanied by a similar program in relation to Europe, where the first step must be to stop the rearming of Germany. There may be differences of opinion on the details of an over-all program to lessen world tensions everywhere, but on the urgent steps necessary to stop the war already raging, we believe a wide area of agreement exists.

A peace program such as the one we have suggested is not utopian. It is a practical program that can achieve immediate results and, what is of great importance, it is a program which is within our reach. It is one, moreover, around which a peace movement embracing the great majority of the American people can be built. The overwhelming majorities abroad will welcome it and

will assist us in achieving it and carrying it out.

Organized into a massive and powerful movement, the American people can change the foreign policy of our country from one of war to one of peace. No task assumes greater importance today.

FACTS FOR PEACE

Be well informed on the most vital questions of the day. The publications below are indispensable to those who wish to contribute to a peaceful world.

AN AMERICAN CHURCHMAN IN THE SOVIET UNION

Rev. Louie D. Newton

Pres. Southern Baptist Convention

Introduction by Bishop G. Bromley Oxman, Pres., Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Includes a statement about religion in Russia by the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists of the USSR.

10¢ each; 6 for 50¢
quantity discounts
available

A SOVIET CITY AND ITS PEOPLE

Joseph Garelik

Vivid description of a Soviet Middletown and the people who live there.

Cloth \$1.25 Paper 50¢

WHERE MINERS ARE HONORED

Report of a Scottish miners' delegation to the USSR on the living and working conditions of Soviet miners.

5¢ each

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SOVIET UNION

Elizabeth Moos

A compact, factual description of the Soviet school system.

64 pages, illustrated
25¢

A FAMILY OF NATIONS

Discussion of democracy among the many peoples of different race, color, creed and nationality in the USSR.

10¢

AVAILABLE THROUGH

SRT PUBLICATIONS, INC.

114 E. 32nd St., New York 16

Coming soon . . .

IN SPECTACULAR COLOR

MUSSORGSKY

The life and works of the great Russian composer. With excerpts from the immortal opera "Boris Godunov," also "Khovanshchina," "Orphan" and "Song of the Flea."

Directed by GREGORY ROSHAL

Produced in the U.S.S.R.

Watch for the opening date
at the Stanley Theater

Artkino Pictures, Inc.

723 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Telephone: Circle 5-6570

TRANSFORMING THE CHINESE ECONOMY

(Continued from page 16)

shun smelting plant has bettered the Japanese quality by 15 per cent.

The goal is to surpass the previous peak level of Manchurian industry before the end of 1952; that is, four years after the liberation of Manchuria.

This quick recovery of the industry of the Northeast under peoples control sticks in the throats of those who think of Asians as "Oriental hordes" fit only for colonial servitude. It explains the haste of MacArthur and his backers to bomb Manchuria, which is already contributing vital machinery and metals for the restoration of China as a whole, and



—Eastfoto
An instructor is teaching workers of the Anshan Iron and Steel Workers, in China.

for the defense of the country against aggression.

Industrial recovery is not limited to the Northeast. The coal mines which are important in North and East China as well as in the Northeast, are a case in point. The Kuomintang flooded most collieries, robbed others of precious equipment. But within one year's time 80 per cent of the mines were restored. Results for the first half of 1950 indicated that the year's goal—a 40 per cent production increase over 1949, and gains of 20-30 per cent in efficiency—would be attained. On the advice of Soviet technicians, 41 pits have already shifted to the "longwall" method of mining, with spectacular gains in coal recovery, and reduction in wastage. Safety measures have already cut the accident rate one-third.

Light industry has also registered gains. Production in the great state-owned textile mill in Tientsin has already surpassed by 48 per cent the highest production under the Kuomintang. Private capitalists, freed of the various restrictive conditions which prevailed under the Kuomintang, are realizing improved production, quality and profits. For example, the Szechuan Silk

Company, jointly owned by private and State capital, doubled its production in 1950 and made a profit after years of consistent losses.

Partly because of these improved conditions, the national capitalists (i.e., those not completely tied up with foreign capital) are supporting the People's Government. Thus 42,000 Tientsin industrialists and merchants held a demonstration on November 30 to resist American imperialist aggression, aid Korea, and defend their homes and country.

Improvement in industry has been more than matched by an improvement in the working conditions and real wages of the workers; and in the building of trade unions with real rights and functions, in a country where genuine trade unions were almost always illegal.

Reasons for Chinese Economic Successes

Why was China able to move so far and so quickly in the restoration of economic life? First and foremost, the Chinese people know that the country is now theirs. They have an incentive to labor that never existed before.

The beneficial effects of this attitude became apparent even before and during the process of liberation. The workers of Kunming (in Yunnan Province in Southwest China), organized a broad peace movement which forcibly thwarted Chiang Kai-shek's plans to demolish the factories of this important provincial capital. As a result, four months after its liberation, industrial production in Kunming exceeded previous levels by 20 per cent. In Anshan (South Manchuria), where much destruction was carried out, the workers remaining in the city rescued 1,800 carloads of machinery, though under fire from Kuomintang troops. Actions such as these were carried out in many places. By limiting Kuomintang destruction, they significantly reduced the scale of the necessary restoration job.

Now workers have powerful trade unions to protect their interests. Through organs known as Factory Administrative Committees, they play an active role in production and management of public factories. In the Antung Paper Mill (South Manchuria) 41 workers were promoted to administrative posts during 1949, and that mill is now sending out additional experienced workers to help administer new factories. Chinese workers are rapidly adopting the socialist attitude towards labor. In September, 1949, two Mukden machinery workers, Chao Kuo-Yu and Chang Shang-Chu, touched off the New Record movement, the Chinese equivalent of the Stakhanov movement in the USSR. Encouraged by

the Government, the Communist Party and the trade unions, this movement spread like wildfire. Within five months almost 20,000 new records were set by 50,000 workers, either individually or collectively. Workers are becoming inventors and rationalizers.

The alliance of workers and peasants is demonstrated in the great railroad and water control works carried out by the voluntary labor of literally millions of workers, peasants, and People's Liberation Army men. Because the Chinese revolution is a truly *national* liberation movement, students and professionals by and large are on the side of the peoples government. Furthermore, there has been an influx of Chinese professionals who had lived abroad to escape the reactionary Kuomintang regime. In a country where trained people are scarce, this political fact is of great assistance in reconstruction. The same applies to the support of the national capitalists, a positive factor in production in the present stage of restoration.

The unity of the Chinese people has another result. The landlords, and various Kuomintang and State Department diversionists in China cannot win mass support. They can cause trouble with banditry, and use up the energies of a considerable number of army men, but they cannot seriously damage the economy, or prevent its recovery.

The assistance of the USSR has contributed greatly to Chinese recovery. Every visitor to China brings back stories of the comradely relations between the Chinese people and the thousands of Soviet engineers, doctors, industrial specialists, and teachers who came to help the New China. Unlike the imperialist specialists who act like lords and masters in "backward" countries, the Soviet experts live and work with the Chinese people, learn their language. Moreover, their function has not been to set up profitable enterprises for foreign corporations, but to help the Chinese people build their own economy. Without Soviet engineering and administrative aid, without the 500 kilometers of rails and other equipment supplied by the Soviet Union, the railroads and the scores of ruined tunnels and bridges could not have been repaired nearly so quickly.

The equipment supplied China by the Soviet Union through trade agreements, and through the \$300,000,000 credit granted a year ago, is of inestimable importance to a country with very little machinery production. The recovery in the Northeast is being speeded up because the Soviet Government last year turned over to China the Japanese installations properly taken as war booty in 1945.

The liberation of Manchuria prior to the rest of China was a great advantage, providing an industrial base for the Peo-

ple's Liberation Army, and then later a source of industrial goods and grain for the restoration of economic life in the rest of the country.

Recently Chinese recovery has gained further impetus through trade agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany.

It should be noted that the liberation was completed after two decades of continuous struggle. During that period the Communists and their allies maintained temporary or permanent bases in many parts of the country. Important economic reforms, sometimes on a large scale, were carried out in these bases. The Communists learned from their mistakes, and by the time the liberation of the Chinese mainland was complete they had accumulated a rich body of experience in economic administration, and especially in the administration of land reform.

Another aspect of this history was the size and quality of the Chinese Communist Party at the time of liberation. This gave China a larger corps of organizers and political leaders than the USSR enjoyed in 1917, or the People's Democracies of Europe enjoyed in 1945. Also, a large section of the Chinese people had

previous experience with the leaders of the new Central People's Government, and was prepared to cooperate in the tasks of reconstruction.

The role of the large, well-disciplined and politically advanced Chinese People's Army must also be mentioned. Big sections of the army have been thrown into production jobs. In certain areas of the economy the army serves as the pace-setter. Other times it is thrown into emergency situations, like flood prevention. This will undoubtedly be a continuing factor because it is not now the intention to demobilize the army, partly because by now it is composed largely of homeless, independent young men, partly to avoid the problem involved in several million men suddenly returning to the countryside, and partly because the policies of the United States rule out any present consideration of the idea.

Finally, of course, the question of industrial recovery cannot be considered apart from the basic factor of the tremendous achievements in land reform and agrarian recovery. This question, and the general perspectives for long-range economic development in China, will be considered in subsequent articles.

nov says his family live very comfortably in a three-room, five-story apartment house which has its own kindergarten and school, for which he pays a rental of 72 rubles a month, "including central heat, gas, phone, radio, everything."

Noting that he had an official car, I asked if he could save enough on his salary for a family car if he wanted one. Pointing to a good looking car parked below, smilingly he replied: "That's our private car." He stated that a large number of social services, such as health and education, formerly paid for privately, are provided to all citizens of the USSR, free or at a nominal charge, such as union dues, adding about 38 per cent to their salaries.

One incident I must recall that throws a revealing light on Soviet life, took place on the train from Moscow to Leningrad. In the early morning hours after "chi", I found Dr. Holland Roberts—who took advantage of every opportunity for personal interviews—in the porter's compartment briskly taking notes. The white-haired old porter—I learned he was ten years my junior!—was giving an account of his trade union's work for peace. Proudly he told us that his union had almost 100 per cent of signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. I broke in to say I had heard the Soviet people had been ordered to sign the petitions.

"Who should order me?" he protested indignantly. "We give the orders here," he added with dignity. That was that. And one who visits workers in the USSR in any walk of life, is bound to believe that in all activities most vitally effecting their daily lives, the workers do, indeed, give the orders.

OUTSTANDING PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

(Continued from page 7)

organizations serving personnel engaged in their respective fields, function in conformity with the plans of the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR.

Besides the many Polyclinics maintained by the Tram, Trolley and Bus Workers there are two Polyclinic-Hospital Centers such as the one I visited. Dr. Nemenov considers the amalgamation of Polyclinics and Hospitals into single institutions under one management, one of the most important advances in improving the treatment of patients and especially in the development of preventive medicine. It enables physicians to keep their patients continuously under observation, during the initial stages of illness and while hospitalized.

Dr. Nemenov, a very intelligent and highly trained physician, whose age is forty-five, has been in practice nineteen years. When he graduated the medical course took five years. Like all physicians in the USSR, every four or five years he is required to take a "refresher course" during which period the physician receives full pay.

Since 1945, the medical course has been lengthened to six years which gives the student a more solid theoretical training. The student also acquires practical experience during the six years since every one is assigned each year a definite program of work at hospitals,

clinics or medical stations under the guidance of experienced specialists. To get a degree in medicine the candidate has to defend, before the Scientific Council of the Institute, a dissertation, thus demonstrating his ability to pursue independent scientific work.

Dr. Nemenov freely answered questions concerning his training, his professional career in the USSR, and his family life. He works five and a half to six hours a day at his regular duties, after which he spends as much time as he chooses in scientific research and in his laboratory. He receives a salary of 6,000 rubles a month. His wife also works six and a half hours a day for which she receives 1,000 rubles a month. They have two children, one in the fifth grade, the other, aged 19, is a student in the Chemical Institute, supported by a "stipend," or scholarship. Dr. Neme-

BOUND VOLUMES

And Index for 1950 of Soviet Russia
Today will soon be available.

\$3.50 Index alone, 25c

A few copies of 1948 and 1949 bound
volumes are still available at \$3.00 each

SRT PUBLICATIONS, INC.

114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

All Quiet in the Kremlin

by George Marion

The most up-to-date account of the Soviet scene by
an honest and talented American eye-witness reporter -
\$3.00

Order through:

NEW WORLD REVIEW — Suite 707, 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16

PURE LINEN TABLECLOTHS

With or without Napkins

FROM THE USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bargain offering

Look over the prices. Judge for yourself the great savings you can effect. Then send in your order. All items guaranteed.

FROM THE SOVIET UNION

Item	Description	Size in inches	Regular Value	Priced Now at
1	White with blue border.....	60 x 60	\$ 6.50	\$ 4.50
1a	White with blue border.....	60 x 83	9.50	6.50
2a	White with colored* border.....	56 x 68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored* border.....	56 x 83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored* border.....	54 x 54	5.00	3.50
* Colored borders in lovely shades of gold, blue, orange, pink.				
3	White flower on white.....	56 x 68	7.50	4.90
	In floral colors			
4a	Gold, purple, blue or beige.....	56 x 56	6.50	5.00
4b	Gold.....	56 x 68	9.50	6.00
4c	Modern design in brown gold and peach.....	72 x 72	12.50	9.00

SPECIAL — To April 1st ONLY

White with blue border			
5a	(with 4 napkins).....	60 x 60	Only \$4.25
5b	(with 6 napkins).....	60 x 83	Only 7.00
(Additional napkins to match available for only 35¢ each)			

FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In floral colors				
6	Green, gold, pink, rose.....	51 x 63	10.00	6.00
7	Open work—white—4 napkins.....	52 x 52	9.00	5.50
7a	Open work—gold, white, green—8 napkins.....	58 x 78	22.00	13.50
7b	Open work—white—8 napkins.....	64 x 84	25.00	15.50
8	Damask, white, 12 napkins.....	60x100	35.00	22.00
9	Double Damask, hemstitched, cream, 8 napkins.....	54 x 80	25.00	15.50
10	Double Damask, hemstitched, white, 12 napkins.....	70x108	40.00	29.00

PURE LINEN TOWELS FROM THE SOVIET UNION

11	Hand towels—white on white.....	18 x 34	Now \$9.00 per dozen
12	Kitchen towels—colored borders.....	18 x 34	Now \$7.50 per dozen

(In specifying color or colored border, give three preferences)

ALL ITEMS GUARANTEED

SRT PUBLICATIONS, INC.

114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me the following items.....

I prefer the following colors or colored borders in the order named.....

I enclose \$..... in payment.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Zone.....

State.....

A COUNTRY UNITED IN PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTION

(Continued from page 26)

these things because these things are the life and living of the Soviet Union. And these are the things we wanted to see for ourselves. We saw a people going about the task of living. And they went about it with zest, purpose and conviction.

These are only a few of the impression I received from a trip to the Soviet Union. There is one last one, however, which I must make. That is this: we can not compare our country with the Soviet Union. They do things their way, and think it better than ours; we do things our way, and think our way is far superior to theirs.

The only basis of comparison, therefore, is to see what they have accomplished for their people within their life-span. The same measuring stick of accomplishment for our people within our life-span should be applied. It is a truth—whether we like it or not—that millions of people all over the world are looking to the Soviet Union as the source of inspiration, and not to the United States.

Our trip to the Eastern European countries, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the USSR, convinced me of several things: First, peace throughout the world is as necessary as food or breathing. The peoples of the Eastern European countries have known the bitter destruction of war—Lidice, Warsaw, Stalingrad. They need peace not only to restore their devastated resources but to complete their experiment no less than the people of the United States need peace to fulfill their aspirations of growth and development. War will not solve the problems that exist between peoples. Indeed, I am persuaded that there are no differences that can not be solved over the conference table.

Second, the things we saw with our own eyes, the hundreds of people to whom we talked convince me that socialism is a fact in the world, and that over one-third of the human race look upon socialism as liberation from their previous poverty of soul and body. Perhaps we in the United States do not agree that it would solve our problems, but war will not take away their way of life from them. We must therefore recognize the Eastern Europeans and the peoples of the Far East as equals and not inferiors. We cannot have peace by mutual terror, but only by mutual good will, exchanging not only goods but cultures.

I therefore recommend the findings of the Second World Congress as a starting point for a sane and sound basis of policy for all nations.

NEW WORLD REVIEW

MOTHERS DISCUSS THEIR PROBLEMS

(Continued from page 21)

"However, unfortunately sometimes after marriage they break with the collective, shut themselves up in the circle of their household interests. And in many cases Komsomol organizations do not seem much disturbed about this. Among the members dropped from the Kuibyshev City Committee of the Komsomols there are a number of young women, who, if one can believe the decision, had 'left the Komsomol organization because of family responsibilities.'"

The editorial then charges that it was primarily the fault of the organization that these girls resigned; that the organization in fact hastened their resignation not caring to bother to solve the problems arising when their members were also mothers.

"Facts of this sort must be deeply disturbing to Komsomols, and lead them to serious consideration of what measures the organization can take to help Komsomol mothers. Having a family, with small children, lays great responsibilities on a woman, and these are of a lofty nature. Raising children is a task of first importance in our land; we should show the greatest consideration to the young women who are doing this, help them in every possible way.

"There are many things that can be done in this direction if we go about it with tact and consideration. Surely it is possible to organize things so that they are able to attend meetings? And to take the trouble to see they pay their dues on time, and to entrust Komsomol instructors with the task of aiding them to carry on independent study while they are unable to attend study circles."

For proof that this is quite possible the editorial cites a number of places in which this and more is already being done. There is the Komsomol Committee at the Rostelmash Plant, to which young mothers come to discuss all sorts of family problems; Secretary Shurigin is never too busy to listen to them and give them advice. And here too a special committee was set up to examine the day-to-day needs of the young mothers in the area; its members investigated creches, kindergartens, talked with the husbands and families of the girls. Learned what it was that was keeping them from taking part in communal life and what could be done about it, and succeeded in overcoming the obstacles in the majority of cases.

In the Soviet Union, the editorial points out, the process of bringing up a child is above all one of forming an active member of society, and here the personal example of the parents plays a tremendous role. For the sake of the

future of her children, it is altogether necessary for the mother to maintain broad social interests. And here the husband must do his share:

"Sometimes it happens that where the husband is an active Komsomol, the wife leaves the organization. Some may say that this is their personal business and concerns them alone. But this is not true; and the Komsomol organization will be correct to condemn such a member, and make it clear to him that his indifference in this matter is nothing but cold selfishness, and is an anti-social phenomenon.

"Tens of thousands of young women combine their family duties with fruitful work or study or communal activities. The laudable aim of the Komsomol organization is to surround young mothers with warm, comradely, tactful care and attention. The Komsomol mother ought to remain an active member of the organization."

A discussion of the status of women today, specifically in relation to the work of building a Communist society, on a more broadly theoretical basis, appears in a recent issue of the trade-union daily, *Trud* (Labor). A query has come in from a group of workers at a sugar factory in Kamenka, Kirovograd Region, which is in the Ukraine, north of Odessa. Can the editors help to settle an argument? One side claims that only the woman who works in a factory or on a farm, or who has a white collar or professional job really shares in the construction of the Communist society. The other side says that the woman who is a housewife, who raises her children and helps her husband and the other working members of her family, also is doing her part.

Trud prints a lengthy article in answer to the question; the slant is seen in the title: "The Noble Work of Mothers."

The writer first speaks of the tremendous job women are doing in every field of industry and agriculture, their talent and initiative, the half million women who have won Orders and medals, the spread of community services—dining-rooms, laundries, tailoring and repair shops, as well as nurseries, kindergartens, clubs, etc., that have made it so much easier for working mothers "to bring up their children and nevertheless share in the political and cultural life of the community."

Then turning to the woman at home, the article opposes the position that she is not contributing to the all-over social tasks. The supporters of this viewpoint fail to "see the basic differences between the family in a socialist and in a capi-

talist society. They do not realize that bringing up children, raising them as part of the family, has assumed a social significance, under socialism, that it did not possess and could not possess under earlier conditions. Under capitalism the family is an economic group, the interests of which are separate from society in general. The mother's work, her raising her children, is of interest to nobody, outside the walls of her home.

"The burden is the mother's to bear alone. But under socialism child-bearing and rearing is of the utmost general importance, the mother's work is regarded as a great contribution towards building the new society."

But the non-working mothers' contribution does not end here. A large percentage of them are also active in "social" or communal work. A typical example is the activity of the wives of the oil-workers of the village of Akhtirsk, in the Krasnodar Territory, who are putting all their efforts into seeing that Akhtirsk is made a finely built and beautiful place. In almost every plant or enterprise wives of the employees help in seeing that services such as dining rooms, stores, etc., are properly run, participate in the organization of kindergartens and Pioneer summer camps.

There remains the small percentage of women who have no children or, having them, take little part in their upbringing, do not study, do not undertake any communal work.

Here one must agree, says the writer, "that their contribution to the successes of our fatherland is precisely zero . . . They live at others' expense."

But there are few of these indeed; and, he notes, "every day you must observe their number grows less and less. The great pull or power of attraction of socialism every day is drawing them into the general current of our Soviet life, and causing them to become active builders of Communism."

Soon Available

Because of the heavy demand for this popular pamphlet, we are publishing an American edition. Copies will be soon available. Order now, for yourself and friends, to make sure you get your copy

RUSSIA WITH OUR OWN EYES

This report of a British workers' delegation that visited the USSR is pack-full of the information you need to fight the lies and distortions in the daily press.

30¢; 20¢ each for 5 or more

order now through

SRT PUBLICATIONS, Inc.
114 E. 32 St., New York 16

BOOKS IN ENGLISH FROM THE USSR

Available at lowest prices

Back in Stock Again!
Rush your order to be
sure to get your copy.

WE ARE SOVIET PEOPLE, by
Boris Polevoi. Great short stories
of the war by the Stalin Prize
Winner. 590 pp., \$1.25

MAXIM GORKY, includes In
America, My Interviews, and
public writings never published
in English. 408 pp., \$1.25

CHILDHOOD, by Maxim Gorky.
Autobiography of the early child-
hood of the great Russian writer.
443 pp., \$1.00

MAXIM GORKY, Vol. 2 of Se-
lected Works. Includes, Mother,
Childhood, The Artamonovs.
831 pp., \$2.50

HAPPINESS, P. Pavlenko, A Stal-
in Prize Story of the rehabilitation
of a wounded soldier.
509 pp., \$1.25

HEROIC LENINGRAD. Sketches
and stories of the historic siege
of the city of Leningrad.
152 pp., \$.50

NO ORDINARY SUMMER, by
K. Fedin. Sequel to Early Joys.
Vol. I, 326 pp., Vol. II, 729 pp.
Set, \$2.25

N. A. DOBROLYUBOV, Selected
Philosophical Works. A Compre-
hensive collection, by the brilliant
critic who influenced Russia's
greatest writers. 650 pp., \$2.50

V. I. MICHURIN, Selected
Works. His discoveries are the
basis of Soviet plant and animal
breeding. 223 pp., \$2.75

PORT ARTHUR, by A. Stepanov.
Monumental novel of the first
Russo-Japanese war.
784 pp., \$2.00

THE WHITE BIRCH, by M. Bu-
bennov. An absorbing war novel
hailed as a literary discovery. A
Stalin Prize Winner.
578 pp., \$1.25

BAGRATION, by S. Golubov.
A great historical novel about
the famous Russian general.
264 pp., \$1.25

A. TOLSTOY. Selected Stories.
The best stories from the pen of
the great Soviet writer and Stalin
Prize Winner. 639 pp., \$2.50

EARLY JOYS, by Konstantin
Fedin. A vivid novel of pre-war
days. A Stalin Prize Winner.
503 pp., \$1.50

Order today before supply is exhausted

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY, 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

I am enclosing \$..... for the books ordered below:

Quantity	Title	Unit Cost	Total Cost
	We Are Soviet People	1.25	
	Childhood	1.00	
	Early Joys	1.50	
	Port Arthur	2.00	
	N. A. Dobrolyubov	2.50	
	V. I. Michurin	2.75	
	The White Birch	1.25	
	Maxim Gorky	1.25	

Quantity	Title	Unit Cost	Total Cost
	Heroic Leningrad	.50	
	Maxim Gorky, Vol. 2	2.50	
	Bagration	1.25	
	A. Tolstoy	2.50	
	No Ordinary Summer	2.25	
	Happiness	1.25	
	TOTAL		

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

Please add 12¢ per book for postage and handling