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Repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts!

TWO DECISIONS OF FATEFUL SIGNIFICANCE TO EVERY AMERICAN are before the Supreme Court. They have to do with attempts to outlaw the Communist Party under the Smith and McCarran Acts, which thus would serve the same purpose as the Reichstag Fire Trial in Germany in paving the way not only for outlawing Communists but all democratic forces, and ushering in fascism.

Under the Smith Act of 1940, eleven leaders of the Communist Party were convicted for "conspiracy to teach and advocate" the ideas of Marxian Socialism. They were convicted for no overt acts, only for circulating books and ideas, for exercising the rights of free speech and press guaranteed under the First Amendment. Evidence of hired stool pigeons was accepted in court as "proof" that Marxian socialism "advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence," as against the evidence of the actual teachings, policies and activities of the Communist leaders, which prove the contrary.

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, has just been released after ten months in jail for "contempt" of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, at that time headed by J. Parnell Thomas, himself subsequently jailed, but soon released, for stealing government funds. If the conviction of the Communist leaders is upheld by the Supreme Court, if Eugene Dennis is sent back to jail, and the others with him, every American who holds thoughts or expresses opinions the Administration and the FBI dislike, is in danger.

The horrors of the war in Korea, the eighteen-year-old draft, the looming dangers of new world war, have served to divert the attention of the people from these moves toward native fascism. The fight for peace must go full speed ahead, but along with it must go intensified struggle against these police state measures. There must be a mass expression of public opinion to prevent the jailing of the Communist leaders.

Threat to All Who Defend Peace

THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL ACT OF 1950, KNOWN GENERALLY as the McCarran Act, by legislative decree brands the Communist Party as the agent of a "foreign power." It orders the party and its members to register as "foreign agents," an act which would be an admission of the criminal charges levelled against them. If they register, they are subject to prosecution as enemies of their country. If they fail to register they are subject to severe fines and jail sentences. So-called "Communist front" organizations are also ordered to register.

The law provides that a five-man Subversive Activities Control Board, appointed by the President, shall determine what is a "Communist Action" organization by the extent to which its views and policies "do not deviate from those of a foreign government or organization." By this criterion anyone advocating peace, or trade with China, can be considered subversive and a foreign agent simply because the Soviet Government also advocates these things.

A "Communist front" organization is determined by the "extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time do not deviate from those of any Communist Action organization or the world Communist movement."

The Communist Party advocates price and rent control, higher wages, Negro rights, better schools and housing, peace. Any organization advocating these things can thus come under the terms of the Act and be required to register or severely penalized for not doing so. An "organization" under the Act could be a gathering of three people at someone's home.

Under the McCarran Act, Communists (i.e., anyone the Board so designates) are barred from employment in war plants (covering a wide category), may neither obtain nor use passports (Paul Robeson and others have been so denied),

"Communist" aliens shall be either deported or jailed indefinitely (savage measures have already been taken in separating families and deporting people who have lived the whole of their lives in this country). There are concentration camp provisions in time of war or "internal emergency" for those who will "probably" engage in espionage or sabotage.

In November, the Department of Justice filed its petition seeking to force the Communist Party to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board. Making this the first test case of the constitutionality of the Act, the Communist Party through its attorneys appeared before a three-judge court in Washington asking for an injunction to stay the hearings on the ground that the Act was unconstitutional and the Board (still unconfirmed by the Senate) without legal authority.

The Court denied the petition but on March 12 granted a two-weeks stay of the hearings to permit appeal to the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court turns down the appeal, the hearings will proceed. If the Board rules that the Communist Party must register, this ruling will be appealed through the District and Supreme Courts, and if it is upheld, the Board will proceed against other organizations and individuals.

Before its passage, every provision of the bill was assailed on the floor of Congress as unconstitutional. When President Truman vetoed the measure under pressure of public opinion, he declared it would "make a mockery of the Bill of Rights and our claims to stand for freedom in the world." But he did nothing to block the over-riding of his veto.

The Act has been condemned by many national organizations including both AFL and CIO, the American Jewish Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Farmers' Union, the American Civil Liberties Union, religious groups, numerous newspapers, thousands of local groups. A National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act was formed by 1,200 prominent Americans from 48 states, among them 20 Protestant Bishops, two Nobel Prize winners, scientists, educators and civic leaders. The group declared that the Act violated every basic American principle guaranteeing the right of dissent and free association.

The McCarran Act, in addition to assaulting the liberties of Americans, is contrived to build up the Big Lie of "indirect" Soviet aggression against the United States as part of the drive for war against the Soviet Union. It is based on the monstrous assumption that the Soviet Union is acting through the Communist Party to overthrow the United States Government.

Here Is What You Can Do

IN AUSTRALIA, THE SUPREME COURT HAS JUST DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL the 1950 law outlawing the Communist Party. The Menzies Government, in return for a loan from our government, pledged to "strengthen internal security," and launched a drive against trade unions, progressive organizations and the Communist Party, following the American pattern. But the people of Australia launched a mighty struggle against the Anti-Communist Bill, which compelled the Supreme Court decision. Will the American people lag behind their cousins from down under in their fight for liberty?

No American with a spark of patriotism can be silent in the face of this effort to subvert the basic freedoms of our nation.

1. Write or wire your Congressman and Senator to introduce a bill to repeal the McCarran Act.

2. Support all local or national movements for repeal.

3. Write or wire Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, Washington, D.C., urging him to postpone the hearings on the Communist Party until the constitutionality of the McCarran Act has been fully tested.

J. S.

Inside a Soviet Labor Camp

The world famous British lawyer answers the "slave labor" myth and writes about life in the corrective labor camp which he recently inspected fully and freely

by D. N. PRITT, K.C.

THE work of friends of the Soviet Union is at times oddly like that of the public official we in Britain call a sanitary inspector. They chase around after a bad smell caused by some anti-Soviet activity and put a stop to it, but they know all the time that some of the smell will stick in some nostrils, and that when they have stopped up that particular source of horror there will be another smell waiting for attention on the next street.

The "labor camp" or "slave camp" story is one of these smells. There are, we are told, two—five—seven—nine—twelve million people—you can pick the number out of the air, and one highly-paid Anglican clergyman-journalist the other day guessed *eighteen* million—kept in these camps, nearly all, it is suggested, without any charge or conviction, and living in such appalling conditions and treated with such brutality that about one-third of them die every year. (Those who retail the stories give the general impression that they have personally counted the millions, both of living and of dead.) And, if you please, one of the reasons for keeping these camps is to maintain a cheap labor force for great and inspiring public works!

This story is peddled, not just about the war period when the paramount needs of security, the millions of people fleeing before the military invaders, the presence of hostile elements, the shortages of food, transportation, building labor, and a hundred other reasons involved of necessity in every belligerent country internments without charge, and considerable incidental hardship and injustice. No. We are asked to believe that the camps are a regular feature of life today in the Soviet Union, side by side with the development of education, the arts and sciences, the new building programs, the rising standards of living.

It is shameless nonsense, like so many other anti-Soviet stories. I want to demonstrate this first by considering its inherent absurdities, and then by giving some account of a visit I paid to one of the "slave camps" in 1950.

First, the absurdities. One of the worst is the suggestion that the camps

exist as part of a scheme to maintain production. One would have thought that even the stupidest of slanderers would know that free men work better than slaves—to say nothing of slaves whose conditions are alleged to be so bad that one-third of them die every year. And yet one even finds British newspapers ready to suggest that "slave labor" is used in atomic development—the one field where skill, intelligence, discretion, and devotion are most essential.

It is extraordinary how, in the field of anti-Soviet propaganda, it seems permissible to abandon all the normal standards of common sense, common honesty, and probability.

It is only in countries with vast reservoirs of very cheap labor, and retarded

D. N. PRITT, K.C., former British Labour M.P., is known as the foremost trial lawyer of Europe. He headed the historic International Reichstag Fire Inquiry which exposed the monstrous frame-up engineered by Goering as a pretext for outlawing the Communists and bringing fascism to Germany.

industrially, that exploiters can "afford" to be wasteful of either the physical strength and condition or of the lives of workers. In the USSR, where there is work waiting for more than all the available hands, even the coldest economic motive would compel the authorities to cherish labor and its efficiency like gold; and its true attitude to labor was expressed by Stalin himself when he said that human beings were the most valuable form of capital.

The next absurdity lies in the comparison between the false picture of disaffection which this story implies and the way the Soviet peoples have always worked and fought for their country in peace and in war.

Think what the story logically involves: Take, say, 10,000,000 adults in the camps, with a death roll of 3,000,000 a year. Every five years you add 15,000,000 to your original 10,000,000, to keep up the numbers, *even if you release nobody*. That number of disaffected adults, with their wives and children, and with a steady supply of more waiting to come

forward—for the slanderers would naturally never suggest that the numbers diminish—means that something like half the total population of the USSR is disaffected!

One asks at once, how did they last out in the war—let alone display heroism, tenacity, courage, surpassing all history, coupled with military and industrial efficiency? (Don't forget that their industries worked so well, even after the loss of all the more important industrial regions of European Russia, that they produced 96 per cent of all the war material that the Soviet forces used. Lend-Lease was great, and it was welcome, and very useful; but it was only 4 per cent of their total, and they received in truth less than half as much Lend-Lease material as Britain received.)

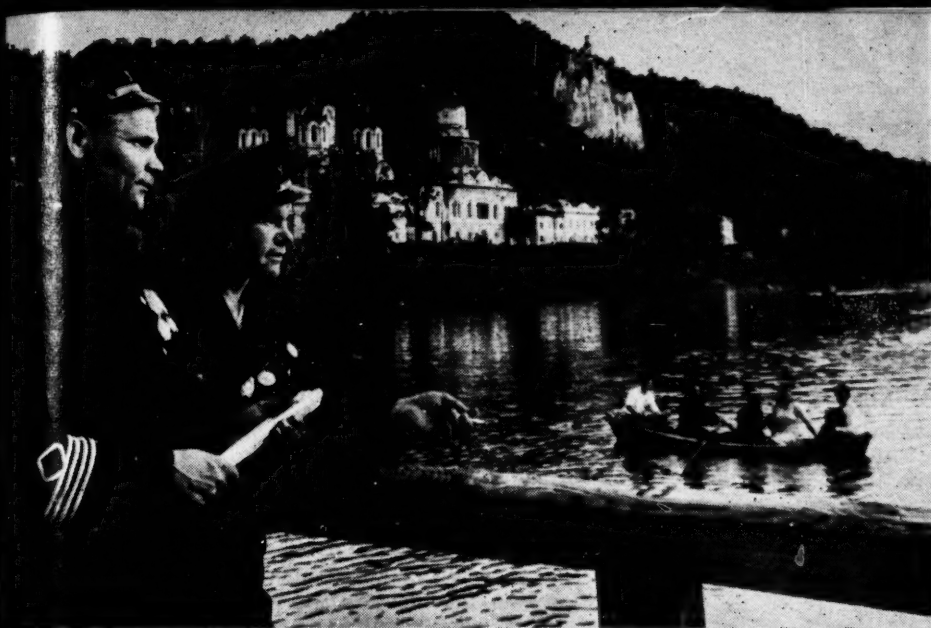
If these stories of disaffection had any hard basis, the least that would have happened in the war would have been that the Soviet armies would have collapsed in a few weeks, as was prophesied by the "experts"—imbeciles, fools, or liars, one wonders which they are—in Britain and the USA, all of whom were wrong, none of whom lost his job, and most of whom are probably now engaged in giving "expert reports" about slave-camps and disaffection "behind the Iron Curtain."

In truth, of course, if these stories had had any foundation, there would have been not just a collapse, but a revolt!

One might add, I think, that if the slanderers believed their own stories, and were logical, their line *ought to be*:—"Well, don't worry. Don't re-arm. Let DuPonts languish and the dole queues lengthen. All is well, Russia can't fight. She's rotten inside. She couldn't invade the next village, let alone Europe!"

But, of course, there are always two misfitting sides to these base medals of slander. On one face she is falling to pieces by her own inherent evil; on the other she is so all-powerful and integral and efficient that we can't hope to be strong enough to resist her unless we arm from toe to teeth, (and thereby of course fatally weaken ourselves!).

Nor, of course, is it only in the war that the Russians have demonstrated their great qualities and successes that disprove suggestions of any but the minimum of



Pity the poor Soviet "slave" laborers! Former palaces have been given them for sanatoriums and rest homes. These coal miners are vacationing at the palatial rest home (in the background) in Sviatogorsk. More than 20,000 miners of Stalino region spent their vacations in rest homes and sanatoriums last year

disaffected elements being in existence. The successful Five-Year Plans, the development of the heavy industries, the mighty improvements in agriculture, the many cultural achievements, which are reported by every visitor to the country, all called for—and received—the most devoted support of the millions, solidly ranged behind their government and determined to win peaceful victories over innumerable problems, virtually unaided by the outer world.

I would make only one other remark on the slave camp stories. A quarter of a century ago, when conditions in the Soviet Union were still very hard, similar stories were told about the timber-cutting camps. They were investigated by an unofficial British Committee which was permitted to go to them by the Soviet Government, and it reported that, while conditions were certainly hard, there was no cruelty, starvation or humiliation. And it was discovered afterwards that the slander had been invented, not simply for anti-Soviet motives but also as an attempt on the part of certain timber interests to persuade the British not to buy Soviet timber but to buy their own.

That is perhaps enough of the absurdities. Now let me recount what I saw in 1950. I had visited Soviet prisons and settlements in 1932 and 1936, and found them humanely and intelligently administered, giving the prisoners the maximum possible of self-government, freedom from petty restrictions, useful work, and decent treatment. The main social dividend which this paid was that a very small percentage of them returned to crime after their release. But my first visit to an actual "labor corrective camp" was in September, 1950.

I should preface my account of it by explaining how one gets into such a camp. The only way, now, is by conviction

of crime before the ordinary courts, followed by a long sentence, sufficient to give labor camp life the chance to rehabilitate the prisoner; and even then some of the more serious offenses are punished by sentences to ordinary imprisonment in closed prisons (which are held to be more unpleasant than labor camps) because the authorities want to have in the labor camps only people who have reasonable prospects of improvement themselves, and are not likely to "infect" other improvable prisoners. Crime is diminishing substantially, so that in due course the total number of camp-prisoners, which cannot of course be anywhere near the figures suggested by the slanderers, will soon be diminishing.

I visited the camp at Krukovo one day at the end of September. It lies about 25 miles from Moscow, near the road and railway to Leningrad, at the point where the Germans got nearest to Moscow in the autumn of 1941. It is a range of ordinary-looking brick buildings inside a wire fence, on an area of half a square mile.

Inside that fence there live 700 men and 300 women prisoners, mostly under forty, serving sentences of five to ten years. The camp is divided into two parts, residential and factory. When you are at work, you are in the factory, with as much freedom of movement as any other factory worker, and no more. When you are not at work, you must be in the residential section, and of course in that part of it which is reserved for your own sex; but you have freedom of movement between your dormitory, the canteen, the small club, the reading room, the garden, and the camp shop.

The dormitories have hard beds, in two tiers, and are rather crowded; but they are clean, airy, and free from smell, and have such amenities as linen window-

valances. Prisoners can have linen covers and other such things from home. The women naturally have more of these than the men. In most rooms the prisoners had given themselves a few flowers from the gardens, in jam jars; and there were some tables and just room for a game of chess.

Skilled workers, and those who were having the fortnight's holiday per year which each prisoner gets as a right, live in rather better dormitories, less crowded. Lavatories were reasonably clean and free from smell. Every worker gets a bath and a change of linen regularly.

For relaxation, there is an amateur dramatic circle and various other circles, newspapers, books, radio, and lectures—the lecturers being drawn from the Central Institute of Lecturers in Moscow, just as is done for any other audience.

The time the inmates have to spend in the residential section is perhaps a bit dull; but it is not intolerable, and one scarcely sees a guard from one end of the day to the other, except for the checker who passes one through the gate between the residential and the factory sections. There are only forty guards in all, men and women, for the whole thousand prisoners. Some prisoners serve as auxiliary guards, on the "trustee" system, which I was told does not lead to abuses. A few of the prisoners work outside the prison, and occasionally go to and from their jobs without guards, but the bulk of them remain within the camp all the time, including holidays.

The factory produces miscellaneous aluminum goods — car number plates, forks and spoons, cups and saucers, pots, sports cups, and so on. Men and women work together, nine hours a day (instead of eight as is done outside), six days a week, for rates very little below the normal; they are mostly on piece work. All the usual elaborate and lively propaganda for increased production—slogans, emulation agreements, tables of honor, photographs of good workers displayed,—that one sees outside is operated here too, and the excess over norm is up to the "outside" average.

From the earnings of each prisoner, 15 per cent is put to reserve, to form a fund to start them off when they leave; a further monthly sum is then taken to pay for their "guaranteed minimum" food, and the rest, averaging about five dollars a week in purchasing value, is at the prisoner's free disposal. It can be sent home, saved up, spent on extra food, or spent at the camp shop on chocolate, cigarettes, white bread, perfume, and other small luxuries.

The food is good. Both on the amounts and varieties prescribed by the Regulations, and on the appearance of the food when I saw it cooked and served, the

(Continued on page 37)

What is Happening in Czechoslovakia?

New plots uncovered there can only be understood against the background of the "February events," reported in the American press as a "Communist Coup d'Etat." The author, who was in Prague in 1948, and again in 1949 and 1950, tells the real story

by PETER FURST

SHORTLY after leaving Eastern Europe in late 1950, we watched a newsreel of club-swinging, black-uniformed mounted police riding down crowds of demonstrators—a familiar sight in Marshallized France and Italy today. We were amazed to hear a smooth-voiced commentator claim that these shots were taken in Prague during the February, 1948, crisis. Not only had such scenes never taken place there but the police in the film were not even wearing the Czechoslovak uniform.

With such propaganda methods, it is easy to understand why many Americans regard the February events as "Soviet aggression," a coup d'état by an "alien minority." Not only newsreels and newspapers but senators, admirals, Eastern European exiles, bishops and other "experts" have pounded this theme home.

Yet it is a fact that there were no Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. The only troops massing on the country's borders were Americans ostentatiously maneuvering in southern Germany, and American-supported armed Slovak quelling units in Austria. Not Soviet but American broadcasts were inciting to riot. Not Soviet but American officials were working behind the scenes to bring the crisis to a head. Scare headlines notwithstanding, only one shot was fired and one person wounded accidentally; only 300 persons were detained, most of them wartime fascist collaborators. Even of these, one-third were released after only a short investigation.

Today the propaganda war against the new Czechoslovakia is being fought with renewed fury, not only as part of the general offensive against the Soviet Union, but also to offset the effect of the uncovering in Czechoslovakia of yet another conspiracy against socialism.

The main aim of this campaign since 1948 has, of course, been to obscure the embarrassing fact that the February events were not at all a "Communist coup" but an American-inspired coup which failed, that the crisis was initiated not by the Communists but by the right-wing, pro-capitalist parties who sought to establish a pro-Marshall Plan government without the Communists, and that the



Klement Gottwald, President of the Czechoslovak People's Republic

solution of the crisis was entirely constitutional. There was never any question of Soviet interference; the Czechoslovak people alone solved the problem. What is true is that the firm alliance of the USSR with Czechoslovakia acted as a powerful deterrent to those who otherwise might well have sent troops to intervene under the notorious Truman Doctrine. Opposition of the Soviet Union prevented U.S. attempts to get UN Security Council sanction for intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The recent uncovering of the Clementis conspiracy has shown that the secret war against Czechoslovak people's democracy is being fought on new levels, through agents planted within the working class movement rather than, as in February, 1948, through the utilization of the remnants of capitalism. Nevertheless, because of the way in which the February events have been utilized in enmeshing the American people in anti-Soviet lies, it is important for Americans to understand the real nature of those events, and their background.

Following Munich, Czechoslovakia was dismembered. The Germans marched

into Prague on March 15, 1939; Slovakia became an "independent" fascist state under the Catholic priest Father Tiso, and both Hungary and Poland were permitted to grab a slice of territory.

During this period and the occupation, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie split into two groups. One, comprising the majority of big capital, became collaborators; the other went into exile in the west, where, although anti-German, they continued to maintain for some time an anti-Soviet position. It was only with the victory at Stalingrad that their attitude began to change. In December, 1943, Dr. Eduard Benes signed the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty, which was to become the cornerstone of future Czechoslovak foreign policy. The Communist Party did not participate in the exiled Government, but Benes conducted detailed discussions in Moscow with Klement Gottwald on the future political structure of the Czechoslovak state.

At home, meanwhile, the Communists led the resistance struggle, including the Slovak uprising in August, 1944, and the Prague uprising on May 5, 1945, climaxed by the city's liberation by the Red Army on May 9. Some 25,000 Communists died in Gestapo prisons and concentration camps.

On April 2, 1945, the first postwar government was formed at Kosice, in liberated Slovakia, following acceptance by all parties of a Communist proposal for the creation of a new National Front to be composed of all parties not tainted with participation in the Munich betrayal or collaboration. Fascist and ultra-reactionary parties were banned.

The new Government and Front accepted as their program the Communist draft, which included firm alliance with the Soviet Union to prevent possible future Munichs, nationalization of basic sources of wealth, settlement of the national question, including full equality for the first time for the Slovak people, and the replacement of the old bureaucratic state machine with a new, democratic system based on elected national committees.

The new Government included four Czech and two Slovak parties. The

Czech parties were the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the National Socialist, Social Democratic and Catholic People's Parties; the two Slovak parties were the Communist Party of Slovakia, which had merged during the 1944 uprising with the Slovak Social Democrats, and the Democratic Party. The new Government, formed on a basis of parity, was headed by the leftwing Social Democrat, Zdenek Fierlinger.

Despite the formal adoption of the National Front program by all parties, however, it was soon found that its execution presented practical difficulties, arising from the class differences between the parties. The bourgeois politicians had agreed that the people as a whole wanted no part of the old capitalist system which had led to Munich and collaboration, and had even accepted the proposed socialist measures. But when it came to their fulfillment they sought to delay, placing their hopes on the "inevitability" of war between the U.S. and the USSR.

Reactionary and fascist elements, deprived of a party platform of their own, began to flock to the rightwing parties. Because they were the most militant elements politically, and the most influential financially, inside these parties, they soon gave them their own political stamp.

Defeated in the battle over the Kosice nationalization program, the rightwing parties, always defending the interests of capitalism, began to oppose the purge of collaborators from the administration in preparation for the establishment of national committees. This was true particularly in Slovakia, where the Democratic Party became inundated with remnants of the quisling movement of the arrested Father Tiso, whose trial and punishment they and the Catholic Church were then seeking to delay and prevent by all means.

These elements were also primarily responsible for nationalist excesses against the Hungarian minority, whose

PETER FURST has spent the past five years in Eastern Europe. He was staff correspondent of the British news agency, Reuters, for four years, covering developments in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. During the war he was a correspondent of the Mediterranean edition of Stars and Stripes in Africa, Italy and Germany. Other articles on Eastern Europe by the author, in collaboration with June Canan, will follow.

total exclusion from national life and deportation they demanded. In this they found support from nationalist elements then within the Communist Party, notably Clementis. The minority problem became a sore point in relations with Hungary, where figures such as Cardinal Mindszenty, used it to whip up renewed national chauvinism, to the extent even of demanding the return of Slovakia to Hungary! Only after the February events and a resolute campaign against national chauvinism could the question be solved on the basis of full equality for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

On May 26, 1946, the first general elections took place. By then, the Communist Party, then numbering 1,100,000 members, had chalked up considerable economic successes, and it emerged as by far the strongest single party with 40 per cent of the votes in the Czech parts and 33 per cent in Slovakia. With the Social Democrats the Left had 55.9 per cent of the votes. The election campaign exposed the real intentions of the bourgeois parties, some of whom appealed for a return to capitalism and were promptly repudiated.

On the eve of the elections, the leadership of the National Socialists made a secret pact with the clandestine representatives of the outlawed collaborationist Agrarian Party, principally with Dr. Feierabend, a minister of the wartime puppet regime (now a "free" Czechoslovak in the U.S.), who issued proclama-

tions to his former adherents to vote for the National Socialists. In Slovakia, the Democratic Party made an agreement with the illegal Tiso party to allocate party and state functions to Tiso adherents in exchange for election support. Here, the Democrats openly campaigned with chauvinist and anti-Semitic slogans which succeeded in misleading temporarily a part of the electorate.

In accordance with the Constitution, Gottwald, as leader of the largest party, became premier. The program of the new coalition government included the Two-Year Plan of reconstruction and the drafting of a new, people's democratic Constitution, which would embody the gains of the working people since the war. This program was unanimously adopted by Parliament—and again the rightwing set about sabotaging it.

The year 1947 gave the reactionary elements their best chance. Czechoslovakia suffered the severest drought in its history; the wheat, potato, sugar beet, fodder and oil harvests all failed disastrously. The rising curve of the living standard stopped. Food rations were reduced and, distribution being in the hands of private capitalists, a vast new black market sprang up.

The Right demanded acceptance of Marshall "aid," at the same time plotting to set the stage for the ouster of the Communists from the Government, à la France and Italy.

The rightwing parties became more and more open replicas of the former fascist parties. The National Socialist Party, for example, installed a new leadership of its agrarian section, 22 of whose 23 new members had been functionaries of the outlawed Agrarian Party.

In the summer of 1947, a large-scale conspiracy of the wartime quisling Tiso and Hlinka Guard movement was uncovered in Slovakia. This conspiracy, involving U.S. intelligence and the use of Ukrainian SS bandits then attempting to flee from Poland to Austria via Czechoslovakia, was closely connected

Shipping department (left) of Czechoslovakia's first penicillin factory where the medicine is sent to hospitals all over the country. Penicillin treatment, like all medical treatment, is free. Assembly line (right) of the Skoda Works



with the anti-Semitic Slovak Nazi chiefs Sidor and Durcansky (both of whom later came to the U.S. as more "free" Czechoslovaks).

In the Social Democratic Party, meanwhile, rightist elements, in contact with the British Labor Party, managed to oust Fierlinger from leadership, replacing him with a rightist who promptly entered into a secret agreement with the capitalist bloc in the National Front. This bloc now demanded the complete exclusion from political life of the mass trade union movement, the peasants' union, the women and the youth organizations.

A conflict also arose over the "millionaires' levy." The Communists proposed that peasants who had been hit by the drought should receive financial aid, to be covered by imposing a special levy on millionaires. When the right turned this down and suggested an American dollar loan instead, the Communists took their proposal to the people who acclaimed it with such enthusiasm that the right was compelled to give in. Next, the Communists proposed new nationalizations, including industry and foreign and domestic wholesale trade.

In contrast, the rightwing parties advanced such proposals as that of Dr. Jiri Hejda, a leading National Socialist economist, that foreign firms should be asked to become shareholders in Czechoslovak nationalized industries.

Toward the end of 1947, conditions began to improve radically. The Soviet Union had accelerated its food deliveries and added another 200,000 tons of wheat. Distribution had been reorganized and a campaign against speculators had uncovered millions of yards of textiles and other goods hidden in warehouses and cellars for black market operations. New trade agreements had been signed with neighboring countries. The first year of the Two-Year Plan was drawing to its successful conclusion. The wage level was raised, tax reductions, bonuses and new social security measures were introduced by the Communist Party. The peasants were enthusiastic over the Communist proposal for a new land reform to abolish the last vestiges of big landlordism.

By January, 1948, it had become clear that the Communists would receive far greater popular support at the new elections scheduled for the spring than they had received in 1946, and this was the last thing desired by the sponsors of the rightwing parties in the West. It is in this light that the events of February must be viewed.

For some time before the actual crisis, the rightwing bloc had practically succeeded in paralyzing the cabinet. The strategy was obvious: to make government impossible and to create conditions

in which the Communists could be forced out of the Government, if necessary by means of an armed putsch, supported from the outside.

On February 20, the eleven rightwing ministers suddenly resigned. The pretext was a dispute over the retirement of eight police officers; the expected result was a collapse of the government, paving the way for seizure of power by the rightwing parties. The American Ambassador, the late Laurence Steinhardt, who had suddenly left Prague just before the crisis, returned just as suddenly (significantly one day before the resignations) and let it be known that in his pocket he carried the promise of a large dollar loan provided events justified American hopes.

Thus, the crisis was deliberately engineered, not by the Communists, but by the remnants of capitalism and their American sponsors. But they miscalculated, and by the time they realized their mistake, it was too late. As Gottwald told a huge mass meeting in Prague, 1948 was not 1920. (In that year, the bourgeoisie had successfully defeated a working class bid for participation in the government by employing police and troops to suppress a general strike and occupy working class premises.)

How deeply the American intelligence service was involved in the intended coup d'état was shown by the discovery of a large-scale plot in Slovakia which included the infiltration of armed agents from the ranks of the Slovak quisling forces in the U.S. zone of Austria and the smuggling of American weapons and radio equipment into the country for use in an intended armed uprising of separatist elements. Trade unionists in Slovakia forestalled these attempts by raiding Democratic Party headquarters

where large stores of fascist flags, uniforms, leaflets, arms and radios were captured. And precisely at this time "clandestine" radio stations in American-occupied Austria and Germany began to issue calls for "action."

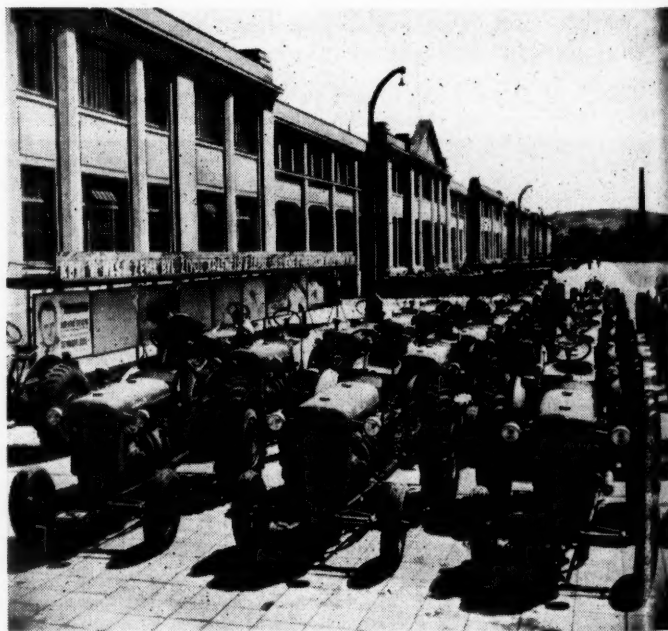
In Prague, meanwhile, Gottwald and the trade unions demanded a constitutional solution to the crisis, that is, the formation of a new Government without the resigned reactionary ministers but including all National Front parties under continued leadership of the strongest parliamentary party, the Communists. Rank and file Action Committees, composed of *all* political parties, were established in factories, villages, ministries, National Front organizations and even political parties, to support the Kosice program and prevent fascist elements from seizing power.

The trade unions called out the workers' militia to guard factories and other public property against possible armed attacks by fascists and quisling forces known to be armed and ready across the border. Eight thousand delegates to a factory council congress called a one-hour general strike in protest against the reactionary ministers. Similar demonstrations, some of them, as in Prague, numbering hundreds of thousands of people, took place all over the country.

On February 25, Gottwald was able to tell a cheering multitude that the crisis was over: Benes, in the face of the overwhelming support of the Czechoslovak people for Gottwald and a constitutional solution of the crisis, had accepted the resignations of the eleven reactionary ministers and approved the new coalition cabinet presented by Gottwald. The new Government was again headed by the strongest party, the party of the work-

(Continued on page 38)

Ready for the fields. These tractors were made at the machine-building plant in Brno. Tractor production increased 25 per cent in 1950



YOU can win the PEACE

by JESSICA SMITH

PEACE is the specter that is haunting Washington today, a specter that took on flesh and blood as thousands of people converged on our capital city in a pilgrimage representing a patriotic effort to express America's will to peace, and as tens of thousands of others flood Washington with their letters demanding an end to the war in Korea and all war plans.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote on Feb. 12:

"The United States finds the present world tension useful, if not desirable, as a basis for rallying and maintaining public tension behind the enormous rearmament and mobilization programs."

This explains Secretary Acheson's blast against the American Peace Crusade as a "sinister plot," a "new front" for the same "Communist propagandists" who circulated the "spurious" Stockholm peace petition; it explains the State Department-inspired press incitements to violence against those who advocate peace.

And it explains the shameful persecution of the great Negro leader and scholar, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and four of his associates in the now disbanded Peace Information Center.

On February 9, Dr. Du Bois was indicted, along with Kyrle Elkin, Elizabeth Moos, Abbott Simon and Sylvia Soloff, on the grounds that in circulating the Stockholm petition to outlaw the atom bomb and brand as a war criminal

the first government to use it, they were serving the interests of a foreign principal, and had failed to register as such. The only "foreign principal" involved were 800,000,000 people in seventy-two countries, including our own, who signed the petition because they want peace and not atomic annihilation.

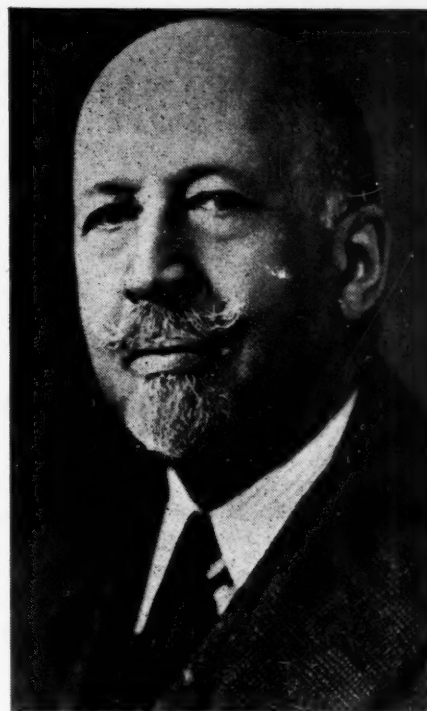
Said Dr. Du Bois, following the indictment:

"... As chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence, I can state categorically that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent a third world war. . . .

"The desire for peace cannot be made an 'alien' sentiment when the fathers and mothers of America's children read daily of impending atomic devastation, and see on the front pages the high price paid for military adventure abroad. Attempting to brand those who work for peace as 'foreign agents' will not stem the tide of peace in America. . . .

"I am sure that every American who desires peace, Negro and white, Catholic, Jew or Protestant, 3,000,000 signers of the World Peace Appeal and tens of millions more, will join with us in defense of the right to speak and work for peace."

On February 16, in Washington, there took place the shocking spectacle of the arraignment, along with a group of felons, of this distinguished, gentle, great and good man whose life work



Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

has contributed so much to the progress of his own people, and enriched the culture of the whole American nation.

With his associates, the 83-year-old Dr. Du Bois was fingerprinted, frisked for concealed weapons, held in a cell block with ordinary criminals, handcuffed.

That such attempts to intimidate all those who work for peace have not succeeded and will not succeed is evidenced by the surging nationwide response to the plans of the American Peace Crusade. Answering Secretary Acheson's blast against the crusade, Professor Linus Pauling, great American scientist, chairman of the Department of Chemistry of the California Institute of Technology, decorated by President Truman for his wartime research, and co-initiator with Dr. Du Bois and other leading Americans of the Peace Crusade, declared:

"I believe that it is the duty of every American to work for a peaceful solution of international disagreements. The evil of war becomes ever greater with the continued increase in man's powers of destruction. Especially when there is great danger of war does it become necessary for citizens to express this hope of peace. If the popular movement for peace were to be suppressed, we would be at the mercy of the few who want war, and war would be inevitable. I shall continue to struggle for a peaceful world, and to cooperate with all peace-loving people."

Since the announcement of the plans of the American Peace Crusade, re-
(Continued on page 37)

APPEAL FOR FIVE-POWER PEACE PACT

Issued by the World Peace Council at its February meeting in Berlin, signed by 108 members of the Council, and 57 invited guests

In response to the striving of millions of people throughout the world, whatever their opinions of the reasons which give rise to the danger of world war;

For the sake of consolidating peace and guaranteeing international security;

We demand the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France.

We shall regard the refusal of the government of any of the Great Powers to meet for the purpose of concluding a Pact of Peace as evidence of the aggressive designs of that government.

We urge all peace-loving countries to support the demand for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace open to all states.

We affix our signatures to this appeal and call upon all organizations striving for the consolidation of peace to sign it. —

OPERATION KILLER—

The moral code in which we believe?

"Our only ambition is to see that the people in the world have the things that are necessary to make life worth while, and that they have and live by the moral code in which we believe. That is the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the United States."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, Feb. 7, 1951.

Was this "necessary to make life worthwhile"?

She was feeding her baby when death struck from the sky. The handsome young Korean woman lay sprawled beside the road leading into Osan. One breast was bared to the winter wind. . . . Next to her in a snow bank was the baby. . . .

The mother and child were only two of the many refugees killed along the road leading into battered Osan which American forces captured Monday. . . .

As I drove into Osan I swerved my jeep to and fro through the pools of blood. Blankets and children's clothing and small tots' articles were strewn along the road in confusion. At one place I saw a tiny red baby cap with something in it in the mud. I didn't see the baby. . . .

This stretch of road was strafed several days ago on a report by air observers that Chinese Communist soldiers were shedding their uniforms and mingling with columns of refugees.

I didn't see any dead soldiers yesterday. . . .

Gene Symonds, N. Y. *Journal-American*, January 16, 1951.



Women and children are the victims of an American raid under General Ridgway's officially designated "Operation Killer."

Straw hut was a target. Villagers try to put out the blaze.



"Koreans have nothing left"

Today vast numbers of Koreans have nothing left. They have no homes, no work, and no food, and they tell you they are bewildered by the havoc created by a war they have never really understood . . . they are beginning to ask in increasing bewilderment what they themselves can hope to get out of all the killing and destruction, no matter who wins the military victory.

George Barrett, N. Y. *Times*, February 21, 1951

"She was feeding her baby when death struck from the sky."

George Barrett, N. Y. *Times*, March 3, 1951.

"Primitive Koreans cannot understand"

. . . As Korean civilians return to the north in the wake of the advancing forces of the United Nations . . . they stare in numb disbelief at the ghostly piles of ashes that were once homes, schools and shops. . . . Many of them are losing all heart in the seesaw war and are asking bitterly just to be let alone to rebuild their bamboo and straw huts.

The United Nations apparently is getting most of the blame because its concentrated fire power is doing the damage, and it is too much to expect the average primitive Korean to understand that most destruction is unavoidable with the tools of modern war. . . .

Korean civilians . . . are fleeing in great numbers with the United Nations armies not so much to get away from the Communists but to get out of the path of the shelling and bombing. . . .

Generally a soldier cannot hesitate to squeeze a trigger when there is a sudden movement beyond his position, and he cannot be blamed if the figure darting behind a distant barn turns out later to be a woman carrying her child.

But there are cases of infantryman resting for a short break, putting matches to a straw hut to get warmth.

"Tribute to the totality of modern warfare"

. . . This armored column today took a little hamlet north of Anyang that will go down as a macabre tribute to the totality of modern warfare. A napalm raid hit the village three or four days ago when the Chinese were holding up the advance, and nowhere in the village have they buried the dead because there is nobody left to do so. This correspondent came across one old woman, the only one who seemed to be left alive, dazedly hanging up some clothes in a blackened

courtyard filled with the bodies of four members of her family. The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept in the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page torn from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue crayoned at mail order number 3,811,294 for a \$2.98 "bewitching bed jacket—coral." There must be 200 dead in the tiny hamlet.

George Barrett, *N. Y. Times*, February 9, 1951.

"Americans are burning their homes"

South Korean civilians protested today against the American scorched earth policy which has ruined dozens of farms and villages. The homeless civilians told civil affairs officers . . . that they . . . are amazed that Americans are burning their homes.

The Army sympathizes with the protests. But field commanders . . . want to destroy all hiding places. They have given UN troops orders to destroy anything that could be used as cover by the infiltrators. . . . GI's sincerely regret the ruthless but necessary destruction. . . .

United Press dispatch, January 19, 1951.

Can Americans condone these murders?

This is a warning to the people of America, a warning written by a man who has seen with his own eyes what has been happening in Korea. . . . This is the plain truth: Superior American know-how, especially in the air, has been used for the mass-murder of tens of thousands of innocent people—

old men, women and children. These are some of the things I have seen:

Peaceful villages wiped out by U.S. bombers far from military targets—no armies or industries there, only the humble dwellings of farmers . . . a farmer killed in his field. . . . The bodies of children who had been machine-gunned by U.S. planes as they bathed in a brook. . . . Hospitals whose only remains were a pile of bricks and the Red Cross emblem. . . .

I have seen Korean cities after carpet bombing attacks—the most inhuman method invented by aerial strategists. . . . Do the American people know how these cities are bombed? First come the heavy bombers, then the incendiaries, then the strafing of terrified civilians. Do they know that to kill a man by machine gun the gunner must be able to see his target? The man who killed the children in the brook saw them alive. . . .

I cannot believe that the American people, if they were informed, would passively submit to the fact that the misdeeds of the American army are arousing hatred against America not only in the Far East, but among all the people in the world who have a human conscience. . . .

Jiri Hronek, Prague journalist, *National Guardian*, January 10, 1951.

If "inhibitions" are lifted

If these reports indicate MacArthur's strategy under what he called in his statement of March 7 "abnormal military inhibitions," what might be expected by the people of Korea and China if these "inhibitions" were to be removed and MacArthur given the authority he demands to spread the war?

KOREAN WOMEN'S APPEAL

OUR dear friends who desire world peace, a happy future for mankind . . . we write this letter to you in the ruins where we suffer from biting winter winds and icy snow storms. One fine June morning our peaceful life was interrupted by American bombs. . . .

The American intervention has brought our people untold misfortune and grief. The rice harvested earlier for threshing has been reduced to ashes, and our homes in the towns and villages, once the abode of a happy and free people, have been turned into ruins.

Along the roads lie the countless corpses of our brothers and sisters. The majority of our theaters, clubs and other cultural institutions in the towns have been destroyed and burnt down.

Instead of peaceful chatter around the family hearth and songs of labor and construction, everywhere the flame of wrath is burning.

Where six months ago there were towns and villages marked on the map, not even a trace of them remains today. Where a house stood, it does not exist today. Where there was a garden and a forest, now there are none.

The places where the American planes dropped their bombs at the beginning of the war and which they fired on, were neither trenches nor artillery positions.

They were peaceful towns and villages where workers, peasants and office workers lived. . . . Their bullets were aimed above all against unarmed old people, women and children.

The first objects against which the American planes threw jellied gasoline and incendiary bombs, the first objects which they strafed with rifles and machine guns, were not barracks and troop trains, but schools where children were being taught, hospitals where the sick were being treated, churches, theaters and huts on the banks of rivers. . . .

There is not a scrap of Korean soil on which there are not traces of the blood of our compatriots. There is not a place where death agonies have not been heard.

During their retreat the Americans and Syngman Rheeites are killing peaceful Korean citizens, burning villages and hamlets without any discrimination. . . .

We saw a baby at the breast of its murdered mother. How could it know that its mother had been killed, that the source of life had ceased to flow from her high breast. This baby was the sole living being among 700 of our brothers and sisters. . . .

We saw the place where the Americans had shot over 200 school girls. Skirting a pine forest there flows a little stream on the banks of which the children's

shoes were lying about. The corpses of the girls had been taken away after the shooting, but their shoes had been left behind in the grass. . . .

We see the agony and hear the curses of our sisters whom the Americans and their hirelings have outraged. Many of our sisters, unable to bear the shame, have ended by committing suicide. . . .

We want the mothers and wives of soldiers of America, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, Thailand and other countries to know in what evil cause their sons and husbands are sent to Korea. . . .

We call on you mothers and wives to do everything you can not to allow your sons and husbands to be sent to Korea. . . .

Who can foretell whether the flame of war will not touch your family, your father, mothers, brothers and sisters. . . .

We call on you, women of the whole world, to raise still higher the banner of your struggle for peace, still closer to unite your ranks in the struggle for the happiness of mankind, for the bright future of your children, against the imperialist bandits who have already begun in Korea to fan the conflagration of a new war.

(From an Appeal of the Democratic Women's Union of Korea, North Korea, January 7, 1951.)

THE STALIN INTERVIEW

On February 16, the Moscow *Pravda* published an interview with Premier Joseph Stalin on certain vital world issues by one of its correspondents.

The press for the most part reported it meagrely, distorted its meaning. Commentators sought hidden threats behind Stalin's "enigmatic" statements; the State Department declared that Stalin's declaration that war is not inevitable proves Soviet aggressive intentions!

Stalin's words are simple and direct, their meaning clear as a bell. The only possible interpretation of this statement as of other Soviet foreign policy pronouncements, is that they mean exactly what they say.

This document, studied in conjunction with the Soviet note to Britain published elsewhere in this issue, sets forth the whole basis of the USSR's foreign policy, its determination to pursue a course of peace. This determination is underlined in the new Soviet budget which allocates only 21.3 per cent to the armed forces as against over 70 per cent for war in the U.S. budget.

At the same time, Stalin soberly estimates the growing danger of war and makes clear that only the most forceful efforts of the people everywhere can prevent it.

QUESTION. How do you estimate the latest statement made by British Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons to the effect that after the termination of the war, the Soviet Union did not disarm, i.e., did not demobilize its troops and that since then the Soviet Union is constantly increasing its armed forces?

ANSWER. I estimate this statement by Prime Minister Attlee as a slander against the Soviet Union.

It is known to the whole world that the Soviet Union demobilized its troops after the war. As is known, demobilization was carried out in three stages: the first and second stages, in the course of the year 1945; the third stage, from May to September, 1946. In addition, the demobilization of older-age groups of the personnel of the Soviet Army was carried out in 1946 and 1947, and at the beginning of 1948 all the remaining older-age groups were demobilized.

Such are the facts known to everyone.

If Prime Minister Attlee were competent in financial or economic science, he would have realized without difficulty that not a single State, the Soviet Union included, could develop civilian industry to the full, launch great construction projects like the hydroelectric power stations on the Volga and Dnieper and Amu Darya, which demand tens of billions in budget expenditure, continue the policy of systematic price reduction for consumer goods which also demands tens of billions in budget expenditure, invest hundreds of billions in the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the German invaders, and together with this multiply simultaneously its armed forces and develop war industry.

It is not difficult to understand that so reckless a policy would have led any State to bankruptcy.

Prime Minister Attlee should have known by his own experience as well as

by the experience of the United States that the multiplication of a country's armed forces and an arms race lead to developing war industry, to curtailing civilian industry, to stopping large construction works, to increasing taxation, to raising prices of consumer goods.

It stands to reason that if the Soviet Union is not reducing but, on the contrary, is expanding its civilian industry, it is not winding up but, on the contrary, expanding the construction of great new hydroelectric power stations and irrigation systems, is not stopping but, on the contrary, continuing the policy of price reduction, it cannot simultaneously with this inflate war industry and multiply its armed forces without the risk of finding itself in a state of bankruptcy.

If despite all these facts and scientific considerations, Prime Minister Attlee considers it nevertheless possible to slander openly the Soviet Union and its peaceful policy, this can only be explained by the fact that by slandering the Soviet Union he thinks it is possible to justify the armaments race in Britain now being carried out by the Labor Government.

Prime Minister Attlee needs a lie against the Soviet Union, and it is essential to him to depict the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union as an aggressive one and the aggressive policy of the British Government as a peaceful one in order to mislead the British people, to impose upon them that lie about the USSR and thus to draw them by means of deceit into the new world war being organized by the ruling circles of the United States.

Prime Minister Attlee represents himself to be a supporter of peace. However, if he is really in favor of peace, why did he reject the proposal of the Soviet Union in the United Nations Organization for the immediate conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States of America, China and France?

If he truly stands for peace, why did



he reject the proposals of the Soviet Union for an immediate start on the reduction of armaments, for the immediate prohibition of the atomic weapon?

If he is really in favor of peace, why does he prosecute the fighters of peace, why did he prohibit the peace congress in Britain? Can a campaign in defense of peace threaten Britain's security?

It is obvious that Prime Minister Attlee is not in favor of preserving peace, but of unleashing a new aggressive world war.

QUESTION. What do you think of the intervention in Korea. How could it end?

ANSWER. If Britain and the United States reject finally the peace proposals made by the People's Government of China, the war in Korea can only end in a defeat of the interventionists.

QUESTION. Why? Are the American and British generals and officers worse than the Chinese and Korean ones?

ANSWER. No, they are not worse. American and British generals and officers are in no way worse than the generals and officers of any other country. As to the soldiers of the United States and Britain, as is known, they showed themselves in the best light in the war against Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan. Wherein lies the crux of the matter then? It lies in the fact that the soldiers regard the war against Korea and China as unjust, whereas they regarded the war against Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan as completely just. The matter at issue is that this war is extremely unpopular among the American and British soldiers.

Indeed, it is difficult to convince the soldiers that China, which is not threatening either Britain or the United States, and from which the Americans appropriated the island of Taiwan [Formosa], is the aggressor, whereas the United States, which appropriated the island of Taiwan and brought its troops to the very boundaries of China, is the party defending itself. It is difficult to convince the soldiers that the United States of America is entitled to defend its security on the territory of Korea and at the frontiers of China, whereas China and Korea have no right to defend their security on their own territory or at the frontiers of their States. This is the reason why the war is unpopular among the Anglo-American soldiers.

It stands to reason that the most experienced generals and officers can suffer defeat if the soldiers regard the war imposed upon them as profoundly unjust and if, as a result of this, they perform their duties at the front formalistically, without faith in the righteousness of their mission and without enthusiasm.

QUESTION. *How do you estimate the decision of the United Nations Organization which proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic an aggressor?*

ANSWER. I estimate it as a shameful decision.

Indeed, one must lose the last vestiges of conscience to contend that the United States, which appropriated Chinese territory—the island of Taiwan—and which invaded Korea close to the frontiers of China, is the party defending itself, whereas the Chinese People's Republic, which is defending its frontiers and is striving to secure the return of the island of Taiwan appropriated by the Americans, is the aggressor.

The United Nations Organization, created as the bulwark for preserving peace, is being turned into an instrument of war, into a means of unleashing a new world war. The aggressive core of the United Nations is represented by the 10 member countries of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact (the USA, Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway and Iceland) and 20 Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela). The representatives of these countries now decide the fate of war and peace in the United Nations. It was they who carried in the United Nations the shameful decision on the aggressiveness of the Chinese People's Republic.

It is characteristic of the present-day regime in the United Nations that, for

LAW IN THE DEFENSE OF PEACE

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, guided by the high principles of Soviet peace-loving policy which pursues the aims of strengthening the peace and of friendly relations between nations,—

Recognizes that the conscience and perception of the peoples who suffered the calamities of two world wars during the course of one generation, cannot reconcile themselves to the impunity of war propaganda now being conducted by aggressive circles of some states, and identifies itself with the appeal of the Second World Peace Congress, which expressed the will of all progressive mankind in regard to the prohibition and condemnation of criminal war propaganda.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

1. To regard that propaganda of war, regardless of the form in which it is carried out, undermines the cause of peace, creates the threat of a new war and because of this, constitutes the gravest crime against mankind.

2. Persons guilty of propaganda for war shall be indicted and tried as heinous criminals.

President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. SHVERNIK.
Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet A. GORKIN.

Moscow, the Kremlin, March 12, 1951.

instance, the small Dominican Republic in America, whose population hardly amounts to 2,000,000, has, at present, the same weight in the United Nations as India, and much more weight than the Chinese People's Republic, which is deprived of the right to vote in the United Nations.

Thus, being turned into the tool of aggressive war, the United Nations Organization is at the same time ceasing to be a world organization of nations enjoying equal rights. As a matter of fact, the United Nations Organization is now not so much a world organization as an organization for the Americans, an organization acting on behalf of the requirements of the American aggressors. Not only the United States and Canada are striving to unleash a new war, but the same stand has also been taken by 20 Latin American countries, the landowners and merchants of which are craving a new war somewhere in Europe or Asia in order to sell goods to the belligerent countries for excessively high prices and to earn millions from that sanguinary business. It is not a secret to anyone that 20 representatives of 20 Latin American countries now represent the most solid and obedient army of the United States of America in the United Nations Organization.

The United Nations Organization is therefore taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations. In this way it is burying its moral prestige and dooming itself to disintegration.

QUESTION. *Do you consider a new world war inevitable?*

ANSWER. No. At least at the present time it cannot be considered inevitable.

Of course, in the United States of America, in Britain, as also in France, there are aggressive forces thirsting for a new war. They need war to obtain super-profits, to plunder other countries. These are the billionaires and million-

aires who regard war as an item of income which gives colossal profits.

They, these aggressive forces, control the reactionary governments and direct them. But at the same time they are afraid of their peoples who do not want a new war and stand for the maintenance of peace. Therefore they are trying to use the reactionary governments in order to enmesh their peoples with lies, to deceive them and to depict the new war as defensive and the peaceful policy of the peace-loving countries as aggressive. They are trying to deceive their peoples in order to impose on them their aggressive plans and to draw them into a war.

Precisely for this reason they are afraid of the campaign in defense of peace, fearing that it can expose the aggressive intentions of the reactionary governments.

Precisely for this reason they turned down the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a Peace Pact, for the reduction of armaments, for banning the atomic weapon, fearing that the adoption of these proposals would undermine the aggressive measures of the reactionary governments and make the armaments race unnecessary.

What will be the end of this struggle between the aggressive and peace-loving forces?

Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and will defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war.

That is why the wide campaign for the maintenance of peace as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers is now of first rate importance.

As for the Soviet Union, it will continue in the future as well firmly to pursue the policy of averting war and maintaining peace.

POLAND'S BABIES

by ELIZABETH MOOS

"IN POLAND you can't find one man who wants war," said the house-painter in the Rest Home in Zakopane to me. "We are one big family and everybody is living and working for their children and their country. Tell them that, over there."

The students in a pedagogical training school told me, "Tell the young people

Human beings are precious, human dignity respected. In these few years of peace there has been a building of men even more miraculous than the achievements of the architects and bricklayers. In this building, new human potential has been tapped, new motivations are at work.

I have seen some of the results of that

been refused. Often we arrived quite unexpectedly at the school door. All of them were open to us. Visitors are welcomed everywhere. The people of Poland are proud of their work and happy to have the world know of it.

The schools I visited were not exceptional. They may be duplicated in cities and towns throughout Poland. Some are better and some are worse, but all have the same plan and the same spirit. Nothing here is static. Admire what you think is the very last word in equipment and they will tell you about much better things now being made. Every



Big bowls of farina start their breakfasts in the transport union's nursery



Playpens for six. The kiddies learn to share their toys and play together

in your country never to stop their fight for peace. Every man, woman and child here will answer your question 'What shall I say to my people in the United States?' with the same deep feeling. Tell them we are building for peace."

There rests upon all who have seen and felt this deep and passionate desire for peace, a solemn obligation to let the mothers and fathers of America know the truth. If they but had a glimpse of it they would be immune to the lies of the war-propagandists and shout aloud against them.

Here in Warsaw the living joy and hope of peace and the grim and dreadful lessons of war are spread before you. There are streets with blocks of rubble and twisted iron, perhaps a doorway still standing with a plaque "In memory of those murdered here by the Nazi invaders." Across the street may be a graceful building of white stone, pure and clean in line and full of busy men and women. Multiply this by the thousands. They know about war here. They love life and cherish peace.

process. I have felt the confident and purposeful determination of these hard-working people, youth and adult. I wanted to know something about how they got that way. I wanted to know why they are so dedicated to peace and so sure of the future. What have they already received to give them this faith?

The best way, I think, to learn about a country's aims is to find out what they are doing about their children. Then too, because I know a little about children from the point of view of teacher and mother, I wanted to start with the schools—or rather with all those institutions which are considered "educational."

The great Women's League of Poland agreed to help. With an English-speaking mother who knows her country well, I have spent many days visiting schools of all types and talking with the teachers and the children. No request has

new school has some improvement over the last one, it seems to me.

Everybody works in this young nation. Mothers too. This raises questions in any country. What about the babies? The youngsters too young for school? How has Poland answered these questions? The network of creches and kindergartens take care of most of the problems. I want to tell you about one of the many I visited. In the one I am telling you about, I spent the entire day from opening until closing time.

We walked into a cheerful reception room with flowers and pictures at about seven-thirty in the morning. The shining waxed floors are the wonder and envy of the visitor. No street dirt in any school. So we must slip clean felt covers over our shoes and put on clean white cover-alls before we go further.

In the adjoining room with its big

windows opening onto the children's playground, sit a dozen mothers in low, broad-armed white chairs nursing their babies. The mothers wear white coveralls and they and the babies have been checked by the woman physician; no chances taken of infections for these precious little ones.

A new arrival aged three months is being examined in the next room and advice given the mother about adding fruit juices to the diet. One young "pupil" arrived, we hear, with a sniffle and is in the pleasant little isolation room with its crib, bath and kitchenette.

Nursing time is quietly social and enjoyed by all. When the babies are too full for another mouthful they are carried off to the nursery and the mothers drink big cups of hot cocoa and munch bread and butter before going into the factory to work. For this creche is in the huge clothing factory where hundreds of thousands of suits and coats are being turned out.

One could hear the nurses chuckling to the babies as they carried them off to the big nursery. Nothing impersonal or cold about the treatment these little one received! Warmth and affectionate motherliness pervades the creches. Babies are picked up often. They sit in laps and get the caresses that children need

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 has been making a study of the educational system in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Mothers usually nurse the babies until they are ten months old. After that they nurse them two or three times a day and even at a year, if possible, they nurse them once a day.

The babies under a year are given baths every day, the others are bathed twice a week. The bathroom is a lovely sight. There are miniature porcelain tubs with showers and padded dressing tables beside them. The whole affair is raised so that the nurses' backs are not strained. After the babies are bathed they are dressed in clean nursery garments. They never go into the nursery in the clothes from home. The older ones put on aprons or overalls and slippers, of course.

A trained infant nurse is in charge of the babies and they spend their time between nursings in an airy room with vines and flowers. There they sleep in their cribs or play with the toys that dangle beside each one.

The ones who can crawl about, the

are fed their meals at little tables there. There is a special sleeping room for the older ones.

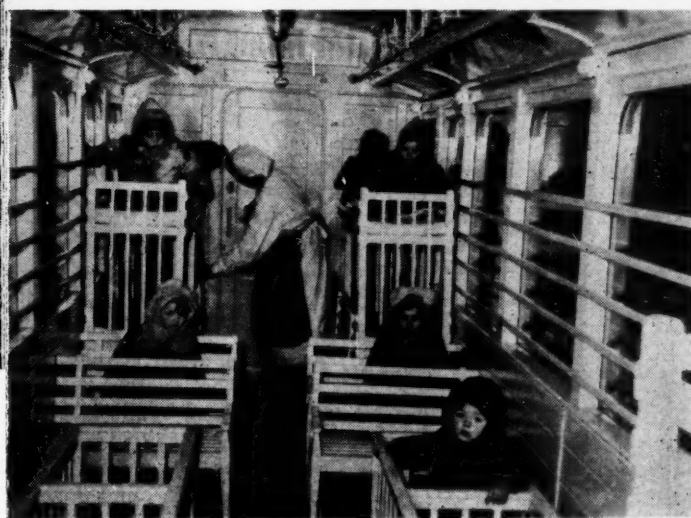
The two's and over have plenty of space to play with the blocks and balls and dolls. Plasticene, paint and crayons are part of the equipment. There are singing games and stories for them. This particular creche was originally planned for more babies and fewer two to three year olds and so there was not as much space for running about as the teachers would like. But because of the relaxed atmosphere and flexibility, there was no feeling of tension in spite of rather crowded quarters.

I watched the children who could walk trot off to breakfast. They ate in a pleasant room. There were blue walls with the peace doves flying, gay napkins on the tables and the ever-present plants. The youngsters consumed what seemed to me an enormous meal. Before beginning, the nurse came with a bottle of vitamins. Every mouth opened to receive the pill. They had big bowls of farina cooked with milk and sugar, a cup of milk and a peeled apple. These children ate a lunch of noodle soup, meat and potatoes, salad of raw carrot and apple and fruit juice. After their long nap they were fed again, milk and bread and butter. The food was delicious and well-cooked. I ate it and I know. Here is one of the reasons for the crowds of healthy rosy-cheeked youngsters you see everywhere.

I wondered how the mothers managed to bring their babies to the creche. Some lived far from the factory and the trams



The older children learn crafts, like these painting little ornaments



Special trolley car takes youngsters to their nurseries and home again

as a plant needs the sun. "No one should work with little children unless they really love them," said the head of a Training School for Nursery Teachers.

But the teachers are not a substitute for the mothers. Every effort is made to keep mother and child close. In three hours the women will be back to nurse their youngsters. Of course they lose none of their wages for this time away. Nor do they lose any if the doctor wants to talk with them, or even if the doctor decides that the child is not well and should be taken care of at home. Children come first!

ones under two, have a room with beds and a big round play pen in which as many as six can roll around. They begin to play together under these circumstances at a surprisingly early age.

The kiddie-cars and wagons and dolls and picture books are there for the ones old enough to toddle. They spend their time in their room or out of doors and

in Warsaw are overcrowded. It is hard for an unencumbered adult to get on during the rush hours. So I went with one of the mothers after work.

We stood on the corner near the factory and watched the trams go by. Suddenly a strange looking car appeared. It was big and white, with another car be-

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American Railroader In Europe

by AMY SCHECHTER

A RAILROADER visits a foreign country and naturally his main attention will be given to things connected with railroading. Harold Hall, locomotive engineer in yard service with ten years' seniority at thirty-one, hometown St. Louis, Mo., gathered much concrete data on railroads and railroaders in Poland when he attended an international meeting of land and air transport workers at Warsaw as an observer.

But he brought back vivid impressions of many phases of life in Poland as seen from a worker's angle—of children and housing and religion and flower-gardens and food and trade union grievance committees and the Auschwitz death camp and railroader veterans of the resistance movement and the feeling of people about war and peace.

Hall is tall, lanky, friendly, a born mixer, a warm eager talker, with an all-out interest in what is happening to men of his trade everywhere. In Europe during World War II he met railwaymen of various countries and later began corresponding with several of them, so that when he was invited to attend the IFTU transport conference at Warsaw he took it in his stride. Back home, his month's leave of absence at an end, he wrote up his experiences and took the piece to a St. Louis daily. The paper was not interested. Believing his story should be printed, Hall gave us some of the highlights when we said we would like to know about the impressions he had formed while he was abroad.

Conference Like a Small UN

First about the transport conference. "It looked like a small UN meeting" Hall says. But these men wanted to understand one another. The delegates — mostly railroaders, also bus and trolley drivers and aviation workers—were from many lands and represented many political viewpoints and religions. Discussions had to be carried on through interpreters, and in the case of some Asian countries, had to be relayed through two. But the meaning came through.

"You couldn't dress up your speeches with too many adjectives, but trade unionists can always get their ideas across

to other trade unionists," is the way Hall puts it.

And in every language the main idea was peace.

"Peace—that was the meat of the conference. The conference was asking transport workers' unions to establish links to preserve peace throughout the world, to get them to pull together, to expose the people who make tremendous profits out of war and to prevent it. Just no war, that's all! And regardless of the fact that some countries have different forms of government—that doesn't enter into it."

The Effects of War

At the conference all major problems of transport workers came under discussion, and invariably the discussion was tied in with whether there would be peace or war. Speakers from capitalist countries, he said, took up "all the pork chop issues of hours, wages, pensions, union security, etc.," agreeing that these discussions meant little if there were war—that only by preserving peace can you preserve conditions or improve them. Delegates from Marshall Plan countries spoke bitterly of the tremendous slashes made in social security, consumers' goods and housing to pay for arms.

The pork chops issues also occupied the men from the USSR and the people's democracies, but their speeches also showed a broad proprietary interest in their countries' industrial life. Since the conference was held in Warsaw, the delegates were able to observe the functioning of the Polish transport unions in some detail. Hall remarked on the power that railroad workers there seemed to have, not only in the shops but in the industry and government.

"Railroad workers not only make decisions in the unions themselves," he said, "but also make decisions as to how the industry shall operate. In discussions at the Conference, Polish delegates discussed everything from a positive angle. There is a positive liaison between the government and the unions, and organized methods for settling grievances as soon as they come up."

The Chinese delegation, speaking of



Harold Hall (upper) of St. Louis, Mo., at the transport workers conference in Warsaw. Lower: Romanian delegate signs an autograph for a Polish youngster

the recent entrance of women into skilled work in their country, displayed railway magazines with pictures of some all-women operating crews. They described how their government was going to the source of famine and flood, starting in the hinterland of the big rivers, halting soil erosion by planting trees and grasses.

Hall described the head of the Polish railroaders as "a very friendly and impressive fellow; he had square-cut features and clear, steady, grey eyes. He kissed me on both cheeks when I left Warsaw. That is something unusual for American workers, but it makes you feel good to have such warm friendship expressed."

The interpreter who had volunteered to help out the American was a seaman named Antoni Sizek who had learned

English when he used to ship out. He is now an official of the marine transport union, acting as a liaison officer between union and government in the handling of grievances.

"I won't forget the companionship and friendship of Brother Antoni," says Hall. "He worked very hard every day we were together,—interpreting is a difficult job—but he gave every indication of enjoying his work. Like a man building his own house he hoped he might build a lasting friendship between the workers of Poland and America."

It was towards the end of Hall's visit, when together they were coming from a bitter pilgrimage to the Auschwitz death camp, that he first learned that two of the Pole's sisters had been murdered there, one had been killed outright, the other, just eighteen, had been so brutally mistreated in the camp that she lived only a few days after liberation. Also that the Nazis had murdered Sizek's two young children.

Among Hall's less technical findings on Polish railroading were the facts that "the more cars they have, the more trainmen they have," that safety conditions are strictly enforced, and also hour limits, and that the sixteen-hour stretch, as used here on railways, is unknown.

At a railway freight car repair shop in Katowicz he found that "although the buildings were not new they were clean and light. The tracks and transfer tables seemed to be well laid out to handle the work quickly and easily. The lockers and washrooms were very clean, with spacious steel lockers for each worker."

The Training School

There was a training school connected with the shop, with girls as well as boys from seventeen up studying there. The first year was classroom study of the theory of mechanics and allied subjects, the pupils receiving a beginner's pay scale. The second year was part theory and part practical training in the school machine shop, with a slightly higher pay scale; and the third year was part practical training in the school machine shop and the rest work in the freight car repair shop itself, with this shop time paid for at regular shop rates for the specific job they were doing.

From here they went to Auschwitz, not far away. They found the camp as it was when the Nazis were driven out. The American, telling about it later, described the signs of what Nazism had accomplished here with the utter revulsion and passionate moral indignation of an honest human being who saw the victims as men, women and children, not as abstract pawns of power politics. About the possessions of the murdered people, the eye-glasses, worn shoes, the women's hair, the "small things that could be car-

ried in the victims' pockets," piled up in bins with hideous Nazi efficiency, he said:

"The loot was of such a nature that no person with a drop of kindness in his veins could speak of it in an unbroken voice. The thought of these things discarded by people on the way to the furnaces, with chutes just the right size to slide a human being into the fire, left everyone speechless. The murder of several million individual human beings was evidence of the outcome of one people who placed themselves above other people because of color, religion and nationality. I feel that all people of honor should join together to prevent the Nazi bigots from ever bearing arms again for another pogrom in Europe."

Town Welcomes Workers

When the transport delegates arrived at Kracow "it looked as if every one in the city had taken a hand in welcoming us." There were meetings with the railroad workers at the terminal, and entertainment by the rail unions that evening, with music and dancing, including some by gypsies of the region, people who, he learned had been starved and persecuted in the old days, almost wiped out under Nazi occupation, but who now "have found haven and jobs under the new Polish government."

At Kracow they visited a nursery, found it up-to-date and well-run like the ones they saw in Warsaw. Two Kracow workers, both about 23, accompanied the delegation throughout the day, themselves delegated by their unions, the young man was one of the youngest railway engineers in the district, the girl was the best girl lathe operator.

"They visited us as an honor, for we were really considered honored guests," Hall says. "I took the bouquet that had been given me that morning and gave it to the girl lathe operator when we parted at the station. She was very pleased, said she would tell her shop-mates."

Outside Poznan they saw a "very new and modern" castle built in thick pine-woods beside a lake by a Polish nobleman as a pleasant refuge from air raids. He was mayor under the Nazis, a collaborator, who had "piled up a long record of crimes against the people on his own." The delegates went through the beautiful castle, now a school and rest home where under par children are built up with a regimen of special diets, fresh air and exercise.

In the evening, as guests of the Poznan trade unions, they went to the opera house for a performance of the *Barber of Seville*. Unusual for workers to see operas like that here, at home, Hall remarked.

Driving through the countryside he noted the many little shrines, the bases

always heaped with fresh-cut flowers. And later, back in Warsaw, wandering about the streets of the city, with its boom town atmosphere because of the building going on everywhere, he specially noted the very numerous churches.

"I was interested in the angle of religious freedom," he said, "and I was interested in the old churches themselves, they were historic buildings. The thing of it was, I never expected to see services going on in them. I thought of them just as show pieces without expecting to find anybody in there. But when we stepped inside we found they were full of people, and were holding church services. Many churches were badly damaged and were being repaired. I was surprised, the way they needed housing, that they were repairing churches the way they were."

About the city in general, he noted the signs of destruction in among the new building "not so much from bombing or artillery fire, but from ruthless and systematic dynamiting, building by building, by the Nazis." The new Warsaw, he found, was being built largely from the rubble of the old. "A process had been developed to grind up the rubble and make new building material from it. The buildings are being very well constructed and look like buildings put up to stay. Every corner one turns shows a new building being put up or rubble being cleared away for one to be built. I wouldn't have believed that a city could sustain itself with so many people devoted to construction . . . the whole city is covered with the plaster dust of new building."

Word "Peace" Everywhere

And everywhere flowers. "The people like to have them round just for the color. The word *Pokoj* was spelled out in flowers in many of the flower-beds in public parks; *Pokoj* means peace."

Of the people, he said, "They are welded together around the idea of peace. They need peace. And I believe that any government that would speak out for war couldn't hold power, they'd throw them out."

The children are in on the rebuilding of the city as they seem to be in on so many phases of its life. Hall remarked on the way the sense of participation seemed to be nurtured in these youngsters.

"You take a kid who's helped clear a plot for a building. He's not going to break windows in that building," he said.

Trying to define the special quality of these children in a new world, he concluded that it is the way they seem to have "a feeling of belonging, more than anything else. They belonged there

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THIS CATHOLIC FRENCH WOMAN

Was from Missouri

She went to Warsaw to see for herself whether the Peace delegates meant what they said. Here is what she found.



A speech by ANNIE QUANCART

I REGRET that what I have to say, from a very personal viewpoint, should be addressed particularly to many people who are unfortunately not here this evening.

For in my opinion what makes my point of view valuable is that it is the point of view of someone who went to the Second World Congress of Peace not as a delegate, but on her own account and simply to see for herself—a pleasure trip which quite unexpectedly turned into a job of work—and of someone who remains as before *very* far away from communism. I repeat *very*; let us be quite clear about that for there is too much ambiguity in the world. I have voted M.R.P. (Catholic Republican) at every election with consistent enthusiasm, and my daily paper is *Sud-Ouest*.

I want to make quite clear that for me this problem of doctrine is still very much present, and that from that point of view the dangers I see in communism do not seem to me at all solved.

But, these things having been said, it seems to me that the problem is complicated by a habit which has become firmly rooted in the bourgeois Catholic *milieu* to which I belong, a habit which in my view falsifies understanding of the real problem, the great problem of peace. We hear of a regime dominating enslaved peoples by the use of police pressure and the stifling of all human quality, piling up, behind a completely sealed iron curtain, arms and munitions to bring terror to the rest of the world. Is this, or is this not, what we are told?

Then I received a shock. For what I have seen does not resemble what I imagined. I am beginning to wonder if those whose job it is to keep us informed—the politicians and the journalists—are not pulling a fast one on us.

And please note, I saw what I wanted to see, I went where I wanted to go, I spoke to anyone I liked; I took everywhere a reserved and at first decidedly reticent mind. Of course my experiences were limited to a very short time, and I won't pretend to any absolute certitude;

I wish only to speak, very simply, of my worries and reflections.

The possibility that we might be the victims of a lie first appeared to me when I saw the people at this Congress. Instead of a gathering of Communists boosting the triumph of the Soviets, I saw a meeting truly great in breadth and in seriousness, of men and women come from all horizons with all sorts of opinions (for example on the origins of the Korean conflict) and political loyalties, of very dissimilar religious beliefs, and who nevertheless succeeded despite all their differences, through understanding, ex-

Everywhere delegates to the Second World Peace Congress are busy popularizing Congress decisions, and above all the Manifesto to the Peoples and the Appeal to the United Nations.

Among report-back speeches, particularly interesting is that of a French woman, Mme. Quancart, of Bordeaux. Mme. Quancart was not a delegate, and travelled to Warsaw entirely on her own. Her convictions are unchanged, but, having gone there with the conviction that understanding was necessary, she has come back assured that it is possible. She has found out what she had never suspected—that peace is in grave danger from a web of lies deliberately woven—and she is determined to tell people this. We are presenting her speech as published in "Peace: A World Review" issued in Paris.

amination, sincerity and good will, in reaching unanimous agreement on a few very important and very broad points, which can be looked on as the basis for the peaceful co-existence of peoples.

This is a considerable result. Here, it is belittled or distorted. It is the proof that men who put their hearts into it, with confidence and good will, can reach agreement to safeguard peace.

I think then that what is lacking everywhere in the world is confidence. Each lives in fear of the enemy's warlike mood. It must therefore be said for everyone to hear that in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, the people want peace, the people need peace; that the governments are

waging an intense campaign of propaganda for peace; and, what is most important, children are brought up with the idea of peace.

Armaments? Certainly there must be, and in any case I did not go to Russia. But at least one can say there is no deployment for aggression. I did not see, anywhere along the railways, or in Prague or Warsaw, or in the course of a little trip to the country, any concentration or transporting of arms, or any military parade. And it wasn't because I didn't look. Police were no more noticeable. There are two sentries in front of Gottwald's palace in Prague; the official processions we went to were without escort, even traffic is none too well controlled. Demonstrations and meetings have a purely popular character, nothing aggressive or provocative, no trace of militarism.

The iron curtain, which my friends look upon me as a phenomenon for having crossed? Well, here, very simply and concretely, is what I noticed. On entering the territories of the People's Democracies, I saw a lad looking at passports and stamping them; the same thing coming out. Of course the Czech and Polish governments were favorably disposed to the Peace Congress, but all the same 3,000 people were allowed in without any kind of discrimination, and all the newspapermen who wanted. Mr. O. John Rogge, to mention him too, got in, spoke freely and, if I am not mistaken, came out again.

On the other side of the picture, I would like to mention a few facts that shocked me. One of our friends from the Christian Trade Union, a railwayman, was interrogated and searched on his arrival on English soil, letters he had on him were opened and his address book copied. We got no transit visa to go through the American zone in Germany; an airplane from Prague carrying some people who were in a hurry to get back was not authorized to land at Le Bourget and had to turn back.

(Continued on page 39)

Sunday in the Park

How do Moscow families spend their day of rest? Much the same as people all over the world

by RALPH PARKER

SUNDAY morning in Moscow! It is winter. As the sun rises it dispels a milky mist. The sky is a very pale blue, cloudless.

For most, Sunday is a day of rest. Schools and factories are closed. But shops and places of amusement are open. For the shop assistant as for the actor and ballet dancer Monday is the day off.

The day begins quietly, for Muscovites sleep late on Sunday mornings. The cinemas and theaters are always crowded on Saturday nights; working women become housewives for the weekend and bake for Sunday's dinner; the Metro and trolley services are crowded till long after midnight with people who have been paying family calls.

First to be up and about are the sports lovers, and at this time of the year this means skiers and skaters. There has been a great increase in the popularity of skiing during the past ten years and on most winter Sundays the turn-out in the principal parks on the outskirts of the city is large. One has only to present oneself to the local ski depot to be provided with equipment and, if one wishes, the chance of joining a beginners class, all without any charge. More advanced winter sportsmen take the electric trains to regions about twenty miles from Moscow where the slopes are more interesting. On the Lenin Hills, where the new State University buildings are being built, there is serious jumping. From the top of the jumping tower one has the impression

Hop in the car,
and off to the
woods for a
quiet picnic

that the leap is likely to carry one across the Moskva River and on to the rooftops of the great city that stretches beyond it.

There are few suitable ponds in Moscow for skating so the sidewalks in the principal parks are flooded and this provides skating space for tens of thousands. I doubt if there are many teen-age children in Moscow who don't own a pair of skates and spend at least one evening a week and a good many Sundays on them. With arms linked, they circle to the music of old-fashioned waltzes in temperatures of minus 20 or 30.

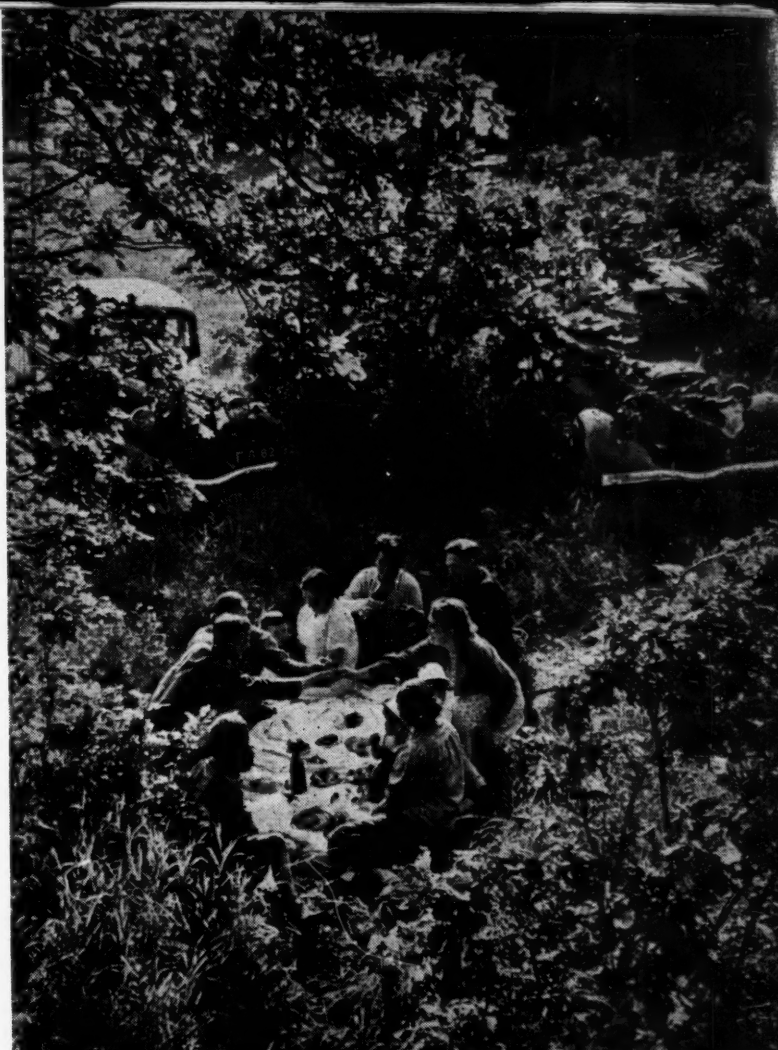
It is not until about noon that the shopping crowds emerge. Sunday is the day that people reserve for the kind of shopping that takes time, and there are many visitors to the bookshops, and to the Univermags (department stores), to the special shops where motorcycles and bicycles are sold.

School children are not allowed to go to the theaters or cinemas in the evenings during term time, but on Sundays matinees are given at all the principal theaters as well as at concert halls and the circus, and children form the major part of the public on such occasions. Last Sunday morning, for instance, *Swan Lake* was being danced at the Bolshoy Theater, Leo Tolstoy's *Resurrection* was staged at the Moscow Art Theater, the Maly was pre-

senting Gogol's *The Inspector General*.

For many Muscovites, Sunday is a day spent in the factory club or Palace of Culture. Here there is usually some kind of social in which a part will be played by the amateur dramatic or musical groups that have become so important a feature in leisure during the past three or four years. The link between these amateurs and the professional world of art is a close one, for the Soviet artiste is under a definite obligation to share his experience. Many of them, indeed, are as well known to audiences they meet in clubs such as those maintained by the Stalin Auto Works, the Trekhgornaya Textile Mills or the Kaliber Works, as to the public that watches them across the footlights in Moscow's most famous theaters. And in return, it is from the amateur groups that new talent comes to light. Raya Struchkova, one of the most promising young ballerinas of the Bolshoy Theater began to dance in a group formed at a Pioneer House. At the Conservatory in Georgia's capital, Tbilisi, I recently heard a remarkable young tenor sing who two or three years ago belonged to a provincial amateur choir.

Many people spend Sunday at home, and for them Sunday dinner, generally eaten in company, is a big event. The Russians love to mark anniversaries with



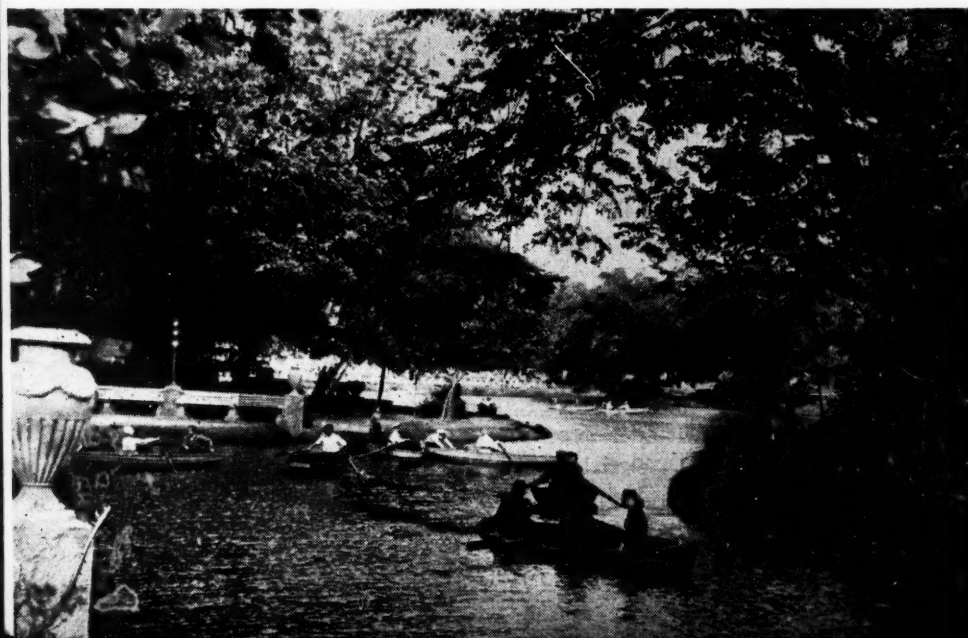
RALPH PARKER, a former "New York Times" Moscow correspondent, is correspondent in the USSR for papers in England and this country. He is author of "Moscow Correspondent" and other works.



Sunday dinner with the family, friends and relatives is a big event, preparations starting sometimes the night before, for the dishes are elaborate and many



The small youngsters are enthusiastic puppet audiences (above), and boating in the parks (below) is always a Sunday attraction for both young and old



their traditional hospitality. Preparations for Sunday dinner will have begun with the baking of a *pirog* on Saturday night. This is a large flattish pastry stuffed with meat that has been lightly spiced, the top usually inscribed with a suitable message. Careful preparations will also have been made for the soup, so thick that the spoon stands up in it. So important is the place of the soup in a Russian meal that the old cook-book found in many Moscow homes has five pages of different recipes for preparing soup. For the cold dishes that precede it many parts of the country make their contribution; crustaceous food from the Far East, sharp-tanged sprats from the Baltic, Ukrainian pickle and, perhaps, some crumbly white cheese from Armenia. For the dessert the discerning housewife will, no doubt, have visited some of the regional shops that have been opened in Moscow lately, and bought there preserved fruits from Central Asia, spiced biscuits from the Ryazan or Tula regions, Caucasian *Lokhoum*.

Wine has ceased to be a luxury in the Soviet Union, and is rapidly replacing vodka on the Sunday dinner table, the latter now being mainly reserved for the opening stages of the meal. While Georgia still holds first place as the source of light table wines (its Tsinandali is considered to be the most stable traveler of them all), Moldavia, Daghestan and Central Asia are contributing very large quantities now. Soviet champagne is now available in five categories of dryness from Brut to the deep red "Very Sweet" which derives from a region on the Don where one of the new dams is being built. Many Moscow restaurants take it for granted that their clients will drink champagne and have bottles ready chilled on the tables.

Sunday dinner is eaten at any time between four and seven in the afternoon and even those Russians who during the week dine several hours earlier in canteens like to revert to the habit of a late meal on Sundays.

Naturally in a city where the extremes of climate are so wide, leisure habits vary greatly according to season. By late April, Sundays find many people at work in their gardens and allotments. Others are busy with their fishing tackle, or caulking and repainting yachts in creeks by the lakeside north of the city, and a great many are tramping the villages making their arrangements for summer *datchas*, for not everybody is in a position to rent accommodation through the City Council or the trade union organizations. Hundreds of thousands of city-dwellers move into cottages during June and for several weeks one of the commonest sights in Moscow is the truck of furniture on its way with the family cat, the radio set or gramophone, and father's fishing-rods to some quiet village in the

forests that press so close to Moscow.

Whether it's for canoeing at Khlebnikova or sun bathing at Serebnaya Bor or walking in the hills above Zvenigorod or browsing in one of the parks of some former country mansion become museum, or wolf-hunting beyond Zagorsk, every able-bodied citizen of Moscow on whom the claims of the younger members of the family are not too strong seems to be on his or her way out of the city on a summer Sunday morning. Often they leave in large groups travelling in cars and trucks borrowed from their places of employment through the welfare departments of the trade unions. They find a part of the forest as far from a village as possible, set up a field kitchen, arrange a space for dancing and another for volley-ball and remain out of doors till late evening, when their songs and harmonicas echo and re-echo through the city streets.

For those who stay behind in Moscow there are the great parks with their ferris-wheels, shooting galleries, reading rooms, free lectures on current events, and mass dancing lessons. Since 1948 a big effort has been made to beautify these parks with flowers and from the season of the flowering of the lime trees to the fading of the last tobacco plant they are pleasant places of repose.

Then there is the fleet of trim little vessels that ply on the Moskva River, taking you under the walls of the Kremlin, past the granite embankments of the Gorky Park where the ship slows down out of respect for the scullers training on the river, and on beside the wooded slopes of the Lenin Hills until the astonishing Monastery of the New Maiden comes into sight with the slender towering form of a new multi-storied building behind it.

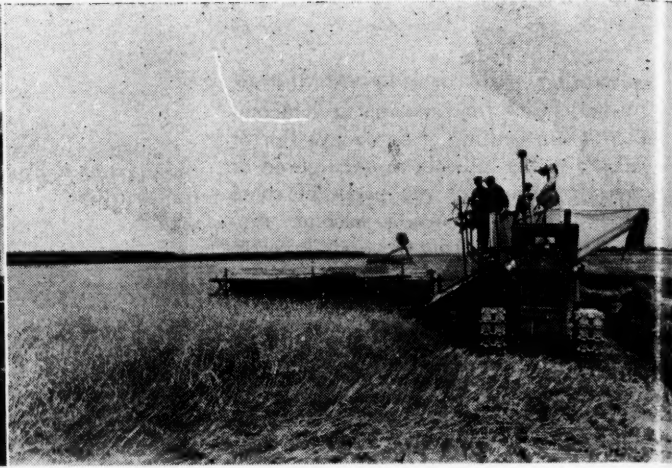
On the return journey you can stop at the Gorky Park and visit the Green Theater where the Bolshoi Theater stages open air ballet for audiences of at least 12,000 during the summer.

And wherever you choose to spend your summer Sunday there is music. Russia is one of the few lands where country-folk still sing in chorus as they work in the fields, and sometimes they do work on the land on Sundays, the weather being no respecter of calendars or plans. There is singing in the parks, often led by famous choirs, and there is singing in the churches where many older people congregate on Sundays, especially on feast days. And in the evening, as you return from the country and stroll along the tree-lined boulevards homeward, you will hear young lovers courting to the plaintive sound of the harmonica, the instrument that only a little over a hundred years old, has become inseparable in the Russian workers mind with the idea of leisure, holidays and peaceful recreation.



Skiing novices get gear and instruction free; experts use exciting ski jumps. You have your choice (below) of skating and ferris wheels in Moscow's parks





Assembly shop (left) of the Gorky Machine-Tool Plant which helped the country fulfill its Five-Year Plan. A harvester combine in the fields (right). Last year, 50 per cent of the entire grain area was harvest by combines

Wind-Up of the Five-Year Plan

by AARON YUGOW

TODAY, while the United States and other Atlantic Pact countries report with satisfaction the achievements in their armaments programs, while the Economic Council of the United Nations reports a general decline in living standards in the Western countries, it is highly instructive to ponder the meaning of the total results of the fulfillment of the economic plan of the Soviet Union for 1950 just published.

The past year was the final year of the first post-war Five-Year Plan. The results of the work of that year, therefore, determine the fulfillment of the entire Five-Year Plan.

The 1950 plans for all industries taken as a whole, were fulfilled 102 per cent, the overwhelming majority of each branch of industry having overfulfilled their plans. Of twenty-seven ministries, only the following failed to complete their plans—Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry (93 per cent of the plan); Ministry of the Fish Industry (96 per cent), and the industrial enterprises of the Ministry of Railways (98 per cent)—and these, as can be seen, by very slight margins.

Growth of production in 1950 was very great, having increased by 23 per cent for all industry. Output of steel increased by 17 per cent; coal by 11 per cent; oil, 13 per cent; metallurgical equipment, 12; electric motors, 20; trucks, 30; automobiles 41; turbines, 90; tractors, 23; combines, 59; cement, 26; cotton goods, 8; linen yard goods, 25; silk yard goods, 23; leather footwear, 24; meat, 35; butter, 7; sugar, 23; soap, 11; cigarettes, 16.

The increases, it can be seen, were not only in the output of heavy industry but also in the production of consumer goods.

In agriculture, great strides have also been made this year. The sown area for all crops increased by 6,600,000 hectares

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(16,300,000 acres). But most important is the fact that with the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan there was simultaneously a higher crop, a higher yield per unit of sown area, in both grain and industrial crops.

The gross output of grain crops in 1950 was 7,600,000,000 poods, or about 123 million tons. Output of cotton was 3,700,000 tons, and the sugar crop was especially large, exceeding that of 1949 by 1,200,000 tons.

There was also an increase last year in both large and small livestock and in poultry.

The agricultural economy achieved a broader technical and material base, acquiring more tractors, combines and

other farming machinery and fertilizers.

During 1950, Soviet agriculture was supplied with 180,000 new tractors (estimated in 15 hp. units), 46,000 combines, 82,000 trucks, and more than a million and a half coupling implements and other machinery. Ninety per cent of all sowing on collective farms was done with tractors, and 50 per cent of the entire grain area was harvested with combines. Collective farms were supplied with beet-harvesting combines, cotton-picking machines, flax scutchers and special machinery for hydro-amelioration work.

Freight turnover on railways, waterways and highways exceeded the Plan for the entire country.

There was an increase in labor productivity, an improvement in quality of output and in the utilization of raw materials and equipment. Mechanization of labor was greatly extended in industry, agriculture and construction work. With the cooperation of the working masses of city and countryside, it was possible to achieve substantial decreases in the production costs of many goods, to accelerate the turnover of goods and monetary funds of many enterprises and to reduce the administration expenses of the state. Socialist competition was further extended, embracing not only individual workers, but entire enterprises. New forms of production were launched, providing the country with new kinds of machinery, equipment and consumer goods.

The growth of the national economy was accompanied by a rise in the material and cultural living standards of the Soviet people. This is reflected primarily in the increased national income, which during 1950 rose 21 per cent (in comparative prices) and a substantial portion of which was used to satisfy the needs of the people.

SOVIET PRICES DROP

On March 1, the USSR effected its fourth price slash on foodstuffs and manufactured goods since the war. Some of the items cut, and the amount, follows:

Meat and meat products, including canned meats, 15 per cent; butter 15 per cent; bread and bread products, 15; fish and fish products, 10; margarine, eggs, milk and milk products, including cheese, canned milk and ice cream, 10; confectioneries and groceries such as tea, coffee, cocoa, 10; salt, 21; matches, 20; kerosene, 22; gasoline, 20; tomato and fruit juices, 10; cereals, flour, macaroni, grains and fodder, 15; vodka, cognac, liqueurs, cordials, 10; laundry and toilet soaps, 13; perfumes and cosmetics, 10; tobacco, 10; furniture, 20; porcelain pottery, 20; glassware, 10; radios, bicycles, motorcycles, clocks, watches, 10; household goods, 10; building materials, from 10 to 20 per cent.

Sales of manufactured articles and food products, such as radios, bicycles, cameras, watches, clothing, footwear, meat, butter, confectionery, etc., also increased. Thanks to the rise in nominal incomes, the reduction of prices, and the greater privileges and exemptions provided by the state, the income of workers, employees and farmers increased 19 per cent in 1950.

The number of workers and employees increased by two million and the total number by the end of the year was estimated at 39,200,000, while the figure provided in the Plan was only 33,500,000.

The cultural standard of life continued on the upgrade in 1950. Many large, comfortable apartment houses were built for city workers and a great number of village dwellings for the farmers. Old educational institutions were enlarged and new ones opened. New hospitals, sanatoria, rest homes, nurseries, libraries were constructed. The number of students in higher educational institutions increased by 115,000 during 1950 and reached a total of 1,247,000. The number of pupils in grade and high schools reached 37,000,000, compared with the Plan which provided for 31,800,000. The number of specialists in all professions and sciences, as well as the number of professors and scientific workers, also increased. During the year nearly half a million young skilled workers went into industry, and at the same time more than seven million workers already engaged in industry improved their qualifications by studying in evening schools.

The same upward trend is observed in the circulation of newspapers, books, the number of motion picture shows, public lectures, theatrical performances both on the legitimate stage and in amateur studios.

During 1950, Soviet scientists made many scientific discoveries, while Soviet engineers and workers submitted a great number of inventions and rationalization improvements.

The year 1950 will stand out in history as the year which launched truly great new projects. Construction of the Stalin-grad, Kuibyshev and Kakhovka hydroelectric stations was begun, as well as the Turkmen Canal and the irrigation of the drought-plagued lands of the Ukraine, the Crimea and Central Asia. During 1950, the work-project of connecting the Volga and Don rivers entered its final stage, and it was during the same year that tremendous strides were made in forestation work and in the creation of new water reservoirs for improvement of the climate of the country.

The final year of the first post-war Five-Year Plan gives us every reason to affirm that owing to its planned socialist system of economy, the Soviet state, in an incredibly short period, succeeded not only in eliminating the terrible rav-

ages of World War II, but also in substantially increasing its economic and technical level over that of 1940.

Under extremely difficult world conditions, with the ever-present threat of a new world war, the USSR during the very first five post-war years, managed to become economically stronger and culturally more advanced than before World War II.

The organs which plan the national

economy of the USSR have already worked out new and even greater projects for the coming five-year period, and with a firm faith in the ability of the working masses, the Soviet Union has begun to put them into practice.

The fulfillment of the extremely difficult plan for 1950 is a triumph of planned, creative labor infused with the spirit of peaceful construction by the entire nation.

Entire USSR Works for Peace

by CHARLES COLLINS

Formerly Vice-President, Local 6, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, AFL, New York

WHEN the first World Congress for Peace was held in Paris over two years ago, only a handful of Americans attended. But despite the intensification of the war hysteria since that time, despite all the threats against those who work for peace, the arrests, the jailings, the refusal of passports, there were 63 American delegates at the Second World Congress for Peace when it convened in Warsaw after England drove it out. These delegates came from all sections of our country, workers from many different industries were represented. Half of the delegates were women, a fourth of them were Negroes.

A substantial section of these delegates requested and were granted permission to go on to the Soviet Union for a brief visit. The delegates to the Warsaw Congress and to the Soviet Union have come back with new spirit and determination to bring the message of peace to the American people, and put our demands for peace before Congress and the Administration.

We were greeted with such warmth by the people of Czechoslovakia and Poland on our way through, that there was not a dry eye among us.

The warmth and friendship showered on us could not but arouse feelings of guilt. We could understand how progressive German workers must feel when they look upon the destruction caused by their former government. All Warsaw is a monument to those who died there in the war to save civilization. Here were we, from a country planning a new war, trying to bury their people again, before all the bodies of the victims of the last war have yet been recovered. We could not forget that the policies of our country threaten to turn the cities of Europe back into ruins and graveyards, that our government boasts of making weapons which could bring about total destruction—and yet they welcomed us.

On our visit to the USSR we saw



Charles Collins

how the whole country cries out for peace, works for peace. The destruction we saw in Stalingrad cannot be adequately described. On every street, in every factory, we saw slogans for peace. They have their own way of life which they want to preserve. They are not trying to force it on anyone else.

No one is threatening our country. The Soviet people, the Korean people, the Chinese people are not threatening us. The United States is secure within its borders.

Let our troops end the hostilities and leave Korea! Let us leave the waters around Formosa, and let the Chinese people have the land that belongs to them, which Chiang Kai-shek has grabbed with the help of U. S. arms.

Of one thing we are sure. The people who want peace will have peace. The solemn task today is more important than ever before. We who want peace must exorcise the warmongers. We intend to fight for and impose the peace.

Land to the Tillers

Land reform in China is carried out by the peasants themselves who, in a democratic and equitable manner take into consideration the particular situation in every case

by VICTOR PERLO

EIGHTY per cent of the Chinese people subsist on agriculture. But decades of civil war and invasion brought 1947 production of the great staple, rice, down to two-thirds of the prewar level; and over-all farm output down to about 60 per cent of prewar.

Under China's old feudal system, landlords and rich peasants, 10 per cent of the rural population, owned 70 to 80 per cent of the land. The other 90 per cent, peasants, owned 20 to 30 per cent of the land, and worked the rest for the landlords, paying 70 per cent or more of their production in rents, taxes, usurious interest and other exactions.

That land reform is needed throughout Asia is admitted even by the most extreme reactionaries. But only where the people have power, as in China, is it carried out.

The general perspectives opened up by the Chinese land reform are stated in the first article of the Agrarian Reform Law of June, 1950: "The land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished, and the system of peasant land ownership shall be carried into effect in order to set free the rural productive forces, develop agricultural production and pave the way for the industrialization of the new China."

The preliminary measure of rent reduction—amounting to 25-35 per cent—has been carried out almost everywhere, bringing an immediate improvement in the peasants' living standards and their ability to purchase necessities for increased production. The basic step of land reform, redistribution of the landlords' land, had been carried out by the middle of 1950 in territories with one-third of China's population, including all of the Northeast. During the winter of 1950-51

Tso Yung-shun, 72, looks at grain from the first crop that he has grown on his own land



it was completed in areas where another 130,000,000 people live. By the end of the winter of 1951-52, land reform will be an accomplished fact for the overwhelming majority of Chinese peasants.

The Chinese People's Government devotes extreme care to the methods of carrying out land reform, so that it will create the maximum unity of the rural population and minimize the possibilities for landlords and Kuomintang agents to cause disruption, slaughter of livestock, etc. Towards this end, two principles stand out in the land reform laws and practices of the New China—democracy and planning.

Land reform in China is carried out by the peasants themselves, in a fashion commonly — although not quite accurately — associated with the one-time New England town meetings. Article 29 of the Agrarian Reform Law provides: "Village peasant meetings, peasant representative conferences and committees of peasant associations elected at such conferences, the peasant congresses at *chu* (sub-county), county, and provincial levels and committees of peasant associations elected at such congresses are the legal organizations for reforming the agrarian system."

The development of democratic forces as a preliminary to land reform is exemplified in the case of East and South-Central China, where by the middle of 1950 membership in peasants associations

had reached 24 million; active elements of the peasants had created the basis for reorganization of 38,000 *hsiang* governments (a *hsiang* is a small administrative area somewhat akin to a township in the United States); and 180,000 persons were being trained or about to be trained to lead in the carrying out of land reform.

The advance planning is indicated not only by the detailed regulations, careful analysis of the class structure in the countryside, and other documents which provide the fundamental direction to agrarian reform—but even more by the special local planning which takes full account of the particular situation everywhere.

An example of this is described in a report on land reform in East China delivered by Jao Shu-shih, Chairman of the East China Military and Administrative Committee. In some localities it was found that land ownership and tenancy patterns were extremely complicated and not enough was known about them as yet to insure successful leadership. Therefore, first: "efforts should be directed to investigation and study, establishment of model experiments and acquiring of experience so as not to upset public order and affect production" when land reform would take place soon after. A refreshing contrast to the barren collection of statistics, as a substitute for reform, which characterizes "social studies" in the sup-

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

posedly advanced countries of the West!

Land reform in China at this stage is not to be understood as a preliminary step to the introduction of socialism in Chinese agriculture, nor to the abolition of all inequalities in property holdings. It is directed sharply only against the feudal landlords (4 per cent of the population). Their farm land, farm implements, extra houses, are taken away by and for the masses of the peasantry. But they are permitted to retain sufficient land and implements for their own needs, and in addition all of their other property. Thus a landlord who owns a tannery is permitted to retain it, and encouraged to develop production on a capitalist basis. Again, the rich peasants (6 per cent of the population) are generally permitted to retain their larger-than-average land holdings, which can be operated more efficiently than the plots of the middle and small peasants.

In the redistribution of the landlords' land, the largest shares go to the formerly landless and to the poor peasants. The result is that every peasant has enough to support his family. The weight of rents is eliminated, and taxation reduced from year to year. In the second half of 1950 the national tax rate was reduced to an average of 13 per cent of the principal crops, with not more than 2 per cent additional permitted for local governments. The tax is progressive, the basic rate for poor peasants being 10 per cent.

The government has organized vast emergency flood control work, which, with the enthusiastic participation of the peasants, prevented serious flooding in the summer of 1950—averting what has been an annual catastrophe for millions and tens of millions of Chinese. At the same time extensive plans for a system of dams have been drawn up which will bring about a fundamental solution of the problem of floods while providing water-power for the electrification of China.

Reforestation, irrigation, seed selection, improved supply of equipment to the peasants—all of the elements for fundamentally raising the yield of agriculture and easing the life of the peasantry—have been inaugurated on a significant scale.

Land reform and these technical improvements have already borne fruit in higher farm output. In the current season the rice crop exceeded that of 1949-50 by more than 10 per cent; on top of an improvement in food production the previous year. Production of cotton increased 50 per cent in 1950, bringing near the date of self-sufficiency in this key industrial crop.

As in industry, farm recovery has been most striking in the Northeast, where land reform was completed earliest.

Here grain production in 1950 increased by more than a third, and came close to the highest output under Japanese occupation. Secretary Acheson in Washington charged that the Soviet Union was taking grain from Manchuria while peasants in the rest of China starved. While he was making these charges Manchuria was engaged in sending—not to the Soviet Union—but to the rest of China, 2,650,000 tons of grain, equal to 15 per cent of all Manchurian grain production.

The combined effects of increased production and improved distribution under the People's Government have already guaranteed food supplies to the population as a whole, and prevented famine during 1950, despite local crop failures.

Historically, the abolition of feudalism and the development of individual farming have provided the economic basis for industrial development under capitalism; while industry lags to this day in areas where feudal land systems prevail. Land reform in the Soviet Union provided the basis for socialist industrialization in that country; and the same broad pattern is being followed in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and in People's China.

As the results of land reform are reflected in increased farm productivity, fewer workers are needed in agriculture,

the previous article, this market will develop steadily, without the economic crises associated with the growth of markets in capitalist societies.

Chinese agriculture will be the main source of capital for the country's industrialization. Landlords, deprived of the ability to invest their wealth in increasing their land monopoly, in usury and commercial speculation, are forced to turn to productive enterprise, to become capitalists who will perform a useful role in China for some time to come. (Yes—the Chinese not only treat the landlord like a human being, but they encourage him to enrich himself in a way that is socially useful at this stage of economic development.) Savings of the peasants flow in part into the organization of co-operative industrial enterprises. The taxes paid by the peasants are used by the People's Government to an increasing degree as the capital for industrial and agricultural restoration and development.

Chinese land reform, despite its democratic and planned character, remains a sharp struggle. The 4 per cent of landlords are not without influence, nor without assistance from Taiwan and Washington, assistance which has been increased since President Truman's intervention in Korea and Taiwan last June. The bulk of the press in this country seizes on and magnifies every fact and rumor of landlord, bandit, and Kuomintang resistance. But those reactionaries who predict internal disruption in China, the weakening of agriculture, peasant revolts and destruction of livestock, are engaging in wishful thinking.

The rich experience of the leadership of the Chinese People's Republic, the unity of the overwhelming majority of its 475,000,000 people, insure the success of the program of agrarian reform. Sun Yat-sen's slogan "the land to the tiller," is in process of speedy realization. This will have a tremendous effect throughout Asia, and in many other parts of the world where a billion people still languish under feudal and semi-feudal forms of agriculture.

CAN WE DO BUSINESS WITH CHINA?

Victor Perlo answers this question in the May issue of NWR in his article dealing with the trade of the Chinese People's Republic. Timely and informative. Don't miss it.

more can be released for industry, together with the food to feed them, and an increased supply of raw materials for processing in the factories. The improved purchasing power of the hundreds of millions of the Chinese rural population provides a rapidly expanding market for the products of industry. Moreover, with the advantages of the People's Government's economic controls discussed in



A once landless peasant, with his wife and child, looks at the title deed to his own land

THE SOVIET NOTE TO BRITAIN

In place of our usual Review and Comment section, we are this month reprinting in full the recent Soviet note to Great Britain. This note, together with the Stalin interview, completely refutes the charges of Soviet aggressive intentions. Of special importance is the warning that rebuilding German military might can only mean bringing back to power the worst imperialist and Nazi elements, the same forces who, strengthened by the West before World War II, turned on their patrons instead of acting on their behalf, as in March 1939, Stalin warned would happen. This note provides essential background for an understanding of the Soviet position that the main emphasis of the proposed Foreign Ministers Conference, which the United States is trying so hard to block, must be the demilitarization of Germany. The full text of the note as broadcast from Moscow on February 25 and published in the New York Times the following day, follows. Bold face headings are our own.

EFFORTS to depict Soviet peaceful policy as aggression are unfounded

In connection with the note of the Government of Great Britain of Feb. 17, 1951, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has the honor to state the following:

In its note of Jan. 20, 1951, the Soviet Government put forward indisputable proof testifying to the violation by the Government of Great Britain of its obligations under the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26, 1942, "of alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe and of collaboration and mutual assistance thereafter."

Being unable to refute this proof, the Government of Great Britain in its note of Feb. 17 resorted to inventions and slander designed to depict the aggressive policy of the Government of Great Britain as a peaceful one and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union as an aggressive one. However, such an attempt to evade a reply concerning the observance of obligations under the Anglo-Soviet Treaty is without foundation because the facts prove that the Government of Great Britain is guilty of pursuing, contrary to the treaty, not a policy of preserving peace but a policy of aggression, a policy of unleashing war.

BRITISH violation of Anglo-Soviet Treaty seen in separate actions splitting Germany

1. The Soviet Government is once again forced to recall what is said in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 concerning the obligations of Great Britain and the Soviet Union with regard to Germany.

Article 3 of this treaty reads:

"(1) The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period.

"(2) Pending the adoption of such proposals they will after the termination of hostilities take all measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany or any of the states associated with her in acts

of aggression in Europe."

Thus the first part of Article 3 of the treaty obliges the parties to the treaty to carry out a policy of cooperation on all questions of preventing aggression, the German question included.

Yet Great Britain, beginning with 1946, has followed a different path, namely the path of destroying cooperation and undermining the treaty.

Suffice it to cite such examples of unilateral actions of the Government of Great Britain with regard to Germany as the fusion, by way of separate action, in 1946 of the British and American occupation zones in Germany, to which subsequently the French zone was also joined as a result of which Germany was split into two parts; the introduction in Western Germany of a special currency which finally disrupted the economic unity of Germany and resulted in the liquidation of the Control Council of representatives of the four powers; the formation by way of separate action, of the Bonn Government for Western Germany which created obstacles to restoring the unity of the German state; the separatist refusal to prepare a peace treaty with Germany and the institution of the occupation statute imposed on the Western zones of Germany with the object of maintaining the occupation for an indefinitely long time.

All these measures were carried out by way of separate action, without coordinating them with the USSR and without its participation. Thus not the USSR but Britain repudiated the policy of cooperation on the German question and thereby violated Article 3 of the Anglo-Soviet treaty.

AGREEMENTS violated in remilitarization of Western Germany, freeing of Nazi war criminals and revival of fascism, leading to new threats of war

2. The second part of Article 3 of the treaty obliges the parties to the treaty to take all measures to render impossible a repetition of aggression and a violation of peace by Germany. In full conformity with this, the Yalta and Potsdam conferences on the German question oblige the participants in the conferences strictly to pursue a

policy of the demilitarization and democratization of Germany.

Yet contrary to this, the British Government started to carry out not the democratization of Germany but the reinstatement of Fascist leaders, the gradual fascistization of Western Germany; when Krupp was released from prison it returned Krupp and his imperialist friends to power in the Ruhr, and released from prison and returned to power well-known Fascist generals of the Hitlerite camp, suppressed and continues suppressing democratic and peace-loving elements in Western Germany.

Simultaneously with this the British Government, instead of demilitarizing Germany, started the restoration of German war industry, having turned the Ruhr into a base of the war industry, started the re-creation of a regular German army headed by Fascist generals, started turning Western Germany into a bridgehead for new aggressive war.

The British Government applied and is applying all these measures in spite of repeated protests of the Soviet Government and in violation of the second part of Article 3 of the Anglo-Soviet treaty.

Thus Britain definitely violated its obligations to prevent the revival of militarism in Germany, to democratize and demilitarize Germany, thereby undermining the foundations of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and the Yalta-Potsdam agreements.

BRITAIN takes part in anti-Soviet military groupings — USSR treaties directed toward consolidating peace

3. The Soviet Government deems it necessary once again to draw the attention of the Government of Great Britain also to that part of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty which speaks of impermissibility of the participation of Great Britain and the Soviet Union in any coalition directed against the other party to the treaty.

Article 7 of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty reads:

"Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party."

As for the USSR, the Soviet Government strictly observes this obligation as well. Not a single treaty signed by the Soviet Government is directed against Great Britain or any other country from among the Allies in the war against Hitlerite Germany. The Soviet Union did not take part and does not take part in any anti-British coalition. All the treaties of the Soviet Union with other countries in Europe, just like the Anglo-Soviet

Treaty, are directed toward the consolidation of peace in Europe, and their purpose is to prevent the revival of German militarism and German aggression.

While the Soviet Government strictly observed and observes the obligations it assumed, the Government of Great Britain openly tramples upon the obligations which Great Britain assumed under the Anglo-Soviet treaty. The Government of Great Britain, together with the Government of France, was the initiator in setting up the so-called "Western Union," which from the very outset has not concealed its hostility toward the USSR. Following this, Great Britain and the United States of America set up the North Atlantic grouping of powers; of the great powers comprising the anti-Hitlerite coalition only the Soviet Union was excluded from being a party to the North Atlantic Treaty.

Under such a state of affairs the untenability of references to the defensive nature of the Western Union and North Atlantic grouping is perfectly obvious. Moreover, the facts show that both the Western Union and North Atlantic groupings are aimed directly against the USSR and the People's Democracies.

At present the aggressive nature of the Western Union and the North Atlantic grouping has been completely exposed. All the statements about the defensive aims of these groupings, headed by the Anglo-American bloc of powers, lost their meaning after the efforts had been initiated to draw into these groupings Western Germany with its revanchist [seeking to regain lost territory] Bonn Government and West German army headed by Hitlerite generals.

The Government of Great Britain has ignored the statement of the Soviet Government in its note of Jan. 20 this year to the effect that the Government of Great Britain, like the Governments of the United States and France, is now engaged in organizing a military alliance with Western Germany against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. It did not venture to refute this statement of the Soviet Government, and it cannot do so without contradicting obvious and generally known facts.

Thus, helping to re-create a regular German army and German war industry and taking to the path of direct military alliance with the revanchist Government in Western Germany, the Government of Great Britain crudely tramples upon the Anglo-Soviet treaty.

ANGLO-AMERICAN plots to overthrow people's democratic regimes in Eastern Europe and subordinate Yugoslavia to their interests

4. In its note of Feb. 17 the Government of Great Britain resorts to crude slander against the Soviet Union as well as Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania where a democratic regime was established which once and for all did



At Yalta, February, 1945, the U.S., Britain and the USSR agreed: "It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world"

away with the vestiges of fascism in these countries. The Government of Great Britain would evidently prefer to see in these states governments which would follow in the wake of the aggressive policy of Great Britain.

It is time, however, the Government of Great Britain understood that the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania have the same right as the people of any other state to arrange their domestic affairs, proceeding from their national interests and not from whether the democratic regime established in these countries is liked or disliked by the government of one foreign state or another.

It is well known that the Government of Great Britain, seeking to restore by forcible means the power of the Fascists and other aggressive elements in the peace-loving democratic states of Eastern Europe, encourages in these states the hostile activity of Fascist groupings which set themselves the object of organizing conspiracies to overthrow the people's democratic regime.

In the light of these facts, the attempts of the Government of Great Britain, in its note of Feb. 17, to present itself as a defender of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to speak of some intervention by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania or Greece are ridiculous.

The Government of Great Britain resorts to similarly slanderous assertions also regarding the changes in the composition of the Government in Czechoslovakia that occurred in February, 1948, which the Government of Great Britain tries to present as some kind of coup allegedly threatening peace. It is known, however,

that these changes were caused by the fact that a coup d'état was being prepared in Czechoslovakia under the guidance of American and other foreign agents, including also official diplomatic representatives of the United States, with the object of depriving the Czechoslovak people of their national independence and subordinating Czechoslovakia to the Anglo-American diktat.

Having come out in the Security Council against the proposal to conduct a so-called investigation in Czechoslovakia, mention of which is made by the Government of Great Britain in its note, the Soviet Union discharged its duty, having safeguarded the sovereign rights of Czechoslovakia and preventing a direct violation of the United Nations Charter which prohibits this organization from interfering in the domestic affairs of states.

The Soviet Government, further, considers as an oddity the attempt of the British Government to assume the pose of defender of the national interests of Yugoslavia. The Soviet people stigmatize and will continue stigmatizing the present Yugoslav rulers because they established in their country a fascist regime resembling the regime of Franco in Spain and deprived the peoples of Yugoslavia of elementary democratic rights. The Soviet people stigmatize and will continue stigmatizing the Yugoslav rulers because they organized a conspiracy against the Hungarian People's Democratic Government and thereby became the sworn enemies of the countries of people's democracy.

As for the national interests of Yugoslavia, they are endangered not by the Soviet Union, which shed much blood of its sons to liberate the peo-

ples of Yugoslavia from German occupation and insure the independence of Yugoslavia, but by the present rulers of Yugoslavia, who seek in their entire policy to subordinate the national interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia to the interests of their British and American masters.

The Government of Great Britain, just like the Governments of the United States and France, will not succeed in evading responsibility for delays in concluding a treaty with Austria, and will not succeed in shifting responsibility for this on the USSR. It is time to end the protracted examination of unagreed articles of the treaty, and, what is most important, it is necessary that Great Britain and the United States abandon plans for turning Austria into their new military base in the very heart of Europe, as they have done in Trieste, trampling upon the peace treaty with Italy signed by them.

AGGRESSORS not China and Korea, but U.S. and Britain whose armed forces are destroying Korean land and people—Not USSR but imperialist oppression responsible for people's liberation movements

5. In the note of Feb. 17 the Government of Great Britain made crude attacks on the Korean people and the Chinese People's Republic, advancing against them the slanderous accusations of aggression. Yet it is evident to all that the Korean people are waging a liberation struggle for their national unification and do not interfere in the affairs of any other states. It is likewise evident to all that the Chinese People's Republic defends lawful national interests, upholding its right to the Chinese island of Taiwan [Formosa] and to the defense of its frontiers from the Anglo-American troops which broke into Korea and threaten the frontiers of China.

It is not China and Korea, defending their national interests, their national territory, which are the aggressors. The aggressors are the United States of America and Great Britain, which have sent their troops several thousand kilometers from their frontiers to the territory of Korea, where these troops have already for several months been destroying Korean towns and villages, robbing the Koreans, violating Korean women and killing Korean children and the aged.

The Soviet Government regards likewise as not serious and ridiculous reference in the British note to the liberation movement in Malaya, Indo-China and other countries, containing the accusation that the Soviet Government, expressing sympathy for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, thereby allegedly violates the Anglo-Soviet treaty.

Similarly, not serious and ridiculous is the mention the British note makes, borrowed evidently from the lexicon of Hitler and Mussolini, of some kind of Communist imperialism.

Firstly, the Anglo-Soviet Treaty covers only European countries and in no degree extends to non-European countries like Malaya and Viet-Nam.

Secondly, not one of the articles of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, as is known, prohibits anyone from expressing sympathy for the liberation movement in any country.

Thirdly, it is necessary to explain that as long as imperialist oppression exists in the world, there will exist also the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, irrespective of the will and sympathies of some rulers or others. To accuse the Soviet Government of the existence in different countries of liberation movements caused by the oppression of imperialism is just as absurd as it would be absurd to accuse it of the occurrence in the world of earthquakes or tides.

BRITAIN and other countries losing independence as price of Marshall Plan aid — Absurdity of blaming USSR for "strikes and social disorders"—They occurred long before USSR existed

6. The note of the Government of Great Britain asserts that the Soviet Government by voicing disapproval of the Marshall Plan thereby allegedly hampers the economic restoration of the European countries. This is absolutely wrong. The Soviet Government opposes the Marshall Plan not because it promises financial aid to some countries, but chiefly because it makes financial aid conditional on renunciation by these countries of their economic and political independence, renunciation of their sovereignty.

Great Britain has fallen under the subjugation of the United States of America, she is more and more losing her independence and being turned into a military base of the American armed forces because without this she could not obtain so-called Marshall Plan aid. The same should be said of France, Belgium, Turkey and the other so-called Marshallized countries.

Nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the Government of the United States used the Marshall Plan and attendant financial hand-outs to certain states in order to undermine by all kinds of unlawful means normal international trade and to impose a regime of discrimination against such states as the USSR and the People's Democracies which firmly and resolutely defended their lawful economic interests and rejected all attempts at interference in their internal affairs.

The British note takes upon itself even such an affair as defense of the prestige of the United Nations, reproaching the Soviet Government for unwillingness to following in everything the lead of those who unceremoniously are ruling supreme in this international organization upon which the peoples placed certain hopes even not long ago. However, as is clear to all, in any case it is not the Soviet Union which bears responsibility for

the unsatisfactory situation that has arisen in the United Nations.

Obviously absurd are the attempts of the Government of Great Britain to shift on to the Soviet Union responsibility for "strikes and social disorders" or to ascribe all this to no one else than the Cominform, that is the Bureau of Communists and Workers' Parties which has existed in Europe since 1947. Such clumsy methods used in the British note are to be explained most likely by haste in drafting the note, inasmuch as it is well known in Britain that "strikes and social disorders" occurred not only long before our days and before the establishment of the Bureau of Communist and Workers Parties but also long before our generation.

ALLEGATIONS that Soviet armed forces are several times greater than those of U.S., Britain and France untrue—In reality the five million under arms in three Western powers are double USSR armed forces

7. The note of the British Government no longer upholds the well-known allegations of Premier Attlee that the Soviet Union did not effect the demobilization of its troops after the war. Sensing the full absurdity of Premier Attlee's assertion, the note maintains that there are no grounds for doubting the demobilization of the Soviet troops after the war.

But the note adds to this that the Soviet Government demobilized only a certain number of servicemen from among the maximum call-up during the war. This assertion of the British note is a slander against the Soviet Union. In reality the Soviet Government effected a fundamental and extensive demobilization of its troops, having demobilized thirty-three age classes. No one needed an extensive demobilization of the Soviet troops as much as the Soviet Union, since without the returning of millions of demobilized men to the fields and factories, the Soviet Union, far from being able to organize an economic advance after the war, would not have been able even to rehabilitate the areas, towns, railways, industry and agriculture destroyed by the German occupationists. Only people who have the intention of vilifying the Soviet Union can deny these facts.

The British note further asserts that at present the armed forces of the Soviet Union numerically exceed the armed forces of all the Western countries taken together. This assertion contained in the note is likewise a slander against the Soviet Union. At present the numerical strength of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, counting land forces, air forces and navy, is equal to the numerical strength of the armed forces of the USSR before the outbreak of the second World War in 1939.

Yet three members alone of the North Atlantic aggressive pact—the



At Potsdam, July, 1945, the three powers took measures for "The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that would be used for military production"

United States of America, Britain and France—have at present in their armed forces, counting land troops and air forces as well as navy, more than five million men, with the numerical strength of these three powers continuing to grow rapidly while the industry of these countries has already been mobilized for a further increase in the production of armaments. We speak of the armies of these powers as one military force first and foremost because the armed forces of these three countries are now not three independent armies but one army combined by the American military men and put under the command of the American General Eisenhower.

It should be noted that this numerical strength of the armed forces of France, Britain and the United States is several times greater than that of their armed forces prior to the second World War in 1939 and is more than twice as great as the numerical strength of the armed forces of the USSR at present.

What is this two-fold superiority of the armed forces of Britain, the United States and France compared with the armed forces of the USSR needed for? Of course, not against a possible aggression on the part of Germany and Japan. However, the British note does not deny that these powers in the given case have in view chiefly the Soviet Union.

Consequently, the assertion of the British Government to the effect that the armed forces of the Soviet Union exceed numerically the armed forces of all Western powers taken together is a crude slander designed to mislead public opinion and thus to justify the armaments drive in Britain.

But from this it follows that, having attained a twofold superiority of its armed forces compared with the USSR, and seeking to expand them further, Great Britain, the United States and France prepare not for defense but for aggression, for unleashing a new world war.

DESPITE hostile attitude of British Government, USSR still pursues policy of peace and preventing new war

8. The Soviet Government has no grounds for doubting that not only at the end of the war but also at present

goodwill for the Soviet Union is widespread among the masses of the people of Great Britain, since this is perfectly natural not only in view of the exceptional services of the Soviet people in defense of their country from Hitlerite aggression, but also in view of the fact that the Soviet people made a decisive contribution to the common cause of victory over Hitlerism. This, to some measure, is recognized also in the British note.

The peoples of the USSR on their part cherished and continue cherishing feelings of friendship for and gratitude to the British people, as to all other peoples, who defended their freedom and devoted their efforts jointly with the peoples of the USSR for the earliest termination of the war and the liquidation of Hitlerism.

However, the Soviet Government does not consider as founded the statement contained in the British note as though the Government of Great Britain too invariably strives for cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is in place to recall that as far back as in 1944, at the annual conference of the Labor Party, its leaders, who now are in power, passed a decision forbidding members of the Labor Party to take part in the work of British public organizations which set themselves the aim of strengthening Anglo-Soviet friendship. Even the Tory Conservatives have not hit upon the idea of such frank hostility toward the Soviet Union.

From this the conclusion may be drawn that as long as the Government of Great Britain was in need of the Soviet Union, without whom it could not win victory over Hitlerite Germany, it somehow contained its anti-Soviet sentiments, its hostile attitude towards the Soviet state. But seeing how the striving for friendship with the Soviet people was growing among the British people, the Laborite leaders even before the war ended, as soon as the rout of Hitlerite Germany became evident, began to manifest anxiety and to make haste in adopting measures to weaken the friendly relations of the British people with the peoples of the USSR.

Only this can explain the 1944 resolution adopted by the Labor Party conference on the incompatibility of membership of the Anglo-Soviet Friendship Society with membership

of the Labor Party. Nor is it fortuitous that this disgraceful resolution was repeatedly confirmed at subsequent Labor Party conferences, already in the postwar period.

Moreover, throughout recent years the leaders of the Labor Party, together with the leaders of the Conservative Party, have been setting the tune to the ferocious slanderous campaign against the USSR, and this shameful campaign in Britain is being constantly whipped up and fanned in every way by artificial means.

To speak after this, as the British note does, as if the British Government has no hostile intentions toward the USSR, and strives for the development of cooperation between the British and Soviet peoples, and as if this is hampered by the absence of such aspirations on the part of the Soviet Government, which allegedly seeks to isolate the Soviet people from the outside world—means to conceal the truth from its own people and to engage in brazen slander against the USSR.

As distinct from the Government of Great Britain, which has given up concern for the consolidation of peace among nations and now links its destiny with the untrammelled armaments drive and with reckless propaganda for a new war, the Soviet Union continues firmly to adhere to its peace-loving stand. The Government of the USSR, together with the entire Soviet public, day in and day out educates the Soviet people in the spirit of the consolidation of friendship among all nations, in the spirit of upholding the cause of peace and preventing a new war, exposing the intrigues and machinations of the warmongers.

It is for this reason that the Soviet Government attaches such great importance to honest observance of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty as well as to strict observance of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements on the German question, especially at a time when violations of these agreements seriously harm the cause of the preservation of peace.

SOVIET UNION prepared to enter negotiations and will welcome any step of Great Britain toward improving relations

9. The Government of Great Britain expresses in its note preparedness for negotiations with the Soviet Union in the spirit of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty with the aim of a lasting improvement in the relations between Great Britain and the USSR. After all the above-said the Soviet Government cannot regard with full confidence the statement of the British Government. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government is prepared to enter into such negotiations, striving to use all opportunities for improving relations with Great Britain.

The Government of the USSR will highly appreciate any step of the Government of Great Britain really directed at improving relations between our countries.

No War Toys for Soviet Kids

MOSCOW'S *Komsomolskaya Pravda* a daily paper published by the Young Communists, demands that the State Planning Commission regularly assign a stock of first quality metals to the toy industry for the manufacture of various mechanical toys and metal erector sets. Salvaged materials are not enough. "You can't make good toys out of poor materials," the paper says.

There are very few toy guns or pistols of any kind seen around; and now for some time the youth, with the Young Communist organization in the lead, have been crusading for a complete withdrawal from production of toy weapons of any sort. These campaigners would be especially the young veterans who fought through World War II and who passionately desire to keep the filth of war completely out of their children's lives.

The law recently passed by the Supreme Soviet, making war propaganda of any sort a crime, may, it is quite possible, make the prohibition of any war toys official.

Komsomolskaya Pravda is constantly on the watch for anything that is not going the way it should, especially in regard to the younger part of the population, and its many youthful correspondents also heartily blast whatever they believe should be blasted. The situation in the Ministry of Local Industries of the RSFSR in regard to toy manufacturing has lately aroused their ire.

A large amount of expert study by the Toy and Games Research Institute and various special educational and technical bodies is devoted to developing the best toys and games for Soviet children.

But, as the paper specifies, in the pressure of work in these days of huge-scale reconstruction and construction, it has come about that the part of the toy output produced in plants under the

Ministry of Local Industries is not receiving sufficient attention. This condition, says *Komsomolskaya Pravda* must be speedily changed.

Interviewing a Comrade Ryazanov who has charge of toy production within the Ministry, but unfortunately also has to devote time to the manufacture of haberdasheries and dry goods, the paper inquires why production of some important pre-war playthings has not yet been fully restored. Specifically mentioned are some types of erector and construction sets, immensely popular in the Soviet Union. These include radio construction sets, sets for assembling real microscopes, binoculars, etc., sets for constructing electric bells and room-to-room telephones, chemical sets, and others.

In the interview, Ryaznaov emphasized the absence of a specific department for toy output within the Ministry of Local Industries, although some fifty toy factories come under its jurisdiction. In the Ministry's annual production plan toys, that "important cultural activity," appear only as "other products." And because of this lack of control, some large, finely equipped plants, built especially for toy production and which made high-grade electric tractors, trains, autos, etc., have been diverted to the production of things like phonographs and safety razors.

These plants must be restored to their original purpose without delay, the paper says.

The same lack of special direction for toy production is also hampering the manufacture of "cut-out" toys, according to the article. The writers cite the case of the Frunze Plant in Moscow. Cut-out toys should be the most important product of this plant, but, says the paper, its manager, a certain Balmashev, prefers to use his lithograph machines for job work.

And, says *Komsomolskaya Pravda*



Soviet children also play with products of century-old art. A schoolgirl of the village of Dunkovsky watches as Master of People's Toys, Elizaveta Kushkina, makes toys for which the village is famous. They are known for their dolls, reindeers, horses, bears and sheep

very earnestly: "Manufacturing cut-outs is as important and serious a job as publishing children's books." Therefore "how can such characters as Balmashev be responsible not only for editing and printing them, but also for determining their ideological and pedagogical value?"

The paper urges that this work too should be immediately placed under the Ministry of Education, and that the children's publishing house, Detizdat, should set up a special editorial board including teachers, artists, scientists, writers, engineers for creating new playthings of this type in the geographical, scientific, literary and athletic fields.

A. S.

A model airplane builder (left) in a children's club in Kuibyshev tests his plane. Variety of toys available to the children in the Leningrad Electrosila Plant nursery (right) run by the trade union of the plant.



Building, building and more building

Moscow already has more housing than before the war, and construction continues apace

by VLADIMIR D. KAZAKEVICH

THOSE of you who visited the Soviet pavilion at the World Fair in New York more than a decade ago, will probably remember the huge colorful map that covered a whole wall in one of the largest exhibition rooms. On this map the cities of the Soviet Union were indicated by sparkling jewels of different colors. The largest and brightest star marked the site of Moscow, the capital of the country. The numerous exhibits of the Soviet pavilion clearly showed that the Soviet people in Moscow, like in the other cities and villages of the huge country, were completely absorbed by their main task, that of building: building of dwelling houses, schools, hospitals, libraries, theaters, construction of factories, power stations, canals, railways, ports and ships.

The Soviet people have not changed their habits since then. Torn from their peaceful constructive labors by the invasion of the Hitlerite troops in 1941, the Soviet people gladly returned to it as soon as it had again become possible, and today, five years after the war, the Soviet Union is experiencing the greatest upsurge of building activity in its history. In this article I want to cite some figures on the progress of peaceful construction in the Soviet Union's capital, Moscow. To many of you, statistics may seem a dry subject, but if you want to know what the residents of Moscow are thinking and talking about today, you will find the answer in these statistics.

As one walks through the broad squares and boulevards in the center of the city, one gets the impression that Moscow is at once a very old and a very new city. Right in the center of the city stands the ancient Kremlin, its hoary red-brick wall girdling a cluster of gilded

Working on the large Moscow University which will be 26 stories high and is scheduled for completion this year.



cupolas and the big palace buildings of the tsarist era. Facing the Kremlin, on the Red Square, is St. Basil's Church, a remarkable creation of the 16th century. But the Moscow that has risen around the ancient center is altogether unlike the old capital of Muscovy, or the dirty city with its small houses of the tsarist times. More than that, the Moscow of today differs very considerably from the Moscow of even the middle of the thirties. At this point perhaps I should mention that I saw Moscow in 1911, 1914 and 1936, and therefore the changes that have taken place in the city are particularly striking to me.

The scale of housing construction in Moscow is increasing with each passing year. In the prewar year of 1940 Moscow's housing facilities increased by 392,000 square meters (1 sq.m. equals 10.76 sq.ft.). During the war housing construction had naturally to be curtailed, but it was again renewed and it proceeded with a steadily increasing rate after the end of military operations. In 1947, Moscow received 129,000 square meters of new living floor space, in 1948 the figure was 270,000 square meters, in 1949—405,000 and in 1950—500,000. In 1950, the capital's housing facilities exceeded that of the prewar year of 1940 by a substantial margin. One and a half times more living floor space will be built in 1951 than in 1950.

Leaving statistics aside for the moment, if one stands again in the ancient heart of the city, on Red Square, or on one of the tall bridges spanning the Moskva River, or, for that matter, in any of Moscow's spacious central squares, one

can always see at least one, and often two or three huge skyscraper skeletons (locally called tall buildings) that now punctuate the Moscow skyline. Eight of these new giants are today under construction in the capital. With a total capacity of over five million cubic meters (1 cu. m. = 35.31 cu. ft.), these buildings will provide 120,000 square meters of housing facilities, as much floor space for educational establishments, and 110,000 square meters of new office space; two new hotels of the skyscraper type will provide 1,350 rooms.

Giant cranes perch on the tops of the skyscraper skeletons. They look like prehistoric monsters, but in fact embody the last word in construction technique. Fifty of these giant cranes, made in Moscow during the last two years, are now employed on the construction of the tall buildings.

Dwelling houses of 6, 8 and 10 stories are being built everywhere in Moscow, both in the center and on the outskirts. The remarkable scale and speed of housing construction is indicated also by the following example. In one of the suburban areas of the city, which but in 1947 was taken up by a settlement of small houses, now there are straight wide streets lined by blocks of many storied houses. This is a new city district where housing construction is going on day in and day out. Large-scale restoration work and improvement of the existing houses are going on in Moscow simultaneously with the construction of new houses. Some 15,000 houses have undergone capital re-

(Continued on page 35)

VLADIMIR D. KAZAKEVICH, well known to our readers, has now returned to his native Russia. He was formerly Statistician of the Banking Seminar of Columbia University and a lecturer on Money and Banking at the American Institute of Banking.



A Dynamic History of the Americas

by AMY SCHECHTER

OUTLINE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAS by William Z. Foster. International Publishers, New York, 1951. 668 pp. \$5.00.

READING this latest work of Foster's you think of a phrase used in Soviet writing about the sort of man he is: "He stands in the midst of life."

Here he applies all the force of his creative imagination and Marxist-Leninist understanding and firsthand knowledge of organization as an exact science to giving a unified account of the main economic, cultural and political lines of development of the countries of the American continents through four centuries, and the hemisphere-wide struggle against United States imperialist domination today. He paints on a tremendous canvass in bold strokes and flowing color, and with the fullest awareness of the dramatic quality of his story. But the development of the class struggle in the United States, Canada and each of the twenty Latin American countries is also handled in specific terms.

There is no underbrush to break through as you read this book despite the vast scale on which it is conceived and the complexity of its subject. On any page your eye and mind are led straight through to the center of the idea. The language has maximum clearness, directness and purity.

In the past the importance of his political and organizational functioning has rather obscured the fact that William Z. Foster is a great American writer. The publication of this history of the Americas as the latest in the very large and varied body of his writings establishes the fact beyond any doubt. And reading it holds much of the same intellectual excitement as reading the articles now coming out of the Soviet Union in connection with current discussions on linguistics and the sciences and other questions; Foster's work, too, has the solidly based daring, the fresh and undogmatic approach.

The *Outline Political History of the Americas* is a first. It is very significant that although bourgeois American historians have been pouring out studies of the United States and Latin America and Canada for decades, it is an American Marxist who for the first time writes an integrated history of the nations of this hemisphere and their 300 million people.

This had to be. Only a Marxist historian could see clearly and evaluate the organic bonds connecting these

countries, the diverse forms the bourgeois democratic revolution has assumed in them, the interrelation of the struggles of their people against their own and imperialist exploiters and, although belonging to the dominant United States, could view the other lands of the Americas without having his vision distorted by the assumptions of United States apartness, uniqueness and superiority that have become a casually accepted part of the thinking even of many in the progressive camp.

Foster blasts out the last shadow of these assumptions and ignorances from his reader's mind. He shows the special importance of doing this now in the face of "the growing attempt of United States imperialism to reduce the entire hemisphere to the status of an armed, dominated, and thoroughly controlled Yankee hinterland," and to use it as a base of empire in its drive against the aspirations of the peoples of the world for peace, independence and socialism.

This is a scholarly book, a thoroughgoing careful study based on a huge amount of material, from Spanish, French, English and Soviet sources, and lighted by the rich experience gathered by the author in his years as outstanding political leader of the American working class. It will undoubtedly serve as the major Marxist text-book on the western hemisphere for a long time to come.

But it has the immediacy of a strike bulletin, drama, warm human understanding, revolutionary drive. And the special sureness and pride that belongs to Bill Foster, worker.

Particularly memorable is the story

of the Indian peoples of the Americas, who, he shows, are no dying remnant but a great force, some forty million strong, of tremendous political importance in Latin America's struggle for independence. The national question and the fight for the land is treated on a hemisphere scale. As a result, the national liberation struggle of the Negro people of this country is newly illuminated. The whole handling of the question is brilliantly done. The American revolution, treated not in isolation but as one of the great series of revolutions that also freed the Latin American countries from European control, takes on a clearer perspective.

Always the Americas are shown in relation to general world trends. The effect of the Soviet Union on America is analyzed in detail, from the time of the first impact of the Socialist revolution, through the great pre-World War II Soviet-led peace drive to the peace drive of today.

On the United States' grab for the western hemisphere, and the accompanying savage repression of Latin America's democratic forces he writes:

"The lessons of Greece, China and Korea prove clearly that the United States is quite prepared, if need be, to back up its general program of subjugating the western hemisphere with active armed intervention. . . . This is the sinister significance of the Truman Doctrine in Latin America."

And of the resistance of the people:

"As for Wall Street's hope of destroying the Communist parties of Latin America, which is closely linked with its ruthless campaign against the CTAL, that is altogether an infantile fancy. The Latin American Communist parties are indestructible. What the forces of United States imperialist and domestic reaction . . . are really doing in the countries of Latin America with their current policies of force and violence against the workers, their living standards and their organizations, is sowing the seeds of an eventual whirlwind of mass revolt, much as they did in China and as they are doing in many other parts of the world."

A Mantle of Sweet Reasonableness

by GERHARD HAGELBERG

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. by Edwin O. Reischauer. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1950. 457 pp. \$4.00.

A BOOK containing between two covers a survey of Japan, its land, people, culture, and historical relations with the United States, as well as a true evaluation of the American occupation, could be a great help today

GERHARD HAGELBERG has been writing and lecturing on the Far East.

to many who are perplexed by the disastrous course of American policy in Asia. *The United States and Japan*, although it covers these subjects, is not.

Dr. Reischauer wraps up the harsh facts of American and Japanese imperialism in a thick mantle of sweet reasonableness. Thus, in connection with the Russo-Japanese war:

"During her uphill fight against Russia, the colossus of the north, Japan had no more sympathetic friend than President Theodore Roosevelt, that lover of a good fight, and there was no

small degree of friendship in his action in engineering a peace treaty in 1905 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, before the shaky Japanese economy gave way and robbed Japan of the fruits of her military victories over the Russians in Manchuria."

This touching friendship was soon thereafter spoiled by imperialist rivalry. Or, as Dr. Reischauer puts it:

"We Americans had briefly joined the scramble for empire when we took the Philippines from Spain in 1898, but, returning to our more traditional belief in the right of self-determination, we soon became the open opponents of imperialism in Asia. . . . While Japan still flirted with the idea of 'carving up the Chinese melon' or, perhaps, even appropriating the whole of it for herself, we sought to preserve an independent China which would be open to American business enterprise."

In the author's vocabulary, "democracy" is a thinly disguised euphemism for "free enterprise." The problem that he seeks to solve is how to make Japan the citadel of this brand of democracy, from thence to convert all Asia. The apparent lack of enthusiasm for free enterprise on the part of the Asian peoples, including the Japanese, leads him to express such racist ideas as "no non-Caucasian people has ever made democracy operate successfully," and "benevolent despotism, always the Asiatic ideal."

Proceeding from the idea that "habits of conduct and thought produce a social environment," the author presents a contradictory picture of Japanese history and economy, speaking here of a "profitless war machine" and there of the "expanding economic opportunities" resulting from the conquest of Manchuria; declaring one moment that "the Japanese Revolution came to full fruition" by the 1920's and then describing obvious important feudal survivals; asserting now "the unparalleled docility of the Japanese masses" and later indicating the existence of a people's movement which struggled for democratic rights through decades of brutal repression. His understanding of the agrarian question is curtailed by the concept of a "Malthusian limit."

Dr. Reischauer examines the Occupation with great satisfaction. His description of General MacArthur could have been written by the Goering of the Korean Reichstag Fire himself, it is that full of superlatives. The Occupation is described to have been engaged in a veritable love feast with the Japanese people. "Our attitude toward human rights both in individual and collective terms and our righting of the balance of economic and political power in Japan go far beyond anything the Chinese Communists can at present attempt or even conceive." There is even a suggestion that some economic reforms were overly drastic, smacking of "Russian communism."

It is surprising to learn therefore that the "good will has been worn thin" by the disappointments and

frustrations of long years of foreign occupation and economic chaos," that "the economic situation in Japan remained desperate and the political situation humiliating," and that by American measures "academic freedom was threatened and respect for individual rights undermined."

Dr. Reischauer perhaps senses that the Japanese people will not permit this to go on forever, that they will struggle more and more against the Occupation, which is the main obstacle to democracy in Japan. He advocates the early conclusion of a peace treaty, one that will perpetuate Japan's present status. Knowing that the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic will oppose such a settlement, he reluctantly suggests

that we sign the treaty without them. As for the Australians and Filipinos, "some of our allies resentful of our actions," they have "greater sympathy . . . toward our efforts" and "broader understanding of the problem Japan faces." Of course, Japan cannot be "left entirely defenseless." Dr. Reischauer fears that foreign troops and military installations will have to remain in Japan after the conclusion of such a "peace treaty." Having erected the straw man, he regretfully succumbs to him.

This book is part of a series, the American Foreign Policy Library, edited by Sumner Welles, who in his introduction contributes thoughts like "the Politburo's schemes for Moscow's domination of the Asiatic world."

Selling Tito to America

by JUNE CANNAN

TITO AND GOLIATH, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1951. 312 pp., \$3.50.

NEXT to spreading misinformation about the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the principal endeavor of State Department propaganda today is to sell Tito as a pure but disgruntled Marxist, a peculiar and not altogether savory bedfellow, but at the same time a valuable and necessary ally in the crusade against the socialist world.

Lies about life in the Eastern European People's Democracies and the lie about Tito's "independence" and his "democratic socialism" have walked hand in hand complementing each other for some time; but never has a flashier wedding of falsity and confusion taken place than in *Tito and Goliath* by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. As a conveyor of truth about Eastern Europe, this highly publicized monument of State Department propaganda might just as well be sold to the gullible as the Brooklyn Bridge instead of as a book.

If it is possible to be subtle about a monument, Macmillan should at least have tried. A picture of the author as an "objective" writer, a disinterested "student" of foreign affairs was in order, but instead a blurb released by the publisher along with review copies of the book includes the following information: "Hamilton Fish Armstrong . . . 1918, assigned to Military Intelligence Section of U.S. General Staff . . . later acting military attache to Amer-

JUNE CANNAN has spent five years in Eastern Europe as a working journalist, acting as correspondent for Canadian, British and American publications, including the "London Daily Express," "Religious News Service," and "Telepress." Together with Peter Furst, she has completed a book entitled "Operation Tito," which is scheduled to be published soon by Lawrence Wishart in London.

ican Legation in Belgrade . . . editor *Foreign Affairs* . . . member of President's Advisory Committee on Post-War Foreign Problems . . . State Department, 1942 to 1944 . . . special assistant to U.S. Ambassador in London . . . special adviser to Secretary of State, 1945 . . . etc." One of his several books is listed as "*Can We Be Neutral* (1936, with Allen W. Dulles) . . ." One can plainly see that Mr. Armstrong was not a man to spend "a part of each year in Yugoslavia almost continually between the two world wars" simply because of the lure of the Balkans.

So we have a "specialist." But the question immediately arises: how can a "specialist" pack so much misinformation into a single 300-page portrait of Tito as a righteous youth with a slingshot? There are two possible answers—but whether primarily through stupidity or clever calculation, the brew has been stewed for the purpose of dulling the senses of Americans for their trip "down the river" and it is the antidote which is required here. Unfortunately, to quote and correct the inaccuracies of Mr. Armstrong's every paragraph would take a book in itself.

We start with a secret consultation of the author with N. I. Bukharin in Paris in 1936. They sit on the bed in Bukharin's hotel room and discuss the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of Communist states (what a coincidence!) and we are led to believe that Bukharin was subsequently tried for holding such views. One is tempted to ask what a man of Bukharin's position was really doing incognito in Paris in 1936 sitting on a bed with a man of Hamilton Fish Armstrong's position. But one pertinent fact amid

1 Allen Dulles was European Chief of the wartime OSS (Office of Strategic Services) and is Deputy Director of the postwar CIA (Central Intelligence Agency).

the fancy emerges at least: Mr. Armstrong admits he was "badly out-classed in dialectics" (even with Bukharin).

Like Churchill who is reported to have exhorted Tito at one of their wartime parleys to take no "measures" against the sturdy, Serbian "peasantry" after the war, Hamilton Fish Armstrong also bemoans discrimination against "the peasant class" (page 52), interchanging the words "peasantry" with "kulaks," "cooperatives" with "collectives" and some entirely fictitious "working agricultural enterprises," making a general hodgepodge of the socialization of agriculture in the People's Democracies. For all the reader knows, the "kulak" is some kind of a cockroach. The Titoites, Armstrong complains, were called nasty names—"not only kulaks, Mensheviks and Trotskyites, they were boastful, empty and demagogic . . ."

His concepts of "nationalism," "internationalism" and even "nation" are similarly confused. Macedonia, we are told (page 185) is "the meeting-place of three rival nationalities—Yugoslav, Bulgar and Greek. The first two merge to some extent, and to the extent that they do—a violently debated point—another nationality is formed, the Macedonian." In reality, no historians debate the point that the Slav Macedonians are among the oldest separate peoples in the Balkans, that, if anything, it is the Bulgarians who are a mixture of Macedonians with Bulgars. The "Yugoslavs," of course, are composed of at least four separate nationalities. Here the author is probably referring to Serbs, but only the most outspoken Serbian imperialists—and not even Tito—describe the Macedonians as "merged" with Serbs to any degree.

Another amazing revelation: "The generally accepted view is that the

men in the Kremlin, though warned specifically by the British intelligence and in more general terms by the Department of State, did not credit the possibility of a direct attack on Russia . . ." This all helps develop the theme of a really precocious Yugoslav "independence": since the Soviet Union had no idea of the coming attack on herself, she would have issued no order to Yugoslav Communists to fight in the period before June 22, 1941, and so even then Tito was on his own! Actually, little or no fighting took place before that time, so Mr. Armstrong goes a long way to stretch a point, as he does in most other reiterations of the Tito line.

We have Dimitrov, one of the most outspoken critics of Tito's anti-Soviet policies, turned into a Titoite himself, probably murdered in Moscow. ("Whether Dimitrov suffered physical punishment will never be known . . .") We have Hebrang and Zujovich, the two jailed Yugoslav Communist leaders, opposing Tito in April, 1948, because they "realized that they were slated for extinction also unless they could get rid of the Titoist label." (The extinction seems to have come from a different direction than they are alleged to have anticipated.)

As for all the speculation about if and when the Titoites would fight for the United States, Mr. Armstrong might as well have saved his labored breath: Tito himself put it in a nutshell recently when he announced that he was ready to move with the west no matter where the fight broke out in Europe. The only thing we are not told is how under such conditions Tito and his friends in Washington are going to handle the rapidly developing resolve of the Yugoslav people to throw out this renegade "David" and begin the construction of a genuine socialist society.

withdrawing their forces from Greece his comment was, 'That exposes our flank.' He seemed to see diplomacy as a phase of warfare."

And of Acheson, Carr observed that, when Truman was having a discussion over his October, 1946, speech, its conventional references to the desirability of peace were objected to by Acheson, then assistant Secretary of State. Carr adds that an influential person (unnamed) who was present at the conference, shook his head at "all this peace talk. 'Why,' he said, 'we will be at war within a year.'"

Yet it was just these men whom Truman made the instruments of his foreign policy. If Truman remains the light of peace for the "moderates" the cause of peace is in obvious danger. Another example of such unwillingness to face the truth is the strangely twisted version Carr gives of the origins of the Cold War. This takes up the first section of the book and is given the title "Why Stalin Started the Cold War."

The immediate Soviet postwar aim, Carr admits, was the earliest possible recovery of their war devastated country. To obtain the goods and tools necessary for reconstruction the Soviet Union asked for a trade agreement with America on long term credits, to be paid for in Soviet products. After "dangling" this possibility before Stalin, as Carr puts it, it was suddenly rudely withdrawn. In fact the war was still on when the anti-Sovietees in the administration showed their hand by stopping Lend-Lease shipments to the Soviet Union.

Carr comments on this as follows: "Leading figures in the Department of State . . . opposed utilization of Western resources to restore the strength of the USSR. Some high members of the Department of State and the armed services appeared to overestimate Russia's dependence on the United States for aid in postwar economy. They seemed to believe that Russia could not survive economically without our aid."

And on the Lend-Lease action specifically, Carr has the following comment: "Between these careful lines (a *New York Times* Washington dispatch) one could read the perception that a powerful section of official opinion in Washington was eager to give maximum provocation to the Kremlin."

To withhold aid from an ally in the hope that that ally, wounded and exhausted, would perish as a great power was certainly no example to the world of humanity. But apart from that it was another example of the senseless underestimation of the strength of the Soviet Union and of its recuperative powers.

Carr continues the story. Since the Soviet Union had to turn elsewhere for economic aid she turned to the only other available source, German reparations. But, at every turn, the United States and the other Western powers, occupying the major industrial

(Continued on page 36)

Danger to Peace Lies at Home

TRUMAN, STALIN AND PEACE, by Albert Z. Carr, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1950. 256 pp., \$2.75.

THE AUTHOR is a former business man who entered government service during the war as an aide to Donald Nelson in the War Production Board. He became a member of the President Roosevelt's White House staff as economic adviser and later served President Truman as a special consultant. He seems to fit into his own category of "moderates"—men who are alarmed by the drift toward war. And his own book exemplifies the hesitancy and confusion of the moderates which has played into the hands of the war party.

For example he tries to build up President Truman as a moderate and, in his own invisible way, an apostle of peace. But what is there to support this view. The reactionary *Saturday*

Evening Post observed with approval that he appears to be hewing to the line he set in his statement quoted in the *New York Times* of June 23, 1941, "If we see Germany is winning we ought to help Russia, and if we see Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible, although I wouldn't want to see Hitler victorious under any circumstances. Neither of them think anything of their pledged word."

With that sort of humanity and statesmanship it is not surprising that, in his foreign policy, Truman has taken the direction of the war-minded—Churchill, Dulles, Marshall, Acheson and the rest. Of Marshall, whom Truman made his policy planner, Carr writes: "From men who knew Marshall well enough to talk about his views on foreign policy I gathered that he tended to regard diplomacy in military terms. When he heard that the British were

AMERICAN RAILROADER IN EUROPE

(Continued from page 17)

and the place itself belonged to them."

The second day of the conference the children going to a school near the hall found out what was going on.

"From then on we had a dozen to fifty 'unofficial observers' every day," he said. "After school the youngsters—they were around seven to thirteen—would come in and sit quietly in the back of the hall until the sessions ended, about four-thirty or five o'clock. That was their cue to take over international relations. They would tackle delegates for their autographs and then prolong the session as long as their children's tricks could hold them in front of the building." And, he added, "the kids there felt free to go most any place."

He found the children healthy and happy, but some still bear marks of the horror years. "Many kids have their growth stunted. I was going down the street one day with the interpreter, and a kid came walking along beside us, a small boy, looked like about eight or nine. I put my arm on his shoulder and asked him, shouldn't he be in school and how old he was. He was sixteen, he said, only he had been near starvation so long during the war. There are many kids like that who were babies under the Germans."

Highpoints in his memory are a trip up into the mountains, in a snowstorm, when everybody let loose—many had never seen snow before—and had a fine snowball fight, and turned back into the inn on the summit for tall glasses

of hot wine, and friendships were cemented. "Laughter is the international language," he says.

And there was Nova Huta, the big new city rising out of the plain beyond Krakow.

"Everywhere we had travelled we had seen new buildings under way—office buildings, schools, houses, roads, everything seemed to be being built anew. But this was a new city complete. This wasn't any city of board shacks or tents, but a new modern city for 100,000 laid out in detail." Solid building, obviously geared to peace.

"The homes were mostly three story flats, with thick brick walls covered with plaster in pastel shades. Inside the walls were covered with a sort of craftex, and the floors were in fine hardwood, set in patterns—they were beautiful. All the new workers' homes are that way. There were double windows, and the whole thing had been planned together, with playgrounds and nursery schools all within walking distance. A big steel mill is going up, and the plants to produce busses, trucks and tractors, and plants and homes are planned to be finished at the same time."

A section was being built by a Polish youth group. "When we stopped to talk to the youngsters," said Hall. "One of them gave me a medal which he took from his shirtfront. He had received it for extraordinary skill in performing his work. He offered me the medal so I would remember him, his friends and their work at Nova Huta. I fastened the medal on my watch-chain and told him I would wear it to remember him and also to remember

all the friends I had made in Poland."

As his time came to an end, Warsaw trade unionists tried to persuade him to stay some weeks longer and see in detail the life of the railroaders and other workers and their trade unions, but Hall had to leave. Stopping in Paris, at the pressing invitation of French railroad delegates to the transport conference, he heard the tale of the great exploits of the French railroaders in the resistance movement:

"All the railroad workers are proud of the part they played in defeating the Nazis and their own fascists," says Hall. From them he heard for the first time the epic story of how they had prevented the Nazis from moving a whole division to the channel coast on D-Day to fight against American forces. [The French film *Battle of the Rails*, shown here, celebrates this episode.]

"Many young Americans owe their lives to the French railroad workers—bear that in mind, they said. They made you feel very strongly what the French railroad workers had contributed in the war. The President of their railway union, Pierre Semard, was shot by the Nazis. His son was in the resistance. One time they were fighting alongside the United States Army. An American soldier was shot and as he lay dying, he took off his belt and passed it along to Semard's son as a token of friendship and solidarity between the two countries. They kept that belt—they honor the American soldier who helped liberate their country from the Nazis. They felt a wide difference between this soldier and the Marshall Plan Americans. They felt there were two classes of the American people, and if there were solidarity between their workers and workers of other countries, there couldn't be war."

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BUILDING, BUILDING AND MORE BUILDING

(Continued from page 31)

pair in the last three years in the city.

Wide-scale housing construction was made possible in the Soviet capital thanks to the steady growth of peace-time industry in the USSR in general and the growth of industrial production in Moscow itself in particular. The Moscow enterprises now produce over 50 per cent more than in 1940. Production of building materials and equipment has increased considerably. Some 32,000 tons of roofing iron, a million square meters of glass, 430,000 cubic meters of lumber, 13,000 tons of cement, etc., have been absorbed in repairing and renovating houses in 1948-1950.

The growth of housing facilities is accompanied by an extension of all forms of services for the Muscovites. The capacity of the city's water works has

grown by 45 per cent in the period from 1940 to 1950, and the average per capita consumption of water increased one and a half times over. The Muscovite uses five times more water today than in 1913.

Even more striking is the increase in the gas supply of the capital. The plan for equipping gas installations in Moscow was fulfilled ahead of schedule, by the 33rd anniversary of the Great October Revolution (November 7, 1950). The total number of flats supplied with gas is four times the number in the pre-war year of 1940, and 44 times above that of 1913. The tremendous scale of installing gas facilities has become possible due to the great gas pipe line which went into operation in 1946 and which made the natural gas of the Volga city, Saratov, easily accessible to Moscow.

The growth of the city is accompanied by the development of transport facilities. In 1950, a new subway line was opened, adding six new stations to the existing system. The streetcar has been removed from the center of the city and replaced by busses and trolley-busses. In the past three years Moscow received 258 new subway cars, 456 large streetcars, 697 busses, 363 trolley-busses and more than 2,000 taxis. The system of suburban electric railways has also been extended. Work on the electrification of another two railway lines is to be completed in the near future.

Inside the city extensive work is being carried on in repaving and broadening the streets and avenues and in decorating them with trees. During the postwar

years of 1946-1950, 2,909,000 square meters of roads have been built and reconstructed. Courtyards have been asphalted. Much attention is also being devoted to planting the Moscow streets and squares with trees and shrubs. Some 1,130,000 trees and 5,660,000 shrubs have been planted and 148 new squares laid out in the Soviet capital in the postwar years (1946-1950).

The figures I have quoted are the convincing language in which the people of Moscow speak about the purpose lying nearest their hearts: to build, build and build in order to live better and better with each coming year. These figures also demonstrate that the last thing in the world the people of Moscow want is war.

DANGER TO PEACE LIES AT HOME

(Continued from page 34)

areas of Germany, frustrated this alternative.

Carr observes: "They (the Russians), certainly sensed at Yalta that there was not much hope for their plan to revive the Soviet economy at the expense of Germany. After World War I fear of Soviet Russia had been a considerable factor in the decision of England and the United States to permit Germany to revive as a major power in Europe. Was this again to be the policy of the West? If so it would indicate an early resumption of political warfare against Russia. The question of German reparations may well have been construed by Moscow as a final test of fundamental attitudes in Washington and London."

Yet after this, his own version, which makes the Soviet reactions distinctly a response to actions started in Washington and London, Carr calls his analysis, "Why Stalin Started the Cold War."

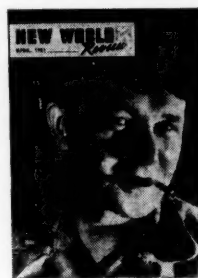
By implication Carr feels that in the propaganda phase of the cold war the United States has suffered defeat. He gives as the chief reason for it the fact that we held back from propagandizing democracy. For, as Carr writes, "Positive democracy is in itself a revolutionary conception. It threatens the

feudalism and toryism which prevail in large areas of the globe. For the United States to have advocated sweeping economic reforms would have antagonized powerful rightist elements in the affected countries, elements which had by then rallied to our side. . . .

"Beyond this it must be recognized that after the war much of the control of American foreign policy in the State Department, in our embassies abroad and in Congress lay in the hands of arch conservatives opposed to the more advanced democratic ideas of our age. Instinctively they drew back from encouraging the spread of such ideas in other countries. In this way, by weakening the force of our propaganda abroad, they made it necessary to rely almost exclusively on dollars and armaments to hold back communism. This fact in turn strengthened the forces of reaction at home, for the resulting drain in our economy tended to block further governmental enterprise in the public interest."

What Carr is virtually saying, then, is that the reactionaries who have temporarily taken over our country, started the cold war not only to save feudalism and toryism in other parts of the world but to destroy democracy at home. For that they are now prepared to turn the cold war into a shoot-

Our Cover



ONE of the USSR's outstanding steel workers is A. F. Zvezdin, who has received one of the highest honors of his country. He was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor. In addition he is a mem-

ber of the Government for he is a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This is not unusual, for in the Soviet parliament, a true cross-section of the population is found: writers, engineers, actresses, farmers, workers, scientists, teachers—every phase of Soviet life is represented. Men like this are a living refutation of the "slave labor myth."

ing war. Though its author cannot get himself to admit it directly, *Truman, Stalin and Peace* can only lead the thoughtful reader to this conclusion—dangers to peace lies in the war makers at home.

W. T. M.

SOVIET LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE DURING THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN, 1928-32, by Harriet Borland, Kings Crown Press, Columbia University, New York, 256 pp. \$3.50.

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading. It deals, at considerable length, with Soviet literary developments before the First Five-Year Plan; and it generalizes so positively for the literature after the Plan and beyond, into the future, that it might more accurately, and simply, have been called Soviet Literature.

The author probably considers herself objective because she pauses, at times, to acknowledge sincerity, energy or high aims in Soviet literary movements. And, by the hysteria standards that apply today, even in our sequestered academic circles, her book is comparatively objective. Real objectivity, however, is lacking in it. The author's conclusions come very close to the cold war cliché of regimentation and repression; and too many of her citations are drawn from such notoriously biased sources as Max Eastman, Eugene Lyons, William Henry Chamberlain and Louis Fischer.

Nevertheless the attentive reader can find, even in this tendentiously assembled material, evidence of the enormous and continuous social experiment that Soviet literature is. This experiment seeks to accomplish a great social task, the closing of the gaps between literature and society and the writer and his audience.

That it must be considered as a titanic experiment even Miss Borland acknowledges.

Your Questions Answered page has been omitted in this issue. A question page will appear in our new pocket-size May issue in which Theodore Bayer will continue to answer readers' questions on the Soviet Union, and questions on other parts of the world will be answered by other experts on other areas.

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WU'S SPEECHES
The speech delivered by Wu Hsiu-chuan to the UN Security Council, in November, and the speech that he was not permitted to deliver at the UN, are now both available through the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 80 E. 11th St., New York 3.

INSIDE A SOVIET LABOR CAMP

(Continued from page 5)

guaranteed minimum seemed to me to be sufficient. But the Russians like plenty of food, and these people are working hard at physical work; and I learned that most of them do buy extra food, either white bread, or extra butter, or extra or more attractive dishes. There are three ranges of food supplied by the kitchens, "guaranteed minimum," "hospital and holiday," and "extras."

There is a small hospital, and permanent medical officers look after all but serious cases. The general health standards are said to be much the same as "outside," and of course records are kept "outside" in the USSR.

Prisoners can write and receive as many letters, and have as many visits, as they like. They may see the Governor personally with their complaints, or they may make a complaint to him in writing, which he must answer within three days. If they prefer to complain to the Ministry which looks after them, their letter must be forwarded by the Governor to the Ministry unopened, and the Ministry must answer.

Once a week, an official of the Attorney General's office attends at the camp to see that all the regulations are properly observed, and that no one is being illegally detained.

The only specific prohibitions that I could discover were against alcohol, drugs, cutting instruments, and playing cards. The prisoners looked a mixed lot; most of them looked like average citizens, one or two looked "tough," scarcely one looked really surly or resentful, and all said "Good-day" to the Governor in a friendly and unembarrassed fashion as we passed. As they had lost their civil rights for the time, they could not call him "Comrade" or be addressed as "Comrades" themselves; the word was "citizen." Nor could they exercise that civil right which consisted in signing the Stockholm Peace Petition.

There is no automatic system of remission, but every case is checked over frequently to see whether conduct merits a slice of, say, six months being taken off the sentence. (This may happen more than once.) There is also a system whereby satisfactory prisoners can be released on condition that they live in a particular town and work in a particular factory for the rest of their sentence; in those cases, they are wholly free of all restric-

tion so long as they remain at their work.

Nor is the Ministry neglectful of other means of getting people back into normal society. At about the time of my visit it had been decided that every woman prisoner with children under 14 should be released at once, unless she had committed some exceptionally serious crime, as it was held important to give children the benefit of their parents' presence in the home. As a result of this decision, 80 of the 300 women in the camp were

YOU CAN WIN THE PEACE

(Continued from page 9)

ported in our last issue, the original sponsors list of 65 has grown to nearly 300 leading Americans in all fields, in all parts of the country.

The American people in cities and towns from Maine to California immediately went into action to send delegates to the Peace Pilgrimage to Washington. Hundreds of thousands of ballots are being circulated in the nation-wide peace poll on the question:

Are you for bringing our troops back from Korea and making peace with China now?

In Utah, scores of people drove from all corners of the state through a raging blizzard to make plans for their participation in the Peace Crusade.

In Chicago, forty ministers, labor leaders and other prominent citizens established a Chicago Committee of the Peace Crusade under the chairmanship of Robert Morss Lovett, distinguished educator and former governor of the Virgin Islands.

In Detroit, a mass prayer meeting was held on the steps of City Hall, with Rev. Charles A. Hill leading the prayer for peace. Young Ford workers distributed thousands of handbills calling for jobs and peace.

In New York City, trade union groups functioning through the Labor Conference for Peace organized a delegation of 500 to Washington, a youth sponsoring committee another 500, American Women for Peace and other groups hundreds more.

In Seattle, a group of religious leaders and earnest citizens have joined together in an Emergency Peace Assembly, calling for adoption by the United States and the United Nations of a program of peaceful alternatives to war.

In every state of the Union, on the Atlantic seaboard, in the South, in the Middle and Far West similar actions are taking place either spontaneously or in direct response to the American Peace Crusade's initiative.

about to return to their families.

"After care" is not important in a country where there is always work to be had; but the camp authorities do keep in touch with discharged prisoners, and help if necessary. Recidivism is extremely low.

My whole general impression was that the camp was run with humanity and intelligence; that discipline was strict but not harsh; that life was dull and hard, but tolerable, and far better than life is for millions of "free" men in some other countries; and that the Soviet Union is curing crime quicker than most other countries.

The leaders of the American Peace Crusade have made clear that they are organized not to replace or duplicate or vie with any existing organization in the peace movement which is rising irresistibly in many different forms. They are acting simply as an agency for centralizing and stimulating peace activity and organization among all groupings of labor, farmers, women, youth, clergy, Negroes, academic circles, nationalities, who whatever their differences of religion or politics, share the deep-seated yearning for peace.

The spontaneous grass roots movement for peace had reached huge proportions long before the Crusade got under way, as workers awakened to the connection between the drive for war and the drive against their rights and living standards, as intellectual groups became increasingly aware of the connection between the war drive and the degradation of American culture, as mothers have been struck with anguish and fear at the mounting casualty lists, filled with despair that their sons must die senselessly and be compelled to inflict such monstrous destruction on the land and people of Korea, as our youth have found themselves compelled to give up their dreams for the nightmare of barracks life or a grave in a far-off land.

We hope that our readers will join in the movement for the defense of Dr. Du Bois and all those who work for peace, and will themselves enroll as fighters in defense of peace and life.

If you have not done so already, join with others in your community who are working for peace. If there is nothing yet under way, in organized form, start something. The American Peace Crusade, 1186 Broadway, Suite 310, New York City, will send you ballots and information on what to do. If you love your country, your children, humanity, it is your responsibility to help stem the tide of war. Peace can only be won through the efforts of the people!

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WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(Continued from page 8)

ing people, and included progressive elements from all parties of the National Front as well as independents.

That the people were with Gottwald was shown not only in the resolute action taken by the factory workers and working peasantry in support of the National Front's socialist program and the huge mass demonstrations by millions throughout the country, but by the fact that the only manifestations for the reactionaries were underground conspiracies by wartime collaborationist plotters and a single public demonstration on the day after the formation of the new Government, involving several hundred middle class students shouting chauvinist slogans. It was here that the shot was fired which was magnified with screaming headlines by the American press into a "brutal police assault."

The February events may be described correctly as revolutionary action by the Czechoslovak working people in defense of their socialist gains, against those who intended to turn back the clock by means of a putsch with the direct aid of American diplomats. There is no doubt that the February events constituted a turning point in the development of Czechoslovak people's democracy by opening the way to a more rapid development of the socialist economy and the rule of the working people, in close alliance with the peasants, working intelligentsia and middle ranks of city dwellers.

The new Government quickly implemented the demands made by the work-

ing people during the crisis. Industrial enterprises with more than 50 workers were nationalized, as were foreign and domestic wholesale trade. A new land reform was enacted. A new social insurance bill gave 93 per cent of the population full social security. Another bill exempted 90 per cent of the farmers from taxation. The Communist and Social Democratic Parties joined in a unified working class party.

On May 9, 1948, Parliament enacted the People's Democratic Constitution, the draft of which was discussed at 14,000 public meetings. The National Front became the expression of a new national unity in the construction of a socialist society, including not only parties but also the trade unions, peasants and other mass organizations.

In May, 1948, almost 90 per cent of the voters cast their votes for the unified list of candidates of the National Front. In June, President Benes, who had been ailing for several months, resigned and the National Assembly elected Klement Gottwald as President.

Today, the country is in the midst of the Five-Year Plan. Czechoslovak trucks, cars, machines, textiles, shoes and other goods are in use in every Eastern European country and will soon reach People's China. The living standard is rising. In Slovakia alone, industrial output increased by 50 per cent since February, 1948. Compared with 1949, wages increased in 1950 by 26 per cent; food sales by 10-50 per cent, clothing by 48 per cent, footwear by 40 per cent. State expenditures on social security rose by 74 per cent over 1949, public health by 18 per cent, public education by 20 per cent. At the end of February of this year, the success of planned economic construction was underlined by the fact that Five-Year Plan targets could be increased up to 50 per cent. Cultured life has been greatly enriched.

There are still difficulties to be overcome. The drought of 1950 plus the economic blockade organized by the State Department caused certain shortages and distribution shortcomings (magnified in the pages of the American press, of course, into an "economic crisis" and even "collapse"). The country has had to fight against a number of con-

spiracies. Measures have had to be taken against the ever-present threat of war from the West, accelerated by the rearming of Czechoslovakia's immediate neighbor, western Germany. But, as President Gottwald stated on February 22, 1951, when he revealed the discovery of the Clementis conspiracy, Czechoslovakia will never be a second Yugoslavia.

And the Czechoslovak worker, reviewing his great economic and political gains since 1948, and looking across the border at the economic misery of his Marshallized Austrian and German comrades, might well say: "There, but for our determination during the February events, go I."

POLAND'S BABIES

(Continued from page 15)

hind it. It stopped for the women. They handed their youngsters to a woman on the platform of the first white car and then the mothers climbed into the second car and settled down for a peaceful ride home. I got in with the babies to see what was going on.

The babies' car was warm and clean, with little seats and benches for the children; and places for them to stand up, which they like to do. The babies were safely deposited in the white wooden cribs with slat sides that ranged the walls of the car at a height above the children's heads. There was a special conductor for this car and a woman attendant.

The Babies' Tram has become an accepted part of Warsaw transportation now. At first the mothers did not want to hand over the babies, but now they appreciate the chance to keep them out of crowds and possible infection. The trams go all over the city picking up the working mothers in the morning and bringing them back at night.

Factories like this one are working two shifts: one from 6 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., and one from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Mothers may choose the shift that suits them best. The nursery does not open in time for the early shift, and closes before the late one. Therefore there is a special "Mothers Shift" for the women who have no one to bring the children to the creche. The Mothers Shift runs from 7:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. and the trams make it an easy matter to bring the babies.

I asked about the factories or housing developments which are out of reach of the trams and was told that there are buses, and in some cases automobiles to take care of the workers' transportation.

It seems that the slogan one sees everywhere is not mere words: "The care of the mother and child is a basic part of the foundation of our Socialist social structure."

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FRENCH WOMAN FROM MISSOURI

(Continued from page 18)

Do these little things not throw a different light? And the idea of there being freedom here and lack of freedom there, should we not revise that in both its aspects?

Moreover, the Czechs, the Poles and the Russians we approached expressed surprise that we did not go and see them more. And we think they do not want to receive us. Some clarification is needed; might it not be that in our stupidity we do not try to go? The Congress was very insistent about cultural exchanges of young people, students, workers and intellectuals, which would tend to make people broader-minded and more comprehending.

One particularly delicate and painful subject for me as a Catholic was the religious question. We (the Catholics among the French delegation) were able to talk with the utmost freedom with priests and lay Catholic leaders. We tried to see a ray of certitude in the darkness we were in. The explanation of quite a few anomalies is to be found in the fact that the Catholic Church in Poland represented a temporal and political force comparable to that of the French Church before the Revolution. So it saw in the government of People's Democracy an enemy, stripping it of all or part of its property, limiting its temporal influence, and the new regime saw in the Church a confirmed supporter of the old.

There is therefore without doubt a certain uneasiness in the adaptation of the socialist State and the Church, there are not a few priests imprisoned for political offenses, and practical difficulties in the way of spreading religious thought by the written word. But all of that is in no wise, for the moment, religious persecution as such, bearing on points of faith. As for worship, it is fully assured, the churches are restored and full of the faithful; the catechism is taught in schools and it is even necessary to put in a special request for a child to be excused it. Do you want more details? I saw numbers of nuns of different orders and at least one shop displaying only bibles in two windows.

I would like to add one last point to this little analysis, although I am somewhat embarrassed to formulate it. As concerns the population, is it not true that we imagine, in the *milieu* I come from, that we have to deal with brutes or at least with people made brutish? Surprise, no doubt, had a lot to do with the strong impression produced on me by the dignity with which these people carried out even the most humble tasks and behaved together, and the resplendent appearance of the children.



During a session of the Second World Peace Congress that was held in Warsaw, Poland, and was attended by more than two thousand delegates from over eighty different countries

I think, then, that what I have seen throws a different light on the problem of peace. The question is one simply of knowing if the fear of a philosophy and a political regime that are not ours makes conceivable the use against them of military, not to speak of atomic methods. To put this question, for anyone with common sense, is to solve it.

But I think anti-communism has become a kind of not very sweet folly. In every discussion today one keeps coming up against "it's all because of communism" preventing any conciliation, any explanation. Does this fear, this panic about communism not turn intelligent people into fools, well-balanced people into madmen, thought into obstinacy? Is anti-communism not becoming an aberration—and this is very serious—leading to the worst kind of stupidity and monstrosities, up to and including the risk of the terrible war tomorrow's would be?

This is certainly the first time I have ever spoken in public, and it has considerably worried me. But there are times when it is wrong to be reserved. I would have thought myself dishonest if I had not spoken of the very simple but very clear observations that for me were a revelation. I would have considered it dishonest not to draw attention to the fables added to anti-communism to distort any clear vision of present-day reality. This evening I have given up personal quiet for the cause of peace; it is the sum of all those little personal contributions which will save peace. I bring my modest bit to the work of understanding between men that is coming to be on the earth. To this end everyone should lend his efforts in a very clear

and pressing fashion. Let all those of different convictions consider one another as men, let them stop shutting themselves off from others by brandishing the scarecrows of "odious communism" or "guilty capitalism," let the non-communists set limits to their fear, let the communists admit the legitimacy of certain fears of their adversaries. From that general light, from that atmosphere of confidence and good will, will come that common good of all—peace.

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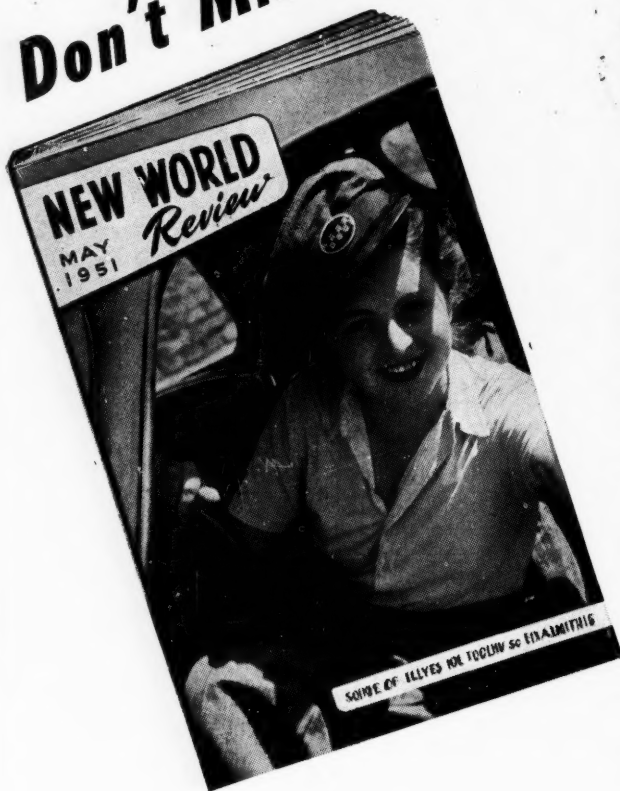
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