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May

1951

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Vol. 19, No. 3, May, 1951. Entered as second class matter, March 25, 1932, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Subscription \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months (Canadian and foreign, \$3.00 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York). Published monthly by the S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 114 E. 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 3-3855. PRINTED IN U.S.A.

REPORT TO OUR READERS

WORLD PEACE, a life and death concern to every American, requires above all that a way be found to peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union and the whole world of socialism and people's democracy. That is why our magazine, giving the facts about this new world which we must know if we are to live with it in peace, has such a unique and vital role.

The new world is not only in far off places. It is also here in our America today, it is wherever people are uniting in the struggle for peace, because only in peace can the new and better world all men long for come into being and endure.

TO COVER this expanding field more adequately, we have taken the important step of adding to our staff as associate editor, Sender Garlin, nationally known journalist and lecturer, longtime student of the Soviet Union and international affairs, with many years of experience in the American trade union movement.

Mr. Garlin was until recently editor of *Hotel and Club Voice*, official weekly of the largest local of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International, AFL. He previously edited a number of other labor papers. As correspondent in Moscow for four years, 1935-39, he was the only American reporter to cover all three treason trials. He is the author of many pamphlets and studies that have stirred wide interest, the latest, "Enemies of the Peace."

With this combination of firsthand knowledge of both the Soviet Union and the American trade union movement, Mr. Garlin is uniquely qualified to help our magazine find a larger audience among workers, where

the peace movement must find its main roots, as well as among the many other elements of the population who, whatever their political, religious and other differences, are today finding a common voice in the demand for peaceful settlements.

This issue also marks another forward step on a purely technical level along the exciting new course we have charted. Our new format, adopted to meet the requests of our readers for greater variety in presentation as well as subject matter will, we believe, make our magazine more readable, easier to handle, more accessible to the many thousands of additional readers we must reach.

WE ARE STILL in the experimental stage. We want our readers to help us make further improvements. We want your reactions, your criticisms, your suggestions, your questions. We want this to be, in the fullest sense *your* magazine.

As his first task, therefore, Mr. Garlin, in assuming his editorial responsibilities, is coming to see you to find out just what you want, how better we can serve your needs. He will be available for lectures, for readers' conferences, discussions. Announcement of his trip and of our Spring Campaign will be found on page 21. So along with our welcome to Sender Garlin, we extend a warm invitation to you, our readers, to become active participants in the great work of making this magazine a powerful organ for international understanding and peace.

JESSICA SMITH



Sender Garlin

Why MacArthur Is Out

THE FIRING of General MacArthur was unquestionably precipitated by the growing worldwide pressure for peace, threatening the loss of America's allies abroad and of support of its people at home.

Just as clearly, while the move opens new possibilities for averting world war, the Truman policy remains that of seeking world domination for American imperialism that can only be imposed through war.

Truman and his supporters are driving toward war no less surely than the MacArthur forces. They want to keep the pot boiling in the Far East, but are not ready to risk all-out conflict there now which would jeopardize their chances of girding Western Europe for an anti-Soviet war, with revived German militarism as its base. Because they must do all this in the name of peace, they could not brook MacArthur's blunt exposure of their aims. And the mounting horror over Operation Killer in Korea, and the failure of their policies, made a scapegoat necessary.

Truman himself told the nation that there has been no change in U.S. aims. He instructed John Foster Dulles to proceed with the treaty with Japan which fully reveals American aggressive designs in the Far East, as shown in the article by Frederick V. Field, written before the MacArthur ouster.

The important thing now is for the peace forces to act swiftly, unitedly and with all their strength on the basis of this clear demonstration of their power.

Now is the time to demand with irresistible vigor an end to the war in Korea, the return of Taiwan (For-

mosa) to People's China and the seating of the latter in the U.N.

The people must insist that our government cease its sabotage of the proposed Foreign Ministers' Conference on German demilitarization and related issues, which the many concessions by the USSR show it firmly supports. Proposals for a Five-Power Pact of Peace and all steps toward arms reduction and outlawry of the atom bomb should be supported.

We must fight harder than ever in defense of the people's right to speak for peace, for the repeal of the Smith and McCarran acts which stifle that right. We must step up the defense of all victims of the Un-American Committee and the Negro martyrs to Administration policies.

We must resist the vicious spy hysteria most recently embodied in Judge Kaufman's unprecedented death sentence for the Rosenbergs, accompanied by his dastardly attempt to pin on them the Administration's own guilt for the war in Korea, and the incitements to anti-Semitism which have been developed around the case.

We must block the attempt to jail Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the great Negro scholar, and his four fellow officials of the disbanded Peace Information Center for failure to register as "foreign agents" because of their advocacy of outlawing the atom bomb. This attempt is directed against all who work for peace, against the millions of Americans joining together in the American Peace Crusade. We must be unstinting in our defense of those who are our defenders.

Let the firing of MacArthur be the prelude to real peace! —J.S.

JAPAN

Peace Treaty or Aggressive Alliance?

by **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

THE American Government is about to take another decisive step in its relentless drive to dominate Eastern Asia. Under the pretext of negotiating a "peace" treaty with Japan it is in fact forcing upon the former enemy a pact of military and economic aggression against our principal allies in the anti-Japanese war.

The immediate issue is no longer the question whether or not, some six years after V-J Day, there will be a general peace treaty with Japan. With the defeat of the U.S. Government's policy in China and with the failure, from the imperialist point of view, of the Korean war, the issue of a peace treaty has been stood on its head. The questions today are how far the international situation will permit the United States to go in subjugating Japan to its own aggressive designs in the Far East and whether any, and if so which, of its Western Bloc allies can be dragooned into openly joining this aggressive alliance.

That is literally how far the peace and stability of the Pacific, for which the war against Japanese aggression was supposedly fought and won, have deteriorated under the aegis of Washington's bi-partisan high command. That is how reckless American Far Eastern policy has become, and that is another way of saying how desperately it is seeking to reverse the

democratic advances of the people of Eastern Asia.

Mr. John Foster Dulles, whom President Truman has charged with the job of negotiating the new treaty with Japan, gave, on March 31, considerable detail on the plan on which he is working. Last October 26, moreover, he handed to Mr. Malik of the Soviet Union, an official American memorandum on the same question, subsequently published, along with a series of questions raised by the USSR on November 25.

Besides these comprehensive documents there have been numerous public statements by American officials on various aspects of their treaty proposals. Of most importance in revealing the U.S. Government's intentions have been events themselves, particularly those connected with the manipulation and cajoling of Japanese public opinion on such sensitive points as rearmament and the separation of China and the Soviet Union from the contemplated treaty.

The "peace" treaty which the U.S. Government hopes soon to conclude is therefore already clearly enough outlined for the public to decide whether this is the kind of arrangement which it will support. Its nature can best be seen by setting forth its main provisions against the major war and post-war international agreements respecting Japan to which the United States committed itself. Ham-

mered out on the anvil of struggle against fascism and aggression, these agreements were designed to establish a firm and lasting peace during which the peoples of the Pacific area could improve their economic and social conditions and develop governments of their own choosing secure from outside aggression.

The basic war and post-war agreements relating to Japan and to which the U.S. Government is a party were those reached at Cairo, November 1943, at Yalta, February 1945, at Potsdam, July 1945, at Moscow, December 1945, and in the policy decision on basic post-surrender treatment for Japan of the Far Eastern Commission, June 19, 1947. This last embodied with certain additions and modifications the "Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan" drafted and approved by the U.S. State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee and forwarded to MacArthur, August 29, 1945.

There are no other agreements of a fundamental nature concerning Japan. Any deviations from these agreements have been purely unilateral and have in fact been undertaken only by the United States.

Let us measure the current U.S. Government proposals for a "peace" treaty with Japan against these basic international understandings by taking several main issues.

Participants in the Treaty

The officially declared American position, as stated in the memorandum of last October, is that "any or all nations at war with Japan which are willing to make peace on the basis proposed and as may be agreed" may become parties to the treaty. The hint contained in the words "on the basis proposed," i.e., the American basis,

is carried further in Mr. Dulles' March 31 speech in which he says "Soviet participation is not indispensable" and goes to some length to rationalize the American Government's complete domination of the negotiations. The United States, he claims, "possessed most of the means required for victory in the Pacific," thus negating the tremendous and vital roles played by the Chinese people and the USSR.

The question of who shall be parties to the treaty is bound up with the American Government's conception of the manner in which the treaty is to be negotiated.

"The Soviet Union," says Mr. Dulles, "has no legal power to veto" a peace treaty with Japan. In fact, he frankly states that the treaty is for the purpose of forming an anti-Soviet alliance so that the USSR will not seize Japan and together with it and China "start a general war." This is the familiar official bi-partisan propaganda technique—to set up the straw man of Soviet aggression and then proceed to mount an international military offensive to knock him down.

If the Soviet Union is not regarded as indispensable to the treaty, the Chinese People's Republic is not even mentioned. Presumably it will be Chiang Kai-shek's clique on Taiwan which will be permitted to participate in the treaty, not the 475,000,000 people of China.

Thus the U.S. Government has sought to establish the principle of a separate peace treaty for Japan with itself and whatever dependent nations it can drag along and which it can dictate without veto from its war-time allies. On both counts the U.S. Government is clearly violating its own commitments.

There is, first of all, the Declara-



John Foster Dulles in Japan. Cartoon by Y. Ganf in "New Times."

tion by the United Nations, signed in Washington on January 1, 1942, by the United States, the USSR, Britain, China and a large number of other nations then at war against Germany or Japan which declares: "Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies." In the second place there is the well-known fact that Japan formally surrendered to the principal participants in the anti-Japanese coalition, including of course the USSR and China.

In the third place there is the Far Eastern Commission, set up by the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers in December, 1945, with specific provisions regarding the conduct of the occupation of Japan. The Commission is charged with formulating "the policies, principles, and standards in conformity with which the fulfillment by Japan of its obligations under the Terms of Surrender may be accomplished."

It is also provided that the Commission "shall cease to function when a decision to that effect is taken by the concurrence of at least a majority of all the representatives including the representatives of the four following Powers: United States, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China." This voting procedure, incidentally, which is similar to that prevailing in the Security Council, governs all the Far Eastern Commission's work.

These provisions make it evident that the Far Eastern Commission was intended to function until the objectives of the occupation of Japan had been accomplished and a general peace treaty negotiated.

Only by a majority vote of the Commission including the concurrence of all four of the major parties can the Commission abrogate its function of directing the occupation of Japan. How then can it be argued by the U.S. Government that a separate peace can be made excluding the USSR and China? Will certain coun-

tries be formally at peace with Japan while they at the same time participate in directing its occupation in association with other countries not at peace with Japan?

The United States stands committed to negotiating a general peace with its former enemies and is committed to the unanimity rule, which in relation to Japan, naturally, omits France. The U.S. Government's present plans for a separate, American dominated peace treaty are a clear repudiation of its own commitments and a violation of its international agreements.

The Territory of Japan

The basis for territorial restrictions to be imposed upon Japan was laid at the Cairo, Yalta and Potsdam conferences.

At Cairo, the leaders of the United States, Britain and China declared "that it is the purpose of the Three Great Allies that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." Cairo also pledged the freedom and independence of Korea.

At Yalta the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain provided for the return of southern Sakhalin "as well as all the islands adjacent to it" to the USSR and also for handing over to the USSR the Kurile Islands.

Potsdam confirmed these arrangements in a declaration by the United States, Britain and China, later adhered to by the Soviet Union. Paragraph eight reads: "The terms of the

Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine."

In the light of these very definite commitments let us see what the current U.S. Government proposals are. Mr. Dulles, in his memorandum of last October 26 and in his recent speech of March 31, adopts the language of paragraph eight of the Potsdam declaration but denies the language of the Cairo declaration which Potsdam was designed to endorse. He furthermore repudiates the Yalta agreement and, of special importance, introduces a brand-new territorial element. Here are the present official American proposals he has expressed:

1. Japanese sovereignty is to be confined to the main islands and possibly certain minor additional ones. That conforms with previous agreements but see item 4 below for a potential violation.

2. Korean independence is to be recognized. In view of America's responsibility for the Korean war no other comment is required.

3. The disposition of Formosa and the Pescadores is to be subject to "the future decision of the United Kingdom, the USSR, China and the United States." Here we have a flagrant violation of Cairo.

4. South Sakhalin and the Kuriles



Peace, Prague

NEWS ITEM: Japanese ex-airmen are being recruited for U.S. air units.

"What was your first solo flight?"
"In the attack on Pearl Harbor."

are, in the October 26 American memorandum, treated in the same way as Formosa and the Pescadores, that is, subject to future determination. In Dulles' March 31 speech he acknowledges that these areas "were allotted to Russia at Yalta and are actually in Russian possession." "Any peace treaty validation of Russia's title should, we suggest, be dependent upon Russia's becoming a party to that treaty." Either way the Yalta agreements are violated. But if the second and latest American proposal is pursued it is obvious that something even more sinister than simply breaking international agreements is afoot. Could it be that Mr. Dulles and his bi-partisan colleagues are maneuvering to return southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles to Japan?

5. The Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, which include Okinawa, now an important American military base, should, according to current American proposals, go under UN trusteeship with the United States as administering authority. In its reply to the U.S. memorandum of October 26, the Soviet Union makes two related points: first, that neither Cairo nor Potsdam mention these islands; second, that in the Cairo declaration the powers declared they "have no thought of territorial expansion."

Remilitarization of Japan

There are two aspects to the question of re-arming Japan. One is the actual remilitarization of Japan, the revival of its army, navy and air force, along with the industrial concomitants of re-arming. The other is the establishment of post-peace treaty American military bases in Japan. Both are advocated in the new American proposals.

The October 26 State Department



Chinese view of MacArthur propping up the Japanese Emperor and interviewing a Japanese militarist wearing a U.S.-Japan insignia.

memorandum refers to "continuing cooperative responsibility between Japanese facilities and United States and perhaps other forces for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area." Mr. Dulles' latest speech speaks of "the retention of United States armed forces in and about Japan" and arrangements which "will enable the Japanese to make their own indispensable contribution to preventing their nation's being forced into the service of the new imperialism that ominously threatens from the mainland."

Both aspects of the remilitarization of Japan are unequivocally prohibited by international agreements.

Article 12 of the Potsdam Declaration states that "the occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives [those of the occupation] have been accomplished," in other words when Japan is ready for a general treaty of peace. The Potsdam declaration, as every other international document relating to Japan, calls for complete disarmament and demilitarization. The Far Eastern Commission's basic post-surrender policy statement of June 19, 1947, provides that Japan shall not possess an army, a navy or an air force.

Thus again the American Government is planning a direct violation of the international understandings to which it is committed. On the question of remilitarization, moreover, the directives of the Far Eastern Commission have already been grossly violated by a thinly camouflaged program of Japanese militarization which MacArthur has had actively under way for some time and greatly stepped up under the supposed necessities of the Korean war.

Other Questions

The above issues have been elaborated upon not only because of their intrinsic importance to the future of the Far East but also because they are typical of the ruthless manner in which the U.S. Government has taken things into its own hands and disregarded everything except its own aggressive plans. Space limitations prevent detailed examination of all the issues respecting Japan now before us as a result of the U.S. announcement to go ahead with a Japanese peace treaty of its own choosing. The question of the future of Japanese industry, heavy industry for armaments and light industry to undersell competitors; the question of reparations (simply not to be paid according to Mr. Dulles); the ques-

tion of the suppression of all forms of progressive thought and activity and the support given to those forces of reaction which brought about the last war; the question of war criminals and that of the emperor institution—all of these would show the same general picture as have the items selected for elaboration. It is the picture of Cairo, of Yalta, of Potsdam, of Moscow and of the Far Eastern Commission turned upside down.

A menacing situation in the Far East threatens to be perpetuated and worsened if the current plans of the American Government for Japan are carried through. It is high time the American public became better acquainted with the Japanese issue and joined this to the many others which they are increasingly protesting.

One of the pivots to peace and security in the Far East is a democracy in Japan guaranteed by a general peace treaty worked out by the major powers concerned and adhered to by the others. A sure step toward continuing insecurity and general war will be a military alliance of aggression between an imperialist American Government and a reactionary puppet Japan. This particular issue is now coming to a head and the American people must act upon it before it is too late.

DEMOCRACY — AMERICAN STYLE

COL. A. W. MELCHIOR, civil affairs officer of the U. S. First Army Corps, quoted by Homer Bigart in a dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune of October 23, on the process by which he elected the acting mayor and governing committee of Pyongyang, then in the hands of the MacArthur forces:

It's kind of an odd story, like a fairy tale. I went scouting around while the battle was still on and I finally spotted this old gentleman, a hotel keeper. Well, you can always tell a man's station in life by the clothes he wears. I could tell by his type of dress that he was a high-type person. . . . I told him to get together some business men and other high-type persons and form a slate. It was just a shot in the dark. . . . We sat on a bunch of logs and discussed government. I think we collared the best element. . . .



—Wide World

At the Potsdam Conference. Left to right: Prime Minister Attlee, President Truman and Premier Stalin. In the background to the right of Truman is Molotov

WHO WRECKED POTSDAM?

by GORDON SCHAFFER

DURING the Berlin "blockade" American Occupation chief General Lucius Clay, on his own admission, did his best to persuade Washington to send an armored column through the Russian Zone to the German capital. His efforts were supported by many of the American and British Occupation officials. Herr Reuter, Social Democratic Mayor of West Berlin, who spent the war under the protection of von Papen in Turkey, did everything he could to egg on the Western Powers.

If these madmen had had their way, we might have been plunged into war. The British and American public would have been told they were fighting for freedom against Russian "aggression." No doubt the automatic American majority in the United Nations would have backed

the Americans in Germany, as it was later to do in Korea.

As it happened, the plot misfired, and the real facts are now available. Peter Burchett, who was the London *Daily Express* correspondent in Berlin at the time, has set down the whole dirty story. This record by a universally respected journalist has found no publisher in Britain or America. The story has been published in Australia, and is now being circulated in Britain by Central Books.

In the autumn of 1947, a few weeks before General Marshall deliberately wrecked the last attempt by the Foreign Ministers' Conference to reach a solution on Germany, Burchett was present at a luncheon given by Mr. Richard Scammon, the U.S. official with the duty of keeping

in touch with German political parties. Herr Reuter was also present.

"The hell of it is," said Scammon, "the State Department is always six months behind us. They have only just now accepted our demand to set up a separate West German State. We're losing precious time."

In December, 1948, when General Clay was pressing for his armored column, members of the U.S. Congress Armed Forces Committee visited Berlin. One of their number, Congressman Short, had already told correspondents in Frankfurt that his solution to the Berlin crisis would be to send a couple of squadrons of B-29's loaded with atom bombs over Russia. "There's got to be a show-down and we are ready to go ahead right now," declared Congressman Bridges to newspapermen who buttonholed members of the mission.

The Congressmen went on to blurt out hints of the American plan to arm the Germans and get German war industry working full blast.

"One would have dismissed the whole thing as the ravings of a garrulous team of Congressmen," Burchett comments, "had it not been that they were speaking to us just after they had been in conference with top executives of the U.S. armed forces, the U.S. Commander-in-Chief and General Bedell Smith, the U.S. Ambassador to Moscow."

Later Burchett learned from a French official source that the United States asked the Western Powers whether they would fight for Berlin. France, Belgium and Holland said "No." The British reply was a "Yes" with qualifications.

During those months hysteria was steadily whipped up in Britain and the U.S. by stories of Russian A.A.

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guns in the corridor, Russian planes harassing the air lift, and so on—all subsequently proved to be lies.

The "Berlin blockade" was precipitated by the decision of the Western Powers to issue new currency in their zones without any prior consultation with the Russians. Was this because the Russians wouldn't co-operate? Here are the facts that Burchett relates.

In January, 1948, General Clay announced in Berlin that "he was going to have one more try to get agreement on currency reform." (Burchett recalls that at that time new Western notes, printed in America, were already stored in Bremen.)

Mr. Chambers, head of the British Finance Division, had already visited the Soviet Zone, and reported that there was little to choose between the Soviet and the British plans for currency reform. After this report, Chambers was replaced and the press was fed with utterly false stories about the Russians blocking currency reform.

After Clay's announcement American and Russian financial experts produced schemes so similar that a special committee was charged with working out final details.

"In early March," Burchett goes on, "I had dinner with one of General Clay's financial advisers. He was gloomy and depressed and said, 'It looks as if we can't get out of having a united currency. . . . The Russians have agreed to everything and it's going to be as embarrassing as hell to wriggle out of it now.'"

By mid-March, the four powers

had reached such a stage of agreement that printing of new notes had already started. Then came the refusal of the Western powers to divulge to the Control Commission the decisions taken in London regarding Western Germany, and the resultant break-up of the Control Council on March 20, 1948. The Americans breathed again.

Despite an eleventh hour appeal by Marshal Sokolovsky, the Americans issued their new notes in June. The Russians clamped a control on all road, rail, and river transport leading into their Zone from the West. The new currency in the West made the marks in the Soviet Zone valueless. Germany, writes Burchett, "was sliced in two as clearly as if she had been divided by a surgeon's scalpel." The Russians, who had made no preparations for a separate currency, stamped their old notes until new ones could be printed. Only thus could they protect the economy of their Zone.

What about the story that West Berlin was being starved by the Russians? Here is Burchett's testimony:

"I attended a press conference called by Herr Ebert (Mayor of the Soviet Sector of Berlin), when he announced that stocks of food and

coal could be had by Herr Reuter's West City Council without any conditions whatsoever. . . . Reuter refused and Ebert then set up special depots for West Berliners to collect their rations in the Soviet sector. Thousands accepted despite vicious reprisals in the West."

It was General Clay, not the Russians, who broke up the conference in Berlin after agreement on measures to solve the crisis had been reached in Moscow.

As the Berlin blockade dragged on the smaller powers became alarmed at the danger of war. Dr. Bramuglia, President of the Security Council, eventually got the financial experts of the four powers together. A French delegate who took part told Burchett:

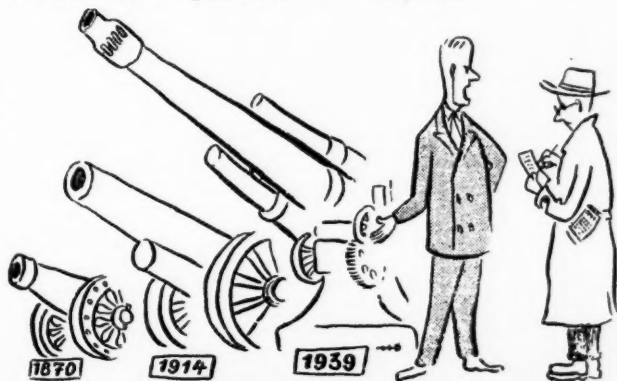
"The Soviet proposals were immediately accepted by the French and British delegates. The Americans continued to say 'No, No, No' without giving reasons or counter-suggestions."

"We'll make of Berlin a Pearl Harbor," boasted Clay more than once to his confidantes," according to Burchett.

Burchett's conclusion is that General Clay and his entourage, supported by War Department big-wigs, plotted for an early war.

REPORTER (to Alfred Krupp, just released from prison): "What are your future plans, Herr Krupp?"

KRUPP: "I will continue in the traditions of my ancestors."



—From *Die Tat*, courtesy, The German American

Is the story incredible? Look across the world. MacArthur intervened in Korea before Truman, Congress or the UN had an opportunity to examine the two sides of the dispute, even had they been disposed to do so.

It could have happened that way in Berlin. It can still happen in Germany with a re-armed Wehrmacht. It can happen in Greece and Yugoslavia, where United States fire-eaters and their fascist satellites are already busy.

Burchett lists the men responsible for Western policy in Germany. Political adviser to General Clay was Robert Murphy, "pet of the Vatican," the man responsible for the wartime appointment of Darlan, the pro-Vichy fascist, as Governor of North Africa.

His first economic adviser was Brigadier General Draper of Dillon Read, the firm which loaned 100 million dollars to Thyssen, steel king who financed Hitler.

General Koenig was a nominee and personal friend of de Gaulle, would-be dictator of France.

Whom did the British Labor Government choose to deal with this formidable team?

General Robertson, soldier, businessman, director in South Africa of Dunlop Rubber Corporation. His political adviser was Mr. Christian Steel, formerly secretary to Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Hitler Germany, who by his own confession backed the Chamberlain policy of turning Hitler to the East. One of the British liaison officers ostentatiously wore decorations awarded for service with the Denikin and Wrangel intervention armies against Russia.

Such men were expected to carry out the Potsdam decisions to break up the cartels, divide the land of the

Junkers and remove from all authority the politicians and industrialists responsible for the Nazi regime.

Burchett bases his story of how the plot to wreck Potsdam was carried out, not only on his own observations but also on reports of a U.S. Senate inquiry, which are now carefully forgotten.

The record shows that highly placed American officials backed the stubborn British opposition to breaking up the cartels. To have carried out the original four-power plan would have meant joint investigations into German investments and deposits in Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden and South America which would have revealed the collaboration of certain interests in the Allied countries with reactionary and fascist regimes in these countries.

It is well known that but for the cartel links between I. G. Farben and the other German trusts on the one hand and their counterparts in America and Britain, and their nominees in Switzerland and other neutral countries on the other, Hitler would never have been in a position to make war!

From that time decartelization became a farce. The Germans who backed the trusts climbed back to positions of responsibility, and the same elements which created Hitler came back to power.

All this was going on while Russia was being accused in the West of sabotaging the Potsdam agreement.

Burchett produces evidence to show that while food was being brought in by the Allies "to save the starving Germans," the Nazis and the Junkers were holding back vast stores of food in the rich German farmlands. He gives statistics showing that if the British and Ameri-

cans had used their agricultural areas in the same way as the Russians in their Zone, food would have been provided for 10 million more people.

The Americans did nothing to force the hoarders to disgorge. Imports had to be paid for in dollars until the currency reform flooded the shops with foodstuffs and other goods held back by farmers and manufacturers.

The truth was finally exposed when three months after the establishment of the Bonn regime rationing of food was abolished.

The trusts were back. United States big business was in charge. What sort of a Western Germany did they produce? Burchett lists the former Nazis and war criminals in power in industry and government. Of Adenauer's government he says, "It would be hard to name a cabinet of the immediate pre-Hitler days in which capitalism and revisionism were more strongly entrenched."

He tells of the revival of the neo-Nazi parties about which even the British press grew uneasy a few months ago, now carefully concealed as our allies. He quotes a Bonn law giving pensions to ex-Wehrmacht officers while similar allowances to victims of fascism were refused.

He tells of a Munich paper which published a letter saying it was a pity all Jews were not gassed. When Jews protested they were beaten up by U.S. and German police.

All this has been going on while



—From *Kasseler Zeitung*, courtesy
The German American

PRISON GUARD: "Herr General, you are released."

NAZI GENERAL: "This is so sudden! How come?"

PRISON GUARD: "We need this cell for those refusing to serve under you."

newspaper readers in Britain and America have been fed with reports of Russian "militarism" in the Eastern Zone.

Burchett quotes evidence to show that, alone of the four zones, the Russian Zone was inspected by a four-power commission which reported demilitarization completed.

He exposes many of the canards about the Eastern Zone and gives a very necessary reminder that British observers have inspected Eastern Germany from the start of the occupation and yet no official statement has ever been made to bear out reports of alleged re-militarization in the East.

Goebbels is dead, but the powers rearming Western Germany have learned his technique well.

AURIOL TELLS TRUMAN —

PRESIDENT Auriol of France has told President Truman and Secretary Acheson that the French are convinced that some way can and must be found of living in this world side by side with the Soviet Union without recourse to war. . . .

These views have been received in a rather chilly fashion in Washington.

Leon Edel, in *The Daily Compass*, April 3, 1951.

BY and FOR the PEOPLE

Soviet deputies come straight from the people, get their instructions from them and are accountable to them

by AMY SCHECHTER

THE City of Lvov is in the Western Ukraine, and thus went back into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic only in September, 1939. So the citizens of Lvov still have vivid memories of their city administration and its functioning in the old days. All but the very young know about the Polish capitalist version of our own "boys in the back room," and the big fix and the little fix, and the contempt of city officials for the people of the city, and the violent suppression of the people's demands.

Municipal elections were held in Lvov last December, when elections for deputies to the local Soviets took place throughout the Soviet land preceding the recent elections of deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR. One of the most effective pieces of propaganda thought up by the city's electoral commission — in Soviet terms not a political clique, but a very broad cross-section of the population—was to cooperate with a newspaper in getting out an issue filled with pictures and carefully documented stories about the Lvov City Administration and its workings in pre-Soviet days.

The paper ran a spread showing a demonstration of workers as they marched past the City Hall, demanding work and bread and no war, and photographs of the bloody reprisals against the demonstration by the City Fathers.

It also printed stories, based on

documents made available from the city's archives, showing just who were those "elected" to city office in the old days. The President of the Lvov City Administration, Jozef Neuman, owned a harness works, three prospering brothels, and accumulated large sums of money in a variety of other shady ways. Marcelli Pruzinski, listed as Advisor to the City Administration, was noted for his demanding the closing of all Ukrainian-language schools in Lvov, and for the removal of all signs in the Ukrainian language from the city streets and buildings.

In contrast the newspaper only had to refer to the present make-up of the City Administration and the records of the deputies running the city's affairs which are familiar to the people who elected them. The City Soviet was made up of 301 workers and 224 intellectuals, among the number 193 women, the pick of the city's active, forward-looking people.

Attached to the Lvov Provincial Soviet, with about 8,000 deputies, were listed over 4,300 of the standing, or permanent commissions, (each composed of volunteer workers in some special field, working with the elected deputies) the organization of which has been given great impetus, especially since the war, as an important means of further broadening and more deeply rooting among the people the work of the local Soviets. Through these standing commissions,



Anna Pavlovna (left), deputy to the Dzerzhinsky District Soviet in Moscow, discusses the development of a new park in the district with her constituents.

which have performed an immense amount of work in the restoration of war-destroyed cities and villages and are playing an equally important role today, millions of town and country men and women are being drawn into active day-to-day participation in running their country.

A British writer, describing Soviet election procedure, once said that rather than the Soviet candidates making speeches to the voters, the voters make speeches to the candidates.

In the press accounts of these recent local Soviet elections, there constantly appear lists of the "instructions" which the voters demand shall be carried out by the candidates for office they are nominating, these nominations being made by a great variety of organizations and groups—trade union, cooperative, factory, Party, cultural groups of many kinds, housewives groups, youth groups.

These "instructions" to the men and women running for office are not just election-time window-dressing.

The electorate keeps constant check to see that its "instructions" are carried out, blasts its deputies with no holds barred if they are not, and can and does, under the Constitution, make use of the recall against a deputy who is persistently guilty of neglecting the interests of the people.

In Lvov, again, a group of voters living in the suburbs, who thought that the City Soviet was not giving their problems sufficient attention, took the matter to the leading newspaper, *Izvestia*. The letter aroused a large amount of discussion and, as a follow-up letter to the paper later noted, the voters' proposals were incorporated in the general plan for improvement of the city: the executive committee of the Lvov City Soviet resolved to organize proper bus connections with the suburbs, open a new network of stores there, open additional medical centers, install street lights and plant a specified number of trees and shrubs in the area.

Just who are the million and a half

people elected by some 111 million electors to run the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies—to give them their full title—which are the local organs of state power “in territories, regions, autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities,” as stated in the Constitution of the USSR. (For that vast multinational land, the “rural localities” are further specified as “stanitsas, villages, hamlets, kishlaks, auls.” A stanitsa is a Cossack village, a kishlak a type of village in Central Asia, an aul a village in the Caucasus mountains.)

Here are a few of the deputies recently elected to local Soviets, taken at random from many hundreds described in *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and other Soviet publications:

They are Magnitogorsk steel worker, Vladimir Zakharov; the Siberian Kuzbas coalminer, Ivan Golovkin; noted Georgian drill-press operator Salome Alaverdashvili; Estonian dairy maid, Eliza Blumenfeld; young Hero of Socialist Labor Anna Skakhova, who initiated an immensely successful movement for raising high yields of flax on the “Flax-Grower” Collective Farm, in the Maslyaninsky District of the Novosibirsk Region of

Western Siberia, the collective there by becoming a “millionaire” farmer and its members gaining much honor as well as much solid comfort.

Among scientists as well as worker “innovators” and Stakhanovites elected as deputies, emphasis was placed not only on their own achievements but also on the way they knew how to work with other people, and especially, to pass along their knowledge to new, young forces.

Such a one is deputy Evgeny Os-karovitch Paton, 80-year-old member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, who, working in its Institute of Electric Welding, has developed new high-speed automatic methods in his specialty that are playing an important role in Soviet industry today. Evgeny Paton, elected to the Kiev City Soviet, has worked very closely with the men in the shops. For fifty-five years in all, he has worked as builder, teacher, writer, scientist and innovator, and has served twice as Deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

Another deputy, in quite another field, but who also knows how to pass along his knowledge, is the Caspian fisherman, Fedor Trofimovich Belenitsin. Elected to the As-

Kurgannaya Village Soviet includes the road chief, a woman farmer, head of a poultry farm, three collective farm chairmen, and the chairman of the Soviet



trakhan Regional Soviet, he is, like the scientist, a Stalin-Prize winner, having won the award for creating a storm-worthy and highly efficient seine, and is stated to have "taught many advanced methods in fishing."

In Baku, 35-year-old oil worker Aga Neimatulla, elected to the district Soviet, is described by electors from his home town as having functioned "brilliantly" in devising methods of work, as a "master" of his job—and also a teacher of the young; socially active—"the finest sort of Soviet patriot."

In the huge Moscow City Soviet, among the many women deputies in addition to school teachers, subway-builders, lathe operators, scientists, actresses, artists, garment workers, engineers and others, are several housewives, who combine raising their children with running communal affairs. Most of them are younger, but there is also 65-year-old housewife Pelagaya Alezhina, re-elected, who has given two decades to social work. All her family is gone; her sons were killed in action; all her mother's love and her tenderness is today lavished on Moscow's many children who lost their parents in the war. Within Moscow a number of District Soviets function; the chairmen of these are full-time officials.

The number of women elected to office was especially significant in the Central Asian countries, where women were so completely excluded from public life only a couple of decades ago. In Azerbaidzhan there are 9,180 women in the local Soviets, or 36.8 per cent. To the Alma-Ata City Soviet alone (capital of the Kazakh Republic) have been elected some 200 women deputies.

A large percentage of young men and women were elected to the Moscow City Soviet, the latest figures at hand showing over 800 out of



A village girl eight years ago, Maria Zolotayeva (right), is now a deputy to the Moscow Lenin District Soviet. A lathe operator, she confers with an engineer.

6,000 deputies under 25 years of age.

The youth were extremely active in this last election campaign, visiting shops, factories, collective farms, homes, union meetings, to bring the great issues in the campaign before the most remote parts of the electorate; where necessary organizing ski groups or groups of young horsemen to reach these areas. And everywhere they advanced the tremendous slogan that is at the heart of all Soviet living today: "Mir vo vsyem mirye!" — "Peace in all the World!"

The journal "Soviet State and Law" recently published an article on "Forms of Liaison Between Deputies and Electors" in which a profound practical and political significance is assigned to the volunteer standing or permanent commissions of citizens sponsored by the local Soviets.

As of 1948, there were already half a million of these standing commissions, working in connection with local budgets and finances, local industry, trade, education, health, communal cultural work, construction and repair in cities and villages, and beautifying them, conservation programs, building shelter belts, etc. Now the number is very much larger, and one extremely important function they are carrying out in rural areas is in aiding, together with local Party committees, in the solution of the problems arising out of the movement to amalgamate collective farms into large ones, into "farm cities," now taking place as a basic step towards the Communist society.

Soviet journalist Sergei Danilin gives an interesting picture of these standing commissions, operating in a rural area, in an article about the Peschanskoye Village Soviet, in Kazakhstan, written during the election campaign to the local Soviet, that stresses the role of the village Soviet as organizer of the people's activities.

Main enterprises in Peschanskoye are the Novy Put Collective Farm, with 11,000 acres and five pedigree stock-raising farms, and also a large cattle-raising state farm.

The Village Soviet of 25—the deputies included the agronomist, experimental - seed - selectionist, a housewife, a tractor driver, a Stakhanovite stock-raiser, and the head of the village club—has, as noted during the recent election campaign, faithfully fulfilled the many instructions given it by electors during its term of office, and the village won a republic-wide contest for the best organization of village improvement.

The electors' mandate stated:

"In the first place it is necessary

to fulfill the Stalin Plan for transforming the arid steppe: to set up forest shelter belts, build ponds and reservoirs, practice grass-and-crop rotation, and introduce high-yield Michurin varieties of agricultural crops."

All this has been or is being accomplished. Fifteen hundred, including housewives and school children, were drawn into the work of gathering seeds from the woods and building the shelter belts, tractor teams competing in preparing the soil to receive them. Nearly 2,000 took part in building the ponds and reservoirs, damming the streams in the ravines, shielding the steppe from desert winds. And the Peschanskoye Village Soviet asked and received the cooperation of neighboring village Soviets in building a hydroelectric station, benefits to be shared alike.

In all this the standing commissions are a leading factor. Each is headed by a deputy. Danilin gives the following concrete examples of their work: on the initiative of the road - and - transport commission a paved road was laid from the threshing floors in the field to the elevator to speed up transporting grain from the threshing floor; the agricultural commission suggested setting up the sale of goods in field-camps during the season; the cultural and living conditions commission organized three mobile libraries for the cowhands out in distant pastures, and also organized a village library of 2,500 books, a dramatic circle and an orchestra, both of which now perform both in the village club and over the radio.

And today, says Danilin, "The village of Peschanskoye has become one of the best-planned, most flourishing and cultured spots in socialist Kazakhstan."

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The Editors

How the Courts Work

IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

THE innumerable questions we have had to answer about "the trials" since our return home from Eastern Europe indicate that a key sector of U.S. propaganda warfare has been the systematic campaign to whitewash the illegal activities of Western agents and discredit the system of justice in the People's Democracies.

This high-pressure campaign has left some impact on the minds of many, who have become convinced that justice "as we know it" is an unknown concept in Eastern Europe; that there are no real trials but only "staged comedies," that the judges are "stooges" who disregard law and evidence and follow only government orders. Even some progressives, we have found, have no clear idea of judicial procedure.

In reality, investigative and court procedures in the People's Democracies are governed strictly by law. In our four and a half years in Eastern Europe, we witnessed not only the major trials, such as those of Mindszenty, Rajk, Kostov, the Bulgarian pastors, MAORT (Hungarian Standard Oil), and Vogeler* and Sanders, but also many minor trials involving war crimes and civil charges.

* Robert A. Vogeler, I. T. & T. representative, and his British Associate, Edgar Sanders, were convicted by a Hungarian court on charges of espionage and sabotage in February 1950, to which they pleaded guilty. Both confessed in court to ferreting out Hungarian economic and industrial secrets on instructions of the American intelligence service; that they had sabotaged I. T. & T.'s Hungarian subsidiary, Standard Electric, to damage the Hungarian economy, and had sabotaged delivery of equipment to Hungary and Russia.

We studied and observed in operation the constitutions, law codes, and judicial systems of most of the People's Democracies. This is the picture we found:

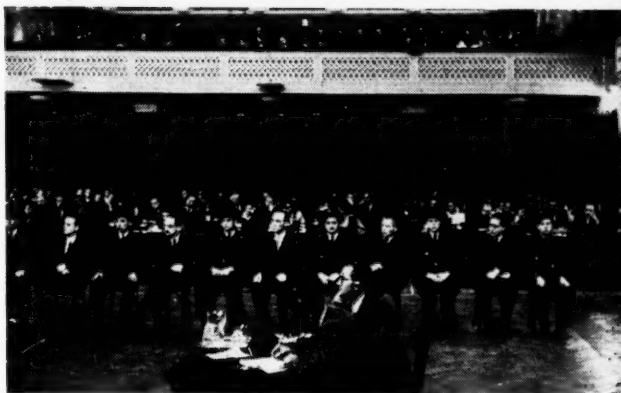
A criminal case begins with an inquiry by the civil police or, if treason, espionage or other acts against the state are involved, the state security service. A suspect is served with a summons for questioning. He may be detained during questioning if the possibility exists that by remaining at liberty he may succeed in escaping or obstructing the investigation.

An investigating magistrate is informed within 24 hours of the arrest of a suspect and must either confirm the arrest or order immediate release. The magistrate conducts the preliminary questioning which is private and informal. It may take days, weeks or even months before the case is completed, depending on the extent of the suspected crime, the number of persons involved and the degree to which the accused cooperates in establishing the truth.

The investigation opens with a description of the charge. The accused is asked to state all he knows about the case and his statements are taken down word for word. Later, they are read back to him and signed, or, if he desires, he may write out an explanatory deposition in his own hand. Questioning proceeds on each point of the charges and the statement of the accused.

by
PETER FURST
and
JUNE CANNAN

A general view of the
Hungarian court during
the trial of Laszlo Rajk.



The accused has the right to ask for witnesses and cross-examine them while he himself is still under investigation. The system of confrontation of suspects is widely applied.

The investigation completed, the public prosecutor draws up the indictment, a copy of which goes to the accused to familiarize him with details of the charges and the nature of the evidence against him. He cannot be brought to trial until he has had time to study the indictment.

Judging from the statements we heard in and out of court, a major effort is made during the investigation to bring home to the accused the extent to which the crime in question has hurt society. Stress is laid even during the investigation on re-education.

There are courts of different jurisdiction, such as civil and military

PETER FURST and **JUNE CANNAN** have spent the past five years in Eastern Europe as working journalists. Peter Furst was staff correspondent of Reuters, and June Cannan acted as correspondent for Canadian, British and American publications. Jointly they have completed a book entitled "Operation Tito," to be published soon by Lawrence and Wishart in London.

courts. Under the Constitution, special courts may also be set up to deal with specific types of cases (such as war crimes). The highest tribunal is the Supreme Court which may itself try major cases and review the cases of lower courts as well as issue decisions on questions of principle which are then binding for all courts. There are also so-called "comrades' courts," which have no punitive powers but rather are public opinion forums composed of fellow workers or neighbors. Their sentence is usually a public rebuke for such anti-social behavior as wage-swindling, showing up drunk at work or failing, for example, to remove ice from the sidewalk in front of one's house.

Judicial offices are filled by election. Courts are composed of judges and lay members (people's assessors) rather than juries, although the law may make exceptions from this rule. The presiding judge is a professional (elected for three years in lower courts and five years in the Supreme Court); the lay judges are usually the elected representatives of public organizations such as the trade unions, peasant groups, professions or the coalition political parties in the national fronts.

The function of the courts in the



Elek Kaszo, counsel for Laszlo Rajk, speaking for the defendant. Ivan Kovacs (right) is counsel for Gyorgy Palfy.

People's Democracies is most clearly stated in Article 41 of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic: "The courts . . . punish the enemies of the working people, protect and safeguard the state, the social and economic order and the institutions of People's Democracy and the rights of the workers, and educate the working people in observance of the rules governing the life of a socialist commonwealth. Judges are independent and subject only to the law."

Impressive in all trials we witnessed was the absence of formality. There was no intimidation or constant invocation of objections to block evidence. This calm, helpful atmosphere both in the courtroom and during the pre-trial examination is one reason why guilty defendants often fail to put up technical defenses: they soon realize that honest cooperation in the establishment of the truth will be counted in their favor and can by law reduce their sentence.

Stress is laid on the educational function of the trial, both for the general public and the defendant himself. Thus, the full establishment of the truth, including not only the facts of the crime but the circumstances leading up to it (such as, in cases of espionage, the entire international situation), is considered more important than merely obtaining a conviction and punishment.

"Surprise witnesses" to unnerve the defendant or influence the judges are unknown; on the other hand, the defendant (as also the prosecution) can call additional witnesses during the trial. There is no such charge as "contempt of court" for defendants or lawyers. We never heard the question, "Answer yes or no," in any trial. The defendant is permitted, without restriction, to tell his story in his own words, and he may refuse to answer questions.

The defendant has the right to address the court in his own tongue, even if he speaks the language of the state trying him, and the court must provide him with a competent interpreter. In the Vogeler and Sanders case, for example, both spoke in English (with an interpreter at their side) while the testimony of others was translated to them over a small loudspeaker in front of them.

A defendant is not restricted in his plea. He may plead "guilty," "not guilty," or even "partially guilty," with any qualification he chooses. We have even heard such pleas as, "I realize I am guilty under the law but do not completely feel guilty."

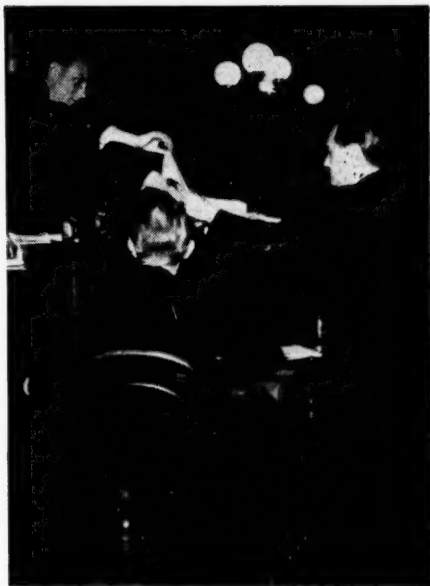
An important fact is that there is always a complete trial regardless of the defendant's plea. Trials in which the state announces that the accused has confessed and the frightened defendant mumbles a guilty plea and is

hustled off to jail or even the death house are an impossibility in the People's Democracies. In many of the trials we witnessed, the defendants pleaded guilty and the prosecution's case already included full, handwritten confessions by the defendants. But the trials took place nevertheless. The accused told their own stories in as many hours (or even days) as they felt necessary; witnesses were questioned and evidence presented. The accused had the right to challenge any witnesses, experts, interpreters and the prosecution.

The accused is guaranteed the right to legal defense and we never saw a trial in which the defendants were not represented by one or more lawyers often putting up a very spirited defense even when their clients pleaded guilty. But it should be remembered that court procedure is much simpler, that legalistic arguments are never employed to obscure a case, that the defendant himself plays a leading role and is thus able to conduct his own defense throughout the trial. It is the function of the defense, if the client has pleaded guilty, to elaborate on extenuating circumstances in order to invoke the most lenient sentence within the law.

The presiding judge conducts the main questioning. At the outset, he asks the defendant if he has received a copy of the indictment and has understood the charges. He must inform the accused of all his rights: to question anyone, speak in his own tongue and to intervene at any stage of the trial with a personal explanation of any point, whether made by the judge, witnesses, lawyers, prosecution or his co-defendants.

The judge explains to the witnesses that it is their duty to tell all they know truthfully. They are then sent out of the court and kept separated



Robert Vogeler (right) receives a document from the presiding judge during his trial in February 1950.

from each other. Witnesses are sworn in, either—if they are religious—on the Bible, or if they are not, by a simple statement that they will tell the truth. Both count equally as oaths. Witnesses, like the defendant, have the right to tell their story in their own words, taking as much time as they wish.

The indictment is read and the accused called to make his plea and tell his own story. He may begin at any point in his life. We have heard defendants begin with their childhood and social background (which often has a bearing on their later actions) and work their way up to their arrest and even through their experiences and feelings while under investigation. They are never interrupted except to clarify a point. Therefore, the history of the case always comes first from the accused himself.

Following this account, which may

take hours or days, the accused is liable to cross-examination by the judge, prosecution, defense and co-defendants. He may refuse to answer but may be confronted with witnesses or his own pre-trial deposition and asked to explain any contradictions. Often we witnessed lively and unrestricted debates on a point in dispute between several defendants, the judge, witnesses and the prosecution.

When all persons involved have been questioned and the evidence presented, the prosecution sums up its case, followed by the defense. The accused is then given the last word.

This right to the last word is considered one of the most important aspects of People's Democratic (as also Soviet) justice. Here the accused may go into the entire case again point by point, change his original plea, bring up new facts, add to the evidence, state what he feels has been proved and what not substantiated, and explain in detail how he himself now regards his own guilt or innocence.

We have heard defendants express feelings of repentance in this last word and ask the court to take their sincerity and openness into account when passing judgment. We have heard defendants state that only during the trial itself were they able to realize the extent of the crime. No time limit can be set for the last word nor can it be interrupted.

Judgment is arrived at through discussion of all facts by the judges and the people's assessors or assistant judges. They must decide, without outside interference, whether what the accused was charged with constituted a criminal offense, whether he committed the crime as charged, what penalties the law provides and whether there are extenuating circumstances.

The assistant judges must give their opinion first, so as not to be influenced by the opinion of the presiding judge. The final judgment not only includes all findings of the court but also a so-called "justification," that is, the considered opinion of the

The judges and their assistants during the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty.

—Photos for this article courtesy of the Hungarian Daily Journal



court on the entire case at trial.

Both prosecution and defense may appeal against a sentence, the latter even when the client has waived his right to appeal. In the Mindszenty case, for example, we heard Prince Paul Esterhazy, once Hungary's richest feudal landlord, and Mindszenty's secretary, Dr. Andras Zakar, waive their right to appeal, but their lawyers appealed for them, nevertheless.

The most important fact to remember in looking at the trials in the People's Democracies is that a man is hardly ever brought into court unless the state considers it has already established his guilt. In every trial we witnessed, the accused had ample chance to be a "hero," to deny all charges, challenge the evidence or the jurisdiction of the court, claim physical or mental terrorization. If they did not, it was not because they were under the influence of some "secret drug" but because they were really guilty and saw no easy way out in engaging in legalistic debates in the face of the overwhelming evidence in the hands of the state.

We may ask the skeptical for what

purpose, do they think, exist the Central Intelligence Agency, the Counter Intelligence Corps, Army, Navy and Air Force Intelligence, the State Department's Research and Intelligence Section, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of the Director of Intelligence, the infamous "Project X," which involves all of these organizations as well as the Voice of America and the State Department information service with its 14,000 employees? What, do they imagine, is the significance of the presence of such veteran intelligence, military and diplomatic officials as General William Donovan, Allen Dulles, Arthur Bliss Lane and General Lucius Clay on the boards of innumerable propaganda and espionage organizations functioning under such high-sounding names as "Committee for a Free Europe"?

The trials that we have witnessed have shown what Donovan, Wall Street corporation lawyer and wartime chief of American intelligence, meant when he spoke recently of "unorthodox warfare" from within against the People's Democracies.

TITO'S WRITERS' UNION

CHAIRMAN of the Yugoslav Writers' Union is Ivo Andric, royalist ambassador to Hitler who signed the treaty bringing Yugoslavia into the Hitler bloc. His novels glorify the life of the old Bosnian landowners and the old Austro-Hungarian and French diplomats.

HAMMER AND PLOW FOR THE PEN

IN BUCHAREST, not long ago some 200 young writers met to discuss the problems of their craft. Most had but recently changed their plow or hammer for the pen. Some are already recognized as promising talents. Here are a few:

Costin Hancu, poet, was stable boy on a nobleman's estate. In 1944 he came to Bucharest to work in a factory. His poetry soon gained the attention of the literary circle in the Romanian capital. Now his work is known to readers of the nation's papers and magazines.

Constanta Tudorache, day laborer, has written poems revealing great talent. She is now a committee member of the Writers' Union of Romania.

Siara Hanibal, novelist, did quarry work on the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

Vasile Iosif, oil worker, and Zaharia Rachie, hotel worker and night watchman, have both published poetry.

NO RACIAL BARRIERS

by MOLLIE LUCAS

MY FIRST and most vivid impression of the Soviet Union was the complete absence of Jim Crow. Everywhere we went the Negro delegates received the warmest possible welcome. We saw people of the different republics living in harmony and friendship. The Negroes we met confirmed the evidence that there were no racial barriers whatever.

The close bond between the common people and their leaders is very evident. It is apparent that so far as they are concerned, the Government belongs to them. In fact, they feel that everything belongs to them. They speak of *our* deputy, *our* factory, *our* Metro, *our* palace, *our* plan and even *our* Stalin with great pride and a real sense of possession. Obviously they are too busy harnessing nature for their own progress, painting pictures, learning ballet and building homes to even know they are "slaves."

As a working mother of three children, I was particularly interested in the care and education of children

and the day-to-day life of the women. As an American who believes that peace is the necessary basis for the further advance of our democracy, I wanted to know what the people were thinking and doing about peace. As a Negro, I was intensely interested in the position of minorities. I am very grateful to the people of the Soviet Union for their warm and friendly cooperation in helping me to find the answers to the many questions I brought with me.

Throughout the entire visit, I experienced the most heartwarming welcome from the people of all walks of life.

On my visits to the classrooms, I noticed that the children were being taught the different contributions that the various races have made to civilization. I found no sign of any teachings that might lead to intolerance or contempt of other people. I did find an intense and sympathetic interest in the problems of my people.

I was often surprised at the extent of their knowledge of Negro affairs and the importance attached to them. In the minds of the people of the Soviet Union, the problem of the Negro people and the colonial people of the world is closely linked with the question of world peace, and peace is surely the most talked about subject in the country. Everywhere, without exception, the people talked of their great need and desire for peace in order to rebuild their coun-

MOLLIE LUCAS, a member of the American delegation to the Warsaw Peace Congress, and one of the nineteen Americans who later visited the Soviet Union, is a member of the DPOWA, formerly of Chicago, and now living in Brooklyn. She has been speaking before many groups on her experiences.



Ilya Ehrenburg, noted Soviet writer, drinks a toast with Mollie Lucas (right) and Jacqueline Clack, both U.S. Peace delegates invited to visit the USSR.

try and increase the well-being of their people.

The Soviet Union is like a giant cooperative. Cooperation is the keynote of life, and training in this direction begins in the nurseries. Toys are designed to encourage this trait. Games and other activities all tend to strengthen the spirit of cooperation and social responsibility. We saw no toy guns, no comic books.

Nowhere have I seen or heard of such an all-inclusive system of child care. Nowhere have I seen more loving care than that lavished upon the children of the USSR.

The nurseries are open to all children six weeks to three. The kindergartens to children four to seven. All mothers may place their children in these schools if they wish, whether they work or not. In some cases, a

nominal fee of 60 to 90 rubles is charged but no child is deprived of this care for financial reasons.

In our talks with the children, we found that they were very well informed about conditions in all parts of the world as well as in their own country.

Seven-year education is compulsory and formal schooling begins at seven. From the seven-year school, education branches out in many directions. There are technical schools, colleges, vocational training schools, special schools for artistically gifted children and so forth. There are student stipends and many other incentives to encourage the continuance of education. It seemed to me that everyone from 6 to 66 was going to some kind of school. If not a regular school or college, then some kind of training school or class in one of the palaces of rest and culture.

Later, in answer to my inquiries, I learned that about one out of every three persons is attending a school or class of some kind. The standards seemed very high. We found youngsters of eight who spoke one or more foreign languages, we found them reading classical literature at nine.

It was evident that every possible opportunity and encouragement to education is given, not only to the young people but also to adults. Enthusiasm for learning and for reading is very great. The young people look forward confidently to following any career they desire. Their only consideration was choice and ability. Since every job is considered important, youngsters had less inclination to select careers on the basis of prestige or earnings, but rather to follow their own talents or to select work in the same fields their parents followed.

The majority of the women work

but there are many who prefer to be housewives. Most of them contribute voluntary time to the nurseries or other civic causes. They can place their children in the nurseries or keep them at home as they wish.

All fields are open to women with the exception only of jobs beyond their physical capacity. In the factories we found many women working at all sorts of jobs. Wages are the same as for men. All factories have their canteens so the main meal of the day is usually eaten there. Meals are cheap and well-balanced. There are also community dining rooms in the culture palaces and many attached to the housing projects where they can obtain hot meals at a very low price. Household help is available also. Apartments have gas, electricity, central heating and baths. They were nicely furnished with well thumbed books and art objects.

Stores were well filled with luxury items as well as all necessities. They were also filled with people purchasing all sorts of goods. Budgeting is simplified by the fact that many items are completely eliminated since they are provided free. Rent cannot exceed 10 per cent of the highest income in the family by law, including gas, light and services. Most rents average 5 per cent.

On one of our visits, I asked a worker, "Do you have any difficulty balancing your budget, do you man-

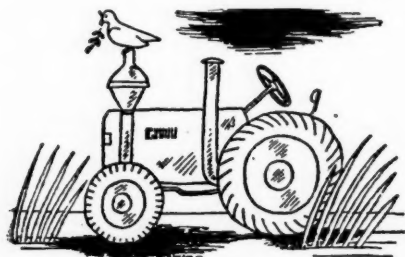
age to count your pennies so that they come out even?" The reply was, "We don't *count* our money, we *spend* it."

The theaters, ballets and movie houses are constantly full. A great deal of recreation is based on community activity centered around the palaces of rest and culture. They are worthy of the name palace. We visited several during our stay. The Kirov Palace in Leningrad, for instance, was a tremendous building covering at least eight square blocks. It contained three huge halls for dancing, concerts and so forth, many smaller sitting rooms, a theater, a library, reading and study rooms, class rooms, dining rooms, club rooms, and circles for everything from foreign language to ballet.

Family and community ties seem unusually strong. People seemed not only well fed and well dressed but very happy, and very busy with all sorts of constructive things. Self-improvement is constant. Criticism of shortcomings is frequent and very sharp, praise of accomplishment is lavish. Self-confidence seems a national characteristic. Great confidence in the future as well as great pride in past achievements was evident.

Everything from the loving care and education of the children to the gigantic program of peaceful construction in which everyone was so busily engaged indicated a sincere and passionate desire for peace.

Spring in Our Country and Theirs—A Polish Cartoon



Peace Can Be Ours

by HALOIS MOORHEAD

The Executive Secretary of the American Women for Peace describes activities and plans of the American Peace Crusade

THE Gallup Poll informs us that 66 per cent of the American people want peace. Sentiments expressed daily in letters to editors attest to this fact. The question of war or peace is on the lips and in the hearts of the vast majority throughout our country today.

While the people as a whole want peace the big question posed by many is "How can we guarantee that we get it?" And more and more of them are fully aware that their Congressmen and Senators, who are voting for increased taxes to support the war program while a wage freeze is imposed upon the American workers, do not represent the real aspirations of the people.

Who is really afraid of peace?

Certainly not the people, who are told they have to be geared to a war program indefinitely, with their homes disrupted and their children subjected to psychological injuries by daily A-bomb drills.

From all walks of life they see profits being amassed by big business and the war munitions manufacturers and recognize these as the ones who really fear peace.

The cries for peaceful negotiations, to bring our boys home from Korea, and to make peace with China now are becoming popular slogans.

The threat of the atomaniacs dangling the possible destruction of an entire world before our very eyes is moving hundreds of workers, farmers, women

and youth into the peace camp today.

The American Peace Pilgrimage to Washington on March 15, bringing over 2,500 from 36 states, expressed in no uncertain terms the terrible thirst for peace existing not only among the delegates who came to Washington but among thousands more whom they truly represented, from the farms, factories, mills, classrooms and homes of the American people.

Half of the delegations coming to Washington were women. This indicates the widespread sentiment for peace unfolding among all sections of the American women who see only the spread of war in the drafting of their eighteen-year-old sons, who are keenly aware of the increased cost of living which throws the burden of war costs on the backs of the little people in our country.

When the Call to the American Peace Crusade was issued by a group of distinguished initiating sponsors, a great clamor arose at once from the State Department and warmongering columnists as to the "traitorous" character of the Crusade.

But the farmers, workers, religious leaders of many faiths, teachers, students, businessmen, engineers, veterans, labor leaders, women and youth came to Washington to let the nation's lawmakers know of their intense desire for peace and determined in the best traditions of our country, to assert their right to advocate peace.



A farmer from Central Missouri who joined a St. Louis delegation said, "The people in my area are plenty stirred up. Heads of families are being drafted."

A veteran of World War II declared, "If we expect the New China to come to us hat in hand and meekly do our bidding, we are barking up the wrong tree. But if we get our armed forces out of her territory and treat with her as a UN equal in a Big Five Peace Conference, the Korean war can be mediated and all other differences settled."

A small group of women from the Inwood section of Manhattan, who had canvassed their neighborhood with the Peace Poll which reads: "Are you in favor of bringing our troops home from Korea and making peace with China now?" brought to Washington 600 signed ballots.

The delegates from Utah, Oregon, Montana, New York, Colorado, Illinois, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Pennsylvania, California and other states all agreed enthusiastically to continue the peace poll campaign as an instrument of reaching the people in all their communities in building a peace movement that can shake the warmakers of their plans.

The Crusaders had a busy day in Washington visiting their Congressmen and Senators and other government officials to impress upon them the people's demand for peace.

Special delegations led by the sponsors of the Crusade went to the State Department to let them know it is time to heed the real wishes of the people. Another delegation of sponsors visited the office of the Secretary of Defense, George Marshall, and made strong representations regarding the case of Lt. Leon Gilbert and the discriminatory character of court martial practices, on the ques-

tion of segregation in the armed forces, and the ruthless military extermination policy directed at the civilian population of Korea.

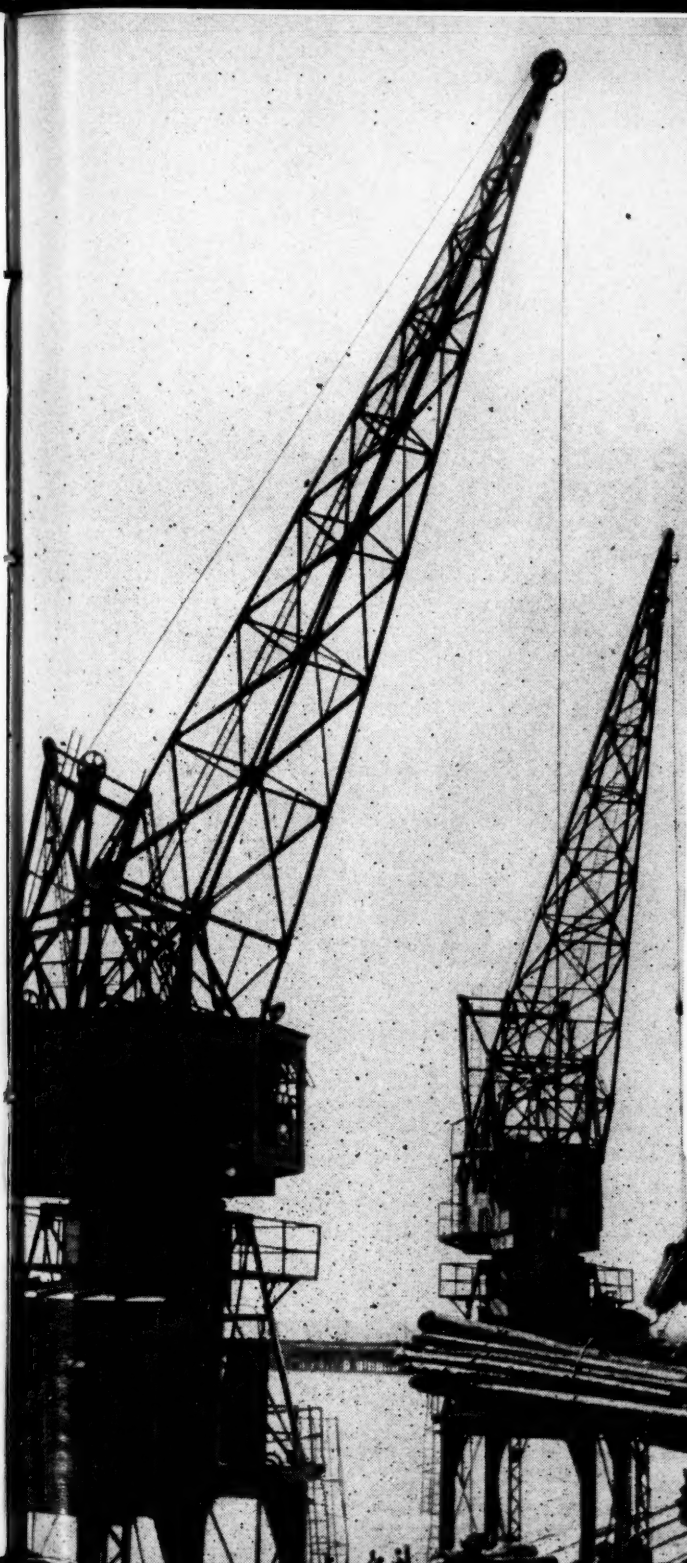
Still another delegation went to the Department of Justice to demand protection for the full right to speak for peace while protesting the indictment of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Elizabeth Moos and others of the former Peace Information Center.

Special delegations of women, labor and veterans visited the only woman Senator, Margaret Chase Smith, Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Chief of War Mobilization, the Office of Defense Mobilization, Arlington Cemetery and the Walter Reed Hospital for Veterans.

Among other activities were the prayer meeting in the afternoon, the plenary session where the delegates heard a report from the sponsors and the Mass Rally in the evening.

While the press at large attempted to bury the activities of the American Peace Crusade it can truly be said that this tremendous outpouring of American people in the search for peace made an impact upon Washington.

The biggest future action coming out of the Washington Crusade is the plan to have 5,000 people assemble in Chicago the week-end of June 29 for a people's peace exposition and gala cultural peace festival. With the ballot campaign taking on greater momentum together with the increased participation of greater sections of the population, the June Peace Exposition and Congress will give hope to the American people, will help dispel the hysteria aimed at making the fight for peace a subversive act and will help guarantee that peace in the world can still be won and that war is not inevitable.



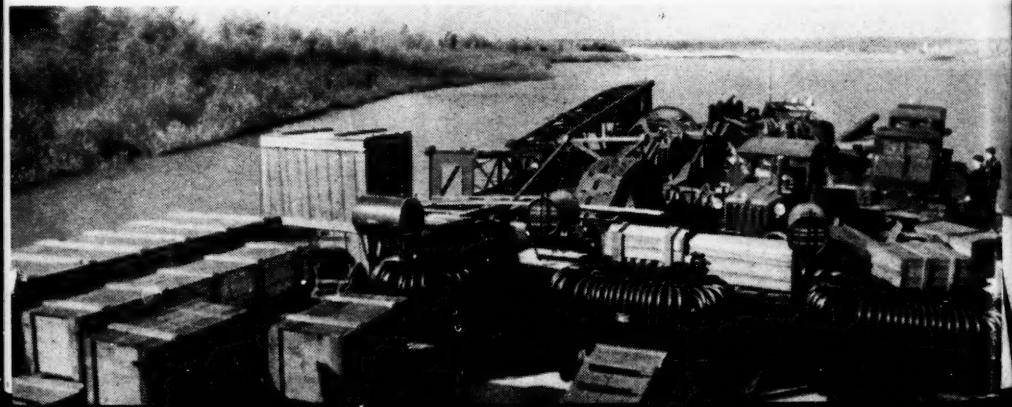
MAN CHANGES NATURE

Four giant engineering projects now under way in the USSR add up to man's mightiest attempt to change nature. Hydro-electric stations at Stalingrad, Kuibyshev and Kakhovka and great canals in the South Ukraine, the Crimea and Turkmenia will irrigate millions of acres. The Turkmen project alone will transform 3 million acres of desert into blossoming fields and create 16 million acres of lush meadow for huge herds of caracul sheep. The giant electric projects will produce energy for four great cities, countless towns and villages, and dozens of entirely new industries.

Unloading lumber from Siberia at Krasnovodsk for the construction of the Main Turkmen Canal.



Geologists (above) take samplings of the soil and the bed of the Volga during the preparatory work on the Stalingrad Hydro-electric Station. Huge barge (below) plies the Volga River loaded with electric equipment and tractors for the Kuibyshev project





Suction dredges (above) that will help build the great Turkmen Canal to link land-locked Aral Sea with the Arctic. In Yaroslavl (below, left) workers check electric units for the Kuibyshev Station. A laboratory (below, right) on the Stalingrad site





View of the right bank (above) of the Dnieper, near the construction site of the Kakhovka Power Station



Soviet cotton-picking combine (above, left) gathers harvest in once-arid area of Turkmenia. Irrigation in vast new areas will lead to similar rich crops. Workers' settlements (below) spring up over night around the huge construction sites



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Can We Do Business With China?

Trade with economically revitalized China could create millions of jobs and bring us needed imports

by VICTOR PERLO

THE EARLY successes of Chinese economic restoration foreshadow the later development of China into the industrial heart of all Asia south of the Amur. The Chinese People's Republic has set the goal of transforming its economy within 15 years or so from 10 per cent industrial and 90 per cent agrarian, to 40 per cent industrial and 60 per cent agrarian. New China has all the prerequisites for this—economic organization, people, and natural resources.

Completion of the period of restoration will see the country well on the way to socialist planning of industry, already proven by the experience of the USSR as the sure road to rapid growth of even those regions least developed economically. At the same time China will have a sufficient farm equipment industry to permit the beginnings of the shift to socialist organization of agriculture.

The diligence and skill of the Chinese working people, born of centuries of struggle for existence against great odds, are well known. Their initial labor successes in factories and mines have shown that these qualities are fully applicable to modern industry. China's 475,000,000 people, with their background and with the aid of the USSR in training of personnel, constitute potentially one of the world's most powerful productive forces.

It has long been the fashion for reactionary "experts" to shed croco-

dile tears over the alleged lack of natural resources for modern industry in China, especially its supposed lack of iron ore. This argument, applied with as little validity to South America, is used by imperialists to rationalize suppression of industrial development in colonies and semi-colonies.

China has probably the largest resources in the world of such important minerals as magnesite, tungsten and antimony, as well as important tin, coal and bauxite deposits.

As for iron ore, a recent UN report, "World Iron Ore Resources and their Utilization," estimates that China has sufficient *presently estimated* potential reserves of iron ore and suitably located coking coal for production of 20 to 30 million tons of steel per year. But this figure represents only the most obvious resources for basic industry in China. For the long run, interchange of north Chinese coal and Indian iron ore can provide the basis for virtually unlimited expansion of heavy industry in both countries.

Furthermore, when speaking of any natural resource, it is well to bear in mind that thorough exploration goes along with industrial development. Undoubtedly the really

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

outstanding Chinese natural resources are yet to be found. They will be discovered with the planned development of the country, especially vast areas in the west of China so far only superficially explored.

Already New China is embarked on projects for organized development of natural resources. Great water-power and flood control projects are in the planning stage—projects which will have a significance for China equivalent to that of pre-war Dnieproges and the present series of power-irrigation projects in the Soviet Union. Millions of saplings have been planted in reforestation programs which will expand the 261,000,000 acres of woodland remaining in China after centuries of wasteful use of wood for fuel. Chinese rubber-growers, persecuted by the British colonial rulers of Malaya, are returning to Hainan to cooperate in the Government's program to make that island one of the world's leading centers of rubber cultivation.

Finally, China is not alone in its economic development, but maintains rapidly expanding trade relations with the USSR and the People's Democracies of Europe. This, in addition to credits and technical assistance from the Soviet Union, accelerates the pace of Chinese development and renders it immune to hostile blockade.

The progress of China in turn facilitates the economic advance of the USSR and the People's Democracies. China currently or potentially is the source of large export surpluses of crucial industrial materials of which the USSR has in the past sought imports from capitalist countries—notably rubber, wool, tin, antimony and tungsten—not to speak of traditional Chinese exports of such foodstuffs as tea and soya.



A Chinese textile worker signs the Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Where does the United States fit into this picture? Right now, only negatively. Three decades ago capitalist economic warfare against the then devastated and isolated USSR failed to prevent its development into the second largest industrial center in the world. Economic warfare today, directed against the complementary economic grouping of China, the USSR, and the People's Democracies, is futility compounded.

Nevertheless, the U.S. Government applies and tries to compel other countries to apply such warfare, especially against China. Not only has the Administration shut off all trade with China, but it has forbidden U.S. ships to call at Chinese ports, frozen all Chinese assets in the U.S., cut off the mails, arbitrarily confiscated tens of millions of dollars worth of goods bought and paid for, on ships en route to China. The Government of "free enterprise" is singularly unconcerned about the contract rights of Chinese purchasers, not to speak of the enter-

prises of U.S. citizens which the Chinese Government has been forced to confiscate in partial compensation for the piracy of the Administration.

It must be noted that this Truman policy has more to it than appears on the surface. For example, it has curtailed the billion dollar a year trade of Hong Kong with China, to the dismay of the British capitalists dependent on it. If it can succeed in forcing the Governments of the Atlantic Pact and the Western Union Alliance to cut out their trade with one-third of the world, the Administration will leave them with no alternative but to direct all their trade to the United States, and to accept Washington dictation on its terms.

Moreover, the war-crazed men of the Pentagon are well aware of the narrow line between economic and shooting war. They speculate on the transition from a simple embargo to a rigorous naval blockade, to the bombing of Chinese ports. The Truman embargo against China is a long step towards General MacArthur's proposed aggressive war against China.

For the people of the United States,

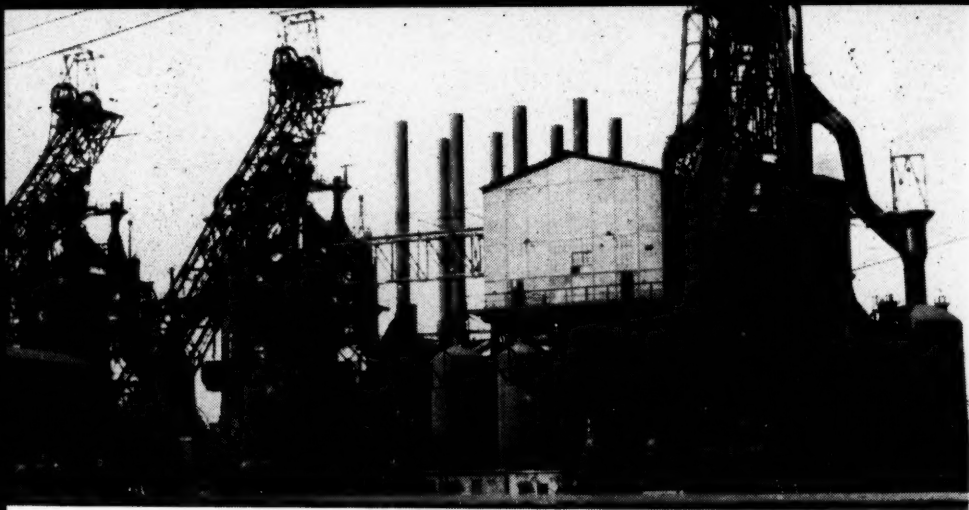
nothing but disaster can come of all this. The majority are coming to realize as much, and showing it by demanding the withdrawal of troops from Korea, and admission of China to the UN. But the making of peace must have an economic as well as a diplomatic and political side, if peace is to be stable. Economic peace requires that the U.S. resume trade with China and the socialist and anti-imperialist countries generally.

This would not only help secure peace, but would help solve the problems of peace. More and more openly the rulers of this country confess that they need war economy to keep their factories going. Certainly the people of this country must offer and fight for an alternative peaceful program to guarantee jobs.

Prominent in any such program will be the trade with those countries which, by virtue of their unprecedented rate of growth, constitute the great international market of the future. The Soviet Union has consistently and persistently followed the policy of fostering trade relations with all countries, regardless of differences in ideology and political con-

A crew of workers at the Fooshun Electric Works spends part of its rest interval in reading and discussing the important events of the day.





Large steel works at Tientsin. China's resources are estimated at 20 to 30 million tons of steel yearly, excluding the ores undoubtedly present in vast unexplored areas.

flicts. There is little reason to doubt that China, given a turn to a policy of peace on the part of the United States, will similarly welcome trade with this country.

True, China does not *need* that trade. It can get capital goods from the USSR and Czechoslovakia, and is making increasing quantities itself. But China can speed its development by taking enormous additional quantities from the United States, and can in return expand its capacity to export commodities important for U.S. living standards.

These commodities which have been a traditional factor in our foreign trade, include bristles, egg products, tung oil, antimony, tungsten, carpet wool, handicraft products.

Let us suppose that this country traded with China on the same scale, relative to population, as we now do with the Philippines, which today has no economic development program. Then our exports to China would equal \$10,000,000,000 per year, in pre-Korean dollars. That would mean two million peace-creating jobs in American factories.

Most big business men in this country are still looking only to the profits of war and munitions manufacture. But a few exceptions are beginning to make themselves heard. The most persistent business advocate of the China trade has been the shipping company president Hans Isbrandtsen. In a recent advertisement he wrote:

On the seas we replace the flag of commerce with the flag of ships of war—make enemies instead of friends. Already our flag of commerce is denied access to more than half the world. Already we are the highest cost country in the world. Regulations and sanctions add to the almost impossible task of taking an intelligent part in the competition of foreign commerce.

It is universally known that understanding between nations and peoples is fostered by the bonds of industry and commerce—the necessary flow of goods that keeps the wheels turning all over the world—is basic to peace, and that mutual sanctions do precisely the opposite.

Pointing out that the New China, liberated from western rule, stands

CAB, MISTER?

But she says it in Hungarian!



ARE you late for the opera? Do you want to drive to Liberation Monument on the top of Gellert Hill? Has the final moment come for the mother-to-be to take advantage of the free (even cab fare refunded) hospitalization plan?

Then—if you are a Hungarian in Budapest—pick up the telephone and dial 222-222 or 333-333, the central switchboard of the two Budapest Taxi Cooperatives. Within a few minutes the nearest cab to your house is honking at the door.

With a fleet of several hundred brand new, neat little Czechoslovak and French cabs, the Budapest taxi system is one of the most modern and smoothly functioning in the world. Rarely does a rider have to wait more than three minutes for his taxi, and the fees are moderate.

Taxi drivers receive a monthly wage comparable to that of a mod-

erately skilled industrial worker and full advantages, through their trade union, of vacation and health insurance plans. Tipping still persists to some extent, but is discouraged and is diminishing as both drivers and riders learn to consider the taxi driver as a productive and self-sufficient member of society.

Places are highly coveted in the new Taxi Drivers' School. But women, like the beauteous example on our cover, are not excluded if they prove themselves capable of mastering the rigid courses in driving, mechanics, and the geography of Budapest streets.

A new profession in a proud new city! Only a few years ago even policemen turned around to stare at the rare phenomenon of a woman driving a car. Maybe they still stare—but not at a curiosity!

in the lead of the one and a half billion people of Asia and the Arab countries, he asserts that the peoples of Asia

will create their own doctrine and will retain their culture and philosophy. The vast world markets cannot be regained or conquered by war, ambition, or intrigue by any nation, or by military action to force economic or religious issues or beliefs which will only increase hate and the determination among them.

It is not to be expected, however, that big business men and reactionary politicians will "see the light" from the isolated voices of a few capitalists. Only a broad popular demand for peaceful jobs through trade with the large section of the world outside imperialist domination, linked with the general fight for peace, can force a decisive shift from the ruinous policies of economic warfare and embargo.



It is a pleasure to see the children going to school as happy as when they leave it. . . . They give their teachers flowers and gifts on International Women's Day.

BACK STREET IN MOSCOW

by RALPH PARKER

LET us, for a change, leave the big things for others to describe. Let us write of some of those aspects of life in Moscow which the foreigner is only likely to discover after some years of residence there.

I am writing to you from my home on Khokhlovsky Pereulok, an old winding street that is marked on the first printed map of Moscow that has come my way.

Not even the uncontrolled haphazard building activities of the nineteenth century or the much more carefully planned development of recent times have robbed this street of its quiet, withdrawn character. Most of the city's traffic shuns its twists and inclines and few seem to use it who do not live in the neighborhood.

Its houses are set apart by tall iron gates that lead to gardens which

all share nowadays. In the winter the snow lies there piled ten or twelve feet high to the delight of adventurous children of all ages. I have even seen budding ski champions take flying leaps from the roofs of sheds to improvised ski-runs.

In summertime parents' committees set aside corners of the gardens for infants' play-grounds. One former private garden is entirely reserved for children's play with an open-air theater, a carousel that the children themselves run, and a gardening section for Young Michurinists. It is run mainly on the self-help principle with the Pioneers helping the very young to enjoy themselves, and children of Young Communist League (Komsomol) age performing their good turns for the day by helping with the Pioneers.

All the same, the young people gracefully make room for the few grown-ups who find this garden a pleasant place on a sunny morning. I have known them to include an Uzbek poet reading the proofs of a Russian translation of his works, and a fur-trapper from Northern Siberia who, in a friendly exchange of confidences, revealed that he had come to Moscow to make a proposal of marriage to a nurse he had met at the front.

Children's activities probably account for as much that goes on in this street as the church used to do. In its half-mile of twisting, tilting progress down the hillside there are three old churches—and three new schools, one of them for boys and girls training as type-setters under the Labor Reserve scheme, which now has its own Ministry, its sports organization and a flourishing nationwide amateur talent organization.

The churches are closed for lack of congregations since there are three others, one for Baptists, within a few hundred yards distance. Because they have some architectural value, however, the city authorities keep them in good condition and their squat low-shouldered naves with pepper-pot towers outlined against the sky provide the inhabitants of this neighborhood with a minor pleasure by reminding them of some of the historical pictures of which they are so fond.

It is a pleasure to see the children going to school as happy looking as when they leave it, and to learn from conversation overheard at the street corner as they try to outskip each other, that extra-curricular activities play such an important part in their school lives—dramatics, meeting the authors of their favorite books and sometimes the

heroes, as on an exciting day when Mareysiev, of whom Polevoi wrote so movingly in his *Story of a Real Man*, came to talk to the girls at our school. Sometimes a little girl goes along the street wearing a Red Cross armlet, signifying that she is the orderly of the day, responsible for seeing that her classmates have clean finger-nails and heads. They don't play "Drop" in Soviet schools and the idea of groping under their desks or the school staircase in anticipation of atom bombs would seem to them not only shocking but ludicrous. They go to school to prepare for peace not for war.

The other day the girls from the Labor Reserve School went back to their dormitory in a modern house round the corner singing the Freedom Song which since the World Festival of Democratic Youth in Budapest has become the unofficial anthem of young USSR. This, I think, must have been to honor some special occasion for usually they sing hits from popular films, lilting rather plaintive songs in fast waltz rhythm that are easily harmonized, for a Russian no more thinks of singing

The health of the hundreds of children on our street is guarded by specialists.





Groping under desks (as shown above in a New York school) in anticipation of atom bombs would seem shocking and ludicrous. They go to school (right) to prepare for peace, and not for war.

in unison than an American would sing a dance tune without syncopating it.

Occasionally a child is to be seen in the street during class hours on his way to the local health center. This is a newish building just beyond a baroque-style palace built in the eighteenth century for Prince Razumovsky when he was particularly in favor with Tsarina Yekaterina Petrovna, the headstrong daughter of Peter I. The former palace now houses several organizations, including a Pioneer House which looks after children's talents as the health center next door looks after their physical fitness.

It is pleasant to think that the health of the hundreds of children who live in our street is being guarded by the team of specialists, mostly women, who are on constant duty at this center, where by arrangement with the school doctors their case histories are on file. A



phone call from the home of a sick child brings a doctor around in one of the neat *Moskvich* sedans, now quite a feature of Moscow.

If anyone should think there's anything grudging about the way the State dispenses its free medical services, I wish he could see the notices on the walls of the waiting room at the health center. They simply urge parents to send for the doctor immediately if a child shows signs of having the grippe. A good deal of the medical education is directed towards parents learning to look after their children's, and their own, health themselves. Incidentally, it's worth mentioning that people who, on principle, prefer homeopathic treatment to the orthodox sort are catered for at their own health center and that every state druggist has its herbalist section.

If I ever have to accompany a child

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."

to the health center I usually make a point of taking him afterwards to a nearby cake shop, one of the oldest and most famous in Moscow. It dates from the first part of the nineteenth century when, it seems, everybody in Europe developed a taste for fancy cakes, usually invented by French pastry cooks.

Recently reconstructed, this shop has a large, perfectly round room in which some ingenious interior decorator has let his imagination run wild. Loaves baked in the shape of harps, five-pointed stars, the Kremlin's towers, stand in alcoves behind the counters and the dozens of kinds of fancy bread in which Russian bakers take such pride to make a display that I can only describe as the apotheosis of the Loaf.

Plentiful bread spells peace to everybody in this country where in some form or other it remains the mainstay of life, and I can think of no fitter minor scene in Moscow to illustrate the mood of ordinary people than the afternoon before International Women's Day in this shop. The big price cuts had been announced a few days before and they affected every single item on sale there from the dark, sticky, healthy

rye household loaf to the elaborate cream cakes with "Mama" written across them.

This day is one of my special favorites in Moscow, for it falls at a time when the first spring thaws can be expected, and surely that is a proper season to honor the nation's womanhood.

School children give their teachers presents on International Women's Day.

The girls in one of the classes in our local school raised about twenty dollars and made a round of the book shops to buy her half a dozen good books. Children honor their mothers usually with flowers or cakes or boxes of candy; young men send their best girls valentines, while the sales of perfumes rocket before this day.

March 8th has become a day of universal celebration for Soviet women, a day when amidst the family festival around the supper table, many minds turn to the past when women were denied the opportunity of taking a full part in the nation's life, and many, too, have thoughts for those lands where the economic, political and social status of women is lower than men's.

SOVIET WOMEN ARE PROUD OF THEIR FIGURES!

ON International Women's Day, March 8, Soviet women checked their weight on the scales of their socialist society. Results:

More than 380,000 women engineers and technicians. . . 60,000 women scientific workers in universities and scientific research institutes. . . . 399 awarded Stalin Prizes in science, invention, literature. . . . 945,000 teachers. . . . 191,000 doctors. . . . 70 bearers of top Order "Hero of the Soviet Union". . . . 1,988, "Heroes of Socialist Labor." . . . Over 600,000 bearers of other Orders and medals. . . . 33,000 "Mother Heroines," over 3,000,000 with Motherhood medals. . . . 5,000,000 of their children given holidays in summer camps. . . . 208 women deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, many hundreds of deputies to Union and Autonomous Republics, over half a million deputies to local Soviets!

THE CHURCH IN HUNGARY

by BISHOP ALBERT BERECKZY

A committee appointed by the British Peace Council to study the position of the church in socialist countries sent a list of the most common accusations against the People's Democracies on this question to Bishop Albert Bereckzy, head of the Hungarian Reformed Church and one of the foremost Protestant figures in the world. This is Bishop Bereckzy's reply, slightly abridged, as published in the Hungarian Church Press.

IT is possible that the question, "Can the Christian church properly function in socialist states?" may be posed by western Christian churches in a spirit of brotherly concern. On the other hand, it may also be prompted by worldly considerations and a politically prejudiced mentality.

In the former case, an answer is in order. In the latter, we must pose some counter-questions, such as: Does the church find it convenient to live in a capitalist world? Does it obey the will of the Lord in this environment? Is it not fearful of a change which might alter radically, not the church itself, but the environment so congenial to it?

These questions may be addressed to the western churches concerned with the same emphasis as marks the doubts expressed by them as to whether our churches are churches in the true sense of the word.

In a booklet published in 1948, I answered in the affirmative the question, "Can the church remain a church in a socialist-communist state?"

I repeat this answer in 1951. We are the Hungarian Reformed Church of Jesus Christ, functioning in the state of Hungary, which is undergoing the process of socialist development. To the usual western claim

that this is a sheer impossibility because Marxism is dedicated to the principle of materialism, which allegedly prevents the church from living and serving as a church, we reply: God has already given us a simple answer to this question, namely, the fact that we *are* living as a church, and that we are working and serving as a church.

It is also a fact that our church has not merely been spared, in its congregations as well as in its entirety, but, in these days of revolutionary transformation, it has also been regenerated. Preaching, church life, communion, brotherly fellowship, have been deepened and widened. There are hardly any of the 1,200 Hungarian Reformed congregations which have not had an evangelist series, usually lasting several days, and the voluntary offerings, instead of decreasing, are on the increase. We have four theological academies, with a total enrollment of 350, fully the number required annually for replacements in the ministry. Naturally, the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches also have theological academies and the Baptist Church also has a Seminary.

The next fact is our external reconstruction. The war damaged or destroyed 417 of our churches. Not only have nearly all these been re-

built but numerous *new* churches have been built and *new* parishes opened. In financing this work of reconstruction, we have received state subsidies of considerable size.

Then there is our church press. We can now publish such manuals, dictionaries and commentaries to the Bible as we could not publish in the past, the days of alleged "liberty." Our new hymn book is without doubt the best and largest of all published by our church since the Reformation. Not counting the New Testament editions and excerpts from the Bible in pamphlet form, we published the following numbers of complete Bibles: 1945, 2,280; 1946, 5,598; 1947, 19,794; 1948, 24,347; 1949, 27,922; 1950, 23,966.

In 1950, the newspapers and periodicals of the Reformed Church were published in nearly 2,000,000 copies. The Lutheran, Baptist and Unitarian Churches also have several newspapers of their own. The Roman Catholic Church owns two weeklies



and two reviews with large circulation. The Hungarian Radio broadcasts regularly church services and short religious services.

A reason for our not doubting the existence and service of our Church lies in our determination to reject those escape mechanisms whereby the church would try to rule the world or flee the world. We have clearly recognized that we are building and

serving the Church of Jesus Christ in a socialist country. In the judgment which destroyed the *unjust* system of the past, we recognized the governing will of God, and we realized, with repentance, that the hammer of our preaching gave no help in this task. At the same time, we recognize God's gracious judgment in the fact that a socialist transformation has begun. This is a lesson which God has assigned to the whole world, and within it to Christendom in the world.

I wrote in 1948, and I repeat again today: "Must we not recognize that Christianity was the soil from which sprang the ideals of socialism, such as the struggle against the working man being used as a mere tool of production; his liberation from a state of defenselessness; the abolition of class conflict in a classless society organized as a harmonious brotherhood of labor; the elimination of the profit motive as the main incentive of production and its substitution by the idea of supplying society with its needs?"

God has certainly given a lesson to world Christianity which it cannot escape unless it wants to disobey the Lord. The worst attempt at escaping would be the catastrophe of a third world war.

Those who would use the western churches as instruments to discredit the eastern churches, or to spread allegations that these latter are oppressed, while at the same time sanctioning a new world war, would commit a grievous sin against God.

It is only by serving, with devotion, in the struggle for peace that the churches both of the West and East can bear witness to the fact that they are each other's members in Christ's body, who suffer together and are honored together.

CARE

FOR YOUNG AND OLD

In Czechoslovakia both group and individual problems are solved through organized community responsibility

by HERBERT LASS

AS a former social worker for many years in the United States, I was especially pleased to meet Jaroslav Bradac, municipal welfare officer. This is partly because his counterpart does not exist at home but more because the long talk I had with him showed how the Czechs are tackling welfare problems along lines that will appeal to progressive-minded workers in this field in America, and perhaps may unlock the frustration which so many of us always felt before the manifold problems of helping people to adjust themselves to a maladjusted world.

Mr. Bradac has the job of Chief of the Social Welfare Section of the Unified National Committee (Municipal Council) of Pilsen. Under him come housing, nursery schools, homes for the aged, and services to individuals such as help for a needy foreign student, care for

HERBERT LASS is an American social worker who until recently was director of CARE in Czechoslovakia, but resigned his post in protest against the warlike trend of U.S. foreign policy.



Old-age pensions give them security and comfort and the welfare department treats their problems with personal interest

the family of an ill mother, finding a boarding school for the child of a working widow.

While at home we have scores of agencies, public and private, each dealing with a particular problem—such as unemployment relief, crippled children, unmarried mothers—and often serving a restricted section of the population, like the members of a church, in Czechoslovakia all these services are planned and centralized locally under a single officer. But it's not just a question of organization, any more than it is one concerning specialists only. "We have few specialists devoting themselves exclusively to helping people out of trouble," Bradac told me, "but we have millions, the whole population in fact, helping to prevent these troubles."

Something of this social solidarity background to social welfare was explained to me by Mr. Bradac as we

drove through the narrow twisted streets of Pilsen, where U.S. bombing in the last days of the war started off Mr. Bradac's department with a load of troubles. We were on our way to visit a new nursery school, one of the many public projects for which he is responsible. He told me that the opening of this school had almost been delayed because mattresses for the children's cribs were not ready. When the difficulty was explained to the workers of the upholstery repair shop of the railroad yards, they volunteered to make the mattresses — though the school was not for their own children. They worked all one week-end, and the school opened on the appointed day.

This is a typical solution to a community welfare problem in Czechoslovakia.

Here a social worker can go not only to government bureaus and established agencies but above all to the people themselves. The people are learning to think of themselves as the community.

Most American social workers would agree, I suppose, that the best way to help somebody is to get him to help himself, and that the best way to solve a group problem is through organized community responsibility.

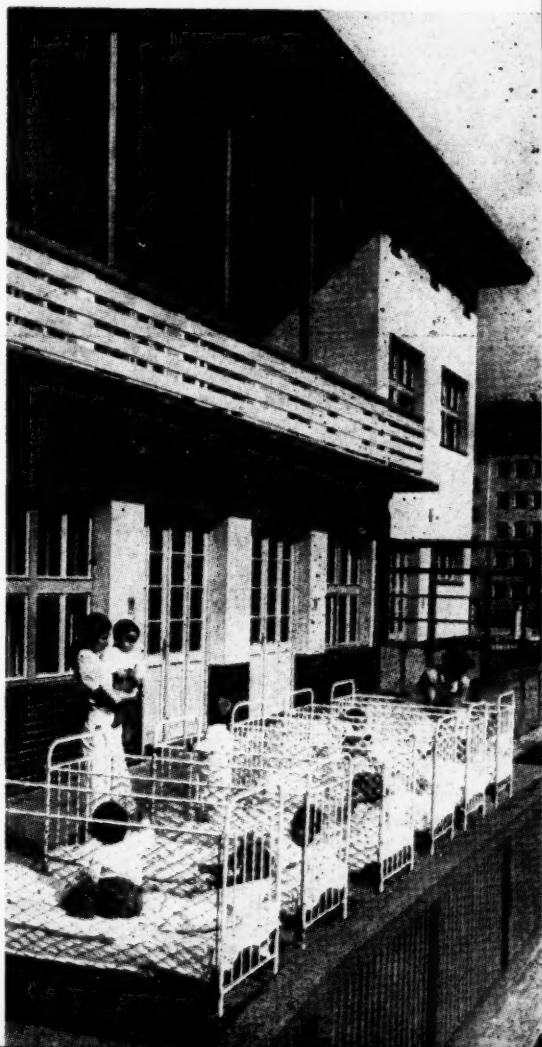
However, in America, such efforts, even when they achieve partial success, cannot be sustained because the conflicting interests of the groups within the community run counter to the basic concept of community responsibility.

The nursery school we saw was built in answer to the demand of mothers who wanted to be able to go out to work. The Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare in Prague provided the money and the plans. Vol-

unteers helped furnish it. The social fund, from the earnings of the Skoda Works, administered by the Trade Unions, operates it. No contributions from the workers' pay envelopes are needed. The cost to the parents is 20 cents a day.

How often have social workers in America felt the need for some such nursery school program? How rarely are they able to recommend that a

Set back from the factory is the nursery, one of 3,775 that free thousands of Czech mothers for life as full citizens.



mother should add to the family income by going to work. A few lucky ones get their children into nursery schools run by charity—a few individual problems are solved, and their place is immediately taken by new “cases.” But the mass problem of mothers who want to go to work we have had to leave entirely untouched.

In Czechoslovakia the desire of large numbers of women to go to work is also the policy of the Government, and the provision of facilities such as day nurseries has thus been tackled as a part of the general production problem. Solving the problem of the group and solving the problem of the individual are no longer contradictory tasks, but have merged into a single problem possible of quick and relatively easy solution.

The Skoda nursery school is five minutes from the factory gate, set back from the road on a huge empty field. Standing on the terrace, Bradac indicated the field with a sweep of his arm. “Next year we will build flats for 900 families on this site. And every block of flats will elect one person as its welfare worker.” In this way the idea of community welfare is being woven into the fabric of everyday life.

Back in Bradac’s office I met Frantisek Sebanek. Sebanek is the elected member of the Unified National Committee who acts as liaison between the city’s social welfare department, and the people. It was Sebanek who, as a former railway worker, thought of taking the problem of the school mattresses to the railway upholstery repair shop.

As he describes his function: “Our social welfare comes from below. Bradac is the professional who does it. I am the people’s representative,

seeing to it that what is done reflects the wishes of the people.”

There are no annual drives for the Community Chest in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia’s community chest is the National Treasury. In 1950, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare received 13 per cent of the national budget, considerably more than is spent on defense. (Welfare, Health, Education and Cultural activities together receive 38.5 per cent of the budget.) Services for crippled children, the blind, the tubercular, are maintained by the State, and at a high level.

“In the old days,” says Sebanek, “these people were somebody else’s troubles, or they were troubles for the Government. Today the problems of one person are the problems of the collective, and the collective is the Government.”

Housing is one of Pilsen’s most serious problems. Pilsen lost over 6,000 flats in air raids. Bradac, Sebanek and the social workers staff choose the tenants for the new houses that are being built. They make their selection according to a points system, which weighs the importance to the community of new housing for a particular family, as well as the need of the family for new housing. “Individual” problems of course continue to exist. Bradac showed me some case records of people who had been helped by his social workers.

Milos R. is mentally retarded, and at 15 years of age he is too big for his mother to take care of him. The district welfare worker arranged to have the boy sent to an institution in Brno, and gave his mother money to buy him a complete new outfit before his departure.

Old Mr. and Mrs. K. have pensions that would ordinarily be enough, but

Mrs. K. is ill and cannot properly care for the home. The welfare worker provides extra money so that the couple can get domestic help.

Four German anti-fascists, who are not entitled to old-age pensions because they are not citizens, receive amounts equal to pensions from the welfare fund.

I have seen for myself the many aspects of life in a people's democracy that give security, prevent frustration, remove conflicts; that make for healthy minds in healthy bodies in a healthy society: among them are full employment, holidays with pay, nursery schools, Baby Health Centers, higher education with regard only for ability to learn, loans to

newlyweds, old-age pensions for all.

Above all there is the realization that society here is not a haphazard creation, but is a planned structure in which everyone has an important place.

In the Single Men's Hostel of Pilsen I recognized a small version of the Municipal Lodging House of New York. In front of the Municipal Lodging House, and along the whole length of New York's Bowery there are men without jobs, without money, without purpose other than somehow to stay alive.

The Single Men's Hostel of Pilsen was empty. The street outside was deserted. The men of Pilsen were at work.

Melodrama With Dignity

SECRET BRIGADE, a Soviet film released by Artkino, screen play by A. Mozvon, directed by A. Feinzimmer and V. Korsh-Sablin, produced at the Byelorussian Film Studios.

THE latest Soviet film released in the United States, *Secret Brigade*, rescues the melodrama from the disrepute into which it has lately fallen in America.

Without sacrificing excitement and suspense, the makers of *Secret Brigade* have shown us how the form can also have dignity and depth. They have done this simply by peopling the movie with real persons, by telling the story of an actual incident in the exploits of a famous Soviet partisan hero of the anti-fascist war. The movie, thus, is not a tribute to some script writer's ingenious struggle with a rigid formula but to a people's daring and courage in a struggle crucial to the progress of all mankind.

Its hero, Zaslanov, is an engineer who had been in charge of the Orsha depot before the war. In the winter of 1942, when Moscow is threatened, he is commissioned to return to Orsha, an important railroad junction on the approaches to Smolensk, and pretend to collaborate with the Nazis in order to lead the underground group there.

The movie is the story of how Zaslanov succeeds in this mission. Not alone. Not in an elaborate disguise. Through his story is reflected the character of the Soviet workers, frank and open-hearted.

The screen writers have been realists in unfolding the story but they have reserved their attention for the most positive and ennobling aspects of the material with which they are dealing.

There's a good lesson for all movie makers in *Secret Brigade*.

J. I.

50,000 COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

*Ninety per cent of Soviet workers
take part in the bargaining process*

by JESSICA SMITH

DURING 1950 over 50,000 collective agreements were concluded in Soviet enterprises after lively discussion at shop meetings in which 90 per cent of the workers participated. Over a million suggestions were turned in by workers, more than 70 per cent were accepted.

These figures were cited by V. V. Kuznetsov, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) in his report to the plenary session of that body in January.

Kuznetsov pointed out that the collective agreements had played a vital part in the fulfillment of the economic plan for the year which resulted in an over-all increase in production of 23 per cent over 1949, and an appreciable rise in living and cultural standards.

In all Soviet collective agreements, the workers' responsibility for increased production goes hand in hand with management's responsibility for constant elevation of the workers' living and cultural standards. The steady rise in material welfare is expressed not only in wage scales, but through the vast social insurance funds, paid by the industries at no cost to the workers and administered by the trade unions, and by provision of housing and other facilities at minimum cost for the workers.

Kuznetsov pointed out that while the plan as a whole had been over-fulfilled, certain industries and sepa-

rate enterprises had fallen somewhat behind, as in heavy machine building, lumber, textile and construction enterprises. Thousands of workers had displayed great creative initiative in the development of socialist competition to increase production, as "innovators" of better production methods. While the practice is to generalize such experiences and make them available to all workers, there were cases where both management and unions had been at fault in not taking the necessary measures to this end.

Improved labor safety methods had an important place in the 1950 contracts. Large sums had been invested by the government for labor protection, and industrial accidents and sick rate had been sharply reduced.

Kuznetsov noted the tremendous over-all improvement in living standards, the large numbers of new houses, schools, hospitals and children's institutions built in 1950.

Two and a half million workers visited trade union health resorts and sanatoria during 1950, 250,000 more than the preceding year, on free passes or reduced rates.

Kuznetsov emphasized the necessity of the fullest possible participation of the masses of the workers in all phases of the drawing up and fulfillment of collective agreements, the need for combating any "soulless or bureaucratic attitude toward the needs of the working people."



Trade union committee of the Dynamo Plant in Moscow discusses proposed agreement.

The discussion on Kuznetsov's report, covered fully in the Soviet press, was widely participated in by union representatives from all over the country. There was pride in achievements, along with the vigorous criticism of shortcomings characteristic of all such meetings. Government ministers were present. If their responses to the criticism did not indicate sufficiently sincere readiness to correct them in the future, they came in for a second round. Those who had fallen down on the worker's housing plans got the worst of it.

The Minister of the Fishing Industry, Kusakov, got a severe ribbing for not having completely fulfilled the plan for workers' housing. At the same time it was pointed out that the Central Committee of the Trade Union had also been at fault, had tried to make a settlement with him as a "family matter," in order not to "spoil relations," had gone to him as a supplicant and not as the representative of the masses of the workers, and had failed to involve the

rank and file of the trade union.

The final decision of the plenary session approved over-all results in fulfillment of collective agreements, but censured those industries which had failed to provide the proper conditions for workers. It was resolved that the collective agreements for 1951 should provide for still greater labor productivity and improved quality of output through greater mechanization and better techniques; increased application of socialist competition methods; strict economy in material; lowering of construction costs. It called on management to provide more housing, higher living standards, greater cultural facilities, better service to consumers, better conditions of work with special attention to the needs of women and youth, more medical services, sanatoria, camps, kindergartens, creches.

The second main report was given by Nina V. Popova, AUCCTU Secretary in charge of cultural work, widely known in other countries as chairman of the Soviet Women's

Anti-Fascist Committee and a vice-chairman of the World Peace Congress.

Popova announced that the trade unions now have over 8,000 Club Houses and Palaces of Culture and 80,000 "Red Corners" (special halls for cultural purposes in smaller establishments which do not have clubs or palaces of their own).

This figure indicates the tremendous amount of reconstruction and new building since the end of the war. Of 6,000 clubs and palaces before the war, half had been destroyed under Nazi occupation. Of 100,000 Red Corners, one-third had been destroyed.

Popova noted that while great advances had been made in cultural work, in some cases standards were still not high enough.

She reported 9,000 trade union libraries, 4,000 opened in the past two years, but criticized the trade union publishing house for failing to keep pace with the growing demands of the workers for books, both of a literary and technical nature.

Motion picture facilities had been improved, attendance having reached 210,000,000 in eleven months of 1950, but there were still too few top level pictures to meet the workers' needs, not enough children's films.

There are 104,000 amateur art groups, in which 1,600,000 workers and their families take part. Popova asked for more attention to development of art circles, folk instrument orchestras, choral groups, more good one-act plays for the workers to put on, more new compositions for orchestras and bands, more help from writers, musicians and artists, better trained cultural directors.

Again a lively discussion, again praise for accomplishments, censure for shortcomings, and finally a resolution to extend and enrich cultural

opportunities of the workers in all spheres. Trade union organizations were enjoined to do everything possible to help advance the technical knowledge and skill of the workers in order to carry out the basic Soviet policy of "raising the cultural and technical level of workers to that of technicians and engineers."

A third item on the agenda was "Progress of reports and elections to trade union bodies." Elected trade union officials at all levels are obligated to make regular and frequent reports to general meetings of workers in their department or shop, winding up with annual reports.

AUCCTU Secretary Goroshkin reported more than 90 per cent of workers' participation, but there had been cases of violations of trade union democracy, as when meetings were called during lunch hours, or without sufficient notice. He called for the election of more women and young people to trade union posts. He stressed the necessity of giving personal attention to workers' needs and problems at home as well as at work, and above all, of giving the most careful study to all recommendations of the workers and making sure they were acted upon.

The final resolution called for still greater development of trade union democracy and involvement of all workers in check-up meetings and in elections. The importance of checking up from below was stressed, that it is not only a question of management checking up on fulfillment by the workers of their obligations, but of the workers checking up constantly on management, pointing out mistakes, insisting on their correction. This is the essence of trade union democracy in a socialist society, where the interests of the workers and management are one.

American-Soviet Friendship and Peace

AT ITS annual meeting on April 5, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was able to report an impressive year's record of activities.

Challenging in the most constructive way the efforts of the Attorney General and the Committee on Un-American Activities to stifle its voice, the Council has steadfastly pursued its work of spreading the enlightenment about the USSR so essential in the total struggle for peace.

The three months incarceration on contempt charges of Rev. Richard Morford, the Council's Executive Director, could not dim, but rather deepened and brightened the dedicated spirit of his leadership.

Local groups in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Detroit and Boston have held firm in carrying on regular activities, along with informal groups in a dozen other cities, and many thousands of people throughout the country with whom the Council maintains contact.

The Council has sponsored a number of national speaking tours, hundreds of local meetings, furnished speakers for many other groups. It has been especially active in opening the way for the message of peace and understanding brought back to this country by the 19 Americans who visited the USSR last fall following the Warsaw Peace Congress.

The Council has issued important educational pamphlets, and numerous leaflets in hundreds of thousands of copies. It reaches thousands of people with its valuable *Facts and Reports on the News*, distributes excellent exhibits on Soviet life and other educational materials.

The Council at its annual meeting adopted a statement of immediate objectives issued over the name of its chairman, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, and calling for public support of the following main points:

1. For instructions to our representatives in Paris to reach agreement rather than obstruct the working out of an agenda for a Council of Foreign Ministers meeting.

2. For an end to the war in Korea, an honest attempt to reach agreement with the Koreans and the Chinese People's Republic, withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and removal of the U.S. blockade of Formosa.

3. For the negotiation of peace with Japan, in cooperation with the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic.

4. For agreement on reduction of armaments and armies by all the powers, for outlawing the atom bomb and other weapons of mass destruction.

5. For a return to wartime agreements on the demilitarization of Germany and Japan and on lifting the burdens of colonialism and imperialist exploitation from oppressed peoples.

6. For restoration of trade between the U.S. and the USSR.

7. For support of the official UN policy of preventing war by opposing propaganda aimed at inciting hatred or war against the Soviet Union.

The statement concluded:

"We dedicate ourselves anew to the important task of helping to increase understanding among the American people of the life and activities of the Soviet Union, to the end that our two nations may live together in peace."

Honor and power to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in its great and vital work.

The Young Station Master

A Short Story

by SERGEI ANTONOV

GETTING word from the siding that the passenger train was passing through, Vassily Ivanovich, youthful station master of Stcheglovo, rose from the table.

It was eleven at night. A kerosene lamp with a battered tin base lit the office dimly. A piece of newspaper covered the smoke-blackened chimney in place of a shade, and the smell of charred paper filled the room.

Vassily Ivanovich grabbed his uniform cap, tossed it nearly to the ceiling, and caught it on his head, its peak slanting far down on his broad nose. Remembering suddenly that someone might see him, he put a severely official expression on his boyish face and then he tried to look through the window, but all he could see was his own reflection in the darkened panes.

Still at the window, he straightened his cap, using both hands to set it at the proper jaunty angle, lit his lantern, and went out onto the station platform.

From both sides of the right of way came the sounds of the forest that was hidden in the darkness, monotonous and sad. The night wind carried the moist smell of mushrooms. The station bell rang out sharply.

Ten minutes later a brilliant star appeared far off down the tracks, coming nearer it grew larger, divided into two; both of these stars grew larger, then the lower one also divided into two. The whistle sounded, and, filling the air with a warm watery spray and lighting up the blue smoky air, the engine came on, and behind it the bright squares of the windows of the passenger cars.

The train drew to a halt; the brakes screaming.

Vassily Ivanovich approached a girl conductor who stepped down from one of the cars. "Hello, Nadya," he said.

"Hello, Vassily Ivanovich."

"How are things in Moscow?"

"Fine, thanks. There's a new movie, 'Springtime.' Funny sort of picture. A boy and girl fall in love. Then everything goes haywire."

Though he couldn't see her face in the darkness, Vassily decided not to raise the lantern; Nadya got sore when he flashed the lantern in her eyes. She had a brisk way of speaking, clipping her words and leaving some out, and from her voice he could tell she was smiling.

"If it had been the real thing there wouldn't have been any mixup," he observed seriously. "Real love can never go wrong."

"Guess we're late," was all that Nadya answered.

SERGEI ANTONOV, author of popular stories about today's youth, the novel "Anna," and a current prize-winning novelette, is 36, served four years in the Soviet army as an engineer, began writing poetry in 1944.

This sketch — considerably condensed — is a light-hearted girl-meets-boy story, but is even more; it is the story of a young fellow pulled in opposite directions, by his love for the idyllic, lazy life at his remote forest train stop, and by the great drawing-power and excitement of the work of socialist construction, in which the girl Nadya is immersed.

"Twelve minutes," he said.

"That's the way it goes. Held us up at Voronezh. No harm done though, we'll make it up. And how're things with you?"

"All right . . . so-so. . . . But if those two had really been in love. . . ."

The whistle blasted the silence, suddenly, deafeningly. Nadya jumped onto the step of the car. The whistle sounded again and the engine, coming to life, began to move and the cars after it.

The train was lost to sight. Vassily went back into the station.

He entered a large room. There was a wartime poster, and a massive shabby oak divan, a pre-revolutionary railroad administration divan. At one end of it, in his regular spot, sat fifteen-year-old Koska who brought in the mail, son of signalman Nikifor who was on duty.

"If anybody asks for me I'm in my office," said the station master.

"Who's going to ask for you?" said the boy.

It was really true, nobody would. Sixteen versts to the village; and in the houses around everyone had long since gone to sleep, and there was no one else at all except signalman Nikifor, in his shack over at the railway siding.

"Don't argue, it's bad to argue all the time," Vassily Ivanovich told the boy irritably. "Hand me over the *Gudok* (railroader's newspaper)."

Koska could never understand why the young station master was always in such a bad mood after the passenger train went by. Almost everything else that went on around the station was quite clear to him, though: he knew how to set switches, he knew how to light the lamps on the semaphore. . . .

[The youngster is fascinated by the job of railroading and eager to learn; but when he asks questions, Vassily lazily puts him off with high-flown and incomprehensible technical jargon, turns the talk instead to chit-chat.]

And day after day past Stcheglovo station rolled the freight-trains, each one at least half a kilometer long:



coke cars, refrigerator cars, gondolas, cars loaded with machinery, cars marked "For Grain," broad tank cars. The freight trains carried past coal, glistening moistly in the sunlight; they carried past pipes, two-by-fours, armatures, trucks stacked three-high in pairs, they carried past great blocks of dressed stone piled up like frozen waves.

Vassily would go to meet these freight trains, carefully setting to rights his uniform jacket, but not bothering so much about the angle of his cap. After three days the passenger train stopped at Stcheglovo again, at 2:10 a.m.

"Hello, Vassily Ivanovich," came out of the darkness.

"Hello, Nadya. How're things in Rostov?"

"Fine, thanks. You remember I told you about the houses there? Well, they've got all of them repaired now. There's a sailor here on the train. He was telling us how they were battling the Germans right into the sea."

"That's all bunk. Sailors like to spin yarns."

"And at Likha they hooked on two cars. And there are a bunch of prize-winning sportsmen on the way to Moscow. . . ."

"Well, just ask them what to do when the axle-bearings get too hot. Masters of sport! They're just masters of talking big. . . ."

"What are you getting so sore about, Vassily Ivanovich? You've never even seen them, and you get sore at them," Nadya protested.

"That's not it, Nadya. Do forgive me. Nadya. . . I guess I shouldn't jump on you that way, but the train only stops one minute and . . ."

The car began to move. Nadya said something, but he could not make out the words above the noise of the whistle. He took a few steps along with the car, but the train gathered speed.

[Later Vassily has to hand over his post to an old-timer and to proceed to the Donets coal fields to work as dispatcher at a central coal-grading point. He reluctantly gets ready to leave.]

On the morning of the 14th the whole staff helped the station master pack; and the boy Koska was surprised to see that Vassily owned photographic equipment, a football, a much-read copy of *How the Steel Was Tempered*. The station master took leave of all of them, observing seniority.

He emphatically disliked it on the new job. His work was to expedite the supply of empties to the mine shafts, and to route the coal cars.

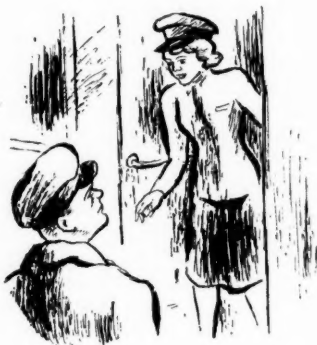
The whole day long tense and clamorous individuals kept knocking at his little dispatcher's window and waving papers at him; while he, pressing the telephone receiver to his ear with his shoulder, as he signed their papers, listened and lost his temper and swore.

The telephone kept ringing without a break. One mine shaft sent word that their cars were full up, another demanded an engine; at shaft number 2-21 some fellow announced in dramatic tones: "The coal is overflowing all over the place. There is nothing at all to load onto. Jail is the thing for such bureaucratic blockheadedness. What's your name?" And he couldn't even curse him out because he had no idea who it was speaking.

After his shift ended, Vassily Ivanovich would go to his room and lie down on his bed, putting *Gudok* under his feet and dream about peaceful little Stcheglovo station.

He remembered the placid evenings, when in the station "salon," Ionov, his assistant and Koska and two or three others settled themselves on the big

oaken divan, and signalman Nikifor would tell in low, thrilling tones about how he had operated as a partisan behind the German lines. At the station master's approach Nikifor would stop and look over at him questioningly.



"Go ahead," Vassily would say, and solemnly proceed into his office, although he very much wanted to stay and listen to Nikifor.

He remembered the dark winter nights when snowstorms hurled themselves on the little station, the snow piling up along the roadbed in gauze-like swirls. And wolf-eyes gleamed out of the forest, but Nikifor drove them away by clanging the station bell.

He remembered the little garden and the swing in it, his little office with its peeling wallpaper. He remembered his conversations with Nadya, which he was never able to continue to the end.

After two weeks he wrote a report adding a request to be returned to his former job. The railroad management turned it down.

And after still another week a letter came from Koska. He wrote that everything was just the way it always was, that the apples were getting ripe and that they were tender as boiled potatoes, and "delishus." And Koska's letter smelled of apples itself.

"I'll have to just take off and go," thought Vassily Ivanovich. "I'd go back and settle down in Stcheglovo, build a little house with two rooms, with the windows looking out on a garden and

the branches of the apple trees growing right outside, and bring Nadya there. She'll agree, why wouldn't she. . . ."

He wrote a second report, and this time the answer revealed that the old man was sick, and so the position at Stehglovo station was open.

Vassily Ivanovich quickly made preparations to return. No one came to take leave of him; he had made no friends on his new job.

He got back to Stehglovo the day Nadya's train, Number 440, was due from Moscow.

At the station everything was the way he left it, just as Koska's letter had said: beyond the dusty acacia bushes he saw the yellow-painted station, in the waiting room the same old divan stood in the same corner.

The first to set eyes on the station master was Nikifor and he wondered why he was back again and why he had grown so much thinner. His old friends gathered round and urged him to take a few days' rest, to go fishing or out in the country to stay with Nikifor's brother-in-law. But he refused either to go fishing or away to the brother-in-law, and notified assistant station master Ionov, that he would meet Number 440 himself.

Settling himself in his former office, he began putting it to rights. He reversed the sheet of cardboard on his desk and crossed out the dates past on the desk-calendar, each date with a separate cross.

At 11:15 the passenger train came.

The night was dark, and the black sky, without moon or stars, seemed to stretch down to earth.

Vassily Ivanovich, walking much more hurriedly than usual, went over to Nadya's car.

"Well, and how're things in Moscow?" he inquired, forgetting even to greet her first.

"And what about Moscow, my dear? Why, Moscow's fine. They're planting trees along the streets. . . ."

Vassily raised his lantern. In the door of Car Number 2 stood a quite elderly conductress, with her beret pulled down over her ears.

"But where's Nadya?" asked Vassily.

"What Nadya?"

Vassily thought for a moment that he had reckoned the days incorrectly, and Nadya would of course be coming along tomorrow with the next Number 440.

"A . . . a . . . a . . .," finally surmised the conductress, "That's the one all right, that little dragonfly. I'm taking her place. She's gone off to school, my dear."

"To what school?"

"Who knows. . . . It'll either be studying for chief conductor, or even a still bigger job."

"You're late," said Vassily severely. It seemed to him that this time the train was staying an inordinately long time.

At last the cars began to move, slowly following one after another, and falling out of rhythm at the switch point. In the distance the red eye of a flashlight moved like a live coal across the darkness.

The high note of a horn rang out—like the cry of a night bird—this was



Nikifor, signalling at the switchpoint that the train had passed.

In the darkness the engines whistled and scores of other engines, one after the other, echoed from the depths of the forest.

The red eye of the tail light moved off slowly and more slowly, then seemed to pause and then stay stock still.

"Optical illusion," said Vassily Ivanovich and he sighed.

The warm smell of anthracite coal hung in the cool night air. The red

beam of the flashlight suddenly went out. The forest silence surrounded the station.

Vassily hearkened to the stillness and suddenly he understood that life—difficult and happy and great—was rushing past him, that it was trying to pull him along with it, but that somehow he remained behind.

He went back into the waiting room. Koska was sitting there with a paper on the divan.

"Well, what're you doing?" asked Vassily. "That's the way to sit and idle away your whole young life. Think I'm going to keep on being a nursemaid to you all the time? If they're going to appoint Ionov to take my place, you'll have to start studying to take over his. Come over here and I'll show you how to fill out the daily record."



Koska was not surprised. After the passenger train went by the station master always acted sore.

Translated by Amy Schechter
Drawings by Herb Kruckman

UNANIMITY FOR PEACE

by JOHN W. DARR, JR.

THE World Council of Peace, meeting in Berlin, February 21-26, had the urgent task of finding a way to unite the will for peace among the peoples of the world in such a manner as to be effective in preventing a third world war.

Despite the tremendous growth of the peace movement in the past months, the danger of world war has so greatly increased that a more powerful and concerted effort than ever before is required if peace is to be saved. Not only has the situation in regard to Germany and Japan become more menacing, not only has the armaments race risen dangerously in tempo, not only have efforts to settle peacefully the conflict in Korea been rebuffed, but also a new threat to world peace has been produced by the qualitative change of the United Nations from an organi-

zation to safeguard the peace into a potential instrument for launching a world war "legally" and at any time.

To meet this increased danger of world war and to ensure the peace, the Appeal of the World Council of Peace for a Pact of Peace was adopted at Berlin and a campaign in support of this Appeal was launched throughout the world.

It is people, not governments, who fight modern war. If no government feels that it can count on the support of its people in launching world war, there will be no world war. Yet, despite the fact that the vast majority of the people in all lands desire peace, war is possible today. This is so because of differing views as to what government or group of governments threatens world peace. Because of this difference of under-

standing and the mistrust and fear aroused by it, one group of people can be led to fight another even though both groups want peace. The only way to end this dangerous situation is for the peace-loving peoples of all countries to unite in expressing a common understanding as to what is required of all governments for the maintaining of peace and in their common determination not to support any government refusing to meet this requirement.

If every government meets this requirement for peace, there will be no world war. If, however, some government refuses to meet this requirement for peace, it will lose the support of its people and therefore be unable to launch world war. Thus, the unity of peace-loving peoples can prevent world war.

The question now arises: what requirement for peace is so universal that it can be the basis of unity between all peace-loving peoples, including peoples who disagree as to what government threatens peace?

There is one such requirement which is not only accepted by the people but by all nations today. It is expressed in the UN Charter and is indeed the cornerstone of the United Nations. This requirement for peace is that the principle of unanimity between the Big Five powers be applied in international affairs.

The principle of unanimity between the Big Five powers as the essential requirement for peace has its roots in the realities of the modern world: Only the Big Five powers



A Polish Cartoon

have the economic and military means to wage world war. If these powers do not fight between themselves, there can be no world war. Thus they must seek solutions to their differences acceptable to all of them; for the alternative to reaching unanimous agreement is to try to impose agreement by force, which would mean world war.

Only the application of the principle of unanimity between the Big Five powers, therefore, can guarantee world peace. This is why this principle is universally valid for all peoples and for all nations large and small, because without the peaceful co-existence of the Big Five powers, there will be no peaceful existence for any people or nation.

Support of the principle of unanimity, therefore, can be the basis of uniting all the peace-loving people on earth in the campaign for peace. For this reason, the World Council of Peace adopted the Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the Big Five powers as the basis of its world-wide campaign to prevent war.

A united and determined effort of the people is required in order to obtain the application of this principle by the governments, for the present crisis arises, not out of the failure of governments to accept

JOHN W. DARR, JR. is a Congregational Minister. He is U.S. Secretary in the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace. He is an infantry combat veteran, serving in France and Germany in the last war.

this principle, but out of the failure of governments to *apply* it.

All the grave threats to world peace today stem from the failure to keep talking until peaceful agreements have been reached. Because of failure to reach agreements, the atom bomb still threatens mankind and the burden of armaments oppressing the people grows daily.

The war in Korea had its origin in the failure of the United States and the Soviet Union to reach agreement in 1947 for a unified Korea. The present grave menace of a remilitarized Germany and Japan is due to failure to reach agreement in applying the war-time agreements of Potsdam and Yalta. Failure to apply the principle of unanimity is turning the UN from an instrument for peace into an instrument of war.

For the peace-loving peoples of the world, it is not now a question of who is to blame for past failures to apply the principle of unanimity. The time is past for permitting arguments over this question to divide the people. For mankind, it is now simply a question of life or death: will the great powers now finally settle their differences peacefully, before it is too late, by applying the principle of unanimity, or will they plunge the world into a useless and terrible war that will leave the earth in ruins and turn human life into misery and mourning?

Only the people of the world can now guarantee that the answer to this question will be life and not death. Only the people can now save the governments and the United Nations from committing the crime of a third world war. Only the people can create the moral and political climate which will impose continued peaceful negotiation as the sole means for solving problems between

the nations without recourse to war.

In face of this urgent and fateful responsibility, the people of the world must unite in crying out in one overwhelming voice: We demand the peaceful settlement of differences. We demand the application of the principle of unanimity. We demand that those powers which alone have the means to wage world war meet to pledge that they will never go to war between themselves.

The decisive task before the people is not the task of finding solutions to all the problems between the nations, but the task of guaranteeing that world war will not be used as a solution to these problems.

Let the people of the world, therefore, united in their determination to save the peace, demand in one clear voice that the principle of unanimity be applied; and no government will dare not to listen.

Let the people demand this from all corners of the earth; and if any government refuses to meet this demand, such a government will face a humanity united in its understanding of who is the enemy of peace.

The Appeal of the World Council of Peace for a Pact of Peace between the Big Five powers expresses this demand of the people of the world that there be no third world war.

Let all men and women of good will in every land unite in supporting this Appeal and the peace of the world will be guaranteed.

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QUESTION BOX

Have you a question relating to the New World? Send it in. Theodore Bayer answers the following questions concerning the Soviet Union; other experts will reply to questions on other areas of the world.

U.S. BASES

QUESTION: Have you the number, size and location of U.S. air and naval bases? L.N.O., Manton, Mich.

ANSWER: No. A figure upwards of 500 has been mentioned, and from time to time the press reveals new areas where bases are located—Turkey, Iran, Britain, etc. Mr. Vyshinsky, addressing the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly, Oct. 23, 1950, stated: "It is known that at present the U.S. keeps hundreds of thousands of soldiers and officers outside its borders. . . . It is known that hundreds of American air bases are spread all over the world." Many of these bases are a strategic threat to the vital areas of the USSR. Vyshinsky's statement was not refuted by the U.S. representatives to the UN.

SOVIET INCOMES

QUESTION: Please explain the enclosed clipping showing individual incomes of various countries as compiled by the UN Statistical Office. The figures on income for the USSR are much lower than those in the report of the British Workers' Delegation. F.E.T., Fresno, Calif.

ANSWER: Income figures reported by the British Workers' report were personally checked by contact with large numbers of Soviet workers and give a much more accurate picture of the real situation than the UN abstract.

The clipping presents ambiguities. It gives the impression that the average Soviet earner received \$308 a year, while the introduction states that the figure represents income per person in

each of the countries. So, even according to the UN statistics, dividing the total earnings of the breadwinners in the USSR by its 200,000,000 people, you get an income per capita of \$308 or 1,232 rubles.

The fact is that the average individual earnings of employed people amounts to about 6,000 rubles a year. Factory workers' earnings, particularly skilled ones, are much higher, averaging closer to 10,000 rubles.

LEND-LEASE

QUESTION: The press reports the USSR refusing to settle lend-lease accounts with us. Would you please discuss this matter? C.S., Chicago.

ANSWER: The USSR tried a number of times to conclude a settlement. The last attempts, in February and March of this year. Like previous discussions, no results were achieved because of the anti-Soviet position of the State Department.

Lend-lease was adopted, as an extension of our own defense, to strengthen our allies in the common war against Nazi aggression. We delivered armaments and supplies to allied armies fighting our enemy, because for some time this was the only contribution we could make to the actual fighting.

Lend-lease was titled "an act to promote the defense of the United States." Deliveries were recognized not as commercial transactions but as America's share of the burden of war which at that time fell more heavily upon the allies actually doing the fighting, foremost of whom was the USSR.

In entering lend-lease agreement with the USSR on June 11, 1942, Presi-

dent Roosevelt stated: "The President of the United States of America has decided in elaboration of the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, that the defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against aggression is of vital importance to the defense of the United States of America."

Accordingly, the USSR could expect that settlement of lend-lease agreements would take into consideration the proportionate sacrifices of each of the allies. The pertinent fact which should govern settlement is that the Soviet Union by its magnificent fight destroyed more fascists and therefore saved the lives of more American soldiers than any other single ally. It is also true that the USSR suffered more destruction and greater military and civilian losses than any other country. President Roosevelt, in May, 1944, said: "Millions of Germans and Japanese will never fight against the Americans because they have been killed or captured by our allies. Lend-lease is working for America on the Russian front."

In 1945, President Truman told Congress that the Soviet Far Eastern armies were "tying down the powerful divisions of the Kwantung Army along the Manchurian frontier and as a result of this the Japanese could not launch these divisions against American, Chinese and other Allied forces."

And yet the lend-lease settlement proposed by the State Department not only ignores these facts, but is actually discriminatory. Accordingly, the Soviet Union has apparently given up hope for preferential treatment and is asking for a settlement at least no worse than the one concluded with England.

Facts in the Controversy

The U.S. gave England 21.5 billion dollars worth of lend-lease—nearly twice the amount given the USSR. The U.S. settled with England for 472 million dollars—about 2 per cent of the value, to be paid over a period of years. This covers all lend-lease material, including \$5,552,000,000 worth of goods which remained in England at the close of the war on Sept. 2, 1945.

The USSR feels that since the Lend-Lease Act applied equally to all allies, settlement should be made without prejudice. The State Department held a different view and demanded settlement amounting to \$1,300,000,000—more than 10 per cent of the total value delivered to the USSR.

After the Soviet Union protested, the U.S. reduced the demand, first to one billion and finally to 800 million dollars. Aside from this strange haggling, the fact remains that the State Department is asking nearly twice the amount accepted from England for half the amount of goods.

The USSR offered 240 million, somewhat over 2 per cent, and about 8.5 per cent of the value of goods remaining as of Sept. 2, 1945.

The Ship Deal

Apparently realizing its awkward position in the disparity of its demands on the USSR as compared to England, the U.S. attempts to becloud the issue by reopening questions previously agreed upon. We refer to the ship deal, the subject of many obviously inspired stories in our press.

These are the facts. In 1948-49, understandings were reached concerning lend-lease merchant vessels and some small naval craft to be retained by the Soviet Union. Many are by now badly battered and unseaworthy and in need of complete overhaul. But the purchase price of the merchant vessels was completely agreed upon. Now, completely reversing itself, the U.S. demands their return. The absurdity of this demand is highlighted by the fact that the U.S. is selling naval craft, small and large, to countries in South America, to Japan, France, Greece, Turkey and others.

The Soviet Union insists on honoring agreements previously made. The irresponsible behavior of the State Department in repudiating even these relatively minor agreements with the USSR is characteristic of the spite that has replaced our one-time dignified big-power attitude in dealing with the Soviet Union.

ROKOSSOVSKY

Poland's Number One Hero

ON our last night in Warsaw, the leaders of the delegation were entertained at a state dinner by President Beirut. The speeches were translated into English by Prof. Leopold Infeld, the physicist who used to be at the University of Toronto and now has returned to his native Warsaw where he is greatly honored at the new university. Opposite us at the table sat his wife, an American. . . . At the close of the dinner, President Beirut left the hall, followed by a distinguished military figure . . . Mrs. Enfeld leaned across the table:

"That is General Rokossovsky, the hero of Stalingrad and liberator of Poland. My children will touch my hand with awe when I tell them I shook hands with him. He is Hero Number One in Poland, you know."

"Isn't he the one that our papers picture as the Russian general who has come to direct Polish affairs for Stalin?" I asked.

"Yes, he's the one, but they don't tell you he was a Polish exile who rose to the top in the Red Army of the Soviet Union—like the Toronto boy who has made good in New York and comes back to be honored in Toronto. The Poles are immensely proud of him, not because he fought in the army of the Soviet Union, but because he is the greatest of the Polish Generals."

From *My Journey for Peace*, by Mary Austin Endicott, wife of Dr. James G. Endicott, Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress. The Endicotts were missionaries in China for twenty years.

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