

SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓

NEW WORLD

JULY, 1951

20¢

Review



Peace in Korea Can
Block World War

• Soviet Aggression
Myth or Fact?

• Mme. Sun Yat-sen
World Woman No. 1

About Those Summer "Doldrums"

SUMMER "doldrums," some people say. But can there be a pause in the job of preventing war—with all its horrors?

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NEW WORLD *Review*

July

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JESSICA SMITH, Editor
FREDERICK V. FIELD, Far Eastern Editor
ANDREW VOYNOW, Managing Editor
SENDER GARLIN, Associate Editor
DONALD SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager

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FOR THE DEFENSE OF AMERICA

by JESSICA SMITH

NO SINGLE ACT has more glaringly exposed the fraudulent premises on which our government bases its foreign policy than the June 4 Supreme Court decision upholding the Constitutionality of the Smith Act. The ruling means jail for the eleven Communist leaders, not for anything they did, but for what a hostile court adjudged their intentions.

The Court also struck a blow at the people's right to legal defense in refusing to review the contempt convictions of the lawyers in the case.

The Administration is now engaged in a vast imperialist war program in the name of defending the "free world" against the threat of "Communist tyranny" supposedly embodied in the policies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

They try to justify this program on the basis that the "free world" is threatened by a sinister outside power which would impose on it an ideology designed to overthrow constitutional government, set up a police state regime, shackle the right of free speech, control men's thought.

In the name of defending the "free world" and ourselves from a non-existent threat, Truman's Supreme Court has itself moved toward imposing on America from within the very type of regime it professes to abhor.

The Smith Act which the Supreme Court upholds, in fact destroys the First Amendment to our Constitution

which declares that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech. Thus our own Constitutional Government is dangerously undermined.

The virtual outlawing of the Communist Party effected by the Supreme Court decision not only subjects all Communists to police persecution. It opens the way, as we have seen in Hitler Germany, for suppressing all political dissent, for depriving the trade unions and other democratic organizations and minorities like the Negro and Jewish people of their rights.

In decreeing that men are to be judged not by their deeds, not even by their words, but by their supposed intent, the majority decision has reached new depths in thought control.

The decision threatens police state measures against all who oppose the war in Korea or any other aspect of the government's foreign policy, against those who defend the rights of minorities, against those who ask for higher wages.

IN HIS minority dissent, Justice Hugo Black expressed the hope that "in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Failure to protest now and with

all our strength will too long defer those calmer times. Justice Black himself showed why:

These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government.

The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and to publish certain ideas at a later date: the indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech and newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.

No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids. I would hold section 3 of the Smith Act authorizing this prior restraint unconstitutional on its face and as applied.

Justice Black might have added that no evidence was adduced in proof of the charge that writings of Marxism-Leninism did indeed advocate violent overthrow of the government, and that the interpretation of hired stool-pigeons was accepted by the court against the actual evidence of the written word that no such advocacy existed.

Justice William Douglas, in his dissenting opinion, declared that the trial record contained no evidence whatsoever that the acts charged created any "clear and present danger" to the country. He noted that no evidence of seditious or violent actions was introduced at the trial, but only of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism as contained in books that remain lawfully on library shelves, and that therefore the Smith Act, as construed, required the element of intent. He continued:

That is to make freedom of speech turn not on what is said, but on the intent with which it is said. Once we start down that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen. . . . We then start probing men's minds for motive and purpose; they become entangled in law not for what they did but for what they thought; they get convicted not for what they said but for the purpose for which they said it. . . . Never until today has anyone thought that the ancient law of conspiracy could be used to turn free speech into seditious conduct.

The clear and present danger is in the action of the court itself in opening the way for an intensification of the drive toward fascism and war.

Let it not be forgotten that it was under this same mask of "anti-Communism" that Hitler and his allies carried out the aggressive war that brought death and horror to so many millions.

Important national organizations and newspapers and many leading Americans have spoken out in support of the minority decisions of Justices Black and Douglas, demanding that a re-hearing of the Communists' appeal be granted, and that the Smith Act be repealed. The Progressive Party, the American Labor Party, the Furriers, the UE and other unions have taken the lead in mobilizing public protest that must swell to gigantic proportions.

Along with the demand for the repeal of the Smith Act, there must be vigorous support for Congressman Sabath's Bill for the repeal of the lawless McCarran Act. In hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington that are a travesty of justice, the Department of Justice is trying to prove that the Communist Party shall be declared a "Communist Action" organization and ordered to register as a foreign

agent. If the Government wins this case, it will go after the so-called "Communist Front" organizations. No one who takes a stand similar to that of the Communist Party on peace or any other issue will be safe.

BUT the people are determined to defend their right to speak for peace. That is why the hopes of all decent Americans are pinned on the great American People's Peace Congress and Exposition called by the American Peace Crusade for June 29-July 1 in Chicago. The Congress is bringing together thousands of people from all over the country, of varying backgrounds and political beliefs, united in their great yearning for peace.

Special emphasis is being placed at the Congress on support for the resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Edwin C. Johnson urging an armistice in the Korean War at the 38th Parallel, and withdrawal of all foreign troops. The Resolution, endorsed by Senator Hendrickson (R. — N. J.), Senator Butler (R. — Md.), Senator Magnuson (D. — Wash.) and Senator Langer (R. — N. Dakota), is winning tremendous public support.

That peace in the ravaged land of Korea is possible is made clear by the peace offers that have been made by the North Korean Government and the Chinese People's Republic.

That peace is possible in Europe is made clear by the numerous concessions the Soviet Union has made on the agenda for the proposed Foreign Ministers' Conference. They have agreed to place on the agenda both the American and their own formula on the question of armaments. They have agreed to include all other points put forward by the United States, insisting only that the question of the North Atlantic Pact



— Boris Efimov,
Literaturnaya Gazeta

and U.S. military bases must be considered by the Foreign Ministers.

That peace is possible everywhere is made clear by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who are signing petitions for a peace pact among the five great powers.

The June 4 decision is based on a denial that peace is possible.

It is the highest patriotic duty of every American who cherishes the democratic traditions of our country to speak out at once for the reversal of this decision born of war hysteria. It can be reversed as surely as have other evil decisions in the past.

This is a supreme moment of crisis for the American people. Those who are silent now must share the guilt of transforming our country into a police state and bringing closer World War III.

Who with a conscience, who with a shred of decency and humanity, can fail to speak out in defense of America — the America we love — and peace?

PEACE IN KOREA

Can Block World War III

by FREDERICK V. FIELD

CAN an effective, powerful peace movement be built in America?

The answer to this question can best be gleaned—one year after the outbreak of the Korean conflict—by a review of the Far Eastern crisis and its implications for world peace or world war.

While not the key to the issues, the MacArthur episode nevertheless reveals in a dramatic way what the dispute among the bipartisan formulators of American foreign policy is all about. And, particularly, it shows what the dispute is *not* about.

MacArthur's position can be outlined as follows:

First, that war against the Soviet Union and against China and the other People's Democracies as well as against the rising national movements in the colonies must be launched now—not at a later time.

Second, that the war must be initiated and to a large measure fought in Eastern Asia. Why? Because he does not believe the people's power is yet consolidated and developed in Eastern Asia, and because he believes that given American leadership down to the battalion and even company level, as well as necessary arms and supplies, an enormous mercenary army of Asians can be utilized against their own

people. He believes that with the control of Asia and its gigantic population and vast resources the whole world can be controlled.

Third, that American and other "Western" land forces should not be used because there are not enough of them, because they do not make good troops in a war the purpose of which they either do not understand or detest, and because it is dangerous to arm the masses of the industrialized West. MacArthur believes, however, that American air and sea forces should be heavily committed to devastate the countryside of Asia and its people with atom bombs and, where atom bombs would be ineffective, with jellied gasoline and other barbaric devices.

Finally, MacArthur's thinking on these subjects was not uninfluenced by the realization that he, MacArthur the Magnificent, was there in Asia in person to lead his forces in their war of conquest. Who else could be entrusted with such an historic task? Who else had the genius to command history to retrace its steps?

MacArthur has had support in these policies, of course, from Chiang Kai-shek and his Madame, from Syngman Rhee and Quirino and Bao Dai, and from the Japanese

pro-fascists responsible for Pearl Harbor whom he placed back in power.

His policies have found support in this country among those financial and industrial groups who see more possibilities for expansion in the undeveloped parts of the world than in Europe, which is so firmly in the grasp of other and older American financial-industrial combinations.

His policies have been supported by the not inconsiderable group in the Senate and out of it, who are in the pay of the notorious China lobby. His policies are also supported by those who grab hold of any issue, real or false, to gain political and financial advantage over those currently in the political majority.

And, finally, there are many rank and file citizens, good, decent people, so bamboozled by the war propaganda that as likely as not they supported the aura-encircled general against the conspicuously unglamorous President. The real peace movement has not yet reached these people.

MacArthur was fired because the dominant group among our ruling circles disagree with his *approach* to the war problem. Among the top political spokesmen for this group are Truman, Acheson, Marshall, Bradley and Eisenhower.

They do not agree that the Far East is the proper place for the war to be concentrated. From bitter experience they have learned that Chiang Kai-shek's mercenary troops, as well as Syngman Rhee's American trained and equipped army, fail, under combat conditions, to give Wall Street priority over the fate of their own people. They make unreliable soldiers in the crusade against freedom.

Furthermore the political power of this dominant majority rests

upon those sections of American industry and finance which are thoroughly entrenched in Europe and the Near East and can hold off the organized exploitation of East Asia until tomorrow.

It is plain as day that the MacArthur episode reflects a difference of opinion as to how, when and where to start World War III, not a difference as to a war policy itself. Did not General Bradley say so in so many words?

Yet despite the fact that the Europe-firsters are at the moment in the ascendancy, war broke out in Korea and still threatens to spread from there. Despite the concentration on Europe the American military government virtually seized Taiwan (Formosa) from China. Despite the military emphasis on Europe, American arms are pouring into Indo-China and are being used in an immediate war against the Vietnamese. Despite the European priority the American government

One aspect of the war which has become known as the Korean horror



continues to defy 475 million Chinese and most of the rest of the world by stubbornly refusing to recognize the Chinese People's Republic or to permit it to take its rightful place in the United Nations. How are these apparent contradictions to be explained?

This presents us with nothing very strange or new. Contradictions, to say nothing of confusion and conflicts, are characteristic of imperialism. They are as much a part of it as its aggressiveness.

We know that there is an inherent contradiction in a capitalist society between the producer's need for markets and his urge to cut the wages of his prospective client. Under capitalism that contradiction cannot be solved. In the search for new markets, which at this late stage in the history of capitalism becomes a struggle for world domination, gigantic forces of world-wide aggression are set in motion which inevitably clash with each other as well as with the areas and institutions they seek to dominate. After all, you cannot grow rubber or mine tin with semi-feudal labor and at the same time expect those workers to buy refrigerators.

No more can imperialist rulers say "we will aggress rapidly here and more slowly there," or "we will have a big war here and a small controlled one there." Life does not work out that way. Mr. Truman cannot say to the people of Asia. "Now, be good people and stay quietly under my heel while I crack down upon your brothers and sisters in Europe." Well, perhaps he can say it—after all, he says a lot of things—but it is hardly likely that the Asian people will acquiesce.

The Far Eastern situation has been out of Mr. Truman's control

ever since the American postwar policy of world-wide aggression was put into effect. The power of the American government was not great enough to have its way wherever it wanted. Or to put it the other way around, the people's liberation movements, the anti-war forces all through the world were strong enough to prevent the consolidation of American power.

The general line of American foreign policy that emerged during 1946 and 1947 envisaged an aggressive concentration in Western Europe and what might be termed a holding operation in the Far East. This holding operation was anything but a passive policy, for it counted on a great deal of violence, but violence wielded by puppets rather than the American government itself.

In China, for instance, Chiang Kai-shek was to do the dirty work with only an assist from Washington. Having no basic understanding of the forces in motion in China, or elsewhere in East Asia, the American government figured that the "strong man" of China could easily control that country for the American government's purposes.

Events proved otherwise and pretty soon, the United States was heavily and inextricably involved in the Chinese civil war. As far as China was concerned there was no such thing as a holding operation. It was a case of more and more intervention, at the cost of distorting America's global policy, or of getting out, at the cost of losing a vital flank of the world-wide manoeuvre.

Long before the Chinese ousted the Americans and their policies as well as Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland, the Chinese people had thrown the bi-partisan post-war



Civilians are bound before execution by the South Koreans in this war that has brought death to hundreds of thousands of Korean women and children

policy off balance. By their refusal to knuckle under to the hated and discredited American puppet Chiang Kai-shek, and by their vigorous pursuit of their own national welfare, they shattered the comfortable timetable the American imperialists had established for themselves, and threw their whole strategy for the Far East out of kilter.

The defeat of America in China was one of the factors which led to American aggression in Korea. For what did this defeat mean?

It meant, first of all, that the anti-imperialist camp had become immeasurably stronger.

It meant that the alliance of peoples and nations of which the Soviet Union was the inspiration and the leader had suddenly nearly doubled.

It meant, furthermore, that the United States, as leader and dominant force in the capitalist world, had lost its place d'armes on the Asiatic mainland and had to withdraw to a peripheral chain stretching from South Korea, through Japan and Taiwan, to the Philippines. As the Asiatic periphery extended around the lower end of the continent, it involved the Dutch, French and British colonies, and finally the immense and uncertain quantity, India.

The victory of the Chinese people furnished a tremendous stimulant to the peoples all along this periphery, a factor which made it all the more difficult for the United States to make use of its secondary position on the outskirts of Asia against the mainland.

This, however, was just what the American government sought to do. It speeded up the consolidation of its political and military position in areas under its direct control, such as South Korea, Japan, Okinawa, Guam and the Philippines. It subsidized Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan. Elsewhere it intervened with arms and weapons on behalf of the Dutch, British and French. Quite aside from direct arms aid given by the American government to the French militarists, French expenditures to reconquer Indochina have closely paralleled the ECA funds given directly to France.

The American policy was not, however, limited to establishing positions on this vast periphery. These areas were to be used, while they were being militarily built up, to harass the new Chinese government and to prevent, if possible, its consolidation and development. Project X operated from these areas by means of spies, saboteurs and as-

sassins. An attempt was made to blockade the Chinese coast. Bandits and wreckers were furnished arms and funds. Even the Voice of America was relayed from these ocean stations.

The policy was not successful either in building a strong American military position which could be relied upon in the future, or in seriously bothering the new China.

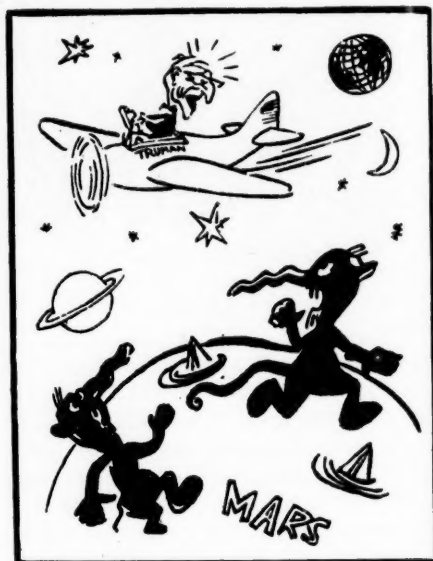
It was in Korea, however, that the situation was most disturbing to the American plans. For here was an area, the southern part of which had been under complete American control for nearly five years and which was economically bankrupt and politically in revolt against the reactionary leadership of the American puppet, Syngman Rhee.

By way of contrast, the northern half of Korea, originally under USSR occupation but now governed by its own people's democracy, was making rapid forward strides and exerting an increasingly effective influence on the southern Koreans. Those sympathetic with the North were obviously destined to lead a united Korean government freely chosen by the entire population.

Korea was not only the last American toehold on the mainland, but it also constituted the physical link between the new anti-imperialist world and the world of the MacArthurs and Dulles' and Trumans and their wretched Far Eastern puppets.

It was here that war finally broke out, following a series of provocations by the puppet Syngman Rhee. Subsequently published documents convincingly show that these provocations were fully supported by the American authorities.

Like everything else in the Far East, the Korean war has not gone according to the American plan. It



TRUMAN: Clear off this planet!
You're threatening U.S. security!
—Dibokraz, Prague

was to be a quick push-over for the Americans. As we all know it has turned out quite otherwise. It is today called the Korean horror. It is the most concentrated piece of deliberate mass murder and destruction the world has known. It has brought shame and hatred to the American nation and its stupidly arrogant rulers. It has placed upon the shoulders of decent, peace-loving Americans, the immense responsibility of finding ways to put an end to these bestial policies.

There can be no doubt that the firing of MacArthur partly reflects the storm of criticism and protest that has arisen throughout this land and from the four quarters of the globe over the Korean horror. It also reflects the crisis of American policy itself in its failure to achieve its aggressive designs.

American aggression in Korea has succeeded only in destroying

most of that nation, in deepening the contradictions between the American imperialists and their allies, and in creating conflicts both superficial and profound at home. The cause of American world domination has been injured, not strengthened by this mad adventure. The bi-partisans, in wrangling among themselves, have inevitably exposed their own motives and schemes—and the exposure is not a pretty sight.

Anything that weakens the war camp strengthens the camp of peace. But there is more to it than that. There is taking place in this country, largely as a result of the Korean horror, a positive awakening of a widespread peace sentiment that has long been dormant.

For the first time in this long world crisis we Americans are beginning to show that we intend to join our brothers and sisters throughout the world in an organized, massive resistance to aggression and war.

Events surrounding the Korean crisis have developed in such a way that not only is there now a prospect of keeping the war from spreading in the Far East, but there is also a definite possibility that the American government can be made to accept terms that will halt the Korean horror itself.

If this can be done, if the Ameri-

THE NEW YORK TIMES

50,000 KOREANS DIE IN CAMPS IN SOUTH

PUSAN, Korea, June 12 (UP) — More than 50,000 South Korean draftees have died of starvation or disease since last December in training camps, the chairman of an investigating committee said today.

During the three weeks of forced marching through snow in the bitter cold of winter, he said, approximately 300,000 men deserted or died along the way.

The committee chairman said his investigation had uncovered mass deaths and indescribable suffering caused by profiteering of "corrupt officers" of the Korean National Guard.

can government can be made to withdraw its troops from Korea and take the necessary related steps regarding Taiwan and the Chinese People's Republic, the relative positions of the forces of peace and war will have once again shifted substantially in the direction of world peace and security.

Peace in Korea is the immediate task of the American peace movement. It can be achieved and with its achievement will come added strength to the peace forces for the arduous struggles ahead.

SOVIET COLLEGE ENROLLMENT HIGHEST EVER

THIS AUTUMN more than 350,000 young people will enter the higher educational institutions of the USSR, the largest number in the Soviet Union's history. Interest in the new vast hydroelectric projects is reflected in the fact that the number of students entering engineering and allied institutes will be nearly doubled.

An American Unionist in the USSR

by AMY SCHECHTER

ALEX SIROTA is one of a group of eighteen men and women from several cities, all trade unionists, who returned last month from a visit to the Soviet Union. He is energetic, broad-shouldered and stocky, he has lively brown eyes in a tanned face and his thick grey hair springs straight up from his forehead. For many years he worked here in New York as a mattress-maker when the going was very tough and fought for better conditions and then continued the fight as manager of Local No. 140 of the United Furniture Workers union.

When a man like this gets a chance for a firsthand view of how workers live in Soviet cities, observing shop conditions, how the union functions, the sort of homes people live in, what they can buy at the stores, the kind of schools their children attend and how their sons and daughters are being raised—he sees all this in a concrete frame of reference. He can appraise what he sees realistically out of long years of experience in dealing with the problems a worker is up against here in the United States. So that even when he can spare only three weeks, his observations add up to a rough but true outline of the basic patterns of the Soviet way of life.

Here are some of the significant details that stood out when he talked about his time over there. Visiting the Stalin Auto Plant in Moscow,

that employs 25,000, he learned that during postwar reconversion all its workers were retained at full rates of pay. He learned that the clause giving workers bonuses for length of time on the job is actively in operation and that the worker gets a 10 per cent bonus—not of base pay but of complete annual earnings, including all production bonuses—after he has remained one year on the job, 15 per cent after three years, 20 per cent after five, 25 per cent after ten, and 30 per cent of earnings after fifteen years.

A girls' school the group visited in Moscow had 631 pupils and 58 teachers. It stood in this huge city of seven million and yet some two hundred fruit trees had been planted around its buildings—by the children themselves—so that from the windows they looked out on a cloud of pink and white blossoms instead of the dreary walls our city children see.

"Of the 58 teachers 28 had been decorated for good teaching; the buildings had been damaged but rebuilt; the school was very clean and nice and cheerful, sunlight and plants everywhere and pictures," Sirota said. "The classes were not crowded, there was a large dining room with flowers on the table, and two doctors and a dentist for the school.

"We were very well received by the children, they were glad to see

Americans. There was especially one girl, about 14, from the top class. She had long braids tied with ribbons, a beautiful girl with dark eyes. She spoke from the heart. She asked us if we had seen their war-devastated areas, said we should make it our business to see them. She asked us to bring their school-children's greetings to American boys and girls, they wanted to be friends with them, and more than anything, she said, tell them that Soviet youth are for peace, tell this to the people of the United States."

Watching the men and women working at the Stalin Auto Plant he found, "They don't hustle on the job . . . you see no speedup on the assembly line." Higher production in these plants comes from organization of production, new work methods, not speedup. The shop he found "clean, light and airy."

He set down an incident typical of the unlimited opportunities open to men and women in the shops. His group was visiting the Stalin Auto Plant's big Palace of Culture (130,000 square feet; 4 libraries, one for children, 100,000 books, drama, music, lecture circles, mechanical study rooms for workers going on to be engineers or perfecting their skill on the job, studios for painting and sculpture). "We met this girl

there — she formerly worked in the plant. She was around twenty, and very good looking. She liked to sing when she was working in the shop, then at night she took up singing at the Palace of Culture, then she went further—she had the plant to back her up—studied to become a professional, and last year she won a singing prize at the Budapest Youth Festival."

Sirota liked the children's hospital, where there was one nurse to every five children. "It had 23 separate buildings, set in gardens. It is built on 10 acres of land, there are about 750 beds, the rooms are nice, clean, bright, there are 1,100 employed, and about 1000 students are getting training there. We met a Korean woman there, young, with a baby a year or two old. It had some obscure disease they didn't have the facilities to treat in Korea; so they brought her there with the child, they had a separate bright airy room."

The newest subway line, connecting the three circular lines—he found terrific. About the stations: "Think of the Chase National Bank," he said, "that's about a tenth of one percent of what they're like. Each station different, marble, murals and statues, air conditioning, escalators, the floor so clean you could eat off it even with so many using it. One

American delegates attend a concert in the Theater of the Trade Unions in Moscow. 2nd from right is Alex Sirota, manager of Local 140, Furniture Workers.



quarter of each car—they're good looking, streamlined—partitioned off for pregnant women and women with small children and old people and invalids—they don't have to wait for a seat."

The tremendous will to peace and friendship with other nations, encountered everywhere, he saw in especially dramatic form on May Day.

In the morning the rain came down in a regular cloudburst. "Finally the interpreter suggested we leave the Red Square though the people were going right ahead with their great celebration. As we were making our way through the crowds to our hotel, word went round that we were American trade unionists. The people surrounded us, stood around us in crowds, right there in the rain, we couldn't move.

"They said the Soviet Union had suffered enough in the last war, that they had lost millions of lives, their homes were destroyed, now they wanted to build, to make the world a better place to live in. They were horrified at the very thought of war; they had had enough of war.

"Men and women and children surrounded us, they kept firing questions at us:—What is the situation in the United States, are they preparing for war? The rain came down terribly, and hail, but they were determined to stay, to talk to people from the United States.

"Then they talked specially to the Negro delegates—six of the eighteen—they told them, here there is no discrimination, we are one people; they picked them up—carried them on their shoulders for blocks and as many as could get near put their arms round them. Knowing they were oppressed they specially wanted to make them feel at home, among

friends. The girls took the great armfuls of flowers they were carrying in the parade and loaded the Negro women of our group with them.

"Next day, at an Art Exhibition we visited there were some girls, 13 or 14 years old, they saw we were Americans and asked us, 'Why didn't Paul Robeson come too?'"

On a Friday night Alex Sirota and some of the others visited a Moscow synagogue. "We sat and listened to a good *khazan* (cantor)," he said, "The congregation were mostly older people. Some of them wore *talaisim* (prayer shawls). It was the regular traditional Friday night service. The synagogue was a good building and well kept up. After the service we spoke to the rabbi, an elderly man with a long white beard. He told us they got the building rent-free; the congregation supported the synagogue like they do here."

In Leningrad he felt the special flavor of the great city, that like the other cities of the land has retained its individuality or rather deepened it in this Soviet era. The people in Moscow he had found nicely dressed he said, but in Leningrad there was a certain added flair. But the memory of the war was even keener there. "Right on the outskirts we saw the remains of the first and second and third lines of defense; on the way to Tsarskoe-selo we could see the trenches and the bomb craters."

A housing project he visited there, connected with the Kirov machinery plant, he found a pleasant place. The three story buildings were surrounded with grass and trees. It was Sunday morning. Invited into an apartment occupied by a couple—their 17-year-old son was away

studying to be an engineer—he found flower-boxes in all the windows, nice upholstered furniture, starched curtains, plenty of light and air. They were in their forties. He made 2500 rubles a month, she preferred not to work, they had saved some ten thousand rubles in the past year, she said.

At a shoe factory, he found that 4,000 were employed, 65 per cent of them women. They produced about 20,000 pairs of shoes daily, women's and childrens. Machines were modern. The shoes put out were green, red, blue, as well as black and white and brown. The shops were roomy and clean, and here too as in practically all these larger factories the trade union ran its own cultural center.

The chief engineer of the tobacco factory he visited was "a nice-looking woman of around forty." She informed the American group that the factory, employing 2,500, had exceeded its quota that year, that the surplus profits earned had been returned to the plant by the government, and that out of it they had built two six-story apartment houses for the factory workers, and the war widows and their families and veterans injured in the war.

The delegation went to Sochi, on the Black Sea, former luxury spot for vacationing princes and wealthy merchants. They visited the rest homes, still palatial, now occupied by textile workers and coal miners on vacation.

About the place run by the miners' union Sirota says: "It's a paradise, it's hard to describe. . . . It's all spotless, there are the finest carpets on the floors. It faces the Black Sea, there's a beautiful garden with a fountain, a big swimming pool—with subtropical gardens all around.



American trade unionists resting in a park in the Soviet capital

"Whole families come there for their vacation. I visited a family of three; they had a large bedroom, living room, beautifully furnished, and a balcony with rocking chairs, facing the sea. And I visited a young couple who had a large room, they gave us a warm welcome, the miner's wife, a young blonde smiling girl, loaded us down with flowers.

"I was especially interested to see the complete medical equipment and the doctors and nurses employed there. You can hardly compare the swankiest hotels here with this miners' rest home."

Summing up, Sirota said, "My feeling was that I was seeing trade unionists who are part of a free trade union movement, with constant safeguards—like the regular election of trade union bodies, from the local on up, by secret ballot—for the democratic functioning of the unions which mean so much to them."

SOVIET AGGRESSION

Myth or Fact?

by

CORLISS LAMONT

IN APRIL, 1951, the conservative *Wall Street Journal* declared: "Unfortunately, the tactic of the manufactured crisis has been used so often that neither Congress nor the people know what they can believe."

The manufactured crisis depends on the manufactured myth. And of all the myths conjured up by the anti-Soviet forces of the United States and the Western World, the most far-fetched and far-reaching is that the Soviet Union is bent on military aggression. The underlying premise of the North Atlantic Pact is that Soviet armies will invade and over-run Western Europe if they get the opportunity. The same premise lies behind the colossal expenditures on armaments of the American Government.

Building up the bogey of Soviet aggression has been a remarkably convenient and successful means of

producing in America an atmosphere of hysteria and fear. I am convinced that this anti-Soviet propaganda is false and dangerous, and as harmful to the establishment of world peace as to the maintenance of American democracy.

I see at least twenty reasons why Soviet military aggression is most unlikely, either now or in the future.

1. The Soviet Russians, remembering poignantly their terrible losses in property and human life during the First and Second World Wars, and especially in Hitler's cruel and destructive invasion, are utterly opposed, from the viewpoint of simple self-preservation and national well-being, to undergoing a third and perhaps even worse ordeal in an international conflict involving use of the atom bomb.

2. The Soviet Russians wish above all to go on with their reconstruction of the devastated areas and the building of Socialism, and not to have this program set back for years through an all-out war.

3. Repeated and reliable reports from Soviet Russia during the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, 1946-50, indicate that the Soviet peo-

DR. CORLISS LAMONT, philosopher, teacher and writer, has long been active in the promotion of American-Soviet understanding. Most recent of his extensive writings on the USSR is "The Peoples of the Soviet Union." The points he makes here are dealt with more fully in a pamphlet he has just published, "Soviet Aggression: Myth or Reality?"

ple are in fact preoccupied with tremendous projects of peaceful economic construction and that their minds are not dwelling upon dreams of military conquest.

4. The Soviet Union, stretching over two continents, and larger than all North America, possesses within its vast domains practically all the raw materials necessary for its economy.

5. The huge size of Soviet Russia, together with its material riches and economic development, means that it has plenty of room for its expanding population.

6. The public ownership of the main means of production and distribution in the USSR prevents private individuals and groups from profiting financially from armaments or any other war activity.

7. Although in the current disordered and threatening state of the world the Soviet Republic must maintain an army and armaments for defense, it stands as always for disarmament agreements between the different nations and has repeatedly

made concrete proposals towards this end, both in the United Nations and elsewhere.

8. The Soviet plan calling for the destruction of all atom bombs, manufactured by whatever country, and for effective international supervision of atomic energy, demonstrates its own wish and intention to use its atomic resources for peaceful purposes and the further economic upbuilding of the nation.

9. Soviet Russia's economic system of socialist planning, having overcome the great economic depressions, famines and periods of mass unemployment so characteristic of the past, makes altogether needless and irrelevant the classic method of military adventure as a way of temporarily submerging internal crises and sidetracking the revolutionary discontent of the population. Furthermore, since the Soviet people always have the purchasing power to buy back the goods which they produce, there is no overwhelming pressure to acquire foreign markets and spheres of influence for getting rid of surplus products.

Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR voting on the Peace Defense Act which makes any kind of war propaganda a criminal offense in the Soviet Union



10. The Soviet Union, despite its relative self-sufficiency in an economic sense, desires normal international trade with the other nations of the earth. It has ever sought to establish good business relations with the United States and Western Europe, exchanging raw materials for machinery and finished goods.

11. The Soviet Government has repeatedly stressed the possibility and the common sense of the capitalist and socialist nations of the world peacefully co-existing and co-operating for limited but important international ends.

12. While the Soviet Russians clearly wish to see world socialism established, they do not favor trying to extend Communist principles to other lands through the means of armed invasion. The Soviets support the thesis that "Revolution cannot be exported," but must be the outcome of indigenous radical movements in whatever country is concerned.

13. The idea of military aggression and international war, except in legitimate self-defense, is contrary to the mainstream of Marxist and Soviet doctrine, from Karl Marx down to the present time.

Whatever opinions one may hold concerning the origin of the struggle in Korea in the summer of 1950, there is no evidence that Soviet Russia was responsible. Certainly it has not intervened in the conflict to offset the cruel and devastating intervention of the United States and United Nations.

14. Despite the fact that the Soviet Union possesses mighty armies and air fleets, no responsible leader

in its governmental, military, economic, journalistic or cultural affairs has once made the suggestion during the troubled years since World War II that it should initiate a preventive war or bomb a foreign country. This record compares very favorably with the statements by many leading public figures in the United States, some of them government officials, that America should launch an atom-bomb assault on Soviet Russia.

15. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, corresponding in its political functions to the United States Congress, passed in March, 1951, a law making any kind of war propaganda illegal in the Soviet Republic.

16. The Soviet Government has made no concrete military moves in any part of the world indicating aggressive intentions against any country. On the other hand, the Soviet Union carried out extensive demobilization of its armies during 1945, 1946 and 1947.

17. If the Soviet Government were really plotting military aggression against, for example, Western Europe, it would presumably have started the war before the rearmament of the Atlantic powers had made such headway and at a time when the American military forces were preoccupied in the Far East.

18. Joseph Stalin, having successfully seen his country through to the establishment of the first socialist commonwealth in history and having led the Soviet people to victory in the Second World War, would in all likelihood prefer to enhance his reputation as a statesman by helping to ensure an era of peace for the Soviet Union and mankind.

The Soviet Union is so preoccupied with such huge peaceful construction as the Moscow University (right) and other projects as to preclude any thought of preparation for aggression



19. If we review the history of Soviet foreign policy from the birth of the Soviet Republic in 1917 down to the outbreak of World War II, we find a continuous and consistent record on behalf of international peace and understanding.

20. During the period of current history since the triumph of the United Nations over the Axis Powers, Soviet Russia, in consonance with its past record, has steadfastly striven for international peace and reasonable agreements with the United States. In its foreign policy since 1945, I believe that the Soviet Union has made serious mistakes, chiefly of a tactical nature, and has at times acted in an obdurate and arbitrary manner. But on the whole over the past six years it has shown a willingness to compromise for the sake of world amity and a desire to make the United Nations a successfully functioning organization. Soviet leaders have given voice again and again to the theme of peaceful co-existence between the socialist and capitalist blocs; and have repeatedly proposed a top-level confer-

ence between the USSR and the USA for the purpose of reaching some sort of over-all settlement.

The Truman Administration has frowned upon such a conference, having built up a spurious identification between peace and appeasement. This untenable position is, again, based on the assumption that the Soviet Union harbors aggressive military designs. I am convinced that the United States can and should reach a peaceful agreement with Soviet Russia, on honorable and mutually advantageous terms.

In these twenty points I have sought to sum up briefly the chief reasons why I think Soviet military aggression will not take place. The warmongers have built up an identification between peace and appeasement. Obviously there can be no question of appeasement of a nation that has no aggressive purposes. I believe a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union on honorable terms is possible and should be earnestly sought by our Administration.

I could be wrong, but this is the way the international picture looks to me.

WORLD WOMAN

NUMBER ONE

by

ESLANDA ROBESON

IF ANYONE were to ask me to name the first woman in the world today, I would without hesitation name Soong Ching-ling, widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder and father of the Chinese Republic. Today Soong Ching-ling is Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China and President of the Chinese People's Relief Administration.

I could not use the term "First Lady" to describe Soong Ching-ling, because she is so much more than that old-fashioned and artificial term implies. She is the most important member of one of the most important families in one of the most important countries of the world. She is a leader, truly representative of the best of the old and the new in her country. She is revered and beloved by her countrymen. But Soong Ching-ling's shining quality, the dignity and strength which impress all who come in contact with her, lie in her deep sense of being not only one of the 250 million women of China, one of the 500 million people of China, but also one of and one with

the billions of women and people of the world.

The first time I met Soong Ching-ling was the night our delegation to the Conference of Asian Women arrived in Shanghai, on December 21, 1949. Our train pulled into the station at 12:15 A.M., and we were all astonished to find a great crowd gathered in the square around the railroad station to welcome us. Paper lanterns glowed and flares made a warm and beautiful picture in the cold darkness. The foreign visitors were taken to a platform set up in the center of the Square to greet the people and be greeted by them.

I was standing in the front line on the platform when I suddenly felt the gentle pressure behind me of someone trying to get through. I moved aside and turned, and there stood Soong Ching-ling, smiling apologetically, making her way to the microphone so that she could deliver her speech.

I recognized her immediately from her pictures. She was beautiful, fragile, serene and glowing, modest and stately. Her companion, whom I had met in Peking, promptly introduced me. Soong Ching-ling gave me a warm smile of welcome and asked for news of Paul and Pauline.

I saw her again the following evening, when she presided with graciousness and simplicity over a magnificent dinner at the famous Golden Gate Hotel in Shanghai which she gave in honor of the delegates to the Conference.

The following day she invited me

ESLANDA ROBESON (Mrs. Paul Robeson) is a distinguished anthropologist and lecturer. Among her writings is "African Journey" and, with Pearl Buck, "American Argument." We are glad to announce that she will write further articles for New World Review



Mme. Sun Yat-sen, Vice Chairman of the People's Republic of China, tells these kiddies in a Shanghai nursery about world events. This lesson is on Israel

to her lovely modest house in the old International Concession of Shanghai. Over a delicious lunch of fascinating Chinese food I listened to her eager, informal, informed conversation in perfect English. She not only had much to tell, but much to ask, because her deep concern for her own people is bound up with a deep concern for the people of the world.

She inquired eagerly about the Progressive Party, the American Labor Party, the Women's movement and about the peace movement in the United States, showing by her questions an extraordinary knowledge of what is going on in our country.

While I was eager to hear from Soong Ching-ling of her ideas and her role in the total development of the New China, I was especially anxious to know of the great changes in the position of women.

Under the old order, as I knew, women had no status whatever. The rule was: "Before marriage, obey your father; after marriage, obey your husband; after the death of

your husband, obey your son." Obey, obey, obey.

Today the women of China are equal partners with men. Soong Ching-ling herself—along with many other women of New China—helped to write this equality into the Common Law, Article 6 of which reads:

The people's Republic of China abolishes the feudal system which holds women in bondage; women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be enforced.

Soong Ching-ling told me how the Constitutional guarantees of equality for women have worked out in actual practice.

From the supreme organ of state power to the village councils, women in large numbers are helping to administer the New China. Women hold key posts—Vice-Chairman, Assistant Secretary General, Ministers, Commission members, etc.—in the Government. Women are at the controls of great locomotives, at the steering wheels of tractors, beside modern

lathes in industry. Women are directors of factories, architects, accountants, technicians. Through agrarian reforms, millions of women in rural areas received their own plots of land, that basic prerequisite for economic independence.

In discussing her work in heading up the Chinese relief program, it was interesting to contrast the approach of the New China in combating the underlying causes of social insecurity with the reliance in the West on the palliative measures of charity, doles and the like. Describing the Relief Program, Soong Ching-ling said:

Providing a chance to live and build is the logical basis for a welfare program. Our China Welfare Fund is based on the concept of "Helping people to help themselves." In relief terms this means organization and sustaining of projects which work to support themselves.

The whole concept of relief and welfare work has changed. It is no longer considered as a purely humanitarian and endless process, rather it is looked upon as an important segment of the entire reconstruction program of the People's Government. It is still humanitarian, but it is positive in approach and strives for concrete results that eliminate the need for relief in the future. Welfare services are considered a fundamental right and privilege of every person.

Equally revealing is the comparison of the attitude of the West and that of the New China in their reaction to the ancient disaster of flood. Here in the United States with our great wealth and technical know-how, our government stands by and watches our great rivers continue to flood and raise havoc with our land and our people year after year. When disaster strikes, emergency relief measures are taken, but the powerful

utility lobbies prevent Government action for constructive flood control.

Soong Ching-ling told me of the way her government was tackling this problem. In a recent report she described the constructive flood control measures taken last year:

The Ministry of Water Conservation was called into action and attacked the problem as if it were a nationwide military campaign. They set up a massive operational system of 334 work and observation stations throughout the country, linked directly to a flood-fighting headquarters in Peking by telecommunications.

They mobilized 4,690,000 men and women members of the People's Liberation Army. During special periods they mobilized millions more. These masses of people were used to effect a short-run and long-run plan simultaneously. It meant curbing the waters immediately, and at the same time working toward strongly harnessing them for the future, so they would benefit the people, not destroy them. The army of flood fighters were paid for their labors by the Government. At the same time they were educated as to the meaning of their work. Every detail was carefully explained to them. . . .

This strenuous effort enables me to report that seven out of ten hectares under water last year are now under cultivation. In addition vital and vast



irrigation projects were accomplished. . . . As a side result, from this particular project will come 3 million kilowatts of electric power for drainage.

As a leader in the new world of which China is a part, it is projects



Peasants (left) discuss plans for relief from floods in Tanshan. Right: relief workers set out for the affected areas of Hopei Province in China

—Eastfoto

like this which Soong Ching-ling likes to talk about. But for her personal story, her own great role in bringing the New China into being, one has to go to other sources.

Soong Ching-ling was born in Hainan in 1890, into what was to become the most famous family in China, the fabulous Soong family. The Soong household was wealthy, deeply religious (they are Chinese Christians) and revolutionary. The children were educated in the United States, and returned to China to play important roles in the politics and government of their country.

The three famous Soong sisters and their brother are very different personalities.

Soong Ching-ling (Righteous Years) herself was graduated from Wesleyan College, in Macon, Georgia, in June, 1913. She specialized in philosophy and English literature. Her schoolmates said that she made friends easily and kept them long.

Returning home to China after graduation, a beautiful girl of 23, she fell in love with and married Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a man 26 years her senior, whom she had known as a child. She devoted her life thereafter to the furtherance of his aims—for the independence, development and well-being of China and the Chinese people.

Soong Ai-ling (Accomplished

Years) another sister, was the financier of the family, who married another financier, H. H. Kung.

Soong Mei-ling (Beauteous Years) was the politician of the family, who married another politician, Chiang Kai-shek, later to become the corrupt and hated dictator of China.

The Chinese people say: "There are three Soong sisters: one loves power (Madame Chiang), one loves money (Madame Kung), and one loves China (Madame Sun)."

Their brother, T. V. Soong, also loves power and money; he became one of the richest men in China, and was a Premier of the Nationalist Government led by his brother-in-law.

There could hardly be a greater contrast than that between Soong Ching-ling and her sisters—Soong Mei-ling with her luxurious furs, diamond clips, milk baths, silk sheets, imperiousness, entourage and love of power; Soong Ai-ling, with all her money.

Soong Ching-ling would never bathe in milk while a child anywhere in the world was hungry; she would sell the furs, silks and jewels, as she did the motor car given her by popular subscription, and turn the money over to her International Peace Hospital. It is typical of the difference between the sisters that Soong Mei-ling established a school for war or-

phans while she helped to prosecute the war against her own people; Soong Ching-ling works for peace so there will be no more war orphans.

Soong Mei-ling turns to foreigners, especially the U.S.A., for help in her husband's plan to make war again against the Chinese people and is willing to risk a new world war to realize the mad dream of coming to power.

Soong Ching-ling turns to the Chinese people with plans to help them keep power themselves forever, to help them build their new life in peace, and to keep the world at peace.

The beauty of Soong Ching-ling, which impresses all who meet her, needs no adornment. It comes from within. Vincent Sheean, one of her many admirers, wrote of her in his *Personal History* (1934):

Here I was face to face with a child-like figure of the most enchanting delicacy. . . . She had a dignity so natural and certain that it deserved the name of stateliness. The same quality can occasionally be observed in the royal princes and princesses of Europe, especially in the older ones; but with them it is a clear result of lifelong training. Madame Sun's stateliness was of a different, more intrinsic quality; it came from inside out, instead of being put on like a harness. She possessed moral courage to a rare degree, which could keep her steadfast in grave peril. Her loyalty to the name of Sun Yat-sen, to the duty she felt she owed it, was able to withstand trials without end. These qualities—dignity, loyalty, moral courage—gave her character an underlying strength that could, at times, overcome the impression of fragility and shyness created by her physical appearance, and endow her figure with the sternest aspect of heroism.

Written more than fifteen years ago, this description is even more true of Soong Ching-ling today. During the intervening years of corrup-



—Eastfoto
Distribution of grain to the aged
and to those unable to work

tion, war and revolution she has remained steadfastly loyal to her husband's ideals and principles. She defied her family, her former friends, her government, when she felt convinced that they were betraying China and the Chinese people. In the face of danger and death she attacked the vicious and corrupt policies of the Chiang Kai-shek government, and went into voluntary exile to express her protest.

In times of greatest peril and civil war in China, Soong Ching-ling worked untiringly for Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles: Independence from Foreign Control, People's Rights and People's Livelihood.

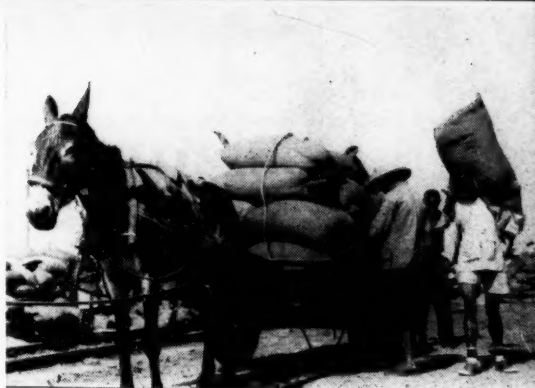
This fragile bit of feminine beauty braved powerful and ruthless governments, generals and politicians, to speak out clearly, when strong men were silent in terror. When prominent, respectable editors and lawyers were arrested and jailed for openly organizing an Association Against Japanese Aggression in China, Soong Ching-ling went boldly to the court and demanded: "If being against Japanese aggression is a crime, arrest me!"

In publicly opposing the powerful United States intervention in the Chinese Civil War, she said fearlessly:

The American people must be told that the presence of the United States armed forces on Chinese soil is not strengthening peace and order among the Chinese people. They must be warned that loans should be given only to a recognized and truly representative Government . . . that if America makes it plain that she will not supply munitions or military equipment, there will be no spreading of the Chinese civil war. . . . Civil war cannot bring unity, liberation or livelihood. . . . The peasants will support the Communists, who will give them land and lower taxes. . . .

This was true of China then; it is equally true of China now, and it will be equally true of American intervention anywhere in Asia.

Not a Communist herself, Soong Ching-ling is today a democratically elected leader of the coalition government of China, working together with the Communists because they have the support of the people and because they support the people's cause. Through their program, she sees her husband's principles coming true, especially in the realization of their age-old dream of having land



—Eastfoto
Every type of transportation is used to carry the relief grain

to call their own, to live on and cultivate for themselves.

I believe Soong Ching-ling will go down in history as the most important woman of this era.

A revolutionary leader in a revolutionary world, Soong Ching-ling stands like a beacon, beckoning women and people everywhere to face, as she does, the facts of life as we find them, cope with them as best we can with all the individual and collective moral, physical, intellectual and technical means which are at our disposal.

She stands there in New China, a magnificent example of courage, warm humanity and common sense—a beautiful new woman of the new world of whom all women can be proud. Definitely she is World Woman Number One.

THIS MONTH'S COVER



THE YOUNG Chinese peasant woman introducing our July issue is a water conservation worker. Flood and drought had been China's scourge for ages, bringing death and starvation to millions. The Chinese People's Republic took immediate steps to remedy this tragic situation. Result—millions of acres of reclaimed land and growing prosperity for the people of countryside.

SIGNALS MIXED

THE *New York Times* of May 27 reported a Voice of America broadcast by Secretary of State Acheson, appealing to the people of Soviet Georgia to rise up and fight for the type of freedom familiar to those living in the U.S.A.

The dispatch reported that in his appeal, translated into the Georgian language, Acheson "called upon the people of Soviet Georgia to share with the United States a future that promised the freedoms they do not now have." Assailing the Soviet leaders for "aggressive military actions," the Secretary invited the Georgian people to share the American goal "of a peaceful world in which there is no strong and no weak, no masters and no slaves, but where all men can live and work freely and happily without want or fear and with the right to worship God in their own way."

The *New York Times* of June 6, carried a dispatch dated June 1 from its Moscow correspondent, Harrison E. Salisbury, just returned from a vacation in Tbilisi (Tiflis). He says that Georgia is a favorite vacation spot for Americans in Moscow and that almost thirty members of the Embassy staff visited there this spring. He commented on the traditional hospitality of the Georgians, their helpfulness to Americans in getting a full picture of Georgia. His dispatch gives a graphic picture of the conditions against which the Georgians are urged to revolt:

... it seems apparent to visiting Americans that Georgians lead a com-

fortable existence. Food is plentiful, cheap, and varied. . . . Strain and tension are absent. . . . Georgian peasants generally speaking are in a high income class . . . more and more of them now have electricity . . . the Georgian farmer . . . usually has a good comfortable tile-roofed stone house, an ample garden plot of his own and no need to worry about food or wine.

City life is also comfortable. In the new sections of Tiflis there are many blocks of cooperative apartments built. . . . The life of the people obviously is healthy comfortable and easy.

Previously, Mr. Salisbury had reported from Tbilisi (*N. Y. Times*, May 20) on an interview with Patriarch Kallistrat Tsintsadze in the Patriarch's pleasant apartment adjoining the Zion Cathedral, leading Georgian Orthodox Church:

The Patriarch is well satisfied with the present state of the Georgian Orthodox Church. He said relations with the government were good, and the congregation had remained at an excellent level achieved in war time. There are more than 100 Orthodox Churches operating in Georgia.

The State Department, announcing its plans for similar broadcasts to other Soviet Republics, was careful to disavow any intention of inciting the people of the USSR to revolt. But the same night as the Acheson broadcast, Voice of America Director Fay D. Kohler, made a speech at the Russian Institute at Columbia University declaring it to be his strongest conviction "that a Russian political and social revolution is absolutely inevitable." He would not predict whether it would come in five, twenty-five or a hundred years. His line followed exactly the recent article by George D. Kennan (head of the State Department's Policy Planning Depart-

ment, now on leave) commented on in our last issue. This article made clear that the Administration, faced with the bankruptcy of its anti-Soviet war policies, is now pinning all its hopes on creating an internal revolution in the USSR.

Evidently there has been a breakdown of communications between the U.S. State Department and its friends who publish the *N. Y. Times*.

ORIGINS OF KOREAN WAR

EARLY in May the American command in Korea submitted to the United Nations two documents allegedly captured from the North Koreans, purportedly proving that it was the North Koreans who launched the attack on June 25, 1950. The documents were headed "Order of the Second Department of the General Staff of the North Korean Army" and "Combat Order of the Commanding Officer of the Fourth Infantry Division of the North Korean Army."

On May 18, Pak Hen Yen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, sent an official statement to the United Nations declaring that both these documents were crude forgeries.

The statement pointed out that in the supposed "orders," the Korean People's Army is named as the "North Korean Army," whereas the former title is the only one used by the Korean People's Democratic Republic and its representatives.

Furthermore, a number of geographical points in the "orders" were given the Japanese instead of the Korean names. Since the use of Japanese names has been banned by the

North Korean authorities, they could not possibly have been used in any official document.

Furthermore, the statement pointed out, the authors of the forgeries displayed ignorance of the organizational structure of the Korean People's Army, since the various departments, army units and so on referred to are non-existent. And many of the points contained in the "orders" are in contradiction to the regulations and manuals of the Korean People's Army.

Pak Hen Yen also declared "worthy of attention is the fact that the forgeries were released only during the eleventh month of the war in Korea."

To this detailed analysis of the spurious nature of the documents the American authorities could only give the lame answer that these discrepancies were due to faulty translation.

It is interesting to note that there has never been any attempt on the part of the U.S. to refute officially the materials of the secret archives of the Syngman Rhee regime which fell into the hands of the Korean People's Army when they occupied Seoul. These materials, Pak Hen Yen pointed out in his note, "brought to light the entire history of the preparation by the Americans and the Syngman Rhee men of the attack on North Korea made on June 25, 1950."

They were submitted to the United Nations September 28, 1950, and have been published in book form by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Korea, under the title "Documents and Materials Exposing the Instigators of the Civil War in Korea." They were published in part by the predecessor of this magazine, *Soviet Russia Today*, in the December 1950 and January 1951 issues.

SOVIET LABOR

Free or Fettered?

A NUMBER of influential American trade union officials, aiding the current war drive, are busily proclaiming the free and independent character of the unions under their domination while portraying the Soviet unions as mere puppets of the Government.

These union chieftains, eager as they are to please, nevertheless find their crusade for the freedom of workers outside their jurisdiction hampered by Taft-Hartley legislation, strikebreaking injunctions, staggering fines aimed to drain union treasuries and—above all—by the growing discontent of their own rank-and-file with high taxes, soaring prices and a governmental wage freeze.

It is evidently to resolve some of these embarrassing contradictions that Washington war-policy makers have called upon an archivist in the Library of Congress for assistance.

In a recent two-part article on "Elements of Soviet Labor Law" in the Monthly Labor Review of the U.S. Department of Labor, Dr. Vladimir Gsovski, chief of the foreign law section of the Library of Congress, brings the heavy artillery of scholarship to the aid of the harassed propaganda improvisers.

Gsovski's major thesis is that the "great majority of persons engaged in industry and commerce [in the USSR] are employees of a single owner—the government." This exercise in semantics seeks to blur

one of the most formidable facts of contemporary history: that the workers and farmers in the Soviet Union are the rulers of their country and that all their institutions, including the governmental apparatus, are the expressions of their collective will.

When Gsovski describes the Soviet Government as the single "owner" it is patently to stigmatize this alleged owner as an exploiter of millions. The answer is that Soviet society is based on the social ownership of the means of production. Specifically, Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution declares that all natural resources, mills, mines, factories, all means of transport, banks and communications belong to the people.

The author, making generous use of ellipses to escape facts that do not fit snugly into his thesis, quotes a statement attributed to a Soviet labor authority in 1920—31 years ago—to the effect that "in Soviet Russia labor duty is the basis of labor relations."

It is evident that Gsovski is eager to introduce sinister overtones into the phrase "labor duty." He quotes the same writer thus: "Soviet Russia does not know of any 'free' contract of employment, nor of any legal relations usually connected with the concept of the employment contract." He fails, however, to follow through with a key pronouncement in another classic on Soviet labor law that "so-

by

SENDER GARLIN

and

BERNARD L. KOTEN

cio-labor relations are not free in the sense that man cannot live without producing the means of his existence by means of labor."

Gsovski asserts flatly that "Soviet industrial organization shows that the fixed relationship between labor and state management took the place of the free relation between labor and capital in capitalist countries."

How free the relations are between labor and capital in capitalist countries we leave to students of industrial society, to workers who have felt the policeman's billy on their skulls while walking the picket line, and to the unions which have experienced the righteous wrath of injunction judges.

TURNING to the specific role of the trade union in labor-management relations in the USSR, Gsovski argues that "neither the constitution nor any law or decree mentions the right to strike and the strike is tacitly outlawed."

One is baffled by his insistence that a constitution must explicitly define the right to strike or even outlaw it. Does one find such provisions in the U.S. Constitution? Much more relevant, it would seem, is the

SENDER GARLIN is Associate Editor of *New World Review*. **BERNARD L. KOTEN** was for many years Director of Research of the American Russian Institute, New York.

specific provision in the Soviet Constitution guaranteeing all workers the right to a job:

Article 118—Citizens of the USSR have the right to work, that is the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

Because Soviet unions have such wide authority they rarely, if ever, have to resort to the methods used by a labor movement which is compelled constantly to fight for its very existence against a combination of employers, courts and the press, such as in the U.S. Trade union delegations visiting the USSR invariably ask about strikes and invariably get the same compelling answers: Why should we strike when we have such abundant means at our disposal for settling our grievances? Strikes are not outlawed in our country, but should we strike against ourselves?

While it is true that strikes in the Soviet Union are rare indeed, Gsovski misstates the facts when he says that "the strike is tacitly outlawed." His assertion is challenged, for example, by a work stoppage in a Soviet electrical plant in 1946 which received considerable publicity in the American press. Work was halted because of the failure of management, despite repeated demands from the trade union organization, to install improved safety devices and ventilation systems. The outcome was that the director was instructed to remove the basis of the workers' complaints by a given date or face dismissal.

Reporting this incident in the *New York Times* of April 7, 1946, Brooks Atkinson wrote:

One of the chief functions of the trade unions in the Soviet Union is to

look after working and living conditions of the workers and make recommendations to the director of the plant to correct bad conditions and install improvements.

LABOR agreements, according to Gsovski, are *faits accomplis*, with workers in industry having little to say about their provisions. This is refuted by specific legal provisions safeguarding the rights of the workers as well as by eye-witness reports of visiting trade unionists from other countries.

Gsovski records, in the form of a sensational charge, that basic wage agreements are arrived at as a result of negotiation between the ministries and the appropriate trade unions. He calls the resultant agreement a *fait accompli*. A study of the contemporary role of the collective agreement shows that the function of the agreement has turned from a preoccupation with rates to the enforcement of rates already arrived at on a USSR-wide scale. These wage schedules, before going into effect, are usually thoroughly discussed with the very conspicuous participation of representatives of the central trade union bodies.

In these agreements management promises to give all technical and organizational aid in fulfilling production plans, in training of personnel on the job and in upgrading of workers; management also makes specific pledges on safety measures and improved housing under the jurisdiction of the plant. Benefits arising from these collective agreements hold for non-members of trade unions as well as members.

No true understanding of the functions of the Soviet trade union is possible without a close-up of local trade union life. As the basic trade union unit, the "local committee"

—elected by the workers on the job, sees to it that agreements are carried out; it monitors problems of safety measures, social insurance, housing, clubrooms and recreational and cultural facilities.

"Conciliation boards and arbitral boards, established to resolve disputes over labor conditions," writes Gsovski, "went out of existence after the People's Commissariat for Labor was replaced by the Central Council of Trade Unions in 1933."

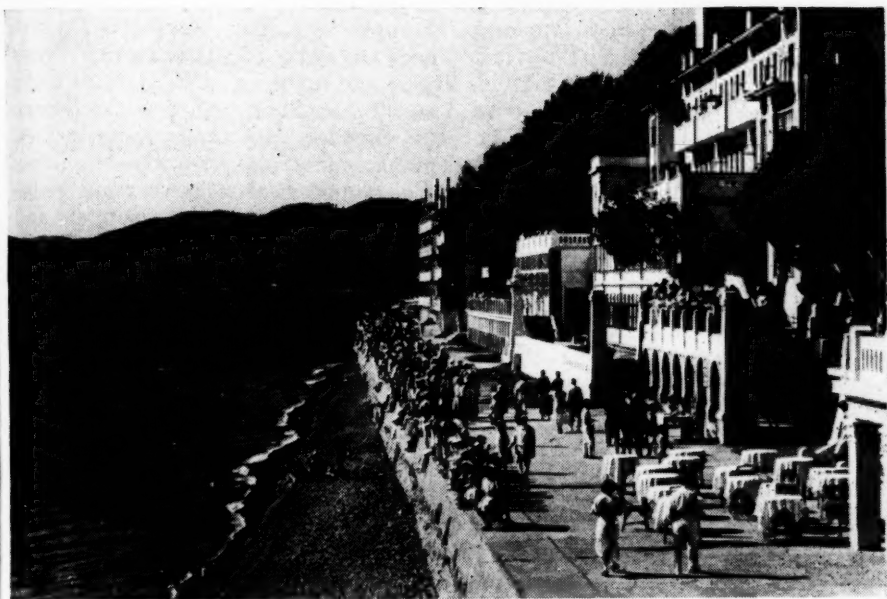
As a matter of fact, these boards—known as the Rates and Conflicts Commissions—were established by decree Sept. 12, 1928 and have continued to function with minor changes up to the present day.

The repeated assertion is made by Gsovski that the Soviet trade unions are merely "a government arm." As a defender of capitalism which he evidently feels is the only desirable norm, he imputes to a workers' government those conflicting class interests that prevail in a society dominated by the capitalist class.

IN DISCUSSING the set-up of the Labor Reserve Schools, Gsovski seeks to mislead his readers into believing that the training given Soviet youth in these schools in purely utilitarian when, as a matter of fact, 25 per cent of the subjects are in the field of general education: languages, mathematics, chemistry and physics, with the rest of the time being devoted to theory as well as practice in the given fields studied. Not only is tuition free in these schools but students pay nothing for board, lodging and clothing.

In 1940, the first year these schools were established, there were 1,100,000 applicants for 600,000 vacancies.

Aware of the revulsion of most people to child labor, Gsovski laments



Scores of vacation centers and health resorts are under the jurisdiction of the Soviet trade unions. Here's the famous "Soviet Riviera" at Sochi

the fact that orphans from 12 to 15 "may be assigned to special schools of industrial training for three or four years" but does not bother to mention that these schools must be either within the Children's Homes or at adjacent farm stations attached to the Homes.

THE AUTHOR of the Monthly Labor Review series, while citing original Soviet sources for many of his arguments, seeks his main effects through half-truths, truncated quotations, and—above all—by means of "color" words saturated with prejudice.

Gsovski proclaims that "the earnings of the bulk of the population are practically limited to wages and salaries." Here he calmly ignores the incomes of the farming population (more than 40 per cent of the total Soviet population); incomes of workers in cooperative industrial enter-

prises; writers, actors, musicians — in fact all art workers. Nor does he take into account those incomes that are augmented by bonuses, prizes, State loan lotteries and inheritances.

Another example is Gsovski's statement that workers are employed "without any guaranteed minimum wage." This is true only to the extent that there is no guaranteed minimum wage if a worker's quota is unfulfilled through dereliction of duty. Otherwise there is a guaranteed minimum.

At one point in his argument Gsovski reports glumly that "although the total amount of regular wages to be paid in an individual enterprise is established by central government bureaus, bonuses are dependent upon the profits or savings of an individual enterprise." It occurs to us that this type of profit-sharing, which involves no financial risk whatsoever on the part

of the beneficiaries, is something any fair-minded person would applaud.

One of Gsovski's debater's tricks is to telescope sentences, the individual sentences being factually true, the total impression distorted. Example: "Workers are subject to penalties imposed by managers for 'loafing on the job' and to court action for absenteeism and unauthorized quitting on the job. From 10 to 25 years in a forced labor camp, with or without confiscation of property, can be imposed for 'misappropriation, embezzlement, or any kind of theft' of property of the principal employers, the government, or public bodies." The second sentence is calculated to give the reader the impression that there is some sort of relation between absenteeism and the drawing of 10 to 25 year sentences.

As for criminal responsibility for embezzling public property, the penalty is 10 to 25 years in a correctional labor camp only if carried out repeatedly, or if the offender is part of an organized gang, or if perpetrated on a wide scale.

At one point Gsovski quotes from *Trud*, organ of the Soviet trade unions, to the effect that "collective agreements increase the responsibility of management and of the trade [union] organization for the [improvement of] material living conditions, [the protection of labor] and the cultural services rendered to them."

Here this savant's claim to objective scholarship faces sharp challenge, for he omits the words that appear in brackets.

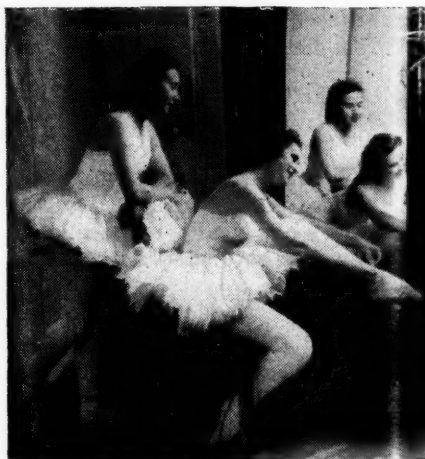
Gsovski also cuts corners when he duly records the dates when certain decrees were enacted but fails to indicate that these decrees were during war years or periods of international tension which held the threat

of aggressive war against the peoples of the USSR. Such was the decree of June 26, 1940 which froze jobs and made unauthorized quitting an offense. Such, too, was the decree of October 19, 1940 under which management was authorized to allow the transfer of only certain categories of technical personnel and skilled labor from one establishment to another.

The decree setting up penalties for quitting jobs without authorization specifically states that workers in war industries are deemed mobilized for the period of the war and are attached to their places of employment. Leaving the job under these circumstances was considered desertion in wartime and offenders faced severe penalties.

Although these decrees emphasized they were only for the period of the war and thus self-liquidating with the end of the war, the chief of the foreign law section of the Library of Congress shows little eagerness to make this clear.

In classic mood: members of an amateur ballet group, these girls are daughters of workers in the Urals Machinery Plant



THROUGHOUT Gsovski denies the creative role of the trade union in Soviet society. Eye-witness reports give quite another picture. There is, for instance, the testimony of Henry Lyall, a member of the British Workers' Delegation of 1950. "Few things impressed us so much during our visit to the Soviet Union," he reports, "as the position occupied by the trade unions." Lyall is a tool-maker employed at the Briggs Motor Bodies. A former secretary of the Hornchurch Labour Party and a representative of 10,000 engineering workers, Lyall writes in *Russia With Our Own Eyes*:

Every factory has a disputes committee, with equal representation from workers and administration, and its findings are binding on both sides. Joint consultation is something real in the Soviet Union.

Here are a number of vital facts one would never know from reading Gsovski's highly tendentious series:

- The right to belong to a trade union is an organic part of Soviet law, and is guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.
- Trade union membership is voluntary. Members get the benefits of a comprehensive social security program. These benefits include sickness and accident insurance, mother and child care, vacation and sanatoria opportunities.
- No labor law or regulation is issued until it has first been submitted to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (the top federation to which all Soviet trade unions are affiliated) for criticism, discussion and agreement.
- Soviet trade union funds come from dues payments augmented by revenues from cultural and sport organizations. The social insurance fund, administered by the trade unions, is covered by the national budget. There are no initiation fees.



These basketball champs belong to the "Stroitel" (Builder), the team of the construction union sports society

Dues are fixed uniformly at one per cent of wages or salaries. All union funds are subject to careful audit and control. No more than 20 per cent of the dues may be spent for administrative purposes. The balance must be used for cultural and recreational activities, for loans and gifts to needy workers, and similar projects.

Many Americans have valid questions about Soviet trade unions. These questions merit truthful answers. The picture of Soviet labor that Gsovski gives does not provide these answers because the "evidence" he adduces is built up to fortify a preconceived thesis. Insulated in the archives of the Library of Congress and eager to serve those who would keep the truth about the USSR from the people, Gsovski cannot hear the voices of the scores of American, British and French trade unionists whose eye-witness reports give the lie to his appraisal.

Vacation Time is Fun Time



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Study in contrasts as a group of hardy spirits (top) climb up Mt. Elbrus. Lower: A happy group set for a Sunday morning cruise on the Khimki River.



Nice and cool on that Riga seashore where young Soviet vacationists (left) seem to be having a lot of fun.



Members of a university yacht club (right) moor their boats and enjoy a little rest after a cruise. Thousands of workers enjoy yacht club activities through their sport and recreational groups.



It's summer everywhere, but in a workers' land most of the children, and not a privileged few, enjoy the pleasures of camp life. Top: a group of collective farm children at a summer camp. Left: youngsters from the Artek Pioneer Camp sunning themselves after a dip in the Black Sea.



Left: the "intellectual set" battles it out over the chess board.

Right: girl campers display their sense of balance at vacation time.



**Questions Americans
ask themselves about**

The Iranian Oil Crisis

by VICTOR PERLO

DOES the Iranian oil nationalization measure heighten the danger of world war? The danger of world conflict is created not by nationalization but by the British-U.S. threat to invade Iran to prevent nationalization. Britain, on May 19, threatened "the most serious consequences" if nationalization were carried out. She has sent paratroopers to Cyprus, within striking distance of Iran, and dispatched additional naval vessels to the Mediterranean.

Iran borders the USSR. By the treaty of 1921, Soviet troops have the right to enter Iran if any third power invades that country thus establishing a military threat to Soviet borders.

HOW does the U.S. figure in this? Britain conferred with the U.S. on the wording of the May 19th threat. In addition, our Administration warned Iran of the "serious effect of any unilateral cancellation" of the oil concession and supported Britain's demand for "negotiations." Even without direct U.S. participation, any British invasion of Iran would be with war materials supplied under the North Atlantic Pact.

The U.S. has supplied war materials to recent Iranian Governments and trained the Iranian gendarmerie.

There are substantial U.S. economic interests in Iranian oil. Two companies, Standard (N.J.) and Socony-Vacuum, have contracts for

CAPSULE FACTS:

- A British invasion of Iran would be with the aid of war materials supplied under the North Atlantic Pact.
- There are substantial U.S. interests in Iranian oil.
- The present oil concession to the British was made under duress, with the guns of the British Navy enforcing the will of British private investors.
- Payments to the Iranian Government amount to only 7 per cent of the value of oil. Profits to Anglo-Iranian Oil Company constitute 74 per cent. The company paid in taxes to Britain three times what it paid to Iran in royalties.
- Oil workers labor in unhealthy climate, toiling under highest temperatures in desert-ridden Middle East.
- The cost of living has jumped seven times that of 1937.
- Iranian oil nationalization will not lead to oil shortage in U.S. or Europe.

large and increasing quantities of Anglo-Iranian oil at low prices which give these companies a share in the profits taken out of Iran. Two American companies, including U.S. Steel, are supplying pipe for the largest pipeline in the world, planned to take Iranian oil to the Mediterranean. Four American oil specialists, employees of U.S. firms, set up and operated the secret catalytic oil plant at Abadan.

In addition, the Texas Company and Standard Oil of California share the profitable oil concession on the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. Iran claims this territory, but the American companies made their arrangements with a local Sheikh, to whom they pay their royalties.

THE Anglo-Iranian oil concession runs to 1993. Doesn't the British Government, as majority shareholder, have the right to intervene to protect its properties from arbitrary confiscation? The original concession was made to the British D'Arcy interests. British Government stockholding arose out of a deal between Winston Churchill and the private investors to secure Government support for the company in return for oil for the British Navy.

The present concession, a revision of the original, is not a genuine agreement between equals. It was executed in 1933 under duress, after the British Navy entered the Persian Gulf to enforce the company's will.

WILL the Iranian Government lose the major source of its revenues, namely oil royalties, by nationalization of the oil industry? No. Despite the attempt of our press to pretend that Anglo-Iranian oil virtually

finances the Iranian budget, a recent UN report declares that income from the oil company amounts only to 11 per cent of Government revenues, a smaller proportion than before the war.

WHAT is the distribution of the proceeds of Iranian oil? According to the International Monetary Fund and the UN, wages to the 70,000 Iranian oil workers amount to \$24,000,000, or 4 per cent of the value of the oil; payments to Iran equal \$37,000,000 or 7 per cent. Profits of the company equal \$392,000,000, more than 74 per cent. (Figures for year ending March, 1949.)

Since before World War II, the share of the oil company has gone up; the Iranian share down. For the calendar year 1948, the company earned 183 per cent on the common stock, and paid a dividend of 30 per cent. In addition, it paid in taxes to Britain \$113,000,000, equal to three times the payments to the Iranian Government.

DOES Anglo-Iranian offer favorable terms of compromise to Iran? No. According to British claims, the new offer would amount to less than a shilling a barrel (12 cents) paid to the Iranian Government as a basic royalty. Total payments to Iran, on production more than one-third in excess of 1948 production, would amount to about \$56,000,000 per year, still less than 10 per cent of the oil profits.

Regardless of terms, any new compromise would merely mean added royalties for the feudal ruling

VICTOR PERLO, a leading economist, is the author of the recently published book, "American Imperialism."



—Wide World

Vast demonstration on Parliament Square in Teheran, May 22. The banner in foreground reads: "Oil Nationalization is a Blow to the British"

families of Iran, with no better conditions for the impoverished oil workers or any national benefit to Iran.

WHAT about labor conditions?

Company installations are on territory formerly quite uninhabited because of the unhealthy climate. July temperatures in Abadan average 97 degrees; in nearby Ahwaz, 99. These are the highest temperatures in all the desert-ridden Middle East. Actual temperatures reach 135 degrees in the shade, and 185 in the sun.

Shelter from the heat is hard to get in the refinery town of Abadan. Under pressure of the Petroleum Workers Union, the company built cheap houses for about one-sixth of the workers, charging them one-fourth of their wages for rent. Conditions are even worse for the majority who work in the producing fields. One worker's wages are 80 cents a day, well below the average for Iranian workers.

In 1946, Ernest Bevin, then British Foreign Secretary, told an Iranian correspondent in London:

"It is not agreeable to me to know that the petrol in my car is refined by underfed workers."

Two years later, the labor correspondent of the Iranian newspaper *Mardom*, Khalil Maleki, reported from an oil-company center:

"I visited the homes—if you wish to call them thus—of this unhappy lot in the Ahmad Abad region, near Masjed Soleyman, shortly after my return from London where I had seen the exhibitions of the Nazi war crimes. I find it hard to say which shocked me more: the black-and-white pictures of the dead from Dachau, or the 'living' pale-and-purple skeletons of the wives and children of these workers."

WHAT is Iran's general economic situation? Very poor. The U.S. played an important part in arming the Iranian government of landowners to suppress by force the autonomous

people's government in Iranian Azerbaidzhan. In return for this "aid," the doors were opened for U.S. manufactured goods.

U.S. exports to Iran jumped from \$7,000,000 a year pre-war, to \$79,000,000 in 1949, the latter representing nearly 40 per cent of all Iranian imports.

This flood of U.S. goods, mainly cheap textiles, pharmaceuticals, etc., caused numerous bankruptcies and widespread unemployment in the weak Iranian industries.

Iran's increased dependence on the U.S. and Britain subjected her to merciless price-gouging. Inflation has been more severe than in any other Middle Eastern country. Official cost-of-living index for December, 1950 was 674 (1937 equal to 100).

WILL nationalization of Iranian oil starve Europe of oil and force gasoline rationing in America? No. Over 90 per cent of the capitalist world's oil is owned by Anglo-U.S.-Dutch interests. Iranian oil, 700,000 barrels a day, is roughly 6 per cent of world supply.

Before the Korean war, 1,000,000 barrels per day of oil capacity were closed in the U.S. alone, and large additional quantities in other countries, because of lack of demand.

Loss to the capitalist countries of Iranian oil could be made up immediately by curtailing the fantastic diversion of oil to military purposes—over \$200,000,000 worth per month by the U.S. alone. This military diversion, if unchecked, will surely result in European oil starvation and gasoline rationing here, regardless of the fate of Iranian oil.

Furthermore, Article VII of the Iranian Oil Nationalization Law states:

"All those who bought oil from the

former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company can buy at an annual rate corresponding to the rate of their purchases from the beginning of 1948 to March 20, 1951; the price paid will be the current international price."

What the big oil companies that share Iranian oil really hate is the idea of themselves paying the monopoly international price which they set. They want to continue getting Iranian oil for a song, reselling at high prices.

WITHOUT British and American technicians to supervise oil production, or ships to transport it, would not Iran be worse off than before? No. The Soviet Government nationalized foreign oil installations after the 1917 Revolution, and subsequently multiplied the level of production.

The Mexican experience is in a sense more to the point, because the technical and political situation there in the 1930's stands comparison with that in Iran today. After Mexico nationalized British and American oil installations, Mexican engineers and workers proved quite capable and, despite obstacles, have by now doubled oil production and found a way of transporting it.

Furthermore, Iran can readily obtain technical assistance and equipment from the USSR.

COULD Soviet assistance undermine Iran's independence? No. The USSR has a consistent policy of giving such assistance to all weak countries struggling for national independence, without political strings. A joint Soviet-Iranian fisheries company operates in the Caspian and there have been no complaints from Iran either of exploitation by the USSR or Soviet use of the company to interfere in Iran's internal affairs.

Writing of the 1949 famine, the *New York Times* correspondent C. L. Sulzberger said:

"Iran . . . had difficulty in obtaining cheap wheat imports from the United States Commodity Credit Corporation. Large amounts of American wheat, when eventually purchased, arrived in poor condition. . . . Iran, therefore, bought a large quantity of Soviet wheat."

This spring the *United Press* reported from Teheran:

"Russia has sent planes and poison to battle swarming locusts in northern Iran . . . eight Soviet planes arrived in locust-stricken areas near the Soviet border, bringing twenty-three technicians, 500 tons of poisoned bran and 100 ton of insecticides."

In 1946, the USSR negotiated an agreement with Iran for a joint oil company for exploration and development in northern Iran. Under its terms the Iranian share was to be 49 per cent, ultimately rising to 50, with an Iranian option to take over the property after 50 years.

When the agreement came before the Iranian parliament, U.S. Ambassador George V. Allen urged Iran to "defend her sovereignty" and used all his influence to prevent ratification. Parliamentary fight against ratification was led by Dr. Abdul Hussein Eatebar, representing a province where the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company exercises political control. As a result of this U.S.-British interference, parliament rejected the agreement.

WHY did the Iranian government and parliament, consisting mainly of rich landowners traditionally allied with one or another imperialist power, pass the oil nationalization measure? Real pressure for oil nationalization came from the progressive forces in Iran.

The Tudeh (People's) Party, although outlawed, is actually the strongest political party in the country, representing workers, intellectuals, peasants, and national business interests. This party has long favored nationalizing the oil industry.

During the war the British used Indian riflemen to protect their refineries. Today, the British station their own police and guards on the vast oil properties

—*Wide World*



At the beginning of 1951, the campaign against Anglo-Iranian was further broadened. Thousands of people attended meetings in Teheran called by the "Society for the Freedom of Iran," and the "National Society Against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company." Meetings held in other towns, including the oil center of Abadan, also included other liberal parties and organizations.

One of the latter is the National Front, a grouping of conservative landowners, businessmen, and clergy which considers it necessary for Iran to achieve greater independence of the U.S. and Britain. The present premier, Mohammed Mossadegh, is a member of this group.

Another factor is the very strong peace movement in Iran. The people realize that Anglo-Iranian Oil, because of its key role in the war plans of the U.S. and Britain, threatens to make Iran a seat of warfare in the event of war with the USSR. Hence, especially since the Korean war, the peace movement in Iran has tended to merge with the movement against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The Iranian rulers are pushing for nationalization on terms which will avoid a complete break with U.S.-British oil and military interests, in order to maintain power and prevent a people's government from taking over and establishing an anti-imperialist regime.

INLAND PORT FOR FIVE SEAS

BUILDERS of the new Volga town near the site of the huge Stalin-grad hydroelectric project have unofficially christened it *Pyatimorsk*, or "Five Seas." Reason—when the national hydroelectric-canal-reservoir system is completed, ships from the White, Baltic, Azov, Black and Caspian seas will meet at this inland port.

AMERICAN CULTURE IN YUGOSLAVIA

ERIC JOHNSTON last summer was invited to Belgrade where he signed an agreement with the Tito Government whereby Hollywood was to supply annually, at its own choice, twenty full-length films. Later, another agreement was signed with the U.S. for "free bilateral exchange" of printed material.

Results:

- Belgrade youth paper *Omladina* recently states: "Due to the influence of U.S. crime stories and films, adventurism is spreading among our youth. . . ."

- Zagreb newspaper *Vestnik*, reporting increased juvenile crime, declares "influenced by foreign films children run away from home 'to see the world.' Every day the police detain from 10 to 20 vagabond children." Reporting the trial of a youth charged with theft, the paper declared the judge asked him: "Who taught you to steal?" The sixteen-year-old delinquent replied: "American films."

- The paper *Politika* reports that, influenced by the film "Kid from Oklahoma," eleven-year-old Raiko Kostic stole a revolver and killed his schoolmate Mirosljub Petrovic.

- The newspaper *Nin* reports that in a number of Belgrade movie houses "audiences organized stormy protests" when they were shown American films "arousing most dangerous instincts."



Frank Wheeler, right, and a classmate get out their school newspaper

AMERICAN BOY IN A CZECH STEEL MILL

by

ELEANOR WHEELER

OUR OLDEST BOY, Frank, aged fifteen, has like most kids always enjoyed feeling useful and needed. In this spirit he responded to the Czechoslovak Government's call for apprentices in the steel mills. The confidence he feels in the care that will be given him, and that the choice is in his own self-interest, is best shown by quoting his own article on the subject in our house organ, the *Wheeler Whirlwind*, which is influenced in style though not in content by the reading aloud of *Pickwick Papers* at dishwashing hour. The article is entitled "Frank's Future" and runs as follows:

"Here is a scoop interview with Frank who is going into Kladno steel mills to become a melter.

"When he arrives at the internat (boarding school) he receives a uniform, overalls, underwear, socks, handkerchiefs, overcoat, shoes, blue glasses and so on. Of course being in the internat does not mean that he never sees his parents. Kladno is

20 miles from Prague, so he can return every weekend. He will live in the internat for two years, after which he is a qualified melter and is paid normal wages.

"Of course if he works well and shows that he really likes the work he goes to an industrial school. The factory pays his way and he receives normal wages. The question of unemployment does not exist because after he finishes school he has the guaranteed right to return to the factory as an expert.

"Some people think that I am sacrificing myself by becoming a melter. But it usually turns out that they

ELEANOR WHEELER joined her husband, George, when he worked in military government in Berlin after he had been in Government service in Washington. In 1947 they went to Czechoslovakia, liked the will-to-peace atmosphere there, and settled with their four children. Mrs. Wheeler worked for Religious News Service there and now is engaged in translation work.

are the least informed. In Czechoslovakia you are awarded according to your work, and miners and steelworkers are among the best paid in the Republic. The work is really interesting and Frank is really looking forward to it."

The decision on this next step in our son's career was not made suddenly: First came the family discussions. Still rather undecided, I went to the school to talk the question over with a committee composed of the school principal, a member of the Parent-Teachers Association and the vocational consultant of the Local National Committee. Here it was brought out how the lines between manual and intellectual work are becoming dim. Frank will have a chance to serve as one of the factory correspondents to papers, will go to school one week out of three and will have continuous cultural opportunities in the form of free trips to the opera, theater, museums, art exhibitions and so on. Finally, he will have the chance to prove himself for an engineer's training. His best grades are in chemistry, physics and mathematics, so this seems a sensible approach to his future. Both his parents are satisfied.

In case we were not wholly in accord, however, still another discussion was arranged to acquaint parents with the needs and opportunities in heavy industry. Parents of the graduating class were invited to a public meeting where we could ask questions of the vocational advisers and of the apprentices from the mines and mills who were present.

We mothers whose sons and daughters had already chosen the most needed jobs were put at tables near the front and on a raised section. We fell for the flattery and had a fine time showing each other pictures

of our pride and joy: "Even when she was little. . . ." and "he always was a big help. . . ."

The neat blue uniforms of the steel mill apprentice choir and the even neater grey of the miners were a strange sight for the old-timers who remember an apprentice as the most exploited and miserable of the people.

These bright, cheerful young people told about their life as apprentices. The miner apprentices admitted that the first trip down in the mines sent a chill down their backs, but laughed at themselves for it as they now looked back on it. They sang a lilting song to persuade "mama to quit wringing her hands and wondering how her boy is, but to write and tell him about things at home." They joked about the champion eaters among them, the 50-dumping boy getting special attention. And soon the mothers began to laugh and beam over the fine fellows their boys would be associated with.

Girls from light industry were there to tell about conditions of work and to try to persuade the girl graduates that it was more interesting than hairdressing and such less vital trades.

The whole evening was one of persuasion and of enlightening publicity. It was the direct opposite of the picture of "forced labor" which is painted in the west of recruiting work forces here.

In a planned economy, however, choice of one's occupation cannot be anarchic. Those with the highest grades are the ones allowed to go on and study medicine, not those whose fathers can support them at medical school. Although healthy boys are discouraged from being waiters, barbers and tailors, there is a well-equipped school near us to train those

who really insist on these occupations. Of course they do not take more than they have jobs for, because, as Frank wrote, occupational training here is carried out with the understanding that a job awaits.

One of the factory directors said to the mothers in our middle class neighborhood: "Now admit it. If you want your boy to go on to gymnasium (the high school which prepares students for the university) it is because you think that will put him on top. Well, this is a working-class government and if you really want him to be in the swim, let him join the working class!"

We mothers sat enthralled for four hours, listening to the discussion and taking part. I could see reflected on the other mothers' faces the feeling I had of security and contentment about our children's future.

One mother later wrote to *Vlasta*, a woman's magazine, that she had sat by some ill-mannered boys "from our so-called best families" who paid little attention to the program. She

said that when she compared them to the clean-cut apprentices and "that American boy, Frank" (see, I had to brag!), she couldn't hold out any longer and had to give her Vanousek permission to become a miner.

Now this is not all. In mid-June come the final exams. The oral part of the exams is public, with officials, teachers and parents present.

The children are urged to look forward to these exams as a chance to find where they really belong, and not to dread them. Mothers were begged not to say "I couldn't go, I'd have stage fright for you."

The boys who intend to go into heavy industry, like our Frank, want to get the best grades possible, high enough to admit them to the gymnasium, and then make a deliberate and non-compulsory choice for industry. So the midnight oil is burned and parents have to drive these would-be Stakhanovites to bed as they prepare for a career in a new world.

Steel mill apprentices in Kladno, 20 miles from Prague, out for a stroll before supper. They receive board and clothing free, become smelters in two years.

—Photos, courtesy of the author



Tito's Strange "Communism"

**People refuse to work as hours lengthen,
prices soar, and profits go into private hands**

by ELMER BENDINER

ON LEAVING Yugoslavia last year W. Gordon Graham of the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "To be sure, they had no money but that did not matter because the shops had nothing to sell."

Though Graham searched for signs of health in that singular "communism" to which the U.S. is so friendly he felt obliged to report in the Indian magazine *Swatantra*, Nov. 18, 1950:

"The economic difficulties are also written large in the pinched faces of the people and their poor clothes, mechanics with old tools and factories with primitive machinery."

He found sugar selling at roughly \$2.50 a pound and added: "This, of course, is the black market rate. Officially, sugar is not available." Graham found one grain of satisfaction in the thought that Yugoslavs could express their indignation quite freely. He wrote:

"Waiters, dock laborers, garage-men and citizens in many walks of life told us just how bad things were and in some cases how much they would like to go to America . . . if they could."

ELMER BENDINER, an associate editor of *The National Guardian*, has written for a number of national publications.

Graham found the Yugoslav crisis written in "pinched faces." It is also written plainly in the official Yugoslav press and in even the most sympathetic press of other countries. From such sources one pieces together this picture of urban Yugoslav life:

A workingman's wage ranges from 3,000 to 3,500 dinars a month. (The official exchange rate for a dinar is 2c but in practice it is closer to 1c; tourists are allowed 95 dinars to \$1.) The pay, as close as it can be computed in U.S. terms, is then \$30 to \$40 a month. Information is scarce concerning the social services provided for Yugoslavs but it is not likely that these would alter the total comparison very greatly.

Under present inflated prices, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, July 9, 1950, the workingman must pay one-fifth of his month's pay, just about one week's wages, for two pounds of butter. A pair of shoes might take the whole month's income. A pound of coffee costs between \$9 and \$10; a quart of milk about 40c; a pound of pork, \$2.40.

When wages stand still the standard of living falls as fast as prices rise, but when wages drop while prices soar the standard of living plummets to disaster. In 1950, the



—Fred Ellis

government announced that allocations for wages would be cut 11 per cent. Belgrade prices in that year, however, had already risen 100 per cent over the 1949 level, according to the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, and in Sarajevo prices were reported rising even more rapidly. The Austrian *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, a right-wing Socialist newspaper, calculated that the Yugoslav standard of living had declined 50 per cent since 1946.

To appreciate the disaster imagine a household making ends meet at \$60 a week confronted with a pay cut to \$53 and a budget swollen to \$120.

Aside from the forbidding prices the plain fact is that Yugoslavia's shelves are stripped bare. Richard Mowrer reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* of May 15, 1950:

"Belgrade is no place to go shopping. There is very little one can buy.

Much needed consumer goods are either stringently rationed or available on the free market at prices which nobody but highly paid officials can afford. Or else they are simply non-existent." The bread ration was cut by 10 per cent in the fall of 1950 following the drought which parched both sides of the Hungarian-Yugoslav border but brought no such famine condition to Hungary. In Yugoslavia that ration cut has not yet been restored.

At best, ration cards, when they are honored, supply only 35 per cent of the Yugoslav shopper's needs, at worst 15 per cent. For the rest the shopper must scramble in the free market if he can. The one item in the Yugoslav's budget which has not risen sharply is his rent which remains reasonably low.

Most Yugoslav factory workers put

in 9 hours a day. "Volunteer" work on Sundays is so urgently and officially demanded that it approaches a draft. East European sources charge that the penalty set for failure to volunteer on Sundays is the loss of Monday's pay.

Whatever machinery is in the Yugoslav worker's hands cannot correct abuses at the work-bench level. A year ago Marshal Tito announced, and *Life* magazine heralded, "the withering away" of the Yugoslav state. It was said that workers would take control of their factories.

Indeed, under the new law then promulgated, workers' councils and workers' management boards were set up. But over them in the factory's front office sits the manager appointed by "competent state organs." And over the factory manager sits the manager of "higher economic associations," in the words of the regulation, also appointed by the state.

The manager may suspend any ruling of the management board or council. The regulation asserts that the workers "are responsible in their work to the manager. He ensures discipline." The manager "allocates the workers to their particular work and determines their duties." He hires and fires.

In fact the tendency has been to consolidate the control of factories in official hands while channeling profits into private hands. Many coopera-



tive work-shops, in Croatia notably, have given way to privately controlled enterprises.

Nationalization has followed the pattern of the British Labor Party rather than that of the People's Democracies. Former factory owners are so fully compensated that they continue to drain profits from industry; in many cases they or their close associates remain in managerial capacities.

Foreign capital, too, has re-invaded the economy. With U. S. loans and "technical assistance" have come the representatives of Anaconda Copper and other U.S. firms who have gained certain mining and oil prospecting rights.

What then is the temper of the Yugoslav worker, faced with appalling privations, bound in a strait-jacket of lengthening hours, curtailed wages and rising prices, of austerity so rigorous it makes British life seem luxurious; all in the name of a revolution which counts the socialist world as its enemy, the imperialist world as its ally?

New York *Post* columnist Murray Kempton told of a man close to Philip Murray, steelworker Smiley Chatak, who visited his native Yugoslavia and returned. Kempton wrote on Aug. 31, 1950: "What he had found back home was all fear and poverty, a condition Chatak recognized because it is the state of mind of a losing strike."

Indications are multiplying that the working people of Yugoslavia, to pursue Chatak's analogy, are in the mood of rank-and-file insurgence that often follows a sold-out strike.

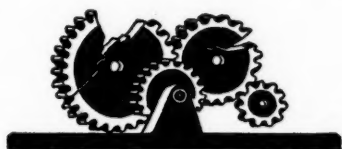
The most elementary form of labor action is to stop work. All over Yugoslavia at a time when government leaders are exhorting the people to maximum effort and work is equated to patriotism, there is a sweeping, simple refusal to work.

The Trepca lead mines of Serbia

are crucial to Yugoslavia's economy and miners are given special consideration; yet Gaston Coblenz of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* wrote from Belgrade last August 22 that workers "are showing indifference to the pressing need for high production."

Documentation of that indifference comes directly out of the official organ of the government, *Borba*, which reported on Aug. 21, 1950 that of 11,000 miners hired at Trepca in one 12-month period, 10,500 had left before the year was up.

According to *Naprijed*, organ of the official Yugoslav Communist Party (as distinguished from the outlawed anti-Tito Communists), the Ivanec mines of northern Croatia last summer were failing to produce



their assigned quota by some 50 tons a day. The Zagreb *Vestnik* reported that 40 per cent of the miners in Croatia regularly fail to show up at the pits. Similar conditions are reported in scores of coal and lead mines throughout Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia.

Coblenz reported: "It is also stated that Yugoslavs have been sent to mines throughout the country on 48 hours notice during the last few months after being dismissed from clerical jobs. . . ."

What happens at the pits happens at the factories, too. *Borba* complains that daily 400 workers are listed as "absent" at the big Smederev metallurgical plant.

Brigadier General Fitzroy MacLean, M.P., after visiting Yugoslavia, wrote in the London *Times*

of Sept. 9, 1950 of the "devastating shortage of consumer goods" and of the "large-scale absenteeism in industry."

What in smaller numbers might seem the acts of disgruntled individ-



uals takes on the character of a resistance movement when it attains the staggering proportions admitted in official records. On an average day, according to Yugoslav sources about 400,000 working men and women stay away from their jobs, roughly one-third of the total industrial working force.

That force has been sharply and significantly declining.

A 1949 bulletin of the Yugoslav Embassy said:

"On the manpower question Marshal Tito declared that up to Nov. 15, 1948, the number of workers in industrial enterprises was 1,126,000. . . . That was far too small in proportion to the growth of industry."

Yet the 1949 figure on the industrial force, the latest released by the Yugoslav Information Bureau, is 909,452. Plainly industrialization, the prime prerequisite to national independence, has fallen off catastrophically. There can be two reasons: the factory hand finding his conditions desperate, prefers to go back to the farm; relations with the western world tend to restore Yugoslavia once more to its old semi-colonial status as a bread basket and a source of raw materials.

In the light of such figures the frequency with which mines are shut

down because of water in the pits, takes on a significance far weightier than the official reason: a failure of pumping machinery.

The *United Press* on November 15, 1950 reported "an increase of sabotage and other disruptive activities."

Emigres from Yugoslavia claim that during eight months of last year sabotage and absenteeism cost the Yugoslav economy 120,000,000 work-days, that the output of pig-iron at Vares dropped 35 per cent and that in one month last year production of the Zenica steel works dropped 4,300 tons.

The government has tried to hold men to their jobs with contracts. In most factories, according to British sources, less than 30 per cent have signed such contracts, rarely more than 50 per cent in any plant, and thousands have torn up their contracts as soon as they were signed. Violated wholesale, the contracts have proven useless. All through the fall and winter there have been sabotage trials.

The very existence of an impoverished, resistant Yugoslav working class is, in itself, a portent. For this is not a backward nor an inexperienced working class, nor one unorganized or unsure of its own power.

SOCIALIST COUNTRY WITHOUT PLANNING?

THE OFFICIAL *Yugoslav Newsletter* reports the National Assembly has abolished the State Planning Commission.

COUNTRYWIDE MUSIC FESTIVAL

THE SPRING Music Festival is an annual event in Czechoslovakia. This year the opening concert, on May 16, honored the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Deputy Premier Zdenek Fierlinger declared: "The knowledge that these concerts are making music available to the working people is a source of inspiration to all musicians."

The festival lasted more than three weeks, included 50 concerts, performed by artists from the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, People's China, France, Holland, Italy, Brazil and Switzerland. Amateur ensembles from Czechoslovakia and the other People's Democracies presented programs of folk songs and dances.

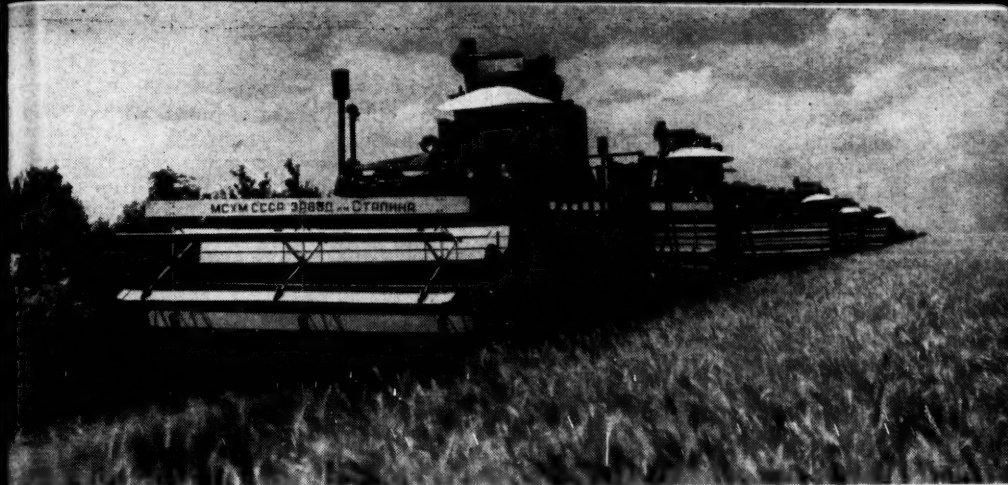
The Yugoslav working class was halted at the start of its own revolution and now awaits the moment to resume it.

One of the earliest Communist Information Bureau criticisms of Tito's policies was that they ignored a cardinal Leninist concept that the leadership of the revolution must belong to the working class which may find its allies among the poor and middle-income farmers. Tito pinned his hopes on quite a different class, the rich farmers in Yugoslavia, while simultaneously putting the nation's resources in hock to U.S. capital and U.S. military strategists.

That choice had vast effects, shattering the farm economy, aggravating the effects of drought, starving the city worker and bringing Yugoslavia to the brink of revolt.

The effect of Tito's policies is written all over the countryside. The catastrophe is personified in the well-dressed landed gentry, in the underpaid farm hand. It is symbolized in the straight military highway that one day will strategically join Trieste and Greece, but along which no cars speed because there are no cars.

To calculate the disaster and trace its causes, our next installment will take us out into the country.



Half the Soviet collectivized grain area was harvested by combines in 1950

Results of the Post-War 5-Year Plan

On April 17, the State Planning Committee and the Central Statistical Board of the USSR issued a statement on the results of the Fourth Five-Year Plan of 1946-50. In our June issue we published a condensation of the Plan's fulfillment in industry. A summary of results in other fields follows.

Agriculture

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN in agriculture was successfully achieved. Grain area increased more than 20 per cent during the five-year period. Gross harvest of grain in 1950 was 345 million poods above 1940. The 5-year plan target for grain was surpassed; in 1949 and 1950 grain yield was 13 per cent above 1940.

Area under industrial crops increased 59 per cent, including cotton 91 per cent, flax 90 per cent, sugar beets 57, sunflowers 23. The cotton crop increased 2.9 times, flax fiber more than doubled, sugar beets increased 2.7 times. Losses in harvesting still constitute a serious shortcoming.

Area under vegetables, melons and potatoes increased 5 per cent over 1940. Total potato crop in 1950 was 21 per cent above pre-war level.

Area under fodder crops increased 15 per cent in 1950 over 1940.

The plan for increasing socially owned collective farm livestock was overfulfilled. Pre-war figures were ex-

ceeded by 40 per cent in beef and dairy cattle, by 63 per cent in sheep and goats; by 49 per cent in hogs. The amount of poultry doubled.

During the 5-year plan period, agriculture received 536,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 93,000 harvester combines (including 39,000 self-propelled), 341,000 tractor-drawn ploughs, 254,000 tractor-drawn seeders, 249,000 tractor-drawn cultivators, and large quantities of other machinery. There is still a lag in machines for harvesting cotton, flax, hemp and sugar beets, for fodder production, and for labor-consuming work in livestock sections of collective and state farms.

Electrification of collective and state farms and machine and tractor stations increased; capacity of rural power stations at the end of 1950 was 2.8 times that of 1940.

Big achievements were attained in advancing efficiency in all types of farming, such as proper crop rotation, fallow plowing, seed selection, etc. Half the grain area of collective farms was harvested by combines in 1950.

Shelter belt planting has been accomplished on 3,335,000 acres in fulfillment of the Stalin plan for transforming nature.

State farms have expanded sown areas, grain yield in 1950 was 16 per cent above 1940. In 1950, more than 95 per cent of ploughing, sowing and harvesting of grain was done by mechanical traction. By the end of 1950, state farms had 20 per cent more beef and dairy cattle, 29 per cent more sheep and goats, 36 per cent more hogs than before the war. Productivity of livestock increased substantially. In 1950, average milk yield in state farms was 28 per cent above 1940 level.

The 5-year-plan period saw further organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms, improvement in organization of labor and its remuneration, higher labor productivity. In 1950, indivisible funds of collective farms were 1.6 times higher than 1940.

The Soviet Union rendered great help to the farmers of the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Moldavian Union Republics and the Western Regions of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics which suffered from German occupation. Collectivization of peasant households on a voluntary basis was in the main completed in these districts; machine and tractor stations were organized and credits granted for tractors, machinery and mineral fertilizers.

Transport and Communications

THE TARGET for rail freight carriage in 1950 was over-fulfilled by 13 per cent. Average daily loadings in 1950 were 121 per cent of the 1940 level, 103 per cent of the 5-year plan assignment.

Introduction of advanced labor methods and technical facilities led to better utilization of rolling stock. In 1950, the load per freight car increased 14 per cent over 1940, average daily freight car run exceeded pre-war level by 4.6 per cent. Car turn-around was accelerated, but fell short of plan, Average distance of freight shipments

was cut, but not as much as the plan required.

War time destruction was repaired, double tracks, bridges, stations and junctions restored, locomotive and train parks renewed and replenished, new railway lines were built, electrification increased, although plan goals in these respects were not fully reached.

Inland water transport cargoes in 1950 were 26 per cent above 1940, but fell short of targets. Utilization of towing vessels increased in 1950 by 30 per cent over 1940 and of barges by 43 per cent. The River Fleet was renewed and replenished. War-destroyed canals, waterways, river ports and ship repair enterprises were restored.

Merchant marine cargoes increased 65 per cent in 1950 over 1940, although plan not fully met. Restoration of sea-ports and shipyards in the main completed. Capacity of shipyards and shops in 1950 was more than twice that of 1940, number of structures for raising ships increased 1.6 times.

Motor transport of freight in 1950 was 2.3 times over 1940. Sixteen thousand kilometers of hard surface motor roads were built; network of motor roads with improved surfaces reached 2.5 times more than pre-war.

Means of communication and radio were restored, capacity of telephone exchanges exceeded pre-war level. Plan for building radio broadcasting stations in five-year period exceeded by 39 per cent. Radio receiving network increased. The plan for restoring and laying trunk cables was exceeded by 23 per cent. The length of air mail lines increased 2.3 times over 1940.

National Income and State Budget

THE 5-year plan goal for increasing national income by 38 per cent was over-fulfilled. The actual increase in 1950, in comparable prices, was 64 per cent over 1940.

In 1950, the working people received 74 per cent of the national income for their personal material and cultural requirements, while 26 per cent re-

maintained at the disposal of the state, the collective farms and cooperative societies for expanding socialist production and other needs of the state and society.

Growth of national income resulted in annual fulfillment of the State Budget with excess of revenue over expenditure and increases in appropriations for financing national economy and social and cultural expenditures. The plan for capital investment in national economy was exceeded by 22 per cent. More than 6,000 industrial enterprises were restored, built and put into operation, exclusive of small state, cooperative and collective farm enterprises.

Further results were the currency reform, abolition of rationing, three price reductions during 5-year period. (A fourth price reduction occurred in March, 1951.) This meant considerable increase in real wages, greater strengthening of the ruble and improvement of exchange rate in relation to foreign currencies.

Material and Cultural Standards of the People

THERE was not and is not any unemployment in the Soviet Union. All demobilized were provided with work according to their skill and

specialties following the war. The number of workers and employees in the national economy reached 39,200,000 at end of 1950, 7,700,000 more than 1940.

In 1950, total incomes of workers and employees and incomes of peasants were 62 per cent above 1940, in comparable prices.

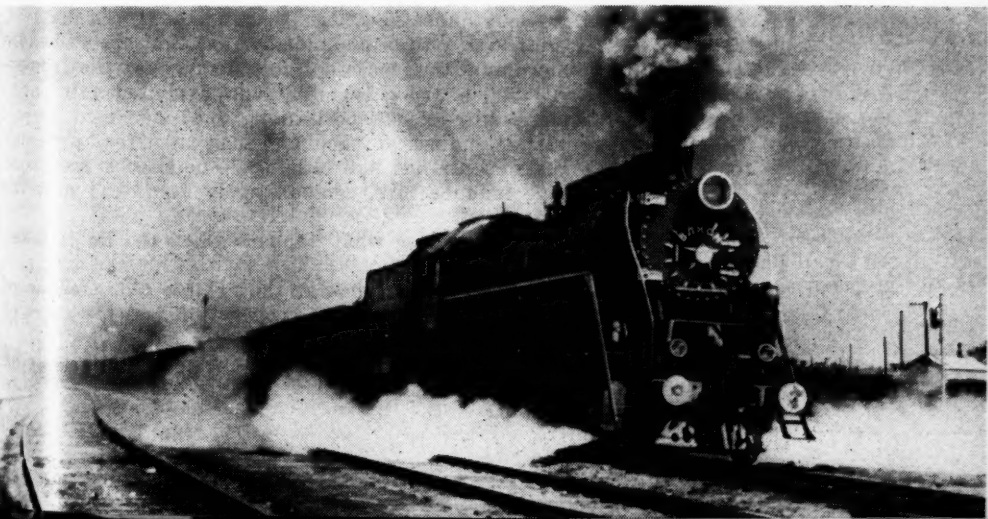
The population received from the State in 1950 the sum of 120,000,000,000 rubles, three times the amount received in 1940 for benefits and payments under the social insurance system, allowances to mothers, grants to students, free medical aid, free education, free training for higher qualifications and so on.

The number of pupils in elementary, seven-year and secondary schools, technical and other educational establishments increased in the five-year period by 8,000,000 reaching a total of 37,000,000 in 1950. There were 1,247,000 students enrolled in higher educational institutions in 1950 as against 812,000 in 1940.

During the five years 652,000 specialists with higher education and 1,278,000 specialists with secondary education were graduated, resulting in an increase of 84 per cent over 1940 in the number of specialists working in the national economy.

More than 6,500 people were awarded Stalin Prizes for outstanding works,

The average daily loadings of freight trains last year was one-fifth higher than in 1940, the load per car rose 14 per cent, the daily run, 4.6 per cent





There were 15 per cent more libraries last year than prewar. This one is at the Magnitogorsk Steel Mills

inventions and achievements in science, engineering, literature and art. The network of scientific research institutions in 1950 was 1.5 times above prewar, the number of scientific workers almost doubled.

WHEN THE LID IS TAKEN OFF

THE CHINESE People's Republic for the first time participated at the Prague Trade Fair this year. We were invited to the opening, and it was tremendously impressive.

The exhibits were not only the silks and carvings that are so beautiful and so well known, and they were not only displays of the tremendous raw materials which are only now being exploited (tin, antimony, copper, magnesium—rich deposits up to 80 per cent pure). They included finished industrial products such as tires, precision tools, architects' instruments and ball bearings. The Czechs are proud of their ball bearing manufacture, comparatively new. And now the Chinese are right in there!

It makes a person gasp to see what happens when the lid is taken off a huge reservoir of talent.

The beams on the faces of everyone at the exhibit reminded us of the difference between this trade fair of cooperation and the fairs of cut-throat competition held in other countries.

No one is worried at another country entering the ball bearing market because there is use for all of them.

ELEANOR WHEELER

In 1950, there were 15 per cent more club houses and public libraries in towns and countryside than in 1940. Publication of books increased 84 per cent; cinema installations increased 1.5 times.

The number of hospital beds in towns and rural communities increased 25 per cent in 1950 over 1940. The number of doctors increased 75 per cent.

In retail trade, sales of state and cooperative stores in 1950 (exclusive of goods available from local resources) increased as follows over 1940:

Meat and meat products 38 per cent, fish products 51 per cent, butter 59, vegetable oil and other fats 67, sugar 33, confectionery products 34, footwear 39, textile goods 47, hosiery 39.

Sales of clocks and watches were 3.3 times above pre-war, radio sets 6 times, electric household appliances 1.5 times, bicycles 2.9 times, sewing machines almost 3 times, motor cycles 16 times.

In the field of housing, 100 million square meters of floor space were restored and built with the help of government credits through state enterprises and institutions and local Soviets, in towns and local settlements. In rural localities 2,700,000 dwellings were restored or built.

Prague

USSR Honors Veteran Scientist

At ninety, world-famous chemist Zelinsky continues his scientific work; his goal not destruction, but the creation of an even more beautiful tomorrow

by AMY SCHECHTER

THEY have been celebrating the ninetieth birthday of Nikolai Dmitrievich Zelinsky in the Soviet Union. He is one of the world's most eminent chemists, especially in the field of the chemistry of petroleum. Born the year the serfs were freed, in 1861, he has worked for over half a century at Moscow University and is still on the job in his laboratories working on new problems in an altogether modern spirit.

The following gives you a feeling of the man: It was in the twenties, when hundreds of thousands of young men and women workers, and some not so young, were rushing to use the educational facilities now thrown open to them, answering the Soviet call "to storm the heights of learning." The limited university facilities of the time were badly overcrowded, and it was difficult to find room for all the "Rabfak" (Workers' Faculties) part-time students as well as for the regular student body. Professor Zelinsky, already one of the country's greats and in his sixties, seeing the shortage of laboratory space, divided off half of his own not very large laboratory, and laid down the law:—"This is for Rabfak students to work in."

Academician Zelinsky's ninetieth birthday, together with the 65th an-

niversary of his "scientific, educational and civic work" were honored by a formal meeting at the House of Scientists in Moscow. Participating were the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Higher Education, the Moscow Lomonossov State University, the Mendeleyev Chemistry Society, the Moscow Society for the Study of Nature, and many other organizations.

The entire Soviet press wrote about Zelinsky, not just the scientific journals or *Pravda*, but trade union papers and farm women's magazines and the youth press. Especially the youth press, because the chemist today still makes a point of working with the youth, inspiring them with his own daring spirit of scientific investigation, and even taking time from his work to write on current scientific problems for the popular science youth magazines.

The man of science who lived for so long under a capitalist set-up wholly understands and sympathizes with the aspirations of the men and women building the new order in his native land. He wrote recently, again addressing the Soviet youth: "The source from which spring our dreams is our beautiful reality that tomorrow will be even more beautiful."

It is interesting to see the type of

stories written in connection with the aged scientist's birthday celebration. They are not patronizing "whimsical" feature stories, but deal seriously with his vast achievements in the fields of theoretical and applied science, handling the difficult subject so that it can be grasped by the lay reader. The stories also recall the way that he took his stand for the people against tsarist reaction in the early days, and worked to aid Soviet science and industry, consistently, since 1917.

Today, too, he has come out on the side of the free people of the world in the fight for peace. Not long ago, appealing to the world's scientists to take a stand against war, he wrote:

"We men of science must expose and smash the false thesis of the inevitability of another war. I shall soon be ninety. I have devoted two-thirds of a century to science. And this gives me the right to demand of my colleagues, both Soviet and foreign scientists, that they heed the voice of a veteran scientist who knows to the full the price of peace and war."

One of the chemist's most important earlier discoveries was aimed at lessening the horrible effects of warfare. This was during World War I. The Germans had introduced the use of poison gas. Zelinsky, working to find some protection against the gas, in 1915 developed the method of the use of activated carbon in gas masks that saved tens of thousands of lives, and later became the basis for all modern gas masks.

His birthplace was Tiraspol, in Moldavia. He early turned to independent investigation: his first important work was done while he was at the University of Novorossisk, in 1884, while he was working under P. G. Melekishvili.

In the early nineties, at the age of 33, he was appointed professor of organic and analytical chemistry at Moscow University. Since that time there was one break, lasting several years, in his connection with the University. It came in 1911, when the tsarist government tightened its thought control, harassing students and faculty, and Zelinsky walked out together with a number of other leading faculty members in protest against the persecution carried on by the Ministry of Education.

He worked in St. Petersburg, until, in 1917, the Revolution made possible his return to Moscow University. Here he soon made the first of his long and still-growing list of contributions to the new toilers' state. In 1918, interventionist troops had taken over the Caucasus oilfields, and Red Army aviators were grounded for lack of gasoline. Zelinsky developed a method of securing a highgrade motor fuel from petroleum residue and solar oils that made it possible for the flyers to operate.

The spirit in which he worked was summed up in the course of a speech the scientist made at the December, 1936, session of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR: "From the first years of the revolution we in the laboratory of the Moscow State University have worked on those problems which were necessary to the Soviet economy, and to the creation of the new state."

In addition to the enormous volume of his scientific work and investigations into technological processes, Zelinsky has published over 550 works in the fields of theoretical and applied science, and has trained scores of outstanding Soviet scientists.

Some of his most important work has been done in the field of synthetic rubber. In 1932, in collaboration with



Soviet Academician, Nikolai N. Zelinsky, with his wife. Ninety and still immersed in his work, he is honored by the entire Soviet Union

three other scientists, he published a work on "The Production of Chloroprene Rubber from Acetylene." When the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the scientist, then eighty, threw all his knowledge and skill into aiding his country to defeat its enemies, and for his brilliant creative work was the first scientist to receive a Stalin Prize.

His country has heaped honors on this man who has worked so well to serve his people: he is Hero of Socialist Labor, has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner twice, and two Stalin prizes for specific achievements, and on his ninetieth birthday was awarded, for the second time, the Order of Lenin.

All accounts describe the scientist who has developed one of the largest

schools of chemistry in the country as extremely versatile in his activities. Much of his work is on the borderline between physics and chemistry; in addition to his outstanding scientific discoveries he has also made great contributions to Soviet technological processes.

One direction of Zelinsky's investigations of late years that directly ties in with the Soviet people's giant plans for changing nature and ending the blight of desert areas in their land, is his study of the rich mineral deposits in the off-shore waters of the Caspian bordering the vast desert areas of Turkmenia. This is an initial step in carrying through plans for constructing great industrial projects in this Central Asian Soviet Republic.

NO LONGER A PRIVILEGED FEW

SIX YEARS AGO, under King Zog, only 25 per cent of Albania's children attended school. Now, under the People's Democratic government, universal, compulsory education insures schooling for all youngsters.

Books

A Plotter's View of Czechoslovakia

by PETER FURST

CZECHOSLOVAKIA ENSLAVED, by
Hubert Ripka. The Macmillan Co.,
New York, 1951. 339 pp., \$3.50.

PURPORTING to be the "inside story" of the February, 1948, events, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved* would hardly merit reviewing here if its author — himself one of the 1948 plotters against Czechoslovak independence — had not unwittingly given away some of the inner workings of the reactionary plot to block the development toward socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Ripka, a wartime exile in London and one of the leaders of the National Socialist Party, was Minister of Foreign Trade until February, 1948, when, along with other rightwing minister, he resigned in the hope that the resultant crisis might bring about the ouster of the largest Czechoslovak Party, the Communists, from the government. Today he is one of the group of Czechoslovak "exiles" dreaming of a return to power on the bayonets of the Atlantic Pact armies.

The true nature of the February events was discussed in detail in these pages last April. Now Ripka comes along to confirm—amid a wealth of fantasy—that it was he and his friends, and not the Communists, who dreamed of a coup d'état to turn the clock back.

Ripka does not even try to deny that he and his associates in the cabinet were the defenders of the war-profiteering millionaires' clique during the 1947

controversy over the Communist proposal to create an emergency assistance fund for small peasants hit by the drought through a tax on all millionaires. All he does is to attempt to show that there were not 35,000 millionaires in the country but "fewer than 12,000" and that their fortunes added up not to 50,000,000,000 crowns "but to 22,000,000,000 at most." Not much of an argument even if it were true—it would mean that 12,000 people, or 0.01 per cent of the population, between them owned fortunes amounting to the equivalent of a full year's pay each for 500,000 industrial workers.

Ripka further favors us with the inadvertent admission that the story of "Soviet exploitation" of countries like Czechoslovakia is a lie. On page 129 he mentions "the speed with which the Soviets had come to our aid to help us to solve our food crisis" and even admits that Stalin himself offered Czechoslovakia very favorable terms for a new trade agreement.

Most significant in Ripka's book are the pages dealing with the plot to bring about the cabinet crisis. He frankly reports a secret meeting of rightwing officials called on the eve of a trade union congress which would undoubtedly demand further nationalization of basic sources of wealth.

"The more we considered the tactics to be followed," he writes on pages 202-3, "the more the idea forced itself upon us that we must not hesitate in transforming the latent crisis into open crisis.

"I therefore proposed to my friends that we hand in our resignations before the meeting of the congress. . . .

"However, it was necessary not to

PETER FURST spent five years in Eastern Europe as a staff correspondent for Reuters, the British news agency.

precipitate matters. Before taking the decisive step it was important to assure ourselves of the agreement of the Populists and the Slovak Democrats and to inform the loyal friends we had among the Social Democrats of our project."

He then admits in so many words that he and his anti-socialist friends were trying to engineer a split within the Social Democratic party, hoping to carry the rightwing Socialists along into their plot.

In his description of a pre-crisis meeting with Benes, Ripka really gives the show away. After admitting that the rightwing had virtually paralyzed all cabinet work and blocked the discussion of all Communist proposals in the cabinet and Parliament, he quotes himself as telling Benes (pp. 218-19):

"It is necessary that this latent crisis should be transformed as soon as possible into an official open crisis. But it is extremely important to choose the right moment for our resignation. . . . The Communists have called a union congress for next Sunday, February 22. . . . The union congress will proclaim a program for radical socialization which the Communists will try to impose on the Government immediately after. They foresee that the Social Dem-

ocrats will not be able to reject this program. They know, on the other hand, that we shall reject it. Thus, if the crisis breaks out on this point, they are sure of having the Social Democrats with them. . . .

"To torpedo this maneuver it is to our interest to provoke the crisis before next Sunday's congress."

Thus, he admits that the question of the dismissal of eight police officers by the Minister of Interior, presented at the time as the official reason for the resignations, was nothing but a pretext. The real reason was the attempt to prevent the execution of the Czechoslovak people's demand for socialism and to form an anti-Communist government tied to the United States by means of the Marshall Plan.

Ripka, of course, does not tell the whole story. His book, in the main, is a mass of distortions and outright falsehoods. He carefully omits the shady role of U.S. Ambassador Laurence Steinhardt, and the close connection of the plotters with the American and British intelligence services. But the above quotations, from one of the prime movers of the fabricated crisis, clearly expose the lie sold to the American people of a "Communist coup d'état."

Geography of the Soviet Land

GEOGRAPHY OF THE USSR — A REGIONAL SURVEY, by *Theodore Shabad*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1951, 584 pp., \$8.50.

GEOGRAPHY OF RUSSIA, by *N. T. Mirov*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1951, 362 pp., \$6.50.

THE CONTINUING flow of information culled from Soviet sources easily available in this country certainly should have done much by now to give the lie to the "iron curtain" theory that no factual knowledge about the USSR passes through to us. Either there is no "iron curtain" or the experts (and "experts") on the USSR are sucking out of their thumbs all the information they

give out. But then too it may be some of these very same "experts" who themselves do what they can to perpetuate this fable for the very ulterior motive of improving book-sales through their sensation-mongering.

Here are two very thorough-going geographical studies, chock full of information about the very insides of the USSR, to lay still lower the "iron curtain" lie. Both list a wealth of bibliographical sources available here for study, both in English and Russian: books, periodicals, maps, atlases. A surprisingly sizable collection of key geographic material has been translated into English we learn: S. S. Balzak's "Economic Geography of the USSR," L. S. Berg's "The Natural Regions of

the USSR," N. Mikhailov's "Across the Map of the USSR."

The Shabad book, written in simple and readable style, stresses information on administrative-territorial divisions, although it does not in any way neglect the study of the resources of the USSR, its economy, its transportation, its soils and vegetation, its area and population. A most valuable service is its careful handling of Soviet toponymy in its changing forms. With the aid of the book's excellent index, it is quite simple to find any spot in the country under whatever name you happen to know it, old or new or in-between.

The work is rich in easily read maps and area and population tables (these latter not only for republics, territories, regions, but for cities too, and for the separate Soviet nationalities).

It must be noted in passing that the author does permit himself some speculation beyond verifiable facts. He assumes, for instance, that atomic research is probably being carried on in existing industrial complexes rather than in the remote corner of Siberia so favored by sensational pulp-writers here; that industrial development may be determined adequately from the de-

velopment of urban centers, which is not at all the case.

Other minor faults might be noted and it must be remembered that the book was written before final reports of the Fourth Five-Year Plan achievements were available. But basically it is a scholarly, useful book.

The Mirov book is a much less satisfactory work. It stresses soil-study, vegetation, animal life, climates, topography rather than the administrative-territorial set-up of the country. It is rather sloppy in its use of administrative terms and place names. For example, the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is referred to as the Dag(h)estan Autonomous *Region*. In its listing of the religions in the USSR no mention is made of the large Jewish group. This geography, too, is poor in maps, both in number and in quality.

Unfortunately the two books use varying systems of transliteration. It is a serious matter for the uninitiated student (and often for the initiated one too) that he has to adjust himself continually to different systems of transliteration of the Russian language in his research. It is to be hoped that soon a universal system may be adopted. B. K.

World History Without People

SEVEN DECISIONS THAT SHAPED HISTORY, by Sumner Welles, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951. 236 pp. \$3.00.

SUMNER WELLES has long been considered one of the outstanding professional diplomats we have had in the United States in recent years. As Under Secretary of State he was closely associated with President Roosevelt in the shaping of U.S. foreign policy during the 1930's and early 1940's. Since his retirement from public life, Welles has written several volumes as well as numerous magazine and newspaper articles spelling out in detail his views on world affairs.

The present volume—with its alluring but pretentious and misleading title—is not a study of U.S. foreign policy; it is rather a personal defense of Welles' part in the making of that policy. The villains in the piece are Cordell Hull, James Byrnes, and Neville Chamberlain; the heroes throughout are Franklin D. Roosevelt and Sumner Welles.

Now there is no denying the positive aspects of the Roosevelt policies, especially in the period of the Allied coalition war against the Axis powers. But Welles pursues this thesis to limits that strain credulity and violate common sense. It is as if the Roosevelt-Welles tandem possessed a virtual monopoly in shaping the history of our times.

Characteristically, Welles writes: "One man, and one man alone, made it possible for us to have a working United Nations organization before the end of the Second World War. That man was Franklin Roosevelt." This is not political analysis; it borders on idolatry. Nor need one lack respect for the achievements and stature of Franklin D. Roosevelt to challenge this fallacious "great-man" approach to history.

For where, in all this, are the peoples of the world—the millions of human beings who have forged and are daily forging history? The question is particularly pertinent because never before have we seen the masses play a more active, direct, and decisive role in shaping history than in our own lifetime.

Welles complains bitterly that recent U.S. secretaries of state have shown an appalling ignorance of history. He himself, it is true, knows history exceedingly well—in the formal sense of state papers, high-level negotiations, and diplomatic *aide-mémoires*. But his analysis is like a lawyer's brief—cold, punctilious, and aloof. He remains at best a technician of diplomacy rather than a man who really understands the economic, political, and social forces on the march today.

Here and there, to be sure, one gets a peek at the "inside story" of some of the important political moves made during World War II; but certainly none of the revelations are so original or startling as to justify the melodramatic title of the book.

It is useful to know that Welles considers preventive war "an act of criminal folly"; that he opposes the rearming of Western Germany by the United States as a dangerous move that is likely to boomerang; that he is aware—in words at least—that Western imperialism no longer has a ghost of a chance among the awakening peoples of Asia; that he strongly defends the Cairo, Teheran, and Yalta agreements made in the course of World War II.

But on the other hand, he pleads for at least partial rearming of Japan under U.S. auspices; like any Pentagon strate-

gist, he sees the U.S. line of Far Eastern defense as running down from the Aleutians through Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, and the Philippines; he opposes the seating of the People's Government of China in the United Nations "unless and until it officially recognizes that it has been guilty of aggression" in Korea; he repeats the stale assertions of Soviet imperialism and of "Soviet-inspired" aggression in Korea; he praises the Marshall Plan as "magnificently successful" in steadily raising the living standards of the peoples of Europe.

He envisages no alternative to "continued tension and recurrent mobilization, both military and economic, over a period of many years." He sheds no light on the reasons why United States expansionist power is everywhere disliked and feared—even in those nations in Europe and Latin America most closely bound to the United States by economic and military ties.

The bankruptcy of his thinking is most glaring in his last chapter—"Policy for Today." Here—where Mr Welles writes without benefit of hindsight—we see that he has no real quarrel with the "cold war" policy-makers of American imperialism. Here too is conclusive evidence that Welles is unable or unwilling to realize the nature of the real forces and decisions that are shaping the history of our time.

A. L.

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Mr. Pritt's report of his experiences and observations in a typical "slave-labor camp" should be reprinted and circulated widely. His facts must have surprised many readers. They must have asked themselves: In what sense are the inmates "slaves"? In the sense, he has to be reminded, in which *all* the inmates of American State and Federal penitentiaries are slaves—and in no other.

We should be grateful to Mr. Pritt for his candid and circumstantial report.

Victor S. Yarros

La Jolla, Calif.

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Vernon Ward

Breezy Banks,
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A reader from Leonia, N. J. writes: "New World Review presents a convincing picture of the life of the people of Russia, Eastern Europe and China. If this story could be put into the hands of enough people in the United States the hate propaganda being fed to the people could be overcome."

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

AN ORIGINAL and BEAUTIFUL CZECH FILM

THE EMPEROR'S NIGHTINGALE,
*Czechoslovak film based on the Hans
Christian Andersen tale. Director,
Jiri Trnka. Music by Vaclav Trojan.*

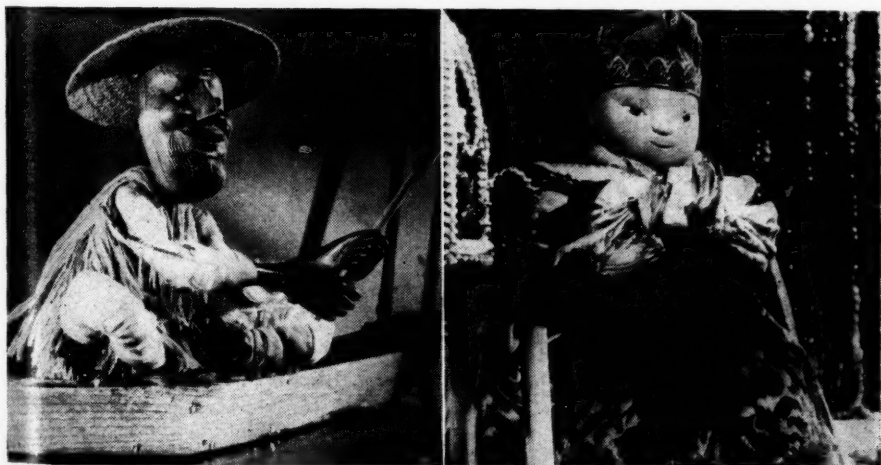
ALL the children at the performance of *The Emperor's Nightingale* were good children, the gentleness and beauty and truth of the film held them completely. They accepted its subtleties as children always will accept and enjoy the subtleties of stories that are not spoiled by putting them into one-syllable word form for their consumption; even the big-eyed three-year-old in the next row gave delighted chirrup in the right places.

This is a Czechoslovak film, a brilliant, original and enchantingly beautiful adaptation of the Andersen fairy tale by artist and sculptor Jiri Trnka, who made the wonderfully expressive puppets or dolls used in the play within a play (real actors are used in the framework story) and produced and directed the picture. The lovely gentle color is the work of Czechoslovak technicians; the score that so completely catches the spirit of the tale is by Vaclav Trojan, and played by a Czechoslovak Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.

But the country of its origin is carefully concealed in ads for the film, and names played up are Phyllis McGinley (New Yorker writer), billed as the one who "wrote it," and Boris Karloff as narrator of her commentary. It would be interesting to see the narration that must have come here from Czechoslovakia along with the film. The McGinley product is much too wordy and rather pompous and out of keeping with the character of the picture.

Director Trnka wrote a framework story enclosing the Hans Andersen fairy tale that suggests the parallel between the real life situation of a lonely sick boy who dreams the fairy

Stills from the new film from Czechoslovakia, "The Emperor's Nightingale."



tale, and the little Emperor of China, who figures as its central figure, with great artistic tact and no Hollywood style "psychological" fakery.

The Emperor of China is shut away in his magnificent palace from the beauty and adventure of the everyday world. This world of reality is symbolized especially by the nightingale that lives in the free forest beyond the palace walls, and by the little kitchen-maid and the fishermen and other ordinary people for whom the nightingale sings its songs, which are more precious than all the jewels in the emperor's

palace, and who love and understand her singing.

This theme is repeated in the framework story: a lonely boy whose father is away in China, lives in a big formal mansion with two stuffy old aunts, and looks out wistfully through the great gates at the little girl of the people playing freely in the woods outside.

The toys his father has sent him from China supply the link between the two tales: he falls ill and the fantasy of the emperor and the nightingale is enacted in his feverish dreams, with his own loneliness fusing with the loneliness of the boy emperor.

After the dream ends, the boy, recovering, makes his first step in the direction of life by climbing the gates and running off to play with the little girl in the woods beyond.

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A. S.

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