

NEW WORLD

AUGUST

1951

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Review

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SOCIAL SCIENCES



Delegates to the Chicago Peace Conference. Story on page 24.

**For a 5-Power Peace Pact • Killing the Bill of Rights
Linking 5 Soviet Seas • Women in China • Hungary Today**

Hats Off to Frederick V. Field!

"I TAKE my hat off to Frederick Vanderbilt Field for his spunk," wrote I. F. Stone in the *New York Compass* of July 8.

He was referring to Mr. Field's refusal to disclose the names of the many good people who contributed to the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund, of which he is a trustee. Mr. Stone said it was Mr. Field's moral obligation not to disclose these names, because

"The Government has been trying to get these names for some time; the disappearance of the four Communist leaders is only an excuse . . . it wants the names as part of its campaign to terrorize the Left."

Arthur Garfield Hays, veteran civil liberties lawyer, declared that he too was glad Mr. Field refused to answer the questions.

Mr. Field was given a ninety days sentence for contempt of court, and spent

several days in jail before bail was granted. His bail, however, was revoked a few days later and he was clapped into prison a second time. The distinguished Negro scholar, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton and the noted writer, Dashiell Hammett, were also imprisoned for refusing to be informers.

We too take off our hats to Fred Field and the others who prefer jail to moral degradation.

Our readers know through Mr. Field's writings how great is his contribution to the cause of peace and international understanding. We, his fellow-editors on the magazine, know also of the warmth and wisdom of his heart and mind, and his unswerving devotion to the cause of human progress.



Frederick V. Field

The Other Editors

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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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No More Koreas!

AS WE GO to press the whole world is waiting for the joyful news that the shooting in Korea is over.

Let our joy at the prospect be equalled by our determination that there shall be no more Koreas.

And let it be tempered by realization of the measureless cost of this war in human life and treasure.

A beautiful country, beloved by its people, has been laid waste. Three million Koreans, most of them non-combatants, women and children and old people, have been killed.

American mothers have been bereft, American homes darkened by the 150,000 casualties suffered by our troops. Thousands of young men from other lands have given their lives.

The Korean war need never have happened. The negotiations now under way have been possible ever since the evil Syngman Rhee, at the behest of his imperialist masters, sent his troops across the 38th Parallel into North Korea. (This same Syngman Rhee called for the use of the atom bomb against his own people and today calls for the continued slaughter of his countrymen, bitterly opposing a truce.)

In his June 23 radio broadcast on the United Nations "The Price of Peace" Program, Mr. Jacob Malik, Soviet deputy foreign minister and delegate to the United Nations, noted that not only his own country but the Chinese People's Republic and other states had repeatedly submitted proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean dispute.

Mr. Malik emphasized that the Soviet Union threatens no one and has no aggressive plans whatever.

He stressed the fact that the USSR bases its policy on the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, socialism and capitalism.

Mr. Malik significantly referred to a statement made by Premier Stalin to an American correspondent in 1932, in which Stalin said that "both the peoples of the USSR and the Government of the USSR are anxious that an armed conflict between the two countries *should never under any circumstances arise.*" (Italics ours.)

Mr. Malik concluded his speech with the words that set the machinery of peace in motion. Stating the belief of the Soviet people that peace is possible and that the Korean problem could be settled, he declared:

This would require the readiness of the parties to enter on the path of peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The Soviet peoples believe that as a first step discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the 38th Parallel.

Can such a step be taken? I think it can, provided there is a sincere desire to put an end to the bloody fighting in Korea. I think that, surely, is not too great a price to pay in order to achieve peace in Korea.

The Administration's first reaction was to sow seeds of suspicion regarding Soviet intentions. A State Department memorandum sent to U.S. representatives in Tokyo questioned Russia's good faith and warned that the truce proposal might be "a cover for military advantage."

But the stark reality of the failure of American policies in Korea, protests from U.S. allies and mounting



General Peng Teh-huai, of the Chinese volunteers, and Premier Kim Il Sung of N. Korea

pressure from the world peace forces, compelled action, and the peace talks with the representatives of the North Korean government and the Chinese volunteer forces resulted.

The conservative *Wall Street Journal* said on June 26 of the attitude displayed by the Administration:

The worst way to treat the proposals, it seems to us, is to do as some Washington officials have done and go on denouncing the Russians and in general treating the proposals disdainfully. . . .

But even more serious than the denunciation in words, have been the panicky steps taken to intensify world tensions lest the prospect of peace in Korea should adversely affect the prospects of Truman's colossal arms program.

Thus the United States broke off the Paris meetings for a four-power Foreign Ministers conference (see page 55). It has given orders for full speed ahead with the plans for including German divisions in the Atlantic Pact army. It has moved toward a separate peace treaty with Western Germany. Rejecting repeated Soviet proposals for a conference on the treaty with Japan by the nations that warred against that country, it has set the date for the signing of its own unilateral treaty giving Japan unlimited right to rearm. Ob-

jections to the proposed signing of this treaty by Chiang Kai-shek are circumvented by the fantastic device of leaving it to Japan to decide whether the real Chinese Government or the ousted dictator shall sign on behalf of the 475,000,000 Chinese people. A separate treaty will provide for the indefinite occupation of Japan by U.S. armed forces.

The draft text of the treaty with Japan can only be considered as an apology for having gone to war against Japan. This reward for Pearl Harbor is described by John Foster Dulles, its author, as an example of "the modern and enlightened approach."

The new military pact of the U.S. with Australia and New Zealand is part of the plan for a Pacific version of the Atlantic war alliance.

Among other steps increasing world tensions have been the breaking off of trade pacts with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the shipping of more arms to Tito, increased intervention in the Iranian situation and throughout the Middle East, the intensified development of U.S. air and military bases encircling the USSR, new overtures to Franco.

The North Korean and Chinese negotiators showed their good faith by accepting U.S. demands for admission of newsmen to Kaisong and neutralization of the conference site. While these were matters subject to mutual agreement, the North Koreans and Chinese refused to let the ultimatum method employed by the U.S. be a pretext for breaking off the parleys.

Meanwhile, at home, Administration officials are telling the American people that whatever happens in Korea, the cold war must continue with ever higher taxes and an ever mounting arms program, while daily

the police state measures to still the voices of all who say there is another course grow more savage.

For a 5-Power Peace Pact

COLD WAR in today's explosive atmosphere means hot war. There is another course, the only course that can save humanity from annihilation, the course of peaceful co-existence and continuing negotiations until it has been achieved.

The first step is the cease-fire in Korea, and the prevention of that conflagration from spreading across the world.

What next?

Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are giving the answer—*immediate negotiations for a Five-Power Pact of Peace.*

If the Big Powers will make such an over-all pact, the way will be open for peaceful solutions in all the many trouble spots of the world.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed such a pact in the UN.

The World Peace Council, representing more than seventy countries and 800,000,000 of the world's people, issued an appeal last February for "the conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers: the United States, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France." It called upon all peace-loving nations to support the demand for a Pact of Peace, which should be open to all countries. It invited all men and women of good will to sign the appeal, "whatever their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of a world war."

Half a billion of the world's people signed the Stockholm appeal against atomic weapons. A similar appeal by the International Red Cross won



Jacob Malik

worldwide support. Did not this stay the hands of those who were ready to drop the atom bomb again?

The appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact is reaching even larger groups of people. The goal is a billion signatures. Already upwards of 350,000,000 people have signed, although in many countries the signature campaign is only beginning to get under way, and this is exclusive of the Soviet Union where practically the whole adult population will assuredly sign as an earnest expression of their desire for peace.

From China with 260,773,871 signatures at this writing, to little Guatemala with 33,770, the people's demand for peace is rising. The signers are of all political and religious creeds.

The tally mounts daily. Over 18,000,000 in Poland, almost 6,000,000

in Bulgaria, over 9,000,000 in Czechoslovakia, over 7,000,000 in Hungary, over 11,000,000 in Romania, almost a million in Albania. That was the count in the People's Democracies early in July.

Hundreds of thousands are signing in Latin America. In Britain the campaign is being spearheaded by the British Peace Committee, counting many conservative members, and by great sections of the labor movement. In France the recent convention of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor), with 2,300 delegates representing 3,600,000 members, called on all French workers to participate in the campaign. Italy's great labor movement, uniting over 5,000,000, is carrying on a similar campaign.

In Korea, 7,000,000 people have already signed; in the Mongolian People's Republic, 633,877; in Vietnam, 1,500,000; in Denmark, 100,390; in Cyprus, 87,366; in Finland, 600,000; in Iran, 1,000,000; in Japan, 730,000; in Canada, 200,000; in Austria,

700,922; in Syria, 60,000; in Sweden, 205,000; in West Berlin, 162,937, and so on.

At the Chicago Peace Congress, the delegates supported the demand for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

The World Peace Council is seeking to present its proposal before the United Nations. Soviet delegate Malik, in his capacity as President of the Security Council in June, agreed to receive their representatives. The United States Government, however, has refused to grant visas to the peace delegates.

The American people should demand that our government permit the representatives of the world's peace forces to have a hearing before the United Nations, which was organized for the maintenance of peace.

Above all, the American people should join their voices to the hundreds of millions of the world's people demanding a Pact of Peace.

Let peace in Korea be a prelude to peace everywhere!

—J. S.

Killing the Bill of Rights

by SENDER GARLIN

FREEDOM of political thought is today a crime in the United States of America.

It has been so decreed by a majority of the Supreme Court with its sanctification of the Smith Act.

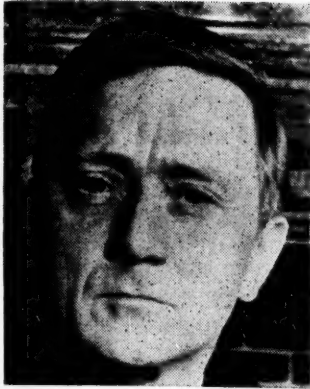
What Hitler sought to achieve by the burning of the Reichstag (a pretext for destroying all minority opinions as well as those who held them) is being attempted in this country via the Supreme Court approval of the Smith Act under which

11 Communist leaders have been condemned to long prison terms, 17 others indicted and a wave of mass arrests threatened.

Not since the Dred Scott decision of 1857 which proclaimed that a Negro was not free even after he escaped into non-slave territory has such an overtly political decision been rendered by the high court.

To the everlasting honor of the American people they forced a reversal of the infamous Dred Scott

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Justices William O. Douglas (left) and Hugo L. Black, who dissented sharply from the majority opinion on the Smith Act



decision, just as as they undoubtedly will in the case of the Smith Act and thus—in the words of Justice Black's memorable dissent—"restore the first amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Even a cursory reading of the majority opinion reveals the court's "consciousness of guilt." Chief Justice Vinson was amazingly candid about the determination to find the Smith Act constitutional in order, obviously, to provide legal sanction for the jailing of men and women (beginning with Communists and later thousands of non-Communists, who may differ with prevailing administration policies). The danger to all Americans is clear when one reads that among the "overt acts" charged against the 17 were such items as leaving a building, mailing envelopes, and attending meetings.

The immediate effect of the Supreme Court decision was to bring about the imprisonment of the leaders of the American Communist Party and lay the basis for mass arrests of all accused by federal prosecutors with an eye to judicial advancement, of "conspiring to advocate and teach the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The weeks that have passed since the court handed down its decision have brought forth considerable press comment. Editorials in major newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Herald-Tribune* followed the same tortuous logic as the Supreme Court majority. Although bellicose in tone, these editorial pronouncements disclosed a curious uneasiness. In some instances the sharply worded and eloquent dissenting opinions of Justices Black and Douglas were either dismissed with a few words or else totally ignored.

Yet, highly influential sections of the American press, a large number of leading newspaper commentators, many prominent individuals in public life and hundreds of trade union leaders have expressed their sense of shock at the action of the court in scrapping the First Amendment.

Most noteworthy of the press opinion in opposition to the court's decision was the leading editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of June 5. This editorial constitutes a stirring defense of the Bill of Rights and a slashing attack on those who seek to destroy it. It declared:

"Every American must hope that it may never be necessary to resort to force and violence to defend its

liberties. But in this day when dictators seek to rule the world, every American should contemplate the possibility that under a tyrant's assumption of power the citizen would have no other recourse than to use force and violence in behalf of the freedom which he loved more than his own life."

Joining the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in its sense of alarm at the action of the Supreme Court, two Louisville, Ky., newspapers saw dangerous implications in the decision.

Also deeply troubled by the court decision was the Washington *Evening Star*, which commented that "it should be recognized that there is a point beyond which the government cannot and should not go."

The *Capital Times* of Madison, Wis., suggested that "we are trying to put an idea in jail," adding: "The decision puts the government of the United States before the world in a new light. . . . In the past we have always said that we will stand in the market place and compete with any and all ideas. But now we have become fearful. . . ."

The influential liberal weekly, *The Nation*, joined with Justice Black in the hope that a future high court decision will reverse the current attack on our civil liberties. The publication charged the Supreme Court with narrowly construing and perversely applying the "clear-and-present-danger" doctrine.

The June 4 decision was also roundly assailed by the New York *Post* and the *Daily Compass*.

A vigorous exposure of the Supreme Court's act has been carried on by the *Compass'* Washington columnist, I. F. Stone, who in appealing for a newspapermen's committee to support the petition for a rehearing

in the case of one of the defendants, John Gates of the *Daily Worker*, has pointed out that Gates is the first editor to be prosecuted for sedition during peace-time in America since the days of the iniquitous Alien and Sedition Laws.

"That kind of prosecution," Stone has declared, "is a menace to freedom of the press. . . ."

Publishers Weekly questions the wisdom of the Smith Act, in connection with the indictment of Alexander Trachtenberg, head of International Publishers, with a quarter-century publishing record.

A grass roots protest movement is evidenced by numerous editorials in small town papers.

Notables in every part of the country have rallied in protest against the dangerous doctrine enunciated by Chief Justice Vinson. They include Prof. Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago and now associate director of the Ford Foundation; Osmond K. Fraenkel, noted constitutional lawyer; U.S. District Judge Edward Wyzanski, Jr., of Boston. Associating themselves publicly with Justice Black's dissenting opinion were Dr. A. J. Carlson, past president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, eminent Negro sociologist; Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, former Governor of the Virgin Islands; Dr. William Carlos Williams, and many others.

Nearly 200 trade union leaders associated with AFL, CIO and independent unions, signed an *amicus curiae* brief calling upon the Supreme Court to grant a re-hearing to the defendants who originally challenged the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

The American Civil Liberties Un-

ion, calling the Supreme Court's action "an unfortunate defeat for democracy," urged further legal testing of the Smith Act.

Reflecting the uneasiness of the millions of Negro people in the face of attacks on constitutional guarantees, Judge Hubert T. Delany of the New York Court of Domestic Relations charged that the Smith Act ruling was a threat to civil liberties.

Of the numerous communications appearing in the press of the nation, by far the most cogent was the one from a former special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General in the *New York Times* of July 1. The writer of the communication, Howard N. Meyer, exposed the contradiction between the Supreme Court decision and the "free speech" thesis put forward by chief U.S. delegate to the UN, Warren Austin. Mr. Meyer quoted Austin as saying in a debate on a Soviet resolution to outlaw war propaganda: "The road of restraint by edict leads directly to the establishment of censorship and a police state."

Meanwhile world protests are mounting, thus confirming the warning that the Supreme Court action will make it more difficult than ever to sell the "American way of life" to millions abroad. The Italian Association of Victims of Fascism has cabled Mr. Truman that the recent actions savor of the "worst traditions of Mussolini's special tribunals," while in Mexico *El Popular*, progressive daily, declares that the U.S. seems to be moving towards a regime that will make Nazi dictatorship seem like "innocent child's play."

Not only the first amendment, but other articles of the Bill of Rights are being nullified. The protection of the Fifth Amendment against self-

incrimination is denied in the sentencing for contempt of the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund Trustees (see page 2) who refused to reveal the names of the fund's contributors.

The protection of the Eighth Amendment against the imposition of excessive bail is being denied to the Communist leaders. Indeed, the vengeful action of U.S. Attorney Irving Saypol to deny the CRC the right to post bail is tantamount to denial of the right of bail altogether. Commercial surety companies provide bail at 3 per cent for the most hardened criminals, but refuse to furnish bail for Communists and other political prisoners even for 100 per cent collateral. Thus the CRC is practically the only source of bail for the Smith Act victims.

It should be kept in mind that Saypol tried to refuse bail for the 17 Communist leaders even before the disappearance of four of the previously convicted eleven. Thousands of people have contributed over a period of years to the fund as a whole, and hence there could be no connection between those who are missing and the contributors. But despite the previous unanimous ruling of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals that CRC funds must be accepted for bail, the lower court reversed this decision. In a complete debacle of judicial processes, the defendants have been in and out of jail three times. In this atmosphere of hysteria, Communists are, moreover, deprived of their right to retain counsel of their own choosing. The figleaf of legality is wearing thin indeed.

The validity or fallacy of Marxism as a social philosophy is not the issue that has evoked these protests. The issue is the growing alarm at the destruction of the Bill of Rights, keystone of America's liberties.

A symphony of peaceful labor

Refashioning the Soviet Land

by M. ILIN

MASTERS of their land, the Soviet people are happy to see how much they have succeeded in refashioning and improving it.

Was it so long ago that the rapids on the Dnieper cut the river into two separate parts? Yet, where the current once swirled and foamed over the sunken reefs, ships now sail freely. Today power generated by the Dnieper drives the machines in our factories and cuts the coal deep down in the mines of the Donbas.

Volga skippers no longer have to watch for reefs and shallows; from the Caspian to Moscow the Volga is now a deep waterway. From ample reservoirs its waters spill over the dams giving its power to mighty electric stations.

New life has come to the desert wastes east of the Caspian; nomads have settled on the land, and cotton and grapes grow where this would have once seemed an idle dream.

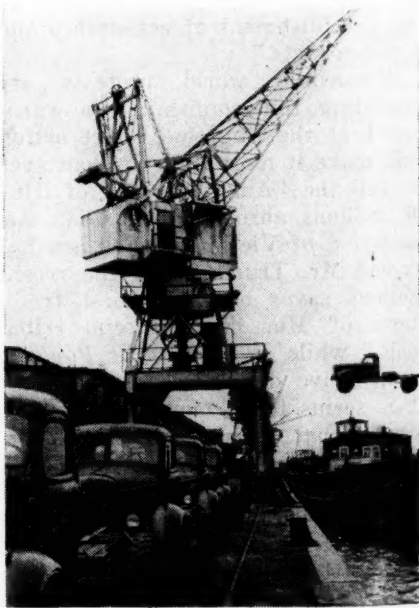
All that has been accomplished is

M. ILIN'S scientific-literary books are well known in this country as well as in the USSR. An engineer by profession, he entered the literary field with a broad theoretical and practical knowledge of the field of technique. His many books include "About the Great Plan," "Mountains and People," "How Man Became a Giant." This article is the first of a series.

beyond recounting; but not a little still remains to be done.

Reconstruction of the Dnieper is only half completed. Every year during the spring floods, billions of cubic meters of "superfluous" water spill over the dam at the Dnieper Power Plant and are allowed to escape uselessly to the sea. But can anything be superfluous in our vast

Loading trucks in Moscow for delivery to the site of the Kuibyshev hydroelectric station





Geodesists survey the construction site of the Tsymlyanskaya hydroelectric station, part of the Volga-Don project connecting five seas

husbandry? The Dnieper waters could be used to irrigate the arid steppes of the Ukraine and Northern Crimea.

And neither has the Volga been refashioned along its entire course. The nearer it approaches the sea the deeper and broader it becomes. Here there is water aplenty. Yet nearby, on the black earth area of the Sarpa lowland, villages cling close to lakes that are evaporating away, and to streams which in summer are nothing but dry channels. The beds of the lakes are choked with reeds and filmed over with glistening salt. The vegetable gardens on the shores are abandoned and have become a realm of weeds—all from lack of water. The herds in the pastures languish from thirst.

The Volga flows into the Caspian Sea. This sounds like an indisputable truth. But is it really indisputable? The Caspian is not a sea but a lake; it is not connected with other seas or oceans. Would it not be possible to lead the Volga out of the blind alley and make it and the Caspian Sea into a waterway leading to the Black Sea and the world's oceans?

In the deserts beyond the Caspian there is an abundance of sunshine and warmth, the soil is fertile and could yield two crops a year. All that is needed is water. Geologists have discovered great riches buried in the earth, but to extract them, water is needed—for the men and for the machines. But where to get the water?

Water is carried to the Kara Kum

desert by airplane. How illogical it is that water should be borne like a precious cargo by air, when it could flow to where it is needed!

Could it be tolerated that so common and necessary a thing as water should be lacking anywhere in our economy? No, this must not be in a land where the people have girt themselves to impose their will upon nature.

And so the people indicate on the map of the USSR where canals shall unite the seas and correct the courses of rivers, where new lakes shall arise, new forests spring up, and the turbines of new power stations revolve.

Desert and steppe, river and lake are being made to obey the will of man, as instruments in an orchestra obey. At one stroke the power, the life-giving energy of four great rivers—the Dnieper, the Volga, the Don and the Amu-Darya—are being harnessed to the needs of our country.

Let us stop to ponder over just two figures:

69,778,000 acres;

4,160,000 kilowatts.

These are the area of land that will be watered and the capacity of the power stations that will be built on the four rivers and the new canals.

An area of 69,778,000 acres could encompass the whole of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. And 4,160,000 kilowatts means a vast army of mechanical servants working untiringly day and night!

The hydroelectric stations to be built on the Volga, at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, will be the most powerful the world has yet known. They will make it possible to bring water to the regions between the Volga and the Don, the Volga and the Ural, and the Volga and the Terek.

From Stalingrad and Kuibyshev transmission lines will radiate to Moscow, to the towns along the Volga and to the collective farms in the Central Black-Earth Regions. Power generated by the Volga will drive electric trains, will operate electric combines and electric tractors in the irrigated fields, and will suck up oil from the depths of the earth.

The Volga will be deeper still. Ships sailing from Astrakhan to Moscow will ascend a gigantic escalator of locks, passing from one huge lake to another.

A navigation canal will link the Volga with the Don, connecting five seas. The Volga is not only a waterway to the south—to the Caspian Sea—but it also forms part of a waterway to two northern seas—the Baltic and the White. Now two more seas—the Azov and Black—will form links in the majestic chain of seas, rivers and canals.

Volga ships will ascend an escalator of locks 286 feet high, and then descend to the Don. At the canal's exit the ships will come upon a vast new lake which will be formed when the Don has been dammed at the village of Tsymlyanskaya. The main Don canal and the distributive canals will carry water from this lake to the arid steppes and semi-deserts of the Don and Stalingrad regions.

The Dnieper, too, will change its ways. In the spring, the floodwaters will no longer flow wastefully into the sea, but will be diverted into a huge reservoir on the River Molochnaya. Here they will be stored until the summer, so that the South Ukrainian and Crimean steppes may never again know what drought means.

But no spring is like another. The spring floods are heavy if much snow has fallen in the winter; they are scantier after a winter with little



A survey party takes to camels on the Kara-Kum Desert to lay out the work on the Main Turkmen Canal that will open the Aral Sea to the ocean

snow. To prevent our farmlands from suffering from these fluctuations, another big reservoir is being built at Kakhovka, not far from the mouth of the Dnieper. Here a huge dam will intercept the Dnieper just as it is about to flow into the sea. A connecting canal will join the Kakhovka reservoir with the South Ukrainian Canal into one system. In years of scanty floodwater the flow in the canal can be augmented by adding water from the reservoir.

The Dnieper has long been working for Soviet people. Now, like a Stakhanovite, it will yield two quotas instead of one. Regaining momentum after it has passed through the turbines of the Dnieper Power Station, the water will then encounter the

turbines of the Kakhovka Power Station and surrender its newly accumulated energy to them.

Thus, a vast expanse of territory will be covered by an intricate system of irrigation canals and feed canals, hydroelectric stations, pumping stations, reservoirs, shelter belts, sand-fixing tree plantations, cotton and tobacco plantations, orchards, vineyards and flower plantations. From the switchboard at the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station power lines will stretch to the apple trees in Crimean orchards, to rose and lavender fields, to elevators filled with heavy golden grain, to vineyards on the hill slopes, and to dark vaults where in the vats the captured sunlight matures into aromatic wine.

ROMANIA HONORS WALT WHITMAN

A CELEBRATION marking the 132nd anniversary of the birth of Walt Whitman was held recently in Bucharest under the auspices of the Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Romanian Writers' Union.

Virgil Teodorescu, well known Romanian writer, speaking of the life and works of Whitman, pointed out that in the USSR and the People's Democracies his poems have achieved wide circulation. The program included readings from Whitman.

THREE WIVES' TALES

TRUE STORIES FROM CHINA

by YANG YU

The three case histories presented here show how the new marriage law, effective in China last May 1, has meant a new start in life for thousands of women of that country. It has freed them from misery caused by forced or child marriage or by ill treatment from husband or mother-in-law, and it has established the legal basis for happy and stable family relations. We are republishing these histories from the English-language magazine, *People's China*, issued in Peking.

LI SHU-CHENG is small for her twelve years of age. And her large expressive eyes seem to hint at things that her childish words cannot describe. They have traces of tears as she tells her story now.

"Three years ago we lived in Peking. My father was a horn player. Every morning he went out with his horn. At night it hung from a nail in the wall in front of our bed. I don't know when he lost his job finally. I only remember that often we went to bed with empty stomachs. Once in a while, there was a marriage ceremony held by some rich folk. Then he would go and blow his horn at the head of the marriage procession. On those days we would eat rice soup.

"But that was not often. Our rent debt mounted and mounted and

remained unpaid. Finally the landlord drove us out. My elder sister was twelve years old then. She took care of my five-year-old brother. Mother carried the baby sister. As for me and father, we carried the bundles that contained everything we possessed.

"That day we wandered around the city. We did not know where to settle. When evening came we found ourselves by the Chien Men Gate. We were tired. We slept there on the street. Father could not afford to rent a room for months and the winter was coming on. My sister and I trembled with the cold. We begged the passers-by for help. My little sister and brother both got sick. Things got worse when mother too got sick. What were we to do?

"Uncle Liu came to see us and



told my parents he knew a rich family who lived 10 miles outside Peking, here in Elm Tree Village. They had hundreds of *mow* of land and only one son. They wanted to find a little girl to be their son's future bride. He told father that they would give the daughter-in-law food and clothes and would send presents to the bride's family.



"About a week later, two women came to see us. They looked at my sister and me from head to foot, then they turned to my mother and said: 'Your second daughter is just the right person. We shall bring new clothes and presents tomorrow and find out the lucky day for her to come.' And the next day they brought red clothes for me to wear and a picul of corn flour for my parents. A few days later by mother took me to Elm Tree Village.

"I still remember that day. When our cart reached the courtyard of my husband's family, a woman—she was my mother-in-law — shouted through a doorway: 'Chow Hsiao-chiu, Little Pig! Your wife has come. Come home immediately!' A boy of ten with a dirty face and some stones in his hands ran into the yard."

I stole a look at Li Shu-cheng. Her face is childishly beautiful. She sits demurely on the *kang* of the little room she now lives in with her mother. Her small hands are clasped in her lap. Her sleek black hair falls to her shoulders, framing her sensitive face.

"That night mother-in-law told me that I must get up early the next day to feed the pigs, the fowls and

cattle. I had to light the fires and cook their breakfasts. Then I had to wash the dishes. If there was nothing to do at home, I should gather sticks for the fires and in the afternoon I should launder their clothes. At sundown I had to herd the animals for the night.

"But I soon found that I had much more to do than that. And

when I couldn't get through my work on time, mother-in-law would beat me and scold: 'You lazy bones: What have your parents sold to us?' I saw my husband playing with the other children. If I dared to join them, he would beat me in front of them and call me 'you disgusting devil!' In winter I was given cotton clothes while my husband got a fur coat.

"Two years ago some Communists came to our village. My father-in-law got scared because he heard something about land reform. And in truth he lost his lands, except for what he could till himself with his family. But I worked as before: It was better though, for father joined the People's Army, and since mother came to live in the village near my husband's house. She got land under the land reform and the people helped her because she was a soldier's wife. Then one day father wrote to mother that he was playing his horn again in a music troupe of the Army. He said he was reading many books now and was learning many things. He said that it was wrong to marry me to Little Pig. At the Moon Festival of last year he came home himself and explained to my mother that child marriages were forbidden by law. So they came

to take me home. But my in-laws would not give me up. They wanted their one *picul* of corn flour back and something extra for all the food I had eaten in their house.

"Finally we all went to the People's Court. I told the judges that I wanted to go back to my mother and father. My mother-in-law cried out: 'We have fed her for three years. We are waiting till she grows up to marry our son. How can she get away so easily?'"

"The judge was stern. He said: 'She has more than repaid you with her work!' For once mother-in-law was silent! And so I got my freedom. My father and the woman who had helped us sent me to school. I am learning to read and write."

Li Shu-cheng showed me her books. Her childhood has started again. Her writing showed rapid progress. Around the collar of her neat blue cotton gown was the bright red kerchief of the young Pioneers.

CHIEN YIN stands tall and slender in her white nurse's dress. White is the color of Chinese mourning. Is it this that gives her long eyes their blank look or is it the restraint that long habit has given to her every movement and expression? But there is a lively animation in her voice when she says: "I do not know how to describe my excitement when I read that sentence from the new Marriage Law: 'Interference with the re-marriage of widows is prohibited!' I am now 29, but I have already been a widow for 13 years."

"My mother had betrothed me to my second cousin The-ping, when I was only two years old, and just as I was busy preparing for my final examination in my junior year in high school, my mother sent me a

letter telling me to return home at once. When I got home I found that my cousin was dying and that they had arranged for me to marry him immediately. I implored them to spare me but mother said: 'You are promised to him, so you already belong to his family. Your mother-in-law hopes that the marriage will drive away the evil spirits and save his life. What can I do to keep you home?' She answered my tears with hers and could only repeat one sentence: 'Your poor, poor fate!'"

"Three days later I was carried in the red palanquin to my dying bridegroom's house. I almost fainted when I found that he was all but unconscious in a high fever and could not even recognize me. For days and nights I nursed him. My mother-in-law prayed fervently in every temple of the town. But God was not so kind to us. He died within two weeks."

"I was a widow. My mother-in-law told me that 'as a widow, you mustn't go out too often lest people gossip. A widow of good name who talks of re-marrying disgraces her family.' She repeated the old saying: 'A good horse never wears two bridles. A good girl never marries twice!'"

"I tried to be obedient and hardly went out in the daytime. I seldom talked or smiled. 'Why did I not die with him that day?' I asked myself."

"Yet time passed. I turned twenty-six. One day Ta-ping, my late husband's brother came home. When he understood my situation, he sympathized with me. He advised his mother to let me go to school, but she would not hear of this. I read his books. They brought me dreams of the outside world. His friendship gave me such warmth as I had not touched for ten years and gradually

we fell in love. He asked me to marry him. What could I answer? I loved him, yet to love him was a mortal sin. I thought it over and over again and finally could resist no longer. Ta-ping rejoiced.

"He told his mother immediately, but this caused a terrible scene. My



mother-in-law branded me a shameless woman who had killed her one son and tried to bewitch the other. Ta-ping was forced to leave home the next day. He told me that things would soon change and encouraged me to be strong.

"After the liberation of our little town here in Szechuan, I looked around and everybody was happy except me. I asked myself, 'What can the Communists do for us widows?' But later, some women leaders came and stayed at our house. We became good friends. In the evenings they told me many stories about the new marriage in the Liberated Areas. Before they left, they said to me that I should marry again and also use my strength to help production. They left many books for me to read.

"In the beginning, I did not understand what they meant. But after I had read their books, I started to see there were many men who had

lost their wives and re-married again, so why could not a woman re-marry? But I could not persuade my mother and mother-in-law of this. Days went by. I was at a loss to find a way out. Then one day my old comrades sent me a clipping from a newspaper with the New Marriage Law of the People's Republic. I read it with great happiness. I knew that I was fully protected by the national law, and that I could now oppose my mother-in-law on valid legal grounds.

"Ta-ping returned at my call. Now I am happily married to him, and besides I have a good job. I went to a special training school for nursing and now I am working in a People's Army hospital in Chungking."

WANG SHU today is a woman of thirty-two, but with her pretty looks only the tiny wrinkles round her eyes hint at her real age. Her old-fashioned hair-style, her little golden earrings, her calm, polite gestures and pure accent give her that character that we say is typical of Peking. Strange as her story is, it was not strange for old Peking, nor is the ending strange for the new Peking.

"My parents died when I was only ten, so I went to live with my brother and his wife. But in 1937, when the Japanese took the city, my brother lost his job. It was then that some relatives introduced me to work in an antique shop. I worked as a maid. I was only eighteen then.

"One day as I was cleaning the rooms, a clerk told me that the owner of the shop had come and asked me to serve him some tea. I took the tea into the living room and saw an old man of about sixty with a bald head and protruding teeth. He asked me how old I was and a few other questions which I carefully answered.

Later on I heard that he was a petty warlord once but was still very wealthy and powerful and had some close connections with the puppet government's Police Department.

"That same evening, a clerk brought me 50 silver dollars and a



roll of silk material. He told me these things were given to me by the owner, because he liked me very much. I refused to take them but the clerk told me that there was no harm in taking them and that otherwise the master would feel offended. A few days later, when I went home to see my brother, I found that both he and my sister-in-law had received some gifts from the shop owner. This aroused my suspicions, but still I did not know what to expect.

"The owner came to the shop more often than before. I was afraid of him. Every time he joked with me or teased me. One night a few months later, he talked with the clerks on the phone and later on the clerks asked me to take something to his house. As soon as I stepped out the door, they hurried me into a car and carried me away, paying no attention to my shouting and screaming.

"He was drunk when I got there.

His eyes were bloodshot. He clasped me with his hands so there was no escape. I struggled with all my strength till I was exhausted. Next morning he told me that I had been sold to him long ago.

"I stayed on in his house because I was ashamed to face the world again. He already had six concubines and I was recognized as the seventh. During the first few months, he brought me all kinds of gifts. But soon I lost his favor and he came to my courtyard seldom and gave me only enough to live on.

"For sixteen years, I stayed there. His servants always watched me and would not let me go out alone, because they were afraid I might do something to make him lose face. Just before the liberation, my husband escaped, and the other concubines divided up what he had left and ran away. Not knowing where to go, I stayed in the house. After the liberation, some members of the Women's Committee came to talk to me. I was afraid to open my heart to them at the beginning. But they were so friendly that by and by I told them everything.

"They gave me a lesson every day and taught me that I must work myself, otherwise I should never lead a better life. Now I see the reason in this: If I don't find a job and work myself, I will have to find my old husband some day or marry a man to support me, and my miserable life might start all over again. But the Women's Committee already introduced me to work in a textile factory. I shall get a divorce and from now on I shall work for my own living. Truly my life is beginning again."

A glance at Wang Shu's capable hands and pretty face left no doubt that she would find happiness in work and a new, true marriage.

Hungary — Today and Tomorrow

by RALPH PARKER

PRESENT-DAY Hungary is a far cry from the land I saw 13 years earlier. The previous visit was brief, for I had arrived on the first day of World War II and Hungary was filled with treachery and danger.

It did not take me long, on my more recent visit, to see how much that country and its famous capital had changed in the intervening years.

The hotel in Budapest I had stayed at in 1938 is no longer there; a park has been laid out on the site of its gutted ruins. The long low yellow police station where I had to get my papers checked (it was known as "the Rat Hole" for more than one reason), that had gone, too. The familiar outline of old Buda, Gellert Height, the sombre Royal Palace, the

Threshing on an agricultural cooperative that has been established on lands once owned by the Hungarian Prince Metternich



tawny colored roofs of the little Baroque mansions of the fortress city — all that has been ruthlessly changed. Up there, while life was returning to normal in Pest across the river from Buda, the Nazis and their allies were resisting desperately till the very end of the war. Their dead are still being brought to light as workmen remove the rubble from the shell of the Palace.

But I had not come to Budapest to mourn the loss of the Ritz Hotel, the police station or Horthy's Palace. A people's democracy can get along very well without those places. The citizens of Budapest have rebuilt other, more necessary things. The Danube bridges, all of which were down in 1945, the Margit Island park now a popular sports center, the factories of Csepel and Ujpest, schools, the Szechenyi Academy Library, theaters. . . .

Budapest today has something in common with the old oak-tree I could see from my hotel room on the Island. It had apparently been struck by a shell during the war and one great bough was quite dead. Only a matter of time before it would drop off. But above and below the rotten wood, new foliage grew abundantly, a tender green, and the tree was assuming a new shape. In the evening a nightingale sang full-throatedly from it.

THE oldest state farm in the Lake Balaton district announced itself with a monumental beflagged gateway beside the main motor highway. Nour-

RALPH PARKER, a former "New York Times" Moscow correspondent covers the USSR for newspapers in England and America. He recently visited Eastern Europe. Mr. Parker is the author of "Moscow Correspondent."

ishing spring rains followed by ample sunshine have placed its land in a good position to make up for the almost disastrous drought of 1950. With broad fields of winter wheat gleaming on the rolling land to the shores of Lake Balaton, fruit trees well-laden and vines shooting fast on terraces on the strange shaped volcanic hills, this region, the scene of heavy fighting some six years ago, now looks normal and peaceful.

Yet, besides the process of natural growth, a powerful ferment is at work among the men and women who work this light friable soil. Three years ago some 50 landless peasants were settled on land which, in ecclesiastical hands, had been left untilled. The popular holiday resorts on the lakeside used to have to send to Budapest for their vegetables. Today, these resorts, now being enjoyed by the working people of Hungary, draw largely for their supplies on the new state and collective farms. On what results from these changes in Hungary's land tenure depends, to a large measure, the further course of Hungary's whole program of socialist construction.

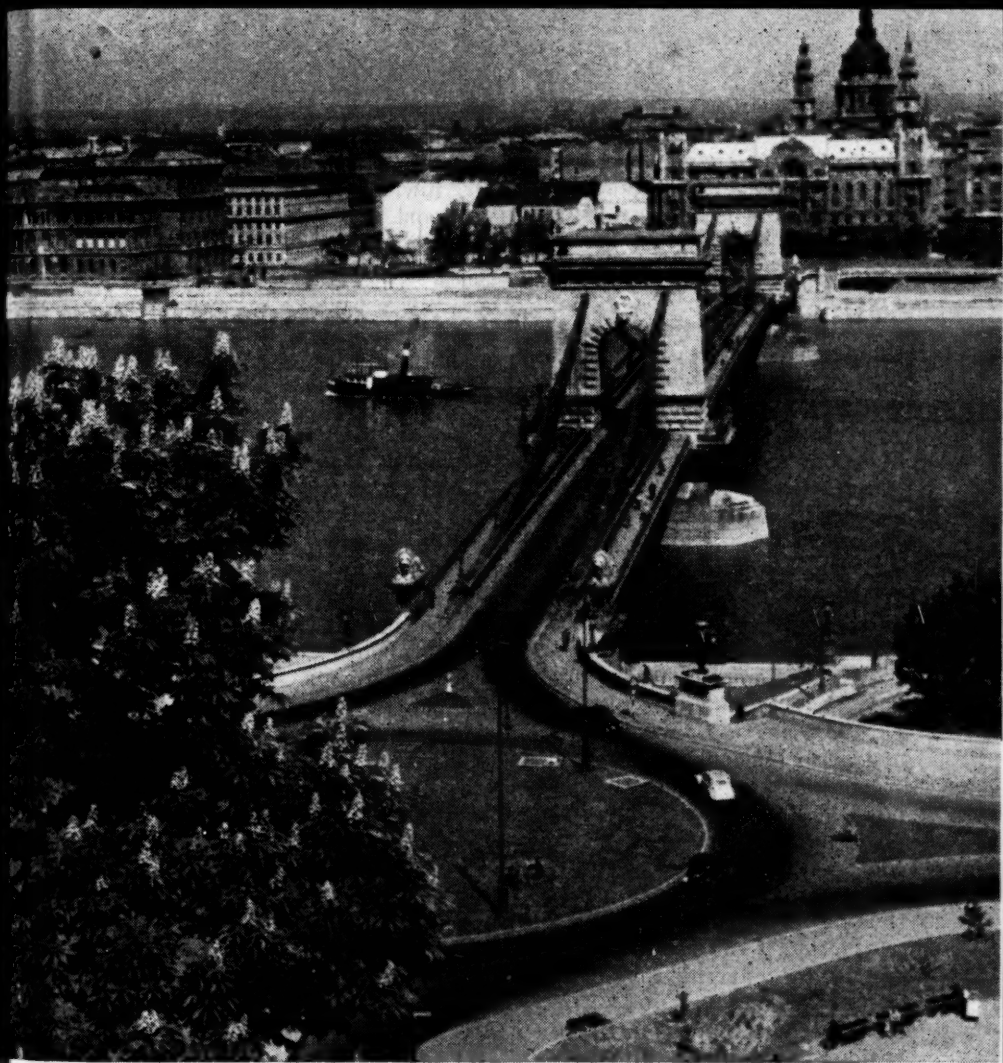
The question looks disarmingly simple. How are Hungary's farmers to raise enough food to meet the requirements of the expanding towns while satisfying the peasants' own demands for better living? The government has declared firmly against any form of compulsory collectivization. As Premier Matyas Rakosi recently said: "The decisive factor here is that our working peasantry shall voluntarily, by itself, on its own accord and conviction, take this road. . . . This development can only be accelerated by the means of conviction. All pressure, impatient urging or force is only harmful and will bring the opposite result."

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The reconstructed Chain Bridge, the oldest in Budapest. Badly damaged in the war, traffic was opened in November, 1949, on its 100th birthday

Today Hungary's peasants are advancing gradually towards producer cooperatives. While progress is being made, most of the arable land is held by hundreds of thousands of peasant families, many of whom own between one and a half and three acres.

This transitional period has arisen from the fundamental changes that have occurred in Hungarian land ten-

ure during the past six years. Thus, in the eight years between 1941 and 1949 the proportion of landless agricultural workers to the total agricultural working population fell from 46 per cent to 19 per cent. Since then the number of agricultural proletariat has been reduced to about 60,000, as against 800,000 formerly.

Typical of the changes in Hun-

garian farm life is the Siofok State Farm, where we found a village green surrounded by new cottages, a reading room and recreation hall, and solidly constructed farm buildings. With pride the chairman of the farm handed us a huge loaf as a symbol of greeting, and to this the children added bunches of field flowers. Then the young people of the farm conducted us to the well-stocked library where a radio was playing a Bach concerto and a librarian was at work.

Peasants who used to sleep on the floor in hovels now have beds in cottages of two rooms and a kitchen, electric light and factory made furniture. This is a great step forward from the deplorable conditions in which Hungary's landless peasantry lived under the Horthy regime.

By the example of state and collective farms already existing and gradually proving their worth, by the aid of tractor stations, government sponsored irrigation schemes and agromonomical stations, the Hungarian government feels confident that it can convince the peasants of the value of scientific large-scale farming and thus be able to increase agricultural production by 50 per cent before the end of the current Five-Year Plan.

NEAR the village of Dunapentele beside the Danube something that I can only describe as a new page in Hungary's history is being written. Spreading over many square miles of land that only two years ago was being turned by ox-drawn plows, the buildings of the Danubian Iron Works, biggest creation of Hungary's first Five-Year Plan, are rising amid a bustle of construction activity.

The furnacemen, smelters and chemical workers who will man the plant are still studying their trades while in other parts of Hungary the

machinery they will man is still being built. Construction is going on simultaneously on the new works, a new town, a completely mechanized river port, a power plant, a coking-plant whose yield of gas will be used to fuel the furnaces, a big chemical plant to process the by-products and a cement factory to use up the slag.

Scheduled for completion by the end of 1953 when Hungary's pig-iron production should reach 1,300,000 tons, steel output 2,200,000 tons annually, the Dunapentele works have made good progress towards their goal. One of the residential sections of the town is complete, its long terraces, five stories high, set back behind lawns and flower gardens. When the other sections are ready there will be about 2,200 apartments of two and three rooms. At various points along the 50 yard wide parkway connecting the sections, work is in progress on schools, day-nurseries, a sports stadium, swimming pool, a central library, theater, hospital.

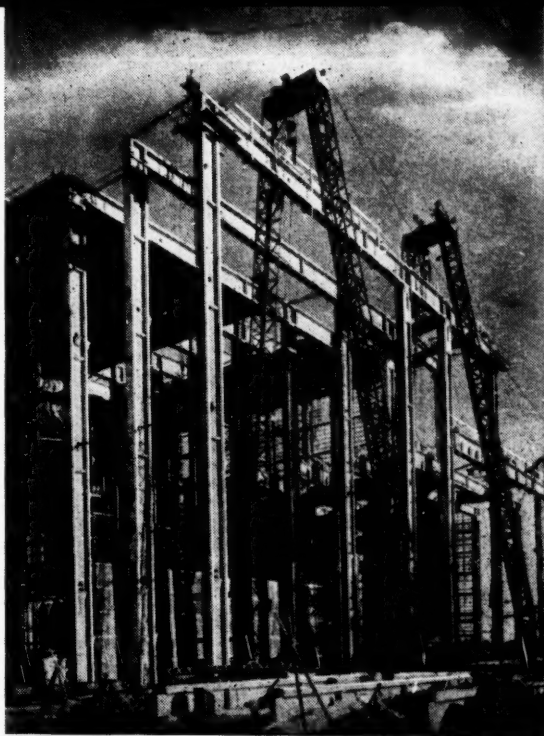
It was in a quiet business-like atmosphere that the National Assembly met in Hungary's neo-Gothic parliament building recently. The deputies were there to enact a bill revising upwards the targets of the current 1950-54 state plan. This revision had become necessary because the results of the first year had revealed a serious underestimation of the country's potential productivity. It was discovered that at the rate of production of 1950, the Five-Year Plan would have been fulfilled in 3½ years, a state of affairs that the *New York Times* oddly described as "failure." The outstanding features of the revised plan are a four-fold increase in heavy industry output by 1954, with light industry output raised 2½ times; an intake of 650,000 new workers, and the training of 11,000

engineers, 17,000 technicians; the irrigation of 450,000 acres of land and the supplying of 26-28,000 Hungarian-built tractors to farmers.

Hungary is vigorously tackling the double problem of training engineers and technicians. How serious a problem is involved is shown by the fact that the number of new engineers required during the current Five-Year Plan is greater than the total number of engineers Hungary had at the beginning of the Plan.

The government is convinced that only by the development of heavy industry, producing basic raw materials, electrical energy, machinery and the means of production in general, can light industry be fully developed and satisfaction be given to the rapidly growing needs of the working people. Only then, too, can agricultural machinery and fertilizers be sent in plenty to the countryside. That this will entail harder and more productive work and the drawing into production of many who have hitherto not worked productively is made clear in the government's plans. On the other hand, the rewards for labor will continue to increase as the national income rises. It is expected to double itself in five years.

To this writer, who knew pre-war Hungary, visits to factories, building sites, farms and peasant cottages provided convincing evidence that the rank-and-file Hungarian peasant and



Constructing the Inota Power Station which will help serve Hungary's rapidly growing industry

worker is better housed, better clothed, better fed than in the best pre-war years. In addition they enjoy paid holidays, free medical attention, vastly improved educational facilities, certainty of full employment and virtually unlimited opportunities of advancement. Above all, they are drawn into the public work of government and are thus becoming truly masters of their land.

POLAND'S FIRST SCIENCE CONGRESS

THE FIRST Congress of Science in the history of Poland was convened in the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute in a four-day session at the end of June following 18 months preparation. Most important work of the body of scientists was the establishment of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Among the first tasks of the Academy will be the preparation of a general Polish encyclopedia, medical and agricultural encyclopedias, a biographical dictionary and the organization of a central scientific library.

The People in Motion

Impressions of the Chicago Peace Congress

by DON STEVENS

WE MADE OUR WAY, by the thousands, moving slowly past the refreshment and literature stands under the stage-end balconies of the Coliseum. In packed masses, we converged for the second evening session of the American People's Congress for Peace.

It was then that in the crowd a wide-eyed, sunburned Montana girl burst out in an excited, low voice to her companion:

"I see so many people I never saw before! And yet I keep feeling I see somebody I know!"

The girl's half-wondering remark struck me as something I, too, had felt during these first two days of the big gathering. Then I grasped the truth. Uncontrollable emotion halted me. I was looking at all of us—black, brown, yellow and white—and whispering:

"Yes. Of course. We are all seeing somebody we know. It is our own, true America."

A surge of strong music swept over us from above and ahead, in the Coliseum's main auditorium. We all pressed forward slowly together.

The People, in motion.

It is a worn phrase. But, when it is true, it means everything. No words better describe our Chicago meeting.

In the last quarter century there have been great American labor, po-

litical and other progressive conventions of sections of the people. But none of them was so surely a gathering for, of and by all the people, as this 1951 meeting. The variation among those at home who were represented here was broader. There was a deeper, tougher root.

This 1951 meeting of 4,115 delegates and observers included far more "little people" than ever before, people who truly represented the positive intent of those who had battled real odds to send them. And the presence of 511 war veterans was only one reminder of how much more clearly the American people of today could understand war and peace than a decade ago.

As with the rank and filers here, so also with the leaders, especially the trade unionists and intellectuals who took part. When they spoke in today's gut-testing situation, you had a little more reason to be sure, not only of them, but of the struggle-

DON STEVENS is a newspaperman of more than 30 years standing. He has worked on newspapers from coast to coast, his last stint as telegraph editor of the San Francisco "Chronicle." He was a former Vice-President of the American Newspaper Guild. A versatile fellow, Mr. Stevens is also a member of Carpenters Local 1710, AFL, in Mill Valley, Calif., and was official delegate of his local to the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace held in Chicago, June 29-July 1.

They both need peace. A delegate with her child attends the 3-day American Peace Congress in Chicago



tempered will of those they proudly led. And, to an old-timer, by no means the least heartening thing to see at Chicago 1951 was how man after man, woman after woman, organization after organization had, indeed, come through the fire of recent years, on their feet and fighting.

The People, in motion. Yes, this was really it. Even if only the beginning of the movement that is coming.

The Chicago Coliseum crowd was a moving, restless, semi-organized mass of humanity which flowed together in democratic toil. Flowed together in big, loose, main sessions. Flowed apart to grapple in sections with this or that subsidiary job. Flowed back together again, dragging another plank, another timber for this pioneer house-raising. It was a work meeting.

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The People, in motion.

Grass roots people. Take five who came 2,000 miles and penciled out for a reporter this simple story:

"We are delegates of the Peace Committee of the Northern Coun-

ties of California. In our car were Lillian Ransome, agricultural worker; Christine Hufford, rancher; Bernard De Veto, janitor; Leona Crawford, culinary worker; Glen Jeffries, laborer.

"We distributed peace literature on the way. The car was decorated with the word *Peace*.

"We can report that the majority of the people were receptive.

"For instance, at Winnemucca, Nevada, we were going along putting copies of *The Peace Crusader* in people's yards when we saw a police car following us. We stopped and a policeman came out and asked us what we were putting in the yards. We showed him what it was and told him we were going to Chicago to help bring peace.

"He smiled all over and said that was wonderful and asked for a *Crusader* for himself.

"Our delegation was mixed, Negro and white, and we were not discriminated against, either at lodging or eating places.

"There was a little girl with us, granddaughter of one of us. She

talked to other little children and told them we were coming to Chicago to ask for peace so all little children would have homes and mothers and daddies."

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The People, in motion.

People conscious of the fact that they and other people all over the world were moving history.

Nothing could better have illuminated this than the lightning flash of Truman's first negotiation order to Ridgway on the opening day of the Peace Congress.

The very first panel, a luncheon session on "The Pulpit and Peace," was sending a telegram to Truman asking acceptance of the Malik proposals when news came of the President's action. Quickly the wire was rewritten to urge every effort for success of the Korean negotiations and then an early world settlement.

Whereas a few ministers had hopefully arranged with a restaurant to seat 25 persons, more than 60 showed up, from 18 states and 16 denominations.

And it was a people's preacher who in mid-meeting rose among them and said:

"A paradox of our times is the fact that it is safe to pray for peace but dangerous to work for it. Some of the same forces who admonish us to pray for peace put people in jail if they act for peace."

And this people's preacher, Claude Williams, crusading Alabama Presbyterian, went on to give them this text, from Exodus, Chapter 32, Verse 35:

"And Jehovah smote the people, because they made the calf that Aaron made."

Just as the people who worshipped the golden calf in the days of Moses were held responsible by the Lord

for the misleadership of Aaron, so to the Christian people of Germany came a veritable plague of the judgment of God for having failed to take responsibility in time for the actions of their Hitlerite misleaders. That was the lesson, said the people's preacher.

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The People, in motion.

A thousand of them, in the labor workshop. Seated, standing, walking around, trying to speak, trying to hear.

Harry Bridges presiding. Gray-ing, but lean and sharp as ever.

And at least 100 clamoring for the floor.

Sweat and democracy. Speakers limited to five minutes, then three, and practically jerked from the microphone. Bridges announces he has far too many requests. He shuffles the names of would-be speakers into a hit-or-miss pile and rules they will be called in that order.

Discussion is supposedly on a draft resolution, presented for the congress leadership by Secretary-Treasurer Maurice Travis of Mine, Mill & Smelter, whose black eye-patch is a grim testimonial of what it can take to stand as an honest labor leader these days against the Murray-Reuther tide of boss-unionism. The draft outlines labor's crucial stake in peace and points it up with:

"As long ago as the first of this year, a copper miner had to work a full hour and a half longer to buy the same basket of food he bought in June of 1946. Who stole that hour and a half?

"The answer is in the super-profits of American corporations who earned more than twice as much last year as their peak earnings in World War II. It is in the budget for a war



They sing songs of peace. These are some of the Maryland delegates to the Chicago Peace Congress. Many of the State delegation had their song groups

economy. It is in the presence of corporation executives and generals at the head of every government agency who have arranged to squeeze the workers between frozen wages and rising prices, who very carefully manage to place the burden of taxation on those of us who lose the most in war—the workers and their families.

"The torpedoing of our living standards is accompanied by frantic propaganda to convince us that war is good for us. The will-o-the-wisp of war jobs is Wall Street's pain killer. It is the same false theory that Hitler used to soften the resistance of the German labor movement to *his* war. German workers learned too late that war is a bunco game and that they were the suckers. We American trade unionists do not propose to be suckers."

The speakers continue. AFLers, CIOers, Independents—white, black and oriental—all eloquent products of battle in the most vital sections of American labor—following each

other in a kaleidoscopic oratorical cascade.

But too often carried away with vivid reporting of experiences in the peace struggle up to now, now when the Korea truce order has registered a great change, the upcoming of a new phase of struggle. And, for all the rush of rich words, the draft resolution remains unchanged and concludes with only this demand:

"Immediately we want the shooting stopped, the plans for war ended, the negotiations begun."

Hence now one rugged labor captain wages a struggle in huddles of low-voiced argument behind the speakers' table. And finally he breaks through to the mike. It's Herb March, CIO Packinghouse warrior from the Chicago stockyards. And, when he has finished, there has been added to the resolution, with a storm of approval, the following concrete trade union demands to light the new path ahead:

"Immediately we want to carry

forward our traditional program of economic and political freedom for our members. Immediately we want President Truman to end the 'war emergency' with the cease fire truce and to end all the by-products of the emergency including the wage freeze, the scuttling of the fight for FEPC, discriminatory taxation, and all proposed restrictions of labor's and the people's constitutional rights."

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The People, in motion.

American people. White American. But also, better represented than ever, Latin-Indian American, Oriental-American and, especially, Negro American.

If it is possible that the Congress leadership and rank and file—the white part, that is—did allow any single other issue, however crucial to lasting peace, to shoulder aside at times the agreed central issue of unity for peace, this issue was that of Negro rights in America.

Of course, to maintain a truly progressive balance, in this one matter of the Negro in America, was especially difficult because of the clear and present evidence that, in the labor and progressive political and intellectual movements of this day, the Negro is coming forward

with such historic logic and struggle-built new power. Magnificent Negro men and women of hard-won leadership were everywhere in the Chicago meeting.

Paul Robeson, in two major policy speeches, probably did as much as any person to focus the spotlight steadily on the center of the peace picture—on the sole test of agreement for peace—even while he carefully pointed to all the major parts of the picture, such as both domestic and foreign necessities for lasting peace in the national and colonial fields.

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The People, in motion.

And moving thus, by and large, in accord with a profound natural discipline which brought and held them together on one sure line: peace. Nothing, nothing can be allowed to be thrust forward within the peace movement by any section of the people in any way that can endanger the unity for peace which must be the sole banner of a real American people's peace crusade to-day.

"As war unites a nation in common misery, so the fight for peace must embrace all in a joint effort." So said the Congress.

Photos for this article and cover by Jo-Banks

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

At opening rally of American People's Congress for Peace

"Let us tonight speak freely as men and women who face the greatest crisis of modern culture and stand before the judgment of our children and at the bar of impartial history. We are here to declare that peace on earth is the only way to the solution of the pressing problems of our world. . . .

"Conference and understanding; patience and not threat, are ways to peace, and peace alone can save civilization."

This great Negro leader, scholar and humanitarian stands indicted by the Department of Justice as a foreign agent because of his work for peace, and faces a jail term in the 84th year of his life.

TITO AND THE FARMERS

Tito's strange "Communism" brings famine to the Yugoslav countryside, while U.S. aid turns food into arms

by ELMER BENDINER

A BRIGHT, new, still uncompleted road lies like a ribbon over 240 miles of Yugoslav countryside. It is called the Brotherhood-and-Unity Highway. It has taken three years and the labor of 400,000 workers.

The traffic seems scarcely enough to warrant it. Richard Mowrer wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor* last September:

"One day we drove along a finished portion of the highway open to traffic. The cement surface was smooth and fine. In two hours' driving we passed two automobiles (there are

little sense commercially but much more militarily, for what it unites is the U.S.-British base of Trieste with the U.S.-British base of Salonika. It is a prime military asset.

There are others all over the countryside: new airfields covering thousands of acres, old ones being enlarged. They are the most industriously pushed developments in Yugoslavia's farmland, at a time when the government admits a catastrophic famine.

The famine tells much about Yugoslavia. It is certainly true that last summer a drought did hit Yugoslavia but with a peculiar effect. The weather stopped at no international line and scorched the fields of western Hungary and Romania along with those of Yugoslavia. Yet neither Hungary nor Romania experienced a famine. What, then, makes Yugoslavia so vulnerable?

In August, 1950, the government revealed the disastrous hunger that gripped the nation and on the basis of that famine announced it would have to take the "sole path of salvation," U.S. aid.

In that same month *Der Kurrier* (published in Frankfurt, British



no private cars in Yugoslavia) and any number of peasant carts."

It might nevertheless seem a monument to a country's peacetime future but there are certain ominous signs along the Brotherhood-and-Unity Road.

Brotherhood-and-Unity, as Tito's engineers have laid it out, may make

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

AUGUST, 1951

Zone of West Germany) reported that among recent Yugoslav shipments to West Germany were 100,000 tons of wheat, 300,000 tons of maize, 60,000 tons of oats, 50,000 tons of barley and unspecified amounts of cattle and other farm produce. All this would surely have alleviated the famine conditions in Yugoslavia.

Simultaneously came word that West Germany had granted a loan to Yugoslavia totaling \$65,000,000 cold cash which the farmers and workers could not eat but which the booming armaments industry might absorb.

The exports of desperately needed food and the rigors of military priorities fell upon an agricultural system badly organized and scarcely freed from the feudal grip of landlords.

Yugoslavia began its land reforms much later than the rest of Eastern Europe and never got as far. In 1946, according to Foreign Minister Edvard Kardelj, the landless peasants were granted 1,125,000 acres, barely one-sixth of Yugoslavia's 17,500,000 arable acres. The land thus distributed was selected by the landlords who "contributed" it. Often it was worthless salt flats or marshland.

In many ways the old landowners thrived under Tito's strange "new communism." When Richard Mowrer visited Belgrade's pawn shops, one of the few places where luxuries can be purchased, he found: "Persons who buy things in these shops generally are rich peasants with plenty of dinars to spend, or upper bracket government officials." (*Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 15, 1950.)

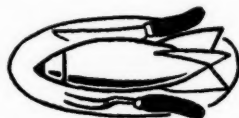
These well-fed, well-dressed "peasants" in this land of famine are not treated as relics of an oppressive past. Far from it. In the Yugoslav paper *Vyesnik* (Oct. 10, 1950) one of these landed gentry was pictured

on page one. The caption read: "Among the rich peasants in the Križevachi District, Franko Valcevik... occupies a distinguished place..."

The story went on to bill Valcevik, who employs farm hands at minimum wages, as a model practitioner of "socialist" agriculture.

This is not a journalist's error or a passing political tactic. The plain fact is that throughout the twisting course of Tito's agricultural policy, his regime has never failed to benefit the rich farmer. And conversely, the well-rewarded Valceviks are the only willing farmers securely in Tito's corner.

When land reform lagged in the years right after the war, the Valceviks thrived. When, after criticism from the Communist Information



Bureau, collectivization was suddenly, swiftly and brutally enforced (often at gun-point) upon the poor peasantry, the Valceviks were in on the ground floor, offering their land at handsome prices and showing up later as well-paid administrators of the "collectives."

Such "collectivization," one of the Tito Government's attempts to prove the reality of their professions of "building socialism," in no way answered the criticisms. There had been no pressure put upon Yugoslavia to rush into a collectivization program. Rather, it was pointed out by the Communist Information Bureau that collectivization could not be successful without the most careful preparation, and must be voluntary.

The first essential was an indus-

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1951.

N.Y. TIMES

Yugoslavs Divert U. S. Grant to Buy Arms, Sacrificing Industrial Needs

Special to The New York Times.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, June 27.—The Yugoslav Government has invested about one-third of the \$30,000,000 grant received from the United States last year in the purchase of arms and military equipment.

trial base to provide the necessary machinery for large-scale, mechanized agriculture on combined fields. In the other Eastern European countries, the program has been developed slowly and cautiously, the voluntary nature of the movement has been emphasized, peasants being induced to join by the example of the greater productivity of the collectives already established.

The Communist Information Bureau pointed out that the Tito Government's sudden and unprepared imposition of a grain tax on the rich peasants, after earlier criticisms, could only result in a dislocation of the whole supply system and was simply an adventurous and demagogic gesture. The Bureau's resolution of June, 1948, stated:

... It is necessary for the Party to engage in detailed preparatory work to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, to make socialist industry capable of producing machinery for the collective administration of agriculture. Haste in this matter can only lead to irreparable harm.

It is fashionable for the admirers of Tito to admit the faults of his collectivization program, but to blame their existence on the "unfriendliness" of the Soviet Union. Victor

Perlo in his series of articles* demonstrated the fallacy of that apology by showing that Soviet policies were not the cause but the effect of the Tito program which preferred to ship its raw materials to the West rather than using them to build up its own industrial base under the mutual aid arrangements offered by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Whatever the excuse, this is clear: no matter what twist Tito took, the rich farmer grew richer. The poor farmers, on the other hand, were being squeezed out. Between 1945 and 1948, poor land, lack of equipment, and the government's crop requirements forced 20 per cent of the small farmers to sell back their plots to the large landowners.

"Collectives," numbering one-fifth of the nation's farms, as now consti-



tuted, offer no inducement to any but the rich peasants.

On an average Yugoslav collective, according to estimates in the government organ *Borba*, 30 per cent of the farm's income goes to pay the former owners of the land for their "contribution"; 20 per cent to salaries of straw bosses who in many cases are these same ex-landlords turned collectivists. After all other

* *Soviet Russia Today*, January, February, March, April, May, 1950.

liens are paid off the rank-and-file collective farmers get about 15 per cent of the income.

Many so-called collective farmers supplement their income by working as farm hands for large landholders thereby assuring the continued prosperity of a class which represents the very antithesis of collective farming.

The big farmers increased their holdings steadily from 1946 on, while "collectives" are declining in most places or are held together by the force of the state. Last March Gaston Coblentz wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

"Since the Marshal took power more than five years ago, he has collectivized about 20 per cent of the Yugoslav farms. For the moment it does not appear to be a question of his being able to go further but rather of his preventing this 20 per cent from going back into private ownership."

In the city the empty work-bench and the record-breaking statistics on absenteeism are the signs of unrest.

In the spring of 1950, farmers cultivated only two-thirds of the land they used in 1949 and left more than 7,000,000 acres of good farm land to go to waste. The autumn sowing, according to official figures, came to only 60 per cent of the plan.

This year spring sowing began early with a great fanfare of publicity and the dispatch of eager young organizers into the country. Yet figures released for early May showed that only 21 per cent of the grain fields of the Voivodina were being sown, and in Serbia the sowing covered only half of last year's low area.

In the summer of 1950 there had been the drought on which the government blamed the famine. In the spring of 1951 the government com-

plained of too much rain. Like the summer sun, the spring rain fell also on Yugoslavia's neighbors but occasioned no similar failure.

It was clear that the spring, though it followed a bitter, hungry winter, had not stirred Yugoslav farmers to work on the collectives. Last December 24, M. S. Handler, of the *N. Y. Times*, wrote of malingering on a grand scale, for example:

"Reports pointed out that in the Bjelovar and Kozma districts of Croatia, a number of collective farms went out of business for lack of initiative on the part of the management. A total of 3,206 peasants on collective farms turned in an average of 113 working days each this year."

On the farm, absenteeism was not the only sign of acute discontent. All last summer and fall the dispatches of Gaston Coblentz in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* chronicled the rising protest. On August 1, he wrote from Karlovac in Serbia:

"Premier Marshal Tito is having serious trouble with the peasant population in this part of Yugoslavia. Twelve peasants were condemned to death within the last month in a village near here after a riot against local Communist authorities. Mutinous demonstrations have occurred in three other nearby districts.

"It is impossible to ascertain the number of peasants who have been arrested, but it is almost certain to exceed 400. In the village of Glina alone, peasants say, 150 were jailed and are still being held."

On September 10, Coblentz wrote that a Serbian headquarters of Tito's Communist Party had been burned and that 25 peasants had been arrested. He said the incident indicated "a mood of desperation."

On November 12, Coblentz told of a 250-mile trip through the Banat,

a province bordering on Romania. Near Panchevo he met 10 peasants being marched to prison by armed militia. Around Kikinda he learned 150 had been recently arrested. At Lovke 45 heads of families were in jail because they had fallen down on the corn quota. Along the roads he reported, "Peasants in horse-drawn carts talked with reporters in whispers. They glanced over their shoulders furtively, and left abruptly when they saw another wagon approaching half a mile away."

Last March the Yugoslav Councils of Trade and Agriculture announced a new course. They dropped almost all controls over agricultural commodities. In the country a "free market" had existed for some time on a local scale. It worked to the greater freedom of the large landholder who bought cheaply from farmers forced to the wall and sold for whatever the traffic would bear. Now the "free market" was to become general in agricultural commodities.

Although M. S. Handler, of the *N. Y. Times*, on March 2, wrote that the decisions "have nothing to do with the reintroduction of capitalist forms in Yugoslavia" he also reported that the government had "ordered the restoration of free trading in these products on the basis of supply and demand."

The decrees for "free trade" and "supply-and-demand" were timed with the second installment of U.S. aid. This \$29,000,000 grant, like the first \$38,000,000, was clearly earmarked by President Truman himself, for "certain consumption needs for supporting its (Yugoslavia's) armed forces." U.S. government officials said it would include "hides for shoes and cotton and wool for uniforms."

It was definitely not designed to

help industrialize Yugoslavia's economy, or improve her agriculture. It was simple payment for an army, military bases and their maintenance.

The terms of all such "aid" had been agreed upon by Tito and Truman last November. They include these points among others, according to a *New York Herald Tribune* dispatch of November 15, 1950: The Yugoslavs are to use U.S. food exclusively for the armed forces; in return Yugoslavia is to "provide the raw materials and semi-processed materials needed in America." Yugoslavia traditionally exports corn, timber, copper and some militarily strategic ores.

This seemed to be the pattern: Yugoslavia would remain a great breadbasket, though her people would



go hungry. Her grain would go to the industrial centers of West Germany, planned by the U.S. as the core of Europe. Yugoslavia's army and her foreign policy would be hired out to the U.S. at cheap rates: for food, uniforms and equipment.

It was a familiar pattern: the colonies to furnish raw materials for the mother country, a market for the mother country's exports, and soldiers to round out the empire's defenses.

Like most corners of the U.S. empire, this one, too has its puppets and its resistance.



FOLK DANCE

in

Czechoslovakia

A group of lithesome, whirling figures in colorful costumes are dancing their way into the hearts of the people of Czechoslovakia. Members of the National Song and Dance Group of that country, they appear at factory clubs, town halls, open air concerts and recreational centers. Established in 1948, under the Ministry of Information, with 30 amateur dancers who lived, studied and rehearsed in the Castle of Kvasice near Gottwaldov, they now consist of 40 dancers, 40 singers, 60 orchestral players and staff, and several experts on folklore, national dances, and national costumes.



Left, top and center: Marianka dances the Karicky, which is accompanied by a song about boys and girls. Below: A dance from Vazec, in the High Tatras. The men must display great skill to be accepted as partners in this dance. Right: A dance from the village of Velka Kubra, West Slovakia.



Photos on these and the next page from the magazine "Czechoslovak Life"

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TOP SECRETS

Sunday-best caps and shawls can be practical and pretty. These reveal each wearer's home, and if she is married or single. Right: From Liptovsky Sliac, Slovakia, a crocheted head-dress with edging of fine embroidery.



Far left: In Southern Bohemia, eyelet tulle is draped over delicate linen. Left: Semi-cylinder of embroidered cloth perched on the braids of a woman from South-eastern Moravia. Bottom left: The pillbox, fashion favorite of women the world over, worn by a married woman of Zdiar. Bottom right: From the Tatra Mountains, a charming net shawl tied about a very small cap.



A NEGRO FINDS EQUALITY

In Czechoslovakia

by ELEANOR WHEELER

JAMES MILLER ROBINSON was showing me a little book. It's rather valuable, because it entitles the bearer to priority in housing—and not least important—a vacation, all expenses free, varying from three to five weeks, according to the occupation of the worker. Robinson is a milling machine operator at a Prague factory.

"This udernik's (shop worker's) book is one I prize more than any book I have," he said to me. "It means the regard and affection of my fellow workers and it means that I have accomplished something worthwhile, that I work for peace and not for war."

The main point he wanted to get across to me was that he received the book not for slaving at an inhuman pace, but because he used his head in organizing his work.

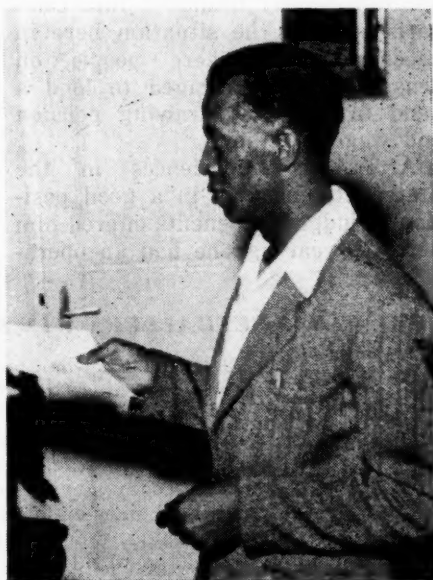
"You might call it losing a half hour," he said, "but I set up the job before I start any particular operation and I always more than make up the so-called lost time by cutting down the time of handling later. I try to eliminate as many lost motions as possible. If a particular job is timed for two minutes' average, I try to make it one. You can't do this by speeding the machine or you will ruin it or the material. You

have to reduce the time the machine is not running."

We asked him if this did not mean a sense of strain, but his reply was that on the contrary it tired him to idle and that when he hit a good rhythm he felt relaxed at work.

"It's a picnic compared to working at the International Projector Corporation, in the U.S.A., where the workers would say to me that I had to slow down or we would pile up too

James Miller Robinson



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.

many projectors. When I went up to 300 per cent of the quota—being a Negro it was either do that or lose my job—well, when I did that the name they called me was not uder-nik."

A good union man and assistant editor of the United Electrical Workers' paper for his plant, Mr. Robinson was the victim of racial and anti-labor discrimination in that plant with its Nazi connections. During the war, the union forced the plant to rehire Robinson after a frame-up discharge. "Now I'd be too old to hire—at 37," he said wryly, and our talk briefly branched into comparisons with the situation here in Czechoslovakia, where people on pensions are encouraged to lend a hand in industry, drawing pension and wage together.

After his experiences in the States, Robinson is in a good position to judge the benefits offered him here. A year ago he had an opera-

tion to remove shrapnel he received in a head wound fighting in Spain. "Seven doctors came in to see how I was every morning in a hospital I couldn't even look in except to scrub floors if it were back in the States. Every week the postman would come right up to my bed and put my wages in my hand (here the postman brings cash instead of money orders) and I sure was rich by the time I got well! Then, after all the free medical care, they gave me three weeks' sick leave with pay. It helps to get well if you know for sure, as you do here, that your job is waiting for you when you get out."

The resort where Robinson spent three weeks last month is Spindleruv Mlyn and can be compared to Lake Placid in comforts, sports facilities and prestige. "That's another place I wouldn't get a look in back in the U.S.—like dreaming of a vacation at Miami Beach."

Last year Miller Robinson's application for Czechoslovak citizenship was accepted. Unlike the Czech workers who went to American industrial towns expecting to find an Eldorado, he has not been disappointed in his new country. He expected to find opportunities for people who wanted to work and sincerely believes it is a land of promise, that it shows how things can be when workers run things for themselves.

SOVIET BASKETBALLERS WIN EUROPEAN TITLE

THE SOVIET basket-ball team this year won the European championship when it defeated Czechoslovakia 45 to 44 this Spring. The Soviet team had won every game it played. Czechoslovakia took second place, France took third, and Bulgaria fourth.

Before the Revolution, Russia did not hold a single world record in athletics. Today, Soviet sportsmen, who will participate in the next Olympics, hold sixty-eight registered world records in field and track events, swimming, weight lifting, skating and target shooting. Soviet players hold the world chess championship for both men and women.

The Linguistics Controversy

In the Soviet Union

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

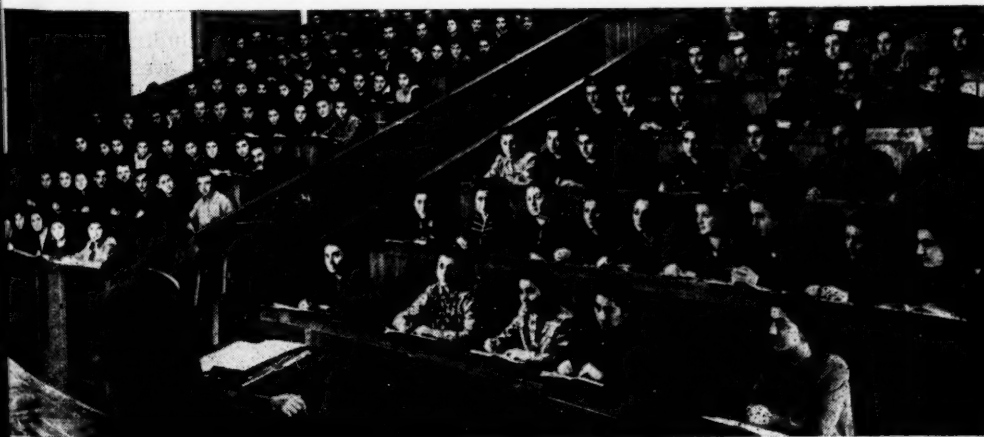
DR. MARGARET SCHLAUCH, now teaching at the University of Warsaw, is an outstanding authority on linguistics. A professor at New York University from 1940 until quite recently, Dr. Schlauch has done research in Old English, Chaucer, Icelandic and Sagas in connection with work in medieval literature. Dr. Schlauch has also taught at the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins. Dr. Schlauch is the author of numerous books, including *Saga of the Volsungs*, *Romance in Iceland*, and *The Gift of Tongues*. She is an editor of *Science and Society* and a contributor to many journals. Dr. Schlauch is a member of the D.A.R.

LAST SUMMER, it will be recalled, the American press carried reports of a contribution by Joseph Stalin on the subject of linguistic science and Marxism. Journalistic comments on it revealed a good deal of ignorant confusion, since most of the writers obviously knew nothing whatsoever about the scholarly problems involved.

There was also deliberate distortion. In one section of his article

Stalin had stressed the heritage of the Russian language as a national treasure shared by all ranks in the population at all times, and he had stressed also the linguistic unity which permits an entire nation to enjoy that treasure in common. Hence reporters generally tried to prove that Stalin's intention was to affirm "Russian" linguistic nationalism in a chauvinistic sense. His skeptical position in regard to artificial international languages was taken to

Philological students attending a lecture at Stalin University in Tbilisi, capital of Soviet Georgia



mean a retreat from international socialist attitudes, to an aggressive nationalist position. Finally, it was likewise implied that Stalin's statement came as a fiat unexpectedly imposed on linguists from without; that they had no voice in the matter at all, and no choice but to accept an unwelcome *ukaz* delivered from above by a non-specialist: in fact, by an unqualified interloper.

All this is quite the opposite of the truth. The distortions amount to downright lying. Stalin is actually a student and specialist in those fields of sociology which border immediately on linguistics (nationalities, minorities, and so on). He wrote about some broad philosophical principles underlying these disciplines and many others.

Moreover, he did not suddenly descend upon the body of Soviet linguists with an unsolicited decree concerning their special subject. A lively debate on the matter had been going on for some weeks, chiefly in the columns of *Pravda*. Stalin entered it upon invitation, in response to questions posed to him directly by several young students. What he said was sensible, temperate, and on the whole far better linguistic doctrine than much that had preceded it. It gave a basis for correcting what had become a very unfortunate situation among specialists, due to a cult of admiration for one scholar, supinely followed even by dissenters from his theories.

Now that the air is cleared, there is no reason why the good research done in the past—despite some fallacious methodology—should not be followed by much better research and practical work in the future. That is all there is to the story.

At the time of the October Revolution in Russia, there was a scholar

named N. Y. Marr working in the field of Caucasian languages (called by him the Japhetic group of languages). He had a wide range of information and a great enthusiasm for his subject. The great impetus given by the young Soviet regime to field work and research in languages no doubt delighted him. He threw himself along with many others into the investigation of the many linguistic families in the USSR, and into the preparation of grammars and texts for a number of them that had never before been written down. He also studied a certain amount of Marxist philosophy to familiarize himself with the guiding principles which had helped to shape the new government's excellent work in his field.

With all his enthusiasm, however, Marr apparently quite failed to understand certain fundamental concepts of Marxism. Using glibly such terms as class conflict, ideology, superstructure and economic basis, he misapprehended them, proceeded to elaborate a school of thought which he claimed to be "Marxist linguistics," and succeeded in making it into something like an official doctrine. Some of the ideas he developed actually had nothing to do with Marxism.

Marr attacked the methods and results of earlier schools indiscriminately and with increasing acrimony. Thus the vast labors of Indo-European specialists, including his Russian as well as his western European predecessors, were condemned in a lump as "bourgeois idealist" and "reactionary" products. Marr condemned the comparative methods by which these specialists had established the kinship of various families of related languages, and accused them of mystical idealism when they postulated lost "parent languages" to

explain likenesses among groups of those existing today.

Here are some of the specific doctrines propounded by Marr to replace those he attacked.

In the first place, he claimed that in the very earliest stages of humanity, when the first human animals were learning to live together socially on the basis of shared labor, people communicated only by gestures and like inarticulate means. Spoken language, he argued, was later developed by a primitive ruling-class group of priest-magicians; and they kept this device as a class privilege removed as long as possible from the inarticulate masses. Thus language was supposedly developed as a weapon in a class struggle and belonged to the "superstructure" of society (as Marxists technically use that term).

Marr affirmed that he had worked out and knew of a certainty just what were the first four syllables of human speech to be articulated. They were *sal*, *ber*, *yon* and *rosh*: no more, no less than these. (Marr never gave his proofs for this claim.) From these four "elements," so-called, all speech supposedly evolved, diversifying gradually into various similar groups, and then—at certain times in certain places—under favorable conditions taking abrupt leaps forward into new linguistic systems.

The sudden advances postulated by Marr were supposed to have produced new "stadial developments" in language. The shift from sentences of simple, short words strung together without inflection, into sentences with grammatical agreement and morphology, represented such a stadial advance, initiating a new "family" of languages. The "revolutionary" shifts in question, according to Marr, were produced by technological advances, notably the dis-



Students of Moscow University study folktales and songs. Folktale narrator, M. R. Golubkova recites a story for them

covery and the use of metals such as copper and iron among primitive peoples. Those making the discovery moved forward to a new linguistic stage, leaving other sections of the human race behind with the older language patterns. Hence the various stages still found today.

The innumerable ramifications of human speech began, of course, countless ages ago. Yet Marr claimed that he could juggle vowels and consonants in words existing today, no matter how different they may now appear, so as to show their derivation down the ages from the syllables *sal*, *ber*, *yon* and *rosh*. (He never explained his procedure.)

He also claimed that he could penetrate far back into the primitive thought of man, to the "totemic" and "cosmological" stages, by means of a process called "semantic paleontology." (Again, he never explained his procedure.) His method seems to have been the grouping together of terms and ideas often associated in folklore and mythology. These he called "semantic clusters," and with

them he operated in connection with his four primordial syllables. One of his "semantic clusters" was the group "water-woman-serpent," which he found illustrated in the plots of such various stories as the medieval Tristan legend, modern fairy tales about dragon-killers, and the classical myth of Perseus and its analogues. In the course of their searches for such clusters, Marr and his disciples proposed some etymologies which were, to say the least, startling. They went by the name of "Japhetic" studies.

The cult surrounding Marr was so great, even after his death, that those who disagreed were pushed aside, in the sense that—as is now revealed—they found it difficult to publish articles and to train students from any other point of view.

However, it is not true that no scholar raised his voice to disagree with Marr and his school. Lively debates challenged them at various stages. Among other items, I recall reading a pamphlet in 1932 by P. S. Kuznetsov, called *The Japhetic Theory*, in which some of Stalin's criticisms were anticipated in matters restricted to language. Others who disagreed, and said so, were V. V. Vinogradov and V. N. Sidorov. In *Science and Society*, (1936-37), No. 2, pp. 152-67, I summarized Marr's theories and Kuznetsov's challenge, with which I agreed. It was Marr's chief disciple I. Meshchaninov who led the opposition to them.

The domination by Marr's followers was first effectively challenged when *Pravda*, on May 9, 1950, published a long article by A. S. Chikobava attacking the entire school and defending the older "comparative" method. The author accorded warm praise to the undoubted achievements of Marr, but subjected his doc-

trines to critical analysis. If language was part of the superstructure, a purely class product, asked Chikobava, how could it originate in pre-class society, at man's initial stage of development? (This was a major point made by Kuznetsov in the 1930's.) Moreover, Chikobava accused Marr's school of attempting an oversimplified correlation of economic factors with linguistic phenomena. He rejected Marr's insistence that an artificial international language is necessary as a pre-condition to realizing a classless society. He strongly disagreed with the "stadial theory" of language development, which in effect establishes a hierarchy of linguistic structures and condemns certain languages to remain on a "lower" stage permanently. Finally, he concluded with a rejection of the four primordial elements and all that had been deduced from them.

In a long reply (May 16), Meshchaninov did little more than recapitulate the basic doctrines of Marr, while he conceded a few inadequacies in their formulation and corrected Chikobava's statements in details.

By the middle of June, fourteen fairly long communications had appeared on the subject in *Pravda*. Some writers (like Chemodanov, May 23, and Kudriavtsev, June 13) carried on the defense of Marr; others (like Bulakhovskii, May 13) limited themselves to a defense of old-fashioned comparative methods, or deplored the sweeping claims and innovations (V. V. Vinogradov, June 6). More than once the question was raised: Why have we allowed this body of doctrine to be imposed, and to produce a condition of stagnation in our work?

A group of young students then

asked Stalin to answer several pointed questions bearing on the controversy. This he did on June 20, in a reply already well known and not requiring long summary here. Its immediate service was that it corrected obvious errors concerning the relations of language to social classes. Not only was it impossible for a class of magician-priests to produce language as a class weapon before there were any classes, but in later times also the existence of classes (even with their special jargons differing in the way of vocabulary and usage) does not change the basic nature of language as a means of communication serving entire national communities *as a whole*.

Language, Stalin pointed out, differs essentially from the class-conditioned elements making up a cultural superstructure. It "is not a product of one or another base, old or new, within the given society, but of the whole course of the history of society and the history of bases throughout the centuries. It was created not by any class, but by all society, by all the classes of society, by the efforts of hundreds of generations. . . . This, in fact, explains why a language may equally serve both the old, moribund system and the new, nascent system; both the old basis and the new basis, both the exploiters and the exploited."

The wider implications of Stalin's essay pass far beyond the narrow realm of linguistics. They remind us how important it is to discriminate carefully in dealing with elements within and without the superstructure, in relation to all problems of human culture. The Marr school demonstrated how far awry speculation and practice can be bent when such elements are not properly distinguished. Certainly Stalin's dis-



Lomonosov State University in Moscow, Russia's oldest, has completed its 177th academic year

tinctions had nothing to do with any so-called "Russian nationalism," nor did they imply a retreat from the international affinities of socialism which (as history is teaching us today) does not wait for an artificial world language in order to enlist the support of increasing numbers of peoples, speaking many tongues, throughout the world.

Among the salutary criticisms made by Stalin was his condemnation of the oppressive dogmatism fostered by Marr's school. Such defects and kindred problems became the topic of discussion in the scholarly journal *News of the Academy of Sciences* (Division of Language

and Literature), in 1950-51. Some writers documented the scope of the inhibiting influence and how it had prevented that "conflict of opinion and freedom of criticism" which in Stalin's words are needed for the growth of science. Some articles undertook to show how certain special topics should be reoriented in the light of the recent clarification; others discussed problems of linguistics with little or no reference to the recent controversy.

As this survey must have made apparent, it seems to me that Stalin's invited participation had a most beneficial effect on the situation of linguistics in the USSR. I believe that this was possible because he showed how to replace pseudo-Marxist principles with genuine ones.

Having been reminded of the historical role of language and its actual place in the constellation of social forces, linguists can proceed with their jobs with a clearer understanding of them. Just as the problem was first opened up by linguists, they are the ones to do the corrective work and to proceed to more fruitful activities than the juggling of hypothetical primeval monosyllables.

To investigate how languages serve not merely groups and classes but the entire societies of which

they are the products, means to penetrate into some fascinating regions in which grammar and vocabulary are brought into relationship with broad questions of social psychology.

Realizing that language serves all levels of a society equally (allowing, of course, for nuances of style and vocabulary) helps us, for instance, to understand the universal enjoyment of great masterpieces of literary art even when these had an origin within the patronage of a relatively restricted social group. The people as a whole, moving forward to a socialist society, take with them as their rightful heritage the great language monuments of a Dante and a Chaucer, a Pushkin and a Shakespeare. The medium *per se* offers no class barriers to a people educated in the best tradition of its national culture; the nobility and the humanity of sentiment embodied in words speak with increasing clarity to audiences released from oppression, fear and exploitation.

It is the universality of the linguistic medium, of which Stalin spoke, combined with the transcendental quality of grandly creative word-masters, which makes possible the living continuation of great literary traditions.

SHOW BOAT ON THE DANUBE

THE ARRIVAL of the beautiful new vessel, the Gorgova Floating Club, at any one of the Romanian communities along the Danube is a cause for celebration.

It has its own theater and moving picture auditorium and library. More than 78,000 people in these rural communities have already attended its theater performances. In 1944, there were only four theaters in Romania. Today there are thirty-three, twenty of them in the outlying districts. National groups have six theaters, four in Hungarian and two in Yiddish. There are seven musical theaters. There are also eleven puppet theaters, ten of them in the provinces.

ARMS AND THE PEOPLE

Intolerable East-West economic contrasts revealed by UN Economic Commission for Europe threaten the life of that body

by VICTOR PERLO

IT HAS become customary to regard the United Nations as a New York division of the State Department—and not without justification. But in June the press carried headlines such as these:

SNYDER HITS UN UNIT'S MOVE

**U.S. Group Attacks UN Economic Unit
Commerce Chamber Delegates Say
European Commission's Aims
Imperil Free World**

The UN unit is the Economic Commission for Europe, whose membership includes the United States, the Marshall Plan countries, the USSR and the People's Democracies. A Commission report, *Economic Survey of Europe in 1950* was the immediate cause of the wrathful outbreaks.

The Survey tells some facts about the two paths of development in the world today. It shows what harm the Atlantic Pact armaments race is doing to the economic life and living standards of western Europe, the United States, and the colonies and semi-colonies. It shows the increases in living standards and rapid progress of peaceful economy in the USSR and the People's Democracies. The authors tone down the contrast, omit many facts and distort others, espe-

cially concerning the socialist world. Nevertheless, the Survey has a powerful impact.

Its summary thesis is that:

"... the three main problems agitating the governments and peoples are world-wide in scope—the growing inflation, the scarcity of raw materials and the burden of armaments."

Just one word is left out—the problems are *capitalist* world-wide.

How do the "three main problems" affect the two types of society?

Inflation

Currency devaluations, ordered by the United States Government, resulted in increases in wholesale prices of around 1½ per cent per month in many west European countries between September, 1949, and September, 1950. Then the Korean War and the ensuing armaments rush redoubled the inflation:

"... the typical rate of increase up to early 1951 has been from two to four per cent per month for import and wholesale prices and from one to two per cent per month for the cost of living."

Rising prices of imported raw materials are so far only partly reflected at retail. As for price increases resulting from the diversion of resources to armaments:

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

AUGUST, 1951

"There is little reason to believe that, in many countries, this . . . movement in prices has more than started yet."

While profits are rising, the full burden of inflation is borne by the common people of western Europe. In England, the Survey cites the "implied major premise" of the Government's policies "to allow retail prices to increase . . . and to prevent wages from rising to the same extent." In Italy, the Government will cut down on land improvement and resettlement to pay for armaments, the cost of living increase so far "may be only a foretaste of what is to come," and despite war orders, unemployment remains about four million, and "in some respects the [unemployment] situation even deteriorated."

In the colonies and semi-colonies, the same war-engendered inflation brings more severe burdens on people already near starvation. As for the rising prices of raw materials:

"... the major share will accrue to Australian wool growers, Malayan and Indonesian (read British, American and Dutch—V.P.) rubber growers . . . and Singapore merchants; while the rising cost of living will reduce the real income of wage earners in non-export industries, salary earners and others who do not benefit."

The Survey finds that in the United States war preparations and inflation will force a decline of ten billion dollars next year in the real level of consumption of the Americans.

What about the other third of the world? The Survey notes that in the USSR "a series of price reductions has been decreed at the beginning of each year since 1948." In the People's Democracies, where socialist planning is not yet complete, the Survey

notes that inflationary tendencies continued, but only because wages are increasing more rapidly than production, and people, without fears for the future, want more of the good life they are beginning to get:

"... inflationary pressures arose in 1950 against the general background of rising living standards and, therefore, the disturbances were of limited scope."

Improved planning is already bringing results in the People's Democracies, with Hungary and Poland accomplishing important price reductions since the beginning of 1951. While production of consumers goods and supplies of foodstuffs are being curtailed in western Europe and Yugoslavia, "in Poland, the increase in the output of textiles from 1949 to 1950 was in the order of 10 per cent and total agricultural production . . . increased by some 13 per cent. In Czechoslovakia, the output of textiles and clothing is reported to have risen by 9 per cent." While in England and France, residential building is down to half the pre-war level and still falling, "In the countries of eastern Europe building activity has been considerably expanded in recent years. The number of workers in the building industry has increased, and there have been substantial increases in productivity."

Shortage of Raw Materials

The Survey shows that shortages of raw materials are tending to prevent further increases in production in western Europe. It attributes the growing shortages to diversion of materials to military purposes, and to the reckless buying of raw materials by American corporations and the U.S. Government.

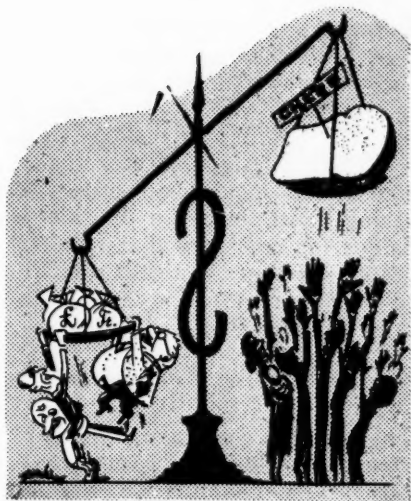
Excluding the USSR and the Peo-

ple's Democracies, the United States consumed 30 per cent of all aluminum before World War II, 60 per cent in 1950. The U.S. consumed 32 per cent of the copper previously, 54 per cent with the stimulus of the Korean War. Such figures are paralleled for virtually every important raw material.

In the U.S. and western Europe, the Survey estimates that this year 19 to 23 per cent of all aluminum is going for armament production, and another 7 per cent for strategic stockpiles. For zinc, the figures are 12 to 14 per cent for armaments, 3 to 4 per cent for stockpiles. U.S. Government figures show much higher proportions going for war than estimated in the Survey. With 20 per cent or more of all important raw materials going for armaments, and the amount increasing, shortages of raw materials are already intense and will become more severe.

The approach of the European governments (and the United States) is expressed by the Survey itself: "Self-evidently, Europe is dependent on the expansion of production overseas for increased supplies of materials which she cannot produce at home." That is—capitalist Europe will not develop its resources to the utmost. The U.S. forbids western Europe from getting the most possible raw materials from the USSR, the People's Democracies and China through equal trade. European monopolies insist on getting raw materials only from colonies where profits are higher. But the colonies and semi-colonies are being taken over by American corporations; or by the people of these countries themselves.

The west European countries are in a blind alley so long as they stay within the framework of orientation towards war and dependence on the



EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER

The devaluation of Western currencies has caused prices to rise

A Polish cartoon

United States. Accordingly, the Survey finds that measures being taken to meet the west European shortages "will do little towards long-term solution of the basic problems."

These basic problems do not exist for socialist countries:

"Since these countries have been accustomed to rely on their own resources rather than on imports, their plans attempt to provide for a balanced development of production at various stages in the production process."

The one-sided division of labor whereby colonies produce raw materials cheaply and buy manufactured goods dearly from imperial centers is completely alien to socialism. In socialist countries there is no rationalization about "inability to produce" raw materials. The Survey notes the rapid increase in production of important raw materials in the eastern part of the Soviet Union. Other examples not mentioned in

the Survey are the intensive development of rubber production in China and the foundation of a new copper industry in Poland. Nor is there any tendency of the USSR, as the leading country in the camp of socialism, to monopolize materials. Striking fresh evidence of this is provided by the recent territorial transfer between the USSR and Poland turning over to the latter valuable oil-producing land.

The Burden of Armaments

The Survey contains a table of "defense expenditure in man-years per thousand inhabitants." For example, a figure of 82 means that of every 1,000 men, women and children in a country, there are the equivalent of 82 active industrial workers engaged in military activities or production.

The first part of the table compares various European countries. Here are the figures for 1951—among the North Atlantic Pact and associated countries: United Kingdom 82; France 51; Netherlands 46; Western Germany 35; Yugoslavia 35; Italy 29. For the two People's Democracies listed: Poland 17; Czechoslovakia 13. The second part of the table gives similar comparisons for the USSR and the United States. Here are the figures for 1951: for the U.S. 74; for the USSR 49.

The significance of the contrast is enhanced by the following: 1—the U.S. figures exclude atomic bomb

and foreign military aid spending; 2—the U.S. military budget for next year is twice as high; and 3—a man-year of labor in the United States is still generally more productive than in the USSR or other European countries.

In the face of these figures, the American delegate to the recent Economic Commission for Europe meeting blamed the burden of war preparations on the USSR. Similarly President Truman puts the blame for our huge military budget on alleged excessive arming by the Soviet Union. The above figures show the actual source of the war danger, of the new and more bitter economic problems which face the peoples of the world.

Those in high places cannot tolerate the publication of even the partial picture of the truth shown in the Economic Survey of Europe in 1950. They also object to the Survey recommendation for upward valuation of European currencies against the dollar, which would strengthen west European capitalists against American capitalists. They are angry because the Economic Commission for Europe in a limited way stimulates East-West trade, which the rulers here are out to eliminate entirely.

For these reasons they wish to abolish the Economic Commission for Europe. The issue will be decided at the meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council in Geneva this August.

NEW SOVIET TRANSLATIONS OF DICKENS

SOVIET publishers are preparing to issue new translations of Charles Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Dickens is well known to Soviet readers. Since the Revolution, his works have been published in 140 editions, totalling 3,310,000 copies, in 16 languages of the peoples of the USSR.

AN ARTIST'S LOVE

A Short Story by
IVAN EGOROV

IT WAS a hot August day. A colorless haze hung over the Volga and not a breeze stirred the air. Awaiting the arrival of the local passenger boat, a small group of people clustered under the branches of an old tree and watched a girl unload some radio equipment from a raft. She went about it lackadaisically, resting after each trip, doodling in the sand or staring at the water.

"At that rate, she'll still be at it to-

IVAN EGOROV has come to our attention with this story which was published in the popular Soviet magazine "Ogonek" as one of the contributions to its regular annual short story contest. Because of space limitations it has been edited and condensed.

morrow," said an old man in glasses who looked like a city-dweller.

His comment provoked no reply, for the others realized that she was not a dock worker but only trying to kill time while waiting for a truck to come for her and the equipment.

"She's just plain lazy," grumbled the man, and then, as though she had heard him, the girl slowly made her way toward the little group and stretched out on the sand near the tree. The old man stared at her reproachfully. She was very beautiful, with raven black hair, grey eyes and full lips that parted readily in a friendly smile.

"Your name?" demanded the man like a strict conductor asking for a ticket.

"Tonya," the girl replied.

"Well, Tonya, I suppose you have a fiancé?"

"Why, yes . . ." she answered after a slight hesitation.

"Where is he?"

"Oh, he's far away."

"Is he? That's no good."

"His profession keeps him on the go; he's a geologist. And I have to jump



from place to place in my work, too. Like now, for instance. I've just arrived here; tomorrow the rest of our party will come. We'll set up a radio station, test it, and get orders to move on to some other place. And so it goes. No wonder we get farther and farther from each other."

"It's a rough deal, all right," the man smiled. "Tell me, Tonya, what's the

idea of building a radio station out here in the woods?"

"This is an important area. The oak woods along the entire left bank are being turned into a forest preserve. This fall they'll be collecting acorns for the forestation plan. Komsomol brigades will come from Stalingrad, Krasnoarmeisk and other places." The lackadaisical manner was gone. Tonya was now full of energy and excitement.

"So they'll come, stay for a few weeks, and then go away. And just for that you want to build a station and spend public funds?"

"Are you kidding? Or do you really think people should live here, even for a few weeks, like Robinson Crusoe, without radio communication, without news, without concerts? I'm surprised at you!" Tonya got up and walked over to the river.

The old man turned his attention to the distant bend in the river. "Here comes our boat 'The Heroine,'" he announced to the group of passengers.

An old peasant with a shaggy beard and gay, twinkly brown eyes, who until this moment was engaged in a discussion with a sprightly middle-aged woman, suddenly burst out laughing:

"'The Heroine' he says! You can sure spot them. He took an oil tanker for a passenger boat! Those glasses don't help you much, do they?"

"Can you really tell the difference from this distance?" The bespectacled man looked at the old peasant with admiration. "What eyes! How old are you?"

"Seeing you are interested in me, let's get acquainted. I'm Andrei Pavlovich Kozyrkov, 76 years old. And this is my friend Natalya Dmitrievna Lukashina. We're from the same collective farm."

"Glad to meet you. My name's Palakhin, Stepan Vasilievich. So you're 76, and I'm 73, but I've been wearing glasses these forty years. Oh well, we shouldn't complain. You without glasses and I with them can still earn our own bread if need be."

"I can earn the bread all right, but when it comes to chewing its crust, I give up, that is, my teeth do. As for the

eyes, if you use them right they'll serve you till you're a hundred."

"It all depends. Maybe you can spare your eyes because you do simple peasant work, but some people can't. Take an artist. When he creates he doesn't know the difference between night and day. As long as he has any kind of light, sunlight, twilight, an electric bulb, he goes on with his work. He spares neither his health nor his eyes. You might call him a free artist, and yet he's not free; he's a captive of his own heart. His heart commands him to create and go on creating beauty. Can a man like that think of his eyes?"

This was said with so much feeling and was so unexpected that Andrei Pavlovich just stared at the flushed face of the speaker. The old peasant's brown eyes shone with admiration and wonder.

"Well, I'll be . . ." he said after a long pause. "There are many things a simple man like myself has never seen, though I've seen lots in my 76 years. But to meet a real artist. . . ." He didn't finish, but turned to his companion. Natalya Dmitrievna was also staring at the man as though he cast a spell over her.

"So you paint pictures! Do you paint nature, that is . . . I mean . . . landscapes? Or battle scenes?" she asked.

"Not exactly. You see, art has many branches. There is an art that is quite rare now, it's called incrustation," the man replied.

"We plain folk can't even pronounce such words, let alone reckon their meaning," Andrei Pavlovich looked embarrassed.

"A great deal of study is needed to understand all the intricacies of incrustation. What's your specialty, my friend?" asked the craftsman.

"I couldn't tell you my specialty, I do whatever is necessary. You might call it just plain farm work," said Andrei Pavlovich modestly.

"Well, not too plain. Very few people could handle your work," interrupted Natalya Dmitrievna. "This incrustation, I'm curious about it. Is it something like sculpturing?"

"Oh no! It's also called inlay work.



—Drawings by V. Vyssotsky

I think I can make it clear to you in a minute." He walked over to his luggage piled near a big tree stump, picked up a large square object wrapped in a cotton cloth, and returned. When he removed the cloth they all saw a heavy frame of remarkable beauty. In its carved design there were magnificent tones of color ranging from black, dark chocolate, warm brown, to soft golden and almost pink hues which seemed to shine with an inner light.

Natalya Dmitrievna gasped with admiration. Andrei Pavlovich looked preoccupied, as though trying to figure it out. The others, including Tonya, surrounded the craftsman.

"This is what we call incrustation, or inlay work," Palakhin announced, and began to wrap up the frame.

"May I look at it a bit longer?" asked Andrei Pavlovich. He removed the cloth and examined the frame closely. "I see these colors are not painted," he said looking up at the artist.

"Painted! Do you think it possible to achieve such subtle nuances of color with paint? Only mother nature gives such effect; but she doesn't surrender her magic easily, and not to everyone. Oh, no! She takes into her confidence only those who have a special understanding and feeling for beauty. . . .

"What do we see here? Pickled oak, box wood, cypress, rose wood, palm, polar birch. For inlay work you need wood from all corners of our land, and even that is not sufficient. Some come

only from Arabia, Egypt, Abyssinia and other distant parts.

"My father left me some pieces of rare woods. He was a famous inlay artist. Well, you can't quite say that he was famous, for actually no one knew about him. He was the serf of a rich landowner, Count Voeikov. You can still see my father's work in the museums in Moscow, Leningrad, Ulyanovsk, but only a few are labeled: 'Work of Vasily Palakhin, serf craftsman.'" He fell silent, visibly upset by the memories of the past.

The gathering sensed his emotions and no one uttered a word. But Tonya's eyes, full of lively interest, seemed to urge him to continue his story.

"My father was quite old when he began teaching me his art," Palakhin resumed. "I remember how his hands used to shake at first, until he really got going. And then they would become sure and steady. There are no more artists left like that. . . . I presented my last important creative work to our great leader, Stalin. It was accepted and displayed in the museum with the rest of the gifts."

Palakhin gazed into the distance over the heads of his listeners, embarrassed by this sudden outpouring to complete strangers.

"Why did you say it was your last work? What about this frame?" Natalya Dmitrievna asked.

"I said my last 'important, creative' work. You can't compare the two."

Andrei Pavlovich was still examining the frame, gingerly running a finger over its polished surface. "What tool is used for this work?" he asked.

"A kitchen knife!" answered Palakhin derisively and snatched the frame away.

Hurt by this unprovoked insult, Andrei Pavlovich walked away from the group. Palakhin threw the cloth over the frame and carried it back to his luggage. His temper having subsided, he was remorseful for his rudeness.

"Someone here wanted to know how inlay work is done. I'll try to explain it simply," he said loudly, hoping to regain Andrei Pavlovich's interest. He pulled a small packet from his breast pocket and emptied it on the palm of his hand. There was a highly polished strip of wood ornamented with tiny cubes, prisms and other geometric forms of varied hues. And some loose cubes and other shapes were there too. Tonya and Natalya Dmitrievna picked them up and examined them, while Palakhin stole glances in the direction of Andrei Pavlovich wondering angrily how to lure him back.

"That's all there is to it," he said to the women. "Sometimes the artist may have a different idea for a design, circular, let us say, or elliptic or spiral, and then another approach is required."

"What work! So beautiful, so delicate!" exclaimed Natalya Dmitrievna reverently. "How long would it take to make a frame, say 30 x 40? And how much would it cost?"

"How much! How much!" angrily he replaced the wooden pieces in his pocket. He seemed outraged and hardly able to restrain his rising temper. "If that's what you want to know, I'll tell you frankly that the likes of us will never have enough cash for that."

"You're a card, Grandpa!" The woman laughed gayly, not in the least offended by his outburst. "You were telling us about that money bag, the landed Count. . . . Maybe I'm richer than he. If the Ilyich Collective Farm had any use for such trash, I could buy him together with all his belongings for cash."

Palakhin had heard a lot about that great, wealthy collective farm and its woman chairman.

"Why I know your farm," he said with a conciliatory smile. "I live in the neighboring village of Verbovka."

Now it was her turn to be surprised. "How come I haven't heard anything about an artist like you? What organization do you work in there?"

Palakhin was not connected with any organization. He lived with a widowed daughter, helping her with the children. His sons all held important positions in different cities and saw to it that their old father lacked nothing. Besides a few chores around the house, he filled his day tending flowers and sitting by the brook with a fishing line. At times this tranquil existence was broken by an overpowering desire to create. Then he opened his work chest and for weeks, and even months, he was locked in his room working, never sparing his eyes, going without sleep, losing weight, but unable to tear himself away from his beloved work.

". . . And then," Palakhin finished his story, ". . . some stranger looks at my work and asks: 'Hey, Grandpa, how much is this stick of wood?' It's painful. . . . Take yourself, Comrade Chairman, you're an enlightened person, and still. . . ." His voice trailed off.

"You call me enlightened?" Natalya Dmitrievna blushed and shook her head. "Far from it, my friend. Through my own foolishness I never even completed ten grades."

"Well, I'm sure you have attended special courses, for otherwise you couldn't be in a position of leadership today. But when it comes to artistic culture, that's something else again. Obviously you have never seen inlay work, never knew anything about it, never cared whether it existed at all. Now you've seen it, quite by accident, and right away you want to know 'how much is this stick of wood.' Isn't that true?"

"What you say is quite true," said the woman thoughtfully and without a trace of irritation. "When it comes to culture, I lack miserably. However, I

have had the good fortune to see this type of work."

"Where?"

"In Moscow, at an exhibition of amateur art. I'll never forget a wonderful little table I saw there. It was made of tiny pieces of wood with floral designs of gold and mother-of-pearl. It had only one leg, a heavy one, and so full of beautiful designs that you could never tire looking at it."

"I know the kind. . . . I used to make tables, but then I worked for a boss and my creations were not recognized as mine. All the credit went to him. . . . It was in St. Petersburg. . . . Once I made a whole boudoir ensemble, a bedroom set, you know. A rich old lady owned it. When the Revolution came, she fled abroad and took all my work with her, every bit of it."

"You asked why a farm woman like myself should care if this art existed at all. Frankly, if I were asked that question yesterday, I'd probably say that it was none of my business. But today I see that it is my business, and very much so."

Looking most preoccupied, she paced back and forth in front of the man, seeking the best way of presenting her ideas to him.

"Tell me," she said, stopping suddenly and facing him. "Do you have young people around you? Pupils? What I'm driving at is do you teach anyone your craft?"

"Who would I teach?" Palakhin shrugged his shoulders. "My craft, as you now know, is special. It's of no use in a kolkhoz."

"Why? I don't think you've figured it out right. What is a kolkhoz? It's a collection of many different people and many different skills. And all these people take their proper places side by side, like your little cubes and prisms. And their various skills are assembled in such a manner that you get one overall picture of a well-balanced working mechanism. It's like your inlay work, in a way, isn't it?"

Palakhin nodded, but there was a skeptical smile in his eyes.

"I'm willing to agree, Comrade Luka-

shina, that there is some similarity, but it's all on the surface. Your work is one thing; mine is entirely different. There you are, busy with your orchards, vegetable fields, grain crops, and suddenly a new specialist arrives: 'How do you do! I'm an inlay artist.'"

"Very pleased to have you with us!"

"What would you have me do?"

"As I said before, we'd like you to do your inlay work. First, we need two large frames. They must be of your best materials, because they are for portraits of our two most outstanding workers, a man and a woman, who will each receive the title Hero of Socialist Labor. Please keep this quiet, otherwise folks will say 'Lukashina's tongue is too long.' So, that's two frames to start with. Then we'll set up a shop for you with equipment, power tools, whatever you tell us. And the next step is up to you—to select pupils and start training cadres."

"Cadres!" Palakhin smiled. "A fine topic of conversation while waiting for a boat and there are no peanuts to keep one's tongue busy. Cadres, indeed! Would you have me set up a shop to train five youngsters?"

"Why five? You should train at least twenty-five. A brigade. Just think of



all the construction where craftsmen like that can be used!"

"Some people think it's as simple to train an artist as it is a plasterer or bricklayer," Palakhin said bitterly. "Take that Grandpa of yours. All he wanted to know was what tool was used for my work. One, two, three, and he thinks he's got all the answers. But it's quite different; it's not like raising cabbage."

"You must have been gazing into a crystal ball," Lukashina laughed. "That's exactly what our Grandpa raises; cabbage, and apples, too."

"I thought as much. . . . In my line you can't get any place unless you have a fine taste, training, and deep love of the craft. Besides, the materials are. . . . Well, I've told you about that."

"You mean rare woods from Egypt and other lands? That's all right. We'll buy them, don't you fret. And if we can't get the wood from those countries, we'll get hold of the seeds and raise them right on our farm. And we can get stuff from China. They grow all kinds of unusual trees there, even bamboo. . . ."

"Bamboo . . . exactly! That takes the cake!" Palakhin looked at the woman reproachfully, but there was no bitterness in his sad eyes. "I'd better go find out what's happened to our boat."

"What an old grouch!" exclaimed Tonya as soon as Palakhin walked away.

Lukashina was silent a while, and then announced in a determined voice:

"He's a fine old man! A wonderful man! You know, Tonya, I was listening to you talk about your fiancé and it occurred to me that you don't love him, not really. You would either not talk about him at all, or you'd do it differently, like that old man. . . . He really loves his art. Why, he seems to tremble all over when he talks about it. People like that are precious and rare, my girl."

"And people like me are a dime a dozen, you mean? How can you compare his love for a piece of wood with my love for a man?"

Natalya Dmitrievna put her arm around Tonya, smiled, and in a kind, motherly voice said: "I don't want to hurt you, Tonya. You're young and much too pretty. Your day hasn't come yet; when it does you'll know what I meant. As for that old man, I'll hook him if it's the last thing I do."

"What if he doesn't hook?"

"Oh, he will. You know me, I can get around people. He's fretful because he thinks there's no love in my offer, but I'll convince him."

"Do you really need him?"

"Of course. And what's more important, he needs us!"

By the time the boat finally appeared at the distant bend in the river, Palakhin and Natalya Dmitrievna were peacefully walking side by side along the shore. They had agreed on everything. He had promised to pay an early visit to the collective farm and get acquainted with the young people there. He also accepted the order for the two inlaid frames. Once convinced that Lukashina was seriously interested in his art, the old craftsman let down his guards and became soft and amiable.

"It's like you say, Natalya Dmitrievna, art brings joy to all people, whether they're educated or just plain folk. And nowadays many a simple person becomes a hero. My work will serve as a crown, so to speak, for the people's heroes."

"That's it, Stepan Vasilievich! With your first creation we'll crown our dear Andrei Pavlovich."

"Who?"

"Grandpa who is standing over there. He's our celebrity. Took first place in the entire province for fruit and vegetable crops. He's getting the Gold Star of the Hero of Socialist Labor. Don't you breathe a word of it, he doesn't know yet. I couldn't tell you how many specialists he has trained for us. Andrei Pavlovich is a man of tremendous knowledge. Why, trained agronomists come to learn from him. And he is so modest, so kindhearted, just like yourself."

(Translated by Zina Voynow)

Why the 4-Power Conference Broke Down

by JESSICA SMITH

NOTHING is more essential for the prevention of new world war than the continuance of negotiations among the major powers.

No one suggests that the course of such negotiations can be easy. But no difficulties encountered in negotiations to avoid war can compare with the difficulties and measureless disasters of war itself.

Thus the breaking off by the United States, Great Britain and France of the negotiations in Paris on an agenda for a Foreign Ministers' meeting must be a cause for dismay among the peace-loving forces of the world. The vast relief and rejoicing over the prospects of an early truce in Korea must mean no weakening of vigilance against new Koreans arising elsewhere.

The forces driving for a new world war have met a stunning defeat in Korea.

They were unable to achieve their original aims and the worldwide protest against continuing the slaughter is compelling them to end it. But knowing no other way to solve their domestic problems than through a war economy, they find it necessary to keep stoking the fires of their artificial alarms which at any moment can burst into new local wars creating new dangers of worldwide conflagration.

That is the reason they felt it necessary to balance the cease-fire

efforts in Korea by this set-back to the prospects of peace in Europe.

The whole weight of the propaganda machinery of imperialism has been exerted toward placing the blame for the breakup in Paris on the USSR and its supposed "obstructionist tactics." This is a necessary part of the effort to fan the people's fear of aggression from the Soviet Union and win their acceptance of mounting war expenditures and preparations.

It is of the utmost importance that the American people understand clearly what happened at Paris and why.

Let it be remembered that it was the Soviet Union which initiated the proposal for a Foreign Ministers' meeting last November, eight full months ago. It took four months before the three western powers reluctantly agreed to a preliminary conference of deputy foreign ministers to prepare the agenda for the foreign ministers themselves.

The immediate cause of the Soviet proposal for the meeting was the agreement to proceed with the rearming of Germany made by the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and France last fall in New York.

In the face of the clear evidence of the Soviet desire and the Western lack of desire for a four-power meeting, the "explanation" is now

put forward that whereas the Soviet leaders had indeed originally proposed the meeting through alarm at the prospect of rearming Germany, they subsequently changed their minds because the West subsequently abandoned the plan to rearm Germany and that the USSR accordingly wished to drop the discussion of German demilitarization in order to retain a free hand to rearm Eastern Germany.

This explanation does not stand up either in the face of the actual record of the conference which shows that the USSR never abandoned its insistence on German demilitarization, nor in the face of the fact that the United States, far from giving up its idea of rearming Germany has gone right ahead with it. It is true that worldwide protest, including that of the people throughout Germany, forced a pretense that the rearming program had been abandoned. But that it has proceeded, although more cautiously and secretly than at first intended, is clear from daily reports in the press.

The Soviet Government originally wished that the agenda should concentrate on the question of German demilitarization as the prime essential for securing peace in Europe. The three Western powers, however, insisted on widening the conference to other issues. The Soviet Union agreed, and with this in view, Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko proposed the following points for discussion when the meetings began in March:

1. Concerning the fulfilling by the four powers of the Potsdam Agreement on the demilitarization of Germany and on the prevention of the remilitarization of Germany;
2. Concerning acceleration of the conclusion of a peace treaty with

Germany, and in conformity with with this, concerning the withdrawal of occupation forces from Germany;

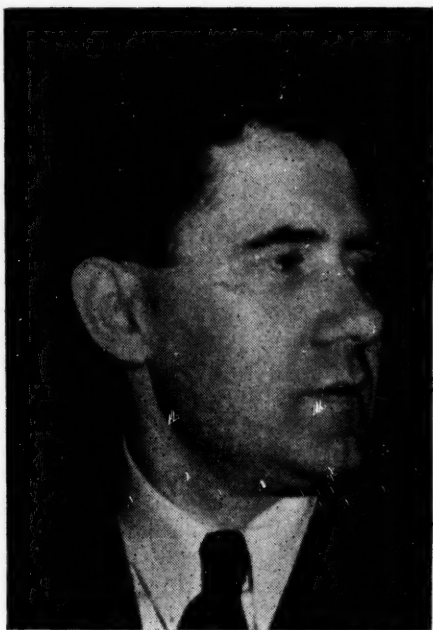
3. Concerning improvement of the situation in Europe and the immediate beginning of the reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the four powers—the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France.
4. Concerning the Atlantic Pact and the establishment of American military bases in Britain, Norway, Iceland and other countries of Europe and the near East;
5. Fulfillment of the peace treaty with Italy where it refers to Trieste.

The three Western deputy foreign ministers (Mr. Philip Jessup for the United States, Mr. Ernest Davies for England, Mr. M. Parodi for France), who acted together at all times in opposition to the Soviet Union, originally proposed the following vague agenda points:

1. Examination of the causes of the present international tensions in Europe and the means to secure improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Great Britain and France.
2. Completion of a treaty for the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria.
3. Problems relating to the re-establishment of German unity and the preparation of a treaty of peace.
4. The peace treaties with Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

In the course of the seventy-four meetings of the deputy foreign ministers, the Soviet Union agreed to the inclusion of every single point raised by the West, whereas the points put forward by Mr. Gromyko were only partially accepted.

The Western powers resisted for



Andrei Gromyko

a long time any reference to German demilitarization, wishing to be in a position through the item on "causes of international tensions" and others, to place entire blame on the Soviet Union and to escape examination of their own policies in Western Germany.

The Soviet Union accepted the formulation regarding international tensions, and the Western powers finally agreed on the inclusion as a sub-item of the demilitarization of Germany, but refused to agree to any mention of the Potsdam agreement or of prevention of remilitarization.

The Soviet Union agreed to the Western point on Austria. The item on reestablishment of Germany unity and the preparation of a treaty of peace was agreed upon, although the West refused to accept the Soviet

addition on the withdrawal of occupation forces from Germany. The USSR agreed to the inclusion of the peace treaties with Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, and the Western countries accepted the inclusion of the peace treaty with Italy "in the part concerning Trieste."

With relation to the Soviet proposal on the "immediate beginning of a reduction of the armaments and the armed forces of the Big Four," the West put up a long and stubborn struggle, fearing any formulation which would even appear to commit them in advance to any actual steps toward arms reduction. The USSR, to facilitate agreement, then omitted the words "immediate beginning." The Western powers continued their objections, wishing to include only a point on the "level of armaments," instead of their reduction, which was quite natural since their whole policy is directed toward increasing armaments. Furthermore, they sought to make the question of armaments a general one, applying to all countries, rather than to take up reducing the armaments of the big powers which alone could decide the question of war or peace.

The deadlock was broken by the Soviet proposal that both formulations regarding armaments be placed on the agenda as unagreed items, leaving the final solution to the foreign ministers themselves.

The West then returned to the question of demilitarization of Germany, to which they had previously agreed. They now proposed to separate it from the first point as a main cause of international tension, and give it a subsidiary position after the unagreed section on armaments, which would give it, too, the nature of an unagreed item. Since the Western powers refused to yield on this

point, the Soviet Union made a further important concession in proposing that the item on German demilitarization be put in both places, leaving the final disposition of its order of consideration to the foreign ministers. This was accepted.

The Soviet Union having thus agreed to the inclusion of every point raised by the West, and having made concessions regarding several of its own points, only the item of the Atlantic Pact and United States military bases abroad remained.

The three Western powers were adamant in their refusal to include this point, insisting that since other nations were involved in the Atlantic Pact the four foreign ministers had no right to discuss it. The inconsistency of this position with their previous insistence that the foreign ministers had it within their competence to speak for all the nations of the world with regard to armaments evidently did not occur to them. Nor did they see any inconsistency in their repeated statements that the Soviet Union was at perfect liberty to raise these questions, at the same time that they refused to include them on the agenda.

The fact is, as seen both in the actual provisions of the Atlantic Pact and in the policies of arming Europe that have been pursued in its implementation, that it is indeed an aggressive military alliance for war against the Soviet Union, and that therefore there could be no meaning at all to any foreign ministers conference that failed to discuss it.

While holding to the necessity of reaching agreement on this item, the Soviet Union still did not wish it to be the rock on which the conference

failed. Mr. Gromyko therefore proposed that it be placed on the agenda as an "unagreed item," as in the case of other unagreed points.

The West refused, announcing it had "reached the limit" of its concessions. In a virtual ultimatum, they proposed three alternative agendas, one of which they said would have to be accepted. The USSR agreed to accept the alternative most fully reflecting the results of the negotiations, but with the proviso that the Atlantic Pact and U.S. military bases abroad be included as an unagreed item.

The Western powers thereupon, realizing that on this point the USSR had reached the limit of the concessions it felt possible, sent the USSR a joint proposal that the Foreign Ministers meeting be convoked on the basis of previously arrived at agreements, but omitting the Atlantic Pact and military bases. To this the Soviet Union could not agree, proposing that the deputies continue their deliberations until some solution could be reached.

In an effort to reach a solution of this impasse, the Soviet Union proposed that in addition to the Atlantic Pact, the foreign ministers should discuss also the mutual assistance pacts of the Soviet Union with China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland, and finally with France and Britain. The Western powers brushed this proposal aside as also beyond the competence of the foreign ministers, although at the time of initiating the Atlantic Pact they had alleged it was necessary just because of the existence of the these pacts of the Soviet Union, trying to make it appear that they were of an aggressive nature.

After renewing the proposal for

AMERICAN BAPTISM

Marshallized Turkey
and Greece become
"Atlantic Nations"

Boris Efimov,
in *New Times*



an agenda omitting the Atlantic Pact, which they knew would be unacceptable to the USSR, the Western powers thereupon broke up the conference. They had already let it drag on beyond the point where they had wished to end it only because they knew this action would be used against them in the French elections, which they were attempting to influence in favor of the reactionary elements.

In their efforts to cast blame on the Soviet Union for the break-down of negotiations, the Western powers irresponsibly charged the Soviet Union with adding new items at the last moment in order to block agreement, although the record shows that all the points raised by the USSR, including that regarding the Atlantic Pact, were raised early in the discussions.

Following the move of the Western powers to end the conference, Mr. Gromyko made a statement laying the responsibility on them and exposing the measures taken for the further aggravation of international tensions during the very course of the conference. He declared:

It is well known that simultaneously with the work of our conference, negotiations were conducted here in Paris and also in Bonn (Western Germany) by the Western Powers and the representatives of the Bonn Government for the establishment of a regular West German army headed by former Hitlerite generals and for the formation of a military alliance of the United States, Great Britain and France with Western Germany—an alliance directed against the USSR and the people's democratic republics.

This charge of Mr. Gromyko's is daily confirmed by reports in the U.S. and foreign press. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of June 28, for example, commented editorially:

The haggling over the phrasing and precedence of the item on German demilitarization was drawn out by a needless stubbornness of the British, French and United States delegates, and the refusal to admit the Atlantic treaty to the agenda has been silly. . . .

Now that Mr. Gromyko has gone home and the elections in France are over we may expect to see rearmament come forward to the footlights. The Washington correspondent of *Le Monde* [conservative French paper] reports that

officials there are again polishing their plans for recruiting a German army. He says that they now favor the constitution of twelve German divisions, three to be armored, and the grouping of them in four corps. The earlier suggestion that German units should be limited to brigade size is thrown overboard, and with it presumably has gone the supposition that there would be no German general staff or senior commanders.

U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy emphasized the "necessity of getting ahead with the job of rearming Germany" in a lengthy conference with Chancellor Adenauer reflecting his conversations in Washington. (*N. Y. Times*, July 6, 1951.)

In his final statement Mr. Gromyko related further well-known facts:

During our conference an agreement of military and economic significance was signed here in Paris on the merging of the coal and metallurgical industries of Western Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and Italy, (The "Schuman Plan").

All the restrictions imposed on West German war industry by the quadripartite agreements on the disarmament and demilitarization of Germany were also officially lifted.

By dragging Western Germany into the North Atlantic grouping, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France seek to utilize her material and manpower resources for their own aggressive purposes in order subsequently to drive the German people as cannon fodder to a new war being prepared by the participants in the North Atlantic bloc.

Mr. Gromyko then referred to press reports that the governments of the United States, Britain and France are now discussing the question of including Turkey and Greece in the Atlantic bloc, and assertions

M'CLOY ASKS SPEED ON GERMAN ARMING

Holds Two-Hour Parley With
Adenauer on 'Whole Range'
of Problems in Country

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

BONN, Germany, July 5 - The "necessity of getting ahead" on the job of rearming Germany was emphasized by John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner, in a two-and-one-half-hour conference with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer at the latter's office today.

in the French press that this measure will "for strategic reasons compel the admission of Spain also."

In support of the Soviet position on the necessity for inclusion of the Atlantic Pact in any four power discussions as the primary cause of tension in Europe, Mr. Gromyko declared:

The facts show that feverish activities for the preparation of a new aggressive war are going on within the framework of this Pact. This finds expression in the fact that the Atlantic Pact states are more and more inflating their war budgets, intensifying the armaments drive, piling up stocks of strategic war materials, steadily increasing the size of their armed forces, and establishing more and more military bases and military strong points. In the past two years alone the European participants in the North Atlantic bloc have doubled their war expenditures, while the United States has more than trebled them. The armed forces of the countries who initiated this bloc

—the United States, Great Britain and France—number over five million men and the size of the armed forces of these three powers is being steadily increased. They are more than twice as large as the armed forces of the USSR at the present time.

Can these facts, which were further elaborated by Mr. Gromyko, and which are no secret to anyone, leave any question as to the role of the Atlantic Pact in increasing the danger of war? Refusal by the three Western powers to place on the agenda this prime cause of international tensions, can only mean that they never had any serious intention of reaching agreement with the Soviet Union even on what should be discussed.

In conclusion, Mr. Gromyko emphasized the efforts of the Soviet Union to reach an agreement that would include practical measures

for strengthening peace, pointing out that it had met the Western powers half way on a number of important points and was still opposed to terminating discussions.

Quoting Stalin's *Pravda* interview of February 17 of this year, in which Stalin said that the Soviet Union "will continue unswervingly to pursue its policy of preventing war and preserving peace," Mr. Gromyko ended with the statement that his government is convinced that such a policy accords with the vital interests not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union but of all peoples everywhere.

The USSR has demonstrated the sincerity of its efforts for peace through Mr. Malik's initiative in opening the way for peace in Korea, as well as by Mr. Gromyko's efforts to bring about a meeting of the foreign ministers.

OATIS TRAINED IN ESPIONAGE

LAST MONTH this country raised a hue and cry about "freedom of the press" in Czechoslovakia. Why? William N. Oatis, of Marion, Ind., head of the Associated Press Bureau in Prague, had in open court confessed to espionage. "A hoax," cried the Administration. "Infamy!" shouted the editors, "A journalist is no longer free to ply his trade!"

NWR now learns from George Wheeler, once with the U.S. Military Government in Berlin, who attended the trial, that Oatis identified, in open court, the 1944 identification card issued to him at the Military Espionage School at Ft. Snelling, Minnesota, where he learned such "journalism" as the translation of documents, the interception of radio, and how to estimate strength of military forces by observing training maneuvers. Oatis also attended a spy school at Ann Arbor, Mich., for one year. (Interestingly, AP reported some of this via Frankfort, but as far as we know, only one New York paper published it, very briefly.) What trade was Oatis really plying? Or do you still believe your morning paper?

The U.S. has been known to boast of its vast "Project-X" espionage network in Eastern Europe. When one of its agents—even a good facsimile of a newspaperman—is caught, however, pious eyes are raised, "freedom of the press" is threatened, and Prague is charged with "infamy."

Books

Negotiations vs. Military Power

STEPS TO PEACE, A Quaker View of U.S. Foreign Policy. A Report prepared for the American Friends' Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 64 pp., 25¢.

OVER a year and a half ago, the American Friends' Service Committee issued a report on "The United States and the Soviet Union, Some Quaker Proposals for Peace." (See review by Mary van Kleeck, *Soviet Russia Today*, March, 1950.)

Alarmed at the increasing reliance by our government in the period since then on the doctrine of force instead of reconciliation, the Quakers have now issued a new report "Steps to Peace," which deserves the widest attention.

This report, couched in moderate terms, and infused with a high moral fervor, represents one of the most serious indictments of U.S. foreign policy that has appeared. It declares that this policy, in its assumption that "military force is the only language understood by the Communist high command," has utterly failed in its announced purpose of promoting peace and security and in fact, "endangers the very freedom it seeks to defend."

The report declares that U.S. policy has failed in Asia because it has not given sufficient weight to the economic, social and political realities, labeling as "Communist" any movement seeking change in the established order, although in fact the present revolution in Asia is a movement for national independence, for freedom from colonialism and outside interference. It excoriates American military intervention in China, Formosa and Korea, and U.S.

policies in Indo-China, Japan and the Philippines. Of People's China, it says that the country "clearly prefers its new government to its old one." Of Korea, "the people themselves have been the losers" and the intervention there has increased Asian suspicions of American purposes. Regarding the intervention of the Chinese volunteers in the Korean war, the report says:

"Any American should be able to understand this by imagining his own reactions if an international army, under Russian command and largely composed of Russians, were rapidly advancing northward through Mexico, particularly if the United States had been excluded from the international organization in whose name the advance was made."

The proposed Japanese peace treaty, the report declares, "would be more in line with Asian realities . . . if her most powerful and influential neighbors, China and the Soviet Union, had been included from the beginning." It asserts that no problems created by the presence of People's China in the United Nations could equal those created by her absence.

The report records equal failure of our policies in Europe as evidenced by European fears of becoming a new battlefield. These fears have been aroused especially through U.S. intervention on behalf of a strongly rightist Greek Government, the increasing warmth of our government's relations with fascist Spain, its crystallization of the division of Germany through the establishment of the West German Republic and its pressure for the rearming of Germany.

To all these policies based on force

alone, the Quakers counterpose an alternative program of negotiation.

However difficult the course of negotiations, the report suggests that it is incorrect to lay all the blame on the Soviet Union, and lists certain requirements for the United States if future negotiations are to be successful. These include a flexible attitude and readiness to make honorable concessions.

The Quakers stress the peacemaking role of the United Nations as an agency for reaching agreement rather than for imposing sanctions, suggest that it should be open to all applicants meeting its requirements, and its decisions not subject to U.S. pressure.

The importance of effective disarmament as an essential for achieving peace is keynoted by the Quakers. They point out the inaccuracy of the contention that the U.S. disarmed unilaterally after World War II, in view of its air and sea superiority and preponderance in atomic weapons. They emphasize that agreement is possible with the Soviet Union on an over-all program of arms reduction and control of atomic weapons. They list the numerous concessions made by the USSR showing that, contrary to the general impression, the Soviet Union has agreed to

international inspection of atomic weapons, operating without the veto.

The Quakers support an international mutual aid program operating through the United Nations as an answer to the problem of violent versus peaceful change. Such a program, they say, must not mean merely the pumping of American capital into other countries, but a truly international program, internationally administered, adapted to the needs of each particular community, and "directed . . . toward developing the resources of the world for the benefit of the world's people and thus providing a constructive alternative to a policy of military force."

While the report repeats certain current misconceptions about the Soviet Union and its program, these are put forward in a minor key. In the main, it assumes good faith on the part of the Soviet Union in the mutual search for peace it advocates. The report's outstanding significance is in its reflection of the deep distrust by this highly respected group, in military power as an instrument for building peace, and its insistence on the "development of a new faith and a new reliance upon negotiation as a technique in international relations."

J. S.

American Promise—and Performance

BETRAYAL: Our Occupation of Germany, by Arthur D. Kahn. Beacon Service Co., Brooklyn, N. Y. 224 pp. Price \$1.25. Paper cover.

THIS BOOK reveals shockingly the wide gap between promise and performance. Because it deals with the highly dangerous policy the American imperialists are pursuing in Western Germany, its implications are far-reaching for peace-loving people of the entire world.

As chief editor of Intelligence Information of the Control Division of the Office of Military Government in

Germany, Mr. Kahn was in a strategic position to see the workings in U.S. policy at first hand.

The author, a keen observer who evidently agrees with a leading statesman that facts are stubborn things, recalls the high hopes held out for achieving the aims growing out of the victory over fascism through major-power co-operation. He shows how these hopes have been temporarily blasted by a program of re-armament of Western Germany, a revival of Nazism and the sickly blossoming of cartelism.

While studded with incontrovertible facts, the book nonetheless has a racy,

AUGUST, 1951

colloquial quality. The evidence that Mr. Kahn unfolds is melancholy indeed, but his outlook reveals a deep faith in the capacity and will of the peoples of the world to return to the policies that ensured victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese imperialism.

When that is done, the author writes,

"we will again be able to take pride in our national and international policies, working once more with our great wartime allies for the establishment of a lasting peace in the One World and for the elimination of all vestiges of fascism and oppression wherever they exist."

S. G.

Mr. Chamberlin Calls for War

AMERICA'S SECOND CRUSADE, by William Henry Chamberlin. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago. 372 pp. \$3.75.

THE AMBIDEXTROUS Mr. Chamberlin who, quite understandably, feels equally at home in the columns of the Social-Democratic *New Leader* and the *Wall Street Journal*, has produced a book that sounds familiar to students of Pegler, Sokolsky, McCarthy and MacArthur.

The dog-eared theme of this volume, evidently a collection of embalmed essays from Mr. Chamberlin's splenetic pen, is that the wartime agreements made at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam were all "bribes" to Stalin with the

late President Roosevelt acting as the bagman. The obvious inference is that we should fight the war all over again, with the Soviet Union as the target.

Arguing with this viewpoint is like climbing a greased pole. Mr. Chamberlin is a dedicated man: the nature of his "democratic" impulses is best revealed in his *Confessions of an Individualist*: "The Soviet Union," he wrote, "is the only country where I have had to struggle against an occasional anti-Semite impulse," adding that he and his wife "sometimes privately referred to the Jews as 'the dominant race,' and many of the Jewish Soviet officials were decidedly unprepossessing types. . . ." Small wonder Mr. Chamberlin wants that second—different—crusade.

S. G.

CORRECTION IN DR. LAMONT'S ARTICLE

We wish to apologize for a serious proof-reading error in the article by Dr. Corliss Lamont, "Soviet Aggression: Myth or Fact?" published in our July issue.

Dr. Lamont gave us permission to publish as an article a condensation of his new pamphlet published under a similar title.

Our condensation followed Dr. Lamont's text accurately, with the exception of the final paragraph. Dr. Lamont considered our condensation of the conclusion of his article inaccurate and gave us the wording of the paragraph as he wished it to be. We substituted the corrected paragraph, but somehow in the last minute rush of going to press, the incorrect paragraph that

should have been deleted, remained, and the editors failed to catch this error in the final proof-reading. Thus, on page 19, at the end of Dr. Lamont's article, the final paragraph before the concluding sentence, repeating in garbled form the preceding paragraph, should have been omitted.

Dr. Lamont has asked us to explain to our readers that the wording of this paragraph is not what he intended. He particularly takes exception to the phrase "The warmongers have built up an identification between peace and appeasement," since despite the fact that he feels the Truman administration has made many mistakes in foreign policy, he has never considered it or called it "warmongering." J. S.

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Associate Editor of NWR To Tour the Pacific Coast

Sender Garlin To Meet Readers In California, Oregon and Washington

NEW WORLD REVIEW is sending its associate editor, Sender Garlin, on a speaking tour of the Pacific coast early in September, Jessica Smith, NWR's editor, has announced.

Plans for the tour were perfected after numerous requests came from members of the California, Oregon and Washington State delegation which Garlin had addressed at the American People's Peace Congress held recently in Chicago.

The chairmen of the three delegations pledged their fullest support and promised their enthusiastic cooperation in bringing NEW WORLD REVIEW to the attention of thousands of prospective readers on the coast. Few publications today are as vital as NEW WORLD REVIEW in the fight for peace, they emphasized, because of its service in providing the facts and interpretation about the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

Garlin, who returned recently from a successful midwest tour, will cover the entire Pacific coast from San Diego, Calif., to Vancouver, Wash.

Following his visit to the coast he plans to address numerous gatherings including Salt Lake City, Denver, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Cleveland and Schenectady. Included in his itinerary are a number of college towns where arrangements have already been made.

Other groups interested in lecture dates are urged to write to NEW WORLD REVIEW at once.

Garlin was until recently editor of Hotel and Club Voice, official weekly of the largest local of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International, AFL. He previously edited a number of other labor papers. As correspondent in Moscow for four years, 1935-39, he was the only American reporter to cover all three treason trials. His previous visit to the Soviet Union was in 1931. He is the author of many pamphlets and social studies.

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