

# NEW WORLD

FEBRUARY

1952

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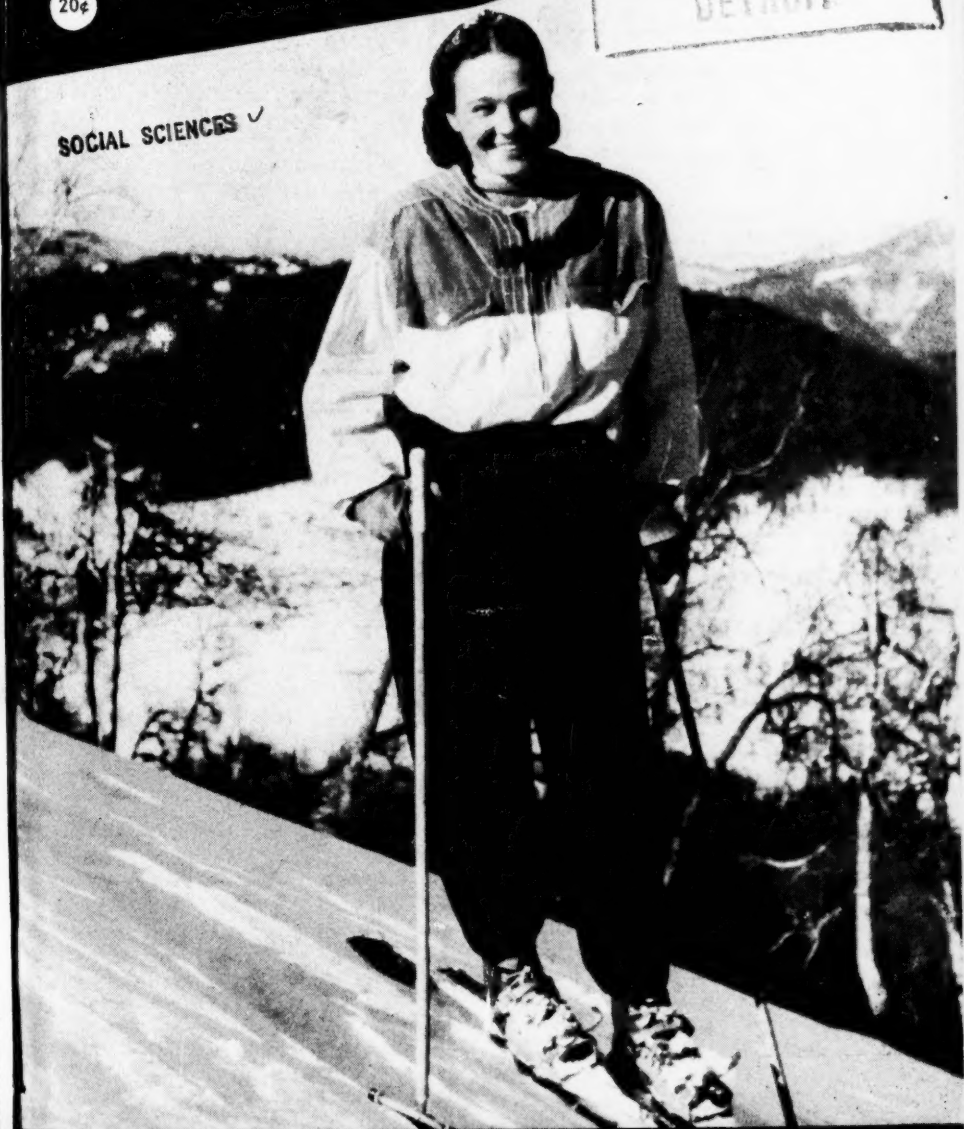
## Review

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## NEW WORLD *Review*

FEBRUARY

1952

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*Photos by Sovfoto and Eastfoto unless otherwise specified*

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## REPORT TO OUR READERS

OUR Associate Editor, Sender Garlin, is back in New York after a highly successful tour of the West Coast, where he spoke in cities and towns all the way from the Mexican to the Canadian border. Peace sentiment on the Coast is growing as the Korean war becomes more and more unpopular, he reports.

The tour included 23 meetings in Southern California, under the auspices of the Peace Crusade of Southern California; 12 meetings in northern California under the auspices of the Northern California Peace Council; 8 meetings in Oregon organized by local peace groups; 12 meetings in Washington State arranged through the Progressive Party of Washington. Mr. Garlin was chief speaker at a state-wide peace conference in Seattle attended by nearly 600 delegates.

Audiences included many trade unionists, professional people, student groups. In addition, Mr. Garlin enjoyed personal contacts with hundreds of individual readers, heard their opinions, criticisms and suggestions for NEW WORLD REVIEW.

The tour brought in a large number of new subscriptions. It demonstrated that NWR has many thousands of potential new subscribers if we can reach the people. It confirmed our opinion that we can double our circulation in 1952.

Of special importance was the fact that through literature sales, lecture fees, collections and contributions the tour not only paid for itself but provided a small surplus for the work of the magazine.

Despite all their pressing local problems the people everywhere took on the extra work of organizing meetings, giving all kinds of helpful cooperation, and with that special brand of hospitality characteristic of the West, opened their homes and hearts to Sender Garlin.

Letters pouring in to our office speak warmly of his brilliant and inspiring talks and of the very great contribution he was able to make in moving forward the work for international understanding and peace.

From Santa Rosa, Calif., a reader wrote: "I want to express my hearty approval of sending men like Sender Garlin into the field in the interests of NWR and, thereby, of peace and understanding in the world." A reader from Palo Alto, who sent \$10 to help defray traveling expenses wrote: "I prize the magazine. It puts heart into people to see the great people's movements succeed, even if they have some faults and failings."

From the fishing and grain port of Astoria, Oregon, came a letter thanking us for sending Sender Garlin there—"His appearance stirred up quite a controversy in the local press."

From Seattle: "We were most pleased with Sender Garlin's tour here. We feel that he did a great deal of good on his visit here."

From Los Angeles: "Your readers and many others were very much pleased and inspired by the talks given by Sender Garlin out here."

Mr. Garlin, in turn, drew new inspiration from these contacts with the American people, new confidence in their courage and their ability to resist the drive against their civil rights and living standards and to defeat the Administration's war policies.

And we in the office are gratified and inspired by the report he brought back, fired with new determination to bring our magazine closer to the people's needs.

Our deepest thanks to all our readers and friends who gave so generously of their time and energy to make this tour a success and to help us make this magazine a more powerful instrument for peace.

J. S.

# LITVINOV-AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

**T**HE DEATH of Maxim Litvinov on December 31 served to focus world attention anew on the unwavering struggle for world peace carried on by the Soviet Union from the first day of its existence until the present.

For the name of Maxim Litvinov is indissolubly linked with the Soviet policies of peaceful co-existence, disarmament and collective security which for so many years he so eloquently and forcefully presented in the councils of the League of Nations and at international conferences.

An old Bolshevik, co-worker with Stalin in the pre-revolutionary days, Litvinov was Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs from 1929 to 1939. In 1933 he negotiated with Roosevelt the agreement that resulted in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He was Soviet Ambassador in Washington during the war years 1941-43. On his return to his country he served as Deputy Foreign Minister and as an elected deputy to the Supreme Soviet until illness forced his semi-retirement.

Litvinov was honored for his long and distinguished services to his country at a State funeral in Moscow, with Deputy Foreign Ministers Gromyko, Zorin and Gusev as the principal pallbearers.

In our country, the same press that consistently maligned Litvinov during his active years, today pretends to honor him for carrying out policies supposed to have been repudiated by his government when Litvinov was replaced as Foreign Minister in 1939. As Dr. Lamont shows in his article

Maxim Litvinov  
1876-1951



on the following pages, the Soviet Government continued negotiations with the West until it became clear that Britain and France wanted no agreement, and only then was the non-aggression pact made with Germany which afforded the Soviet Union the breathing space to prepare for the struggle to come. None knew better than Litvinov that the new tasks forced on his government by the West's final rejection of a democratic alliance against fascism could most successfully be carried on by the then Soviet Premier, Molotov.

Since the war the Soviet Union has continued its consistent struggle for peaceful co-existence, disarmament and collective security. Not the spurious "collective security" the Western powers talk about today while they are in fact splitting the world into two camps and making of the United Nations itself the instrument of aggression by one half against the other, but a true alliance among the great powers for a lasting peace.

The eloquent voice of Maxim Litvinov in the League of Nations was not that of an individual alone. He was voicing the peace policy inaugurated by Lenin at the very inception of the Soviet Union and carried through under the leadership of Stalin to the present moment, a policy determined by the very nature of the Socialist state.

# BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

by

CORLISS LAMONT



—Unations

A. Y. Vyshinsky who in the UN continues to advance the USSR's long and consistent policy of peaceful co-existence

**T**HE Soviet Republic, standing forthright for international peace since its first day of existence, is generally depicted at present in America and the West as a nation bent on aggression and on plotting the military conquest of other countries. This wretched falsehood undermines the rational bases for international amity and cooperation.

There are five main points in Soviet foreign policy. First and foremost, the Soviet Union wants peace above all else in its international relations. Since its founding in 1917, the Soviet Republic has twice gone

through the terrible ordeal of invasion by hostile states. The first time was during the civil war and intervention from 1918 to 1922; the second during the four years of struggle to the death with the Nazis, from 1941 to 1945. In both of these periods Soviet Russia lost many millions in dead and suffered economic destruction amounting to tens of billions of dollars.

The Soviets are most desirous of enduring peace, so that their people can live in security and happiness and put their full efforts into the building of socialism and communism. The dic-

tates of simple self-preservation and sheer self-interest, as well as its special concern for the welfare of workers and peasants everywhere, cause the Soviet Union steadfastly to oppose international war.

True enough, the Soviet Communists are eager to see communist or socialist regimes established throughout the earth. But Marxist theory predicts the eventual collapse of capitalism through its own internal social-economic contradictions and has never suggested that Communist countries should seek by conquest to impose their system on capitalistic countries.

Why should the Soviets favor war, which would be fearfully costly to themselves, to spread socialism, when they are confident that this new order will in due course sweep the earth anyway?

Premier Stalin has again and again re-affirmed the possibility of peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist worlds.

The second point in Soviet foreign policy is that the USSR supports firmly the principle of collective security as a foundation for international peace. The Soviet Union backed collective security unequivocally during the critical pre-war period of fascist aggression from 1935 to 1939.

Time and again during the years preceding World War II, Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov rose at the meetings of the League of Nations, which the USSR had joined in 1934, and called for action against the fascist and Nazi aggressors. On each and every occasion Soviet Russia was unable to obtain sufficient response from the Western democracies to make possible collective measures of real efficacy. The democratic powers, with the states that depended primarily on their leadership, sig-

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nally failed to implement their own formulation of collective security as written into the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Through the Munich settlement the British Tories, with the French menlike-mice following their lead, aimed to isolate the Soviet Union diplomatically, to avoid a military clash with Hitler, to strengthen European fascism as the best insurance against communism and to turn the Nazi war machine east against the Russians. Instead the Anglo-French super-diplomats dug their own graves.

Hitler speedily swallowed up the Sudetenland, but had further plans in mind for the Czechoslovaks. On March 15, 1939, the German army swept into Prague and took over the rest of Czechoslovakia, which the Nazis then incorporated into their Greater Germany. On March 18, the Soviet Government again proposed a conference of European states to institute measures for resisting aggression. At this very late date in history the British Government rejected the Soviet proposal as "premature." With its approval the League of Nations Secretariat suppressed an appeal to the League, so that nobody would be embarrassed by the question arising there.

On March 10, 1939, Joseph Stalin, as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, summed up Soviet foreign policy under four main points:

First, we stand for peace and the strengthening of business-like relations

with all countries. This is our position and we will adhere to it as long as these countries maintain identical relations with the Soviet Union, as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

Second, we stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the USSR. That is our position; and we shall adhere to it as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State.

Third, we stand for the support of nations which have fallen prey to aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

Fourth, we are not afraid of the threats of aggressors and we are ready to retaliate with two blows for one against instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

In spite of the many rebuffs it had received, the Soviet Union was still desirous of working out with the Western democracies common measures for collective security and defense. But the Soviets were becoming restive. In the same speech from which I have just quoted, Mr. Stalin suggested that the dangerous game of the appeasers "may end in serious failure for themselves." And he asserted that the USSR did not intend "to pull chestnuts out of the fire" for anyone.

It was only after the wanton Italian seizure of Albania in April, 1939, that Prime Minister Chamberlain seemingly began to work for a genuine agreement with the Soviet Union. In June he sent a minor official, Mr. William Strang, to Moscow to carry on conversations; and on August 11 an Anglo-French military mission arrived in the USSR after a leisurely trip by boat. Mr. Chamberlain appeared to think there was no hurry.

The hopeful negotiations with the Russians undertaken by this military mission finally broke down when the British and French representatives refused to agree that the Soviet army would have the right to march into Poland and the Baltic states to meet a German attack on those countries or to prevent a Nazi fifth column from taking control.

The Western negotiators said that since Poland and the Baltic nations had asserted they would refuse to allow Soviet troops in under any conditions, it would not be honorable to bring pressure on these governments to change their minds.

Yet only about a year before the Anglo-French partnership had considered it perfectly honorable to submit to Nazi blackmail and to gang up with Hitler in insisting that Czechoslovakia hand over a large slice of its territory to Germany. Furthermore, the League of Nations Covenant it-

The Munichmen who aimed at the USSR but dug their own graves. Left to right: Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, Mussolini, Ciano



—Press Association

self, in Article XVI, lent support to the Soviet demand by stating:

The Members of the League . . . agree that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

I for one have never been convinced that the emissaries of Chamberlain and Daladier—two Prime Ministers who had repeatedly betrayed the principles of collective security—really intended serious business.

Light is thrown upon their attitude by a statement made about the same time by Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador to Germany and personal friend of General Hermann Goering. In his own book, *Failure of a Mission*, Sir Nevile writes that he told Adolf Hitler in August, 1939, that "If an agreement had to be made with Moscow, for whom communism was now merely the cloak for intense nationalism and whose ulterior motives seemed to me highly suspicious, I had rather Germany made it than ourselves."

Sertainly Sir Nevile Henderson got his wish. For the Soviet Government, believing that the Anglo-French terms for a mutual security pact would gravely endanger Soviet defenses in case of a Nazi attack, felt compelled to accept the other alternative: a treaty of non-aggression with Germany. This it signed on August 23, 1939.

The pact was not an alliance any more than was the non-aggression agreement with Japan concluded in April of 1941. The Soviet-German treaty gave the USSR insurance against having to withstand alone a

Nazi assault in 1939 and a valuable breathing spell to strengthen itself for the later invasion. The Soviet-Japanese treaty protected the rear of the USSR during Hitler's murderous attack. Both pacts, even though made with diehard Soviet enemies, seemed justified as hard-boiled defensive strategy in the midst of a most threatening international situation and in view of the life-and-death struggle the Soviet Union was facing.

On September 1, 1939, the Nazi armies marched into Poland and it became clear that the League of Nations had failed in the main purpose for which it was established twenty-odd years before. In 1940, Hitler's blitzkrieg engulfed the Low Countries and France; in 1941 western Russia. Nonetheless, the idea of collective security through a world organization did not down. And it was specifically included in the Polish-Soviet Agreement of 1941 and the Twenty-Year British-Soviet Pact of 1942.

Such an international organization came into being in June of 1945 with the creation of the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference. The Soviet Government took an active part in this Conference and sent a delegation headed by Foreign Minister Molotov.

The United Nations re-affirmed in its Charter the basic principle of collective security and outlined effective measures to bring it about. In the drawing up of the Charter a number of disagreements took place between the different delegations. Noteworthy is the fact that Soviet Russia was willing to compromise, as *The New York Times* pointed out in an editorial, on at least ten important issues in order to assure the prompt and successful establishment of the UN.



—Press Association

At the League of Nations in Geneva, Maxim Litvinov, in 1927, put forward the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament

Whatever its differences of opinion with other countries in the discussions over the UN Charter, Soviet Russia continued to uphold the same principle of collective security for which it had fought in the arenas of diplomacy during the pre-war years. There was no basic alteration in its policy; nor was it to be rationally expected that the Soviet Union would suddenly change from being a peace-loving nation to a war-loving nation.

Yet today we are asked to believe the far-fetched story that the Soviet Republic, having vigorously sought international peace for the first thirty years of its existence, has become all at once the chief fomentor of war in the world.

The third major goal in Soviet foreign policy is universal disarmament, including the abolition of atomic weapons and far-reaching international controls for atomic energy.

The Soviet record on disarmament has been a notable one. At the Genoa Conference of 1922, the first international conference which Soviet Russia attended, the Soviet Foreign Minister, G. V. Chicherin, proposed a general reduction of armaments. At the meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Confer-

ence at Geneva in 1927 the Soviet delegate, Maxim Litvinov, surprised the world by his proposal for general and complete disarmament.

After the formation of the United Nations the Soviet delegation urged, in 1946, a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of the production and utilization of atomic energy for war purposes. In 1948, when the cold war was well under way, the Soviet Government put forward a plan at the UN to reduce the armaments and armed forces of the Great Powers by one-third within a year.

As recently as November, 1951, Soviet Foreign Minister Vyshinsky repeated this proposal at a meeting of the United Nations in Paris. The Western Powers treated Mr. Vyshinsky's scheme primarily as propaganda; and, indeed, the tendency of the non-Soviet world from 1917 on has been to sneer at Soviet disarmament proposals as insincere and designed to deceive. This attitude I am convinced is completely unjustified.

Soviet Russia has upheld the goal of disarmament in order to lessen international fears and frictions, decrease the danger of war and save for constructive economic purposes the colossal sums and energies which go

into the manufacture of armaments.

The absence of unemployment and the general stability of the Soviet economic system is not contingent on the armaments industry, but is based on socialist ownership and country-wide planning. The Soviets consider armaments production an economic waste. Nonetheless, the very real menace of foreign aggression has compelled them to develop a great defense industry and to maintain a large army. It was fortunate for America and the rest of the democratic world that Soviet Russia was so well prepared when Hitler struck in World War II.

Fourth, the Soviet Union believes in normal, flourishing international trade as beneficial to itself and conducive to peace. And the Soviet Government has always considered that substantial trade with the outside world was an important part of its policy of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist countries.

In subscribing to the Atlantic Charter, Soviet Russia went on record with the other United Nations in stating that:

They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

It is no choice of Soviet Russia that these international economic aims written into the Atlantic Charter have been so disregarded since the Second World War. It has re-

gretted the serious drop in trade between Eastern and Western Europe. Actually the far-reaching boycott which the Western Powers, under the insistence of the American Government, have imposed on commerce with the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe has reacted far more to the detriment of Western Europe than of Soviet Russia and its allies. As to American-Soviet business relations, the Soviet Union stands ready to resume normal trade on a reciprocal basis at any time. Of course the Soviets will benefit from such commerce, but the United States on its part will gain just as much.

Fifth in its peace program, Soviet Russia supports the self-determination of peoples.

On November 6, 1942, Premier Stalin, speaking officially for the Soviet Government, said that "the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition" for winning the war must include:

...abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitlerite regime.

While insisting on the sternest possible attitude toward Hitler and all the Nazi criminals who "have turned Europe into a prison of nations," Stalin made clear: "It is not our aim to destroy Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia, but the Hitlerite State can and should be destroyed."

As a member of the United Na-

## Stalin's New Year Message To the Japanese People

**P**REMIER J. V. Stalin, in response to a request from the editor-in-chief of the *Kyodo News Agency*, Kiis'hi Iwamoto, sent a New Year message to the Japanese People. In the telegram, the text of which was released by *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, Premier Stalin remarks that "the Soviet leaders have no tradition of the premier of a foreign state addressing his wishes to the people of another state. However, the profound sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union for the Japanese people, who are in difficult straits because of foreign occupation, impels me to make an exception to the rule and to comply with your request."

Stalin's message continues:

"Please convey to the Japanese people that I wish them freedom and happiness and full success in their gallant struggle for the independence of their homeland.

"In the past the peoples of the Soviet Union have themselves experienced the horrors of foreign occupation, in which the Japanese imperialists also took part. Therefore they fully understand the sufferings of the Japanese people, deeply sympathize with them and believe that they will achieve the regeneration and independence of their homeland, as did the peoples of the Soviet Union in the past.

"I wish the Japanese workers deliverance from unemployment and low wages, the elimination of high prices of mass consumer goods and success in the struggle for the preservation of peace.

"I wish the Japanese peasants deliverance from landlessness and land shortage, the elimination of high taxes and success in the struggle for the preservation of peace.

"I wish the entire Japanese people and their intelligentsia complete victory of the democratic forces of Japan, the revival and advance of the country's economic life, the flowering of national culture, science and art, and success in the struggle for the preservation of peace.

tions, the Soviet Union subscribes to the clause in the Charter which gives as one of the main purposes of the organization:

To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

The Russians are of course keen on the extension of complete self-determination to the colonial areas of the world, and sought to have a stronger formulation on this issue incorporated in the war charter than the one finally adopted.

# Inside a Hungarian Women's Prison

by D. N. PRITT, K. C.

**T**HOSE of us who are fortunate to be guests of the New Democracies come back with our minds full of rich impressions. The knowledge of how ordinary people, in what were, relatively to our own, "backward countries" only six years ago, are changing the face and future of their country and its people, opening new worlds of physical and intellectual development to the young generations, and planning and achieving a new kind of society, awakens in us something like friendly envy, because, with similar chances, we think, we in Britain could do even better.

Why then, after a sunny and varied fortnight of seeing encouraging and creative things and people in Hungary, have I elected to write on the relatively drab subject of a Hungarian prison? Obviously it is much easier to write about the new construction, the enthusiastic builders of the new society, rather than of

the enemies and "social misfits" who are to be found in prisons. I could say much about the former; but I think it is useful to write about the latter for various reasons.

Firstly, because in the course of my political development, I spent many years as Chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform, which seeks to reform prison conditions in Britain, and I thus know the obstacles that lie in the way of reform, and the resistance that has to be overcome even to achieve the modest improvements which a century of reformist attempts has brought in this country, with its capitalist structure.

Secondly, because as a lawyer I was interested to see how a New Democracy deals with crime.

Thirdly, because the treatment of criminal elements is in itself a touchstone of socialist society, where human beings are the most valuable form of capital.

Prisons are supposed to reform those who enter them, and to deter from crime those who might otherwise qualify for admission. In most capitalist countries, where almost anybody who is unwilling to work steadily for his employer's profit is treated as a liability rather than as an asset, expenditure calculated to help prisoners to reform is grudged,

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D. N. Pritt

and public opinion is in general encouraged to forget about them. The difficulties of finding work for them to do in prison that will neither increase unemployment outside the prison nor excite active opposition from those who manufacture or market for profit such things as might be produced in prison, and the corresponding difficulties of finding a secure job in which they can "make good" on release, frustrate the efforts of reformers, make prison life very dreary, and bring about a high rate of recidivism (relapse into prior criminal habits).

In socialist or "socializing" countries, human beings are assets to be nursed back to normal life after anti-social activities, as they are nursed back to health after an illness. Humanity in outlook and conduct is brought into play by the prevailing economy and philosophy. And it is, of course, important that everyone who can produce goods should do so,

for the "effective demand" for goods is almost unlimited in countries where life is run effectively.

All this makes it far more easy for a socialist than for a capitalist country to achieve the aims of prison reformers (which are probably less different on the two sides of the "iron curtain" than are most things). These aims, briefly and almost technically described, are to make life in prison as much like life outside as possible, so that prisoners can return to free life without too much strangeness or difficulty, and to give prisoners "a trade to their fingers," which they can take up on release—all with the object of making it unlikely that they will relapse into crime. One of the best means of achieving these aims is to substitute "open" institutions, with the maximum freedom of movement, for the old-fashioned "closed prison."

I was naturally interested to see in Hungary both a state farm run by male peasant prisoners under conditions of maximum freedom of movement, and a closed prison for women.

On the state farm, the peasants were working in conditions very closely resembling normal life. The main difference was that their contact with their families was limited to visits and letters, that they had of course to sleep in their dormitories, and that they had to submit to discipline—the most ordinary punishment for breaches being that they were stopped from going to work for a day or two!

Their work was normal farm work, paid at little less than normal rates. Their guards were not even to be seen most of the time. And their morale may be judged by the fact that, when they learned that their guards had volunteered to help a neighboring farm out of harvesting

difficulties by working in their rest hours, the prisoners volunteered to do the same themselves.

The women's closed prison was inevitably a little different. Women always present rather special difficulties in prison; the proportion of normally healthy people among them is smaller than it is either outside or among male prisoners; the proportion of women suffering from drugs, alcoholism, or the effects of prostitution, is correspondingly high.

The prison I visited has not been operating on its present lines for more than a year; and it is a closed prison. At the same time, it is a prison in a socialist country, where one can expect a proper and constructive attitude.

So I went with some curiosity to see how the administration which has "open" ideas in every sense of the word was dealing with these special difficulties. (Virtually every male convict in Hungary is already in an "open" institution.)

The building itself is not too bad. The corridors are airy; the cells hold three or four people—with seven or eight in some larger dormitories; and the windows are fairly large.

The women work in workrooms which are well lighted; here, the windows are of normal size and at the normal height, so that the inmates can look out on the street.



The whole place is scrupulously clean and free from smell. (The backward ecclesiastical city of Kalocsa has so far no drainage system, so the prison has installed a special modern type of sewage plant and an air extractor to get rid of smells).

The women work in two shifts in the workrooms. They spend the rest of the time in their cells, and have books and papers to read. In hot weather the cell doors are kept open all night. Discipline seemed firm, but friendly, and the uniformed guards, nearly all women of course, were of a good type. I had lunch with some of



them, and was cross-examined about life in England, both prison and free!

In the factory, most of the women make cotton clothing, from the cutting out stage to the finished garment. They work under trade union conditions, for a little less than trade union rates—"We must make some differences," said the authorities—with fairly up to date machinery, and with all the apparatus of socialist competition, rewards for invention and initiative, and banners for the best workshop.

The money they earn goes partly to pay for their maintenance, and partly to a "liberation" fund for them to take with them when they leave. The rest they can spend or send to their families.

The women are naturally of different types, young and old, intelligent and dull. Their offenses are of all varieties, including political. Some wear prison clothing, but most wear their own clothes. They appeared to be on good terms with the guards and with one another, and talked to visitors about their work quite easily.

There was no fixed scale of remission of sentences, but periodical revision with a view to reduction takes place.

The food, which I tasted, was good both in flavor and composition.

There is not yet any general system of lectures, but they hoped to start some soon; lectures by textile experts, to help them in their work, are already a regular feature. There is no direct political education. At this stage of their "reform," work (and competition in work) are held to provide the best education, coupled with what the prisoners learn of the country's development from letters or visits.

The regulations, strictly, allow only one visit and one letter a month; but privileges for good work take the form of more visits and letters—even up to two of each every week; and the length of visits can be increased as a form of "earned privilege." The old visitors' grille has been abolished, and visitor and prisoner sit at one table.

It is too early yet to estimate what

the rate of recidivism will prove to be. The prison has not been operating on its present lines for very long; many of the prisoners committed their offenses several years ago, and life and conditions in Hungary have been improving rapidly since 1945.

Those who have been released recently or will be released in the near future—and will thus provide the first test for recidivism—will be going out into a world very different from the one they left. They will find a new and growing contentment, stability, hopefulness, pride of achievement, which should enable most of them to make good.

It is interesting to speculate what will become of the prison itself. I prophesy that open institutions for women will be developed, and the prison itself slowly drained of prisoners.

## **WAS THIS IN YOUR MORNING PAPER?**

THE PEOPLE of the German Democratic Republic received a real pre-Christmas treat in early December—a retail price slash that pushed the cost of food and industrial products down from 10 to 79 per cent. Some of the cuts were as follows: prices of meat dropped 25 per cent; fats, 16 per cent; liquors, 50 per cent; electric lamps, 50; shoes, 30.

Vice-Premier Heinrich Rau announced that the price reduction was made possible because the working people of the German Democratic Republic not only fulfilled but exceeded the 1951 economic plan, the first year of the five-year plan in Eastern Germany.

It was about this time that the Bonn Parliament, in Western Germany, adopted a law granting unlimited price increases as a measure of investment aid for the armament industry.

Did your daily newspaper report these two events?

## **EVERYBODY OUT OF STEP BUT UNCLE SAM**

GEORGE MEANY, AFL secretary-treasurer, back from a six-weeks' trip to Europe to attend Executive Committee Sessions of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, was disappointed with European labor's apathy to fighting communism, according to the *New York Times* on Dec. 26. "You get the feeling that only Americans are worried about communism," he said, according to the *Times*.

# A CHALLENGE TO SOVIET ARTISTS

by VERA MUKHINA

**T**HE REALITY of a people's life and their dreams of the future are reflected in truly advanced realistic art. The Soviet people understand and value the beauty of life, the genuine splendor of artistic creation. It is up to our cultural organizations and our artists to find the criterion of contemporary beauty, to seek out the elements which make up our conception of the beautiful. Education in our country has developed a broad audience that approaches art with fine appreciation and exacting standards.

In the past art was the domain of a small, select group of the rich. Today, beauty has become the vital necessity of the entire Soviet people because they are given every opportunity to learn and develop their interests. Their esthetic needs, inherent fine taste and artistic ability receive unlimited possibilities of growth.

In our country the urge for beauty is enormous. The people display great interest and concern in the tremendous construction going on all over the country.

Our old cities are undergoing a complete rejuvenation, and new cities spring up not only in the central part of the country but also in the remote regions, far beyond the Arctic

Circle, in the depths of the taiga, in the hot southern deserts.

Moscow is growing and constantly changing: new districts appear in the capital, the streets are widened, tall buildings are erected. The subway has become not only a major means of transportation but also an important factor in esthetic education with its marble walls, columns, sculptural groups, mosaic floors—so different, for example, from the Paris metro where drab walls are covered with garish advertisements.

A city's face is not determined alone by its architecture. A city's statues, triumphal arches, obelisks, fountains tell its story and enrich our understanding of it. They reflect the attitude of a people toward memorable events and great men, they express the prevailing ideas and artistic aspirations of the time.

The new heroic epoch must find its visual expression in lofty decorative forms. When approaching this problem, one must be fully aware of the difference between "ornamental art" and "ornamental artiness." To the degree that the first enhances the beauty of life, the second robs it of beauty, ruins architectural ensembles and propagates bad taste. True art is never mere superficial ornamentation.

Awarded the title  
People's Artist of  
the Soviet Union,  
Vera Mukhina has  
won acclaim for her  
sculpture both at  
home and abroad



Structural purity suffers from needless ornamentation. We need beauty in life as we need air, but it is not to be found in superfluity. Genuine beauty is never excessive.

It is unfortunate that builders of our cities often pay insufficient attention to the esthetic problems of architecture. They tend to limit the whole problem to its purely utilitarian, technical aspects, without considering its content and esthetic factors. On the Moskvoretsky Bridge, for example, the architectural conception called for large sculptural groups. The sites were provided, but the statues were never erected.

Appropriate ornamentation of city ensembles lends artistic effectiveness to an architectural site. Conversely, excessive ornamentation defeats this purpose and can end in a triumph of vulgar taste.

The monument is one of the basic decorative forms in architectural planning. Since it is the embodiment of a people's attitude to a certain person, it must be convincing, and have both inner meaning and nobility of image. To do this effectively

the artist must be complete master of his craft and utilize every device of his medium.

Certain criteria and methods of meeting them have been developed in regard to the monument as an art form. The limited expressive means intrinsic to sculpture has led to what might be described as the integration of a sculptural work with landscape. Sculpture needs an actual architectural or scenic ensemble.

When planning a monument it is necessary to meet the following conditions: an historical site which corresponds to the theme of the monument, and a proper stylistic environment.

Disregard these conditions, and the monument is robbed of its effectiveness. Thus, the statue of Ivan Fedorov, the first printer, suffers greatly because it stands in a crowded corner against an unsuitable background.

We are called upon to make our cities beautiful. A triumphal arch, for instance, is one of the most ancient and festive forms of ornamental architecture. I would like to

see triumphal arches and obelisks commemorating our outstanding events erected in cities and in the countryside.

The architectural designers of the Volga-Don Canal have found novel ways of using the triumphal arch. Erected against the background of the vast Russian countryside, they assume new monumental expressiveness and lend even greater epic beauty to the surrounding landscape.

We have completely forsaken such effective ornamental treatment of walls as the scroll. Architects of the past used this magnificent ornamental method to great advantage in a variety of ways: they set them in a cartouche, ran them along walls crossing over bas-reliefs, and wove them around a column or obelisk. The curious passer-by could pause to read the brief but exciting legend of the events which the structure commemorated.

Scrolls can be used in our time to immortalize the heroic efforts of the builders of communism. One can visualize the stone walls of sluices and dams inscribed with the names of the builders who, from the remotest corner of our vast land, came to fulfill the historic task of reforming nature.

A fitting architectural-decorative treatment of the great Constructions of Communism presents a creative challenge of unprecedented scope.

The sculptural art of every nation has its own peculiarities in the use of materials. Moreover, each new epoch, and especially our era of tremendous industrial construction, creates new demands with regard to materials. Unfortunately, there is a certain inertia among our artists when it comes to seeking new materials and trying them out.

Plastics, for example, have not

been used for works of large monumental proportions, although they could probably produce very novel and striking results because of their very properties of plasticity, lightness and durability. It is high time architects and sculptors experimented with plastics for monumental effect.

Glass, a splendid plastic material, has only recently found its application in subway construction. But surely it has broader possibilities. Its very transparency may suggest many original and exciting uses.

The natural resources of the Urals and Siberia represent an inexhaustible treasure. The Urals has always been famous for its incomparable vases of stone, malachite, jasper and nephrite. With little expense, though with real initiative and love of the work, this craft could be resurrected and elevated to the highest level. Decorative vases by Urals stone-cutters would then become available to adorn our parks and public buildings.

Although cast stone has long been known and is among the most durable of materials, it has not been applied for decorative purposes. Even such proven material as stainless steel is not sufficiently used, despite the fact that its incomparable qualities of lightness and ductibility are admirably suited for large, high statues.

The Committee on Arts, the Committee on Architecture, and the architects and sculptors themselves must be experimental and open-minded about the use of new materials.

A community of interest and effort has been established between scientists and innovators in industry. We must develop the same relationship between scientists and workers in art. Such community of



Soviet Pavilion at the Paris Fair, 1937. The sculptural group is by Vera Mukhina, author of this article

effort will result in greater creativity. For example, the statue "Worker and Woman Farmer," a sculptural group of stainless steel, presented a great many problems in terms of space, dynamics and stability, and could never have been accomplished without the use of the new material and engineering skill.

The tasks of monumental art in our age are so many-faceted that they require the creative cooperation of architects, sculptors, scientists, skilled workers and public organiza-

tions. The latter must be the moving force and lend actual assistance in carrying out various projects. The great role art plays as an instrument of mass education makes it imperative that Soviet and public organizations show greater concern for esthetic problems. Moreover, there is an urgent need to raise our demands in regard to quality of work. Quality is the criterion of culture.

The finishing of materials is of primary importance, therefore we cannot tolerate negligence of form or of finish.

Life moves ahead; to reflect it art must keep pace with progress and develop new forms. Cohesion between form and content, necessary in all art, is often violated when new content is squeezed into old forms.

We frequently find it difficult to part with old forms. Our eyes are used to their set appearance, so harmonious in the proper epoch and still possessing certain historical value. It is wrong, however, to transfer mechanically from one era into another, forms that have not been worked over, because in the past they expressed different ideological demands and came into being under conditions of different building technique.

Each architectural style has its own rhythm. This rhythm is the product of its age and the culture of its people. The outstanding feature of our old Russian architecture is its folk quality and its peculiarly Russian ornamentation. The rhythm and theme of an ornament always reflects the age which produced it.

Ornament is an integral part of a people's life. Along with the development of general culture, it undergoes various changes through the ages, but it stubbornly preserves its major national features. Hence, the amazing phenomenon of close simi-

larity in ornamentation among peoples of Slavic extraction. Folk ornament (Russian, Czech, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Polish), extremely rich and varied, still retains its peculiarly vivid folk character despite foreign influences and periods of occupation.

Ornamental folk motives develop on the basis of the materials prevalent: carving on wood or stone, embroidery, forging, chasing. To use these motives indiscriminately for ornamentation of new forms in new materials is to forsake any style.

An innately Russian style of wooden "terem" architecture was forced out by baroque and rococo styles imported from Western Europe. The ornateness of these styles did not conform with the severe Russian simplicity and they found application strictly as styles of palace architecture. Quite the contrary is true of the classic style. Its severe lines were quickly adopted by Russian architects and, as early as the end of the eighteenth century, we witness the birth of the mighty Russian Empire style which, in fact far excelled its West European prototype and had very little similarity with it. This style, because of its extraordinary simplicity and harmony of forms, became intrinsically bound with the Russian landscape, both urban and rural. Its wide use in most diverse structures, from palaces to small dwellings, soon made it the classic Russian architecture.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Russian architecture was again subjected to the influences of fashionable Western trends which culminated in the impotency of a style known as "modern." This played a destructive role in architecture: the modern style did not know how to handle truly decorative elements, and

everything about it was superficial and art.

Neither tsarist classicism nor the ornate baroque can reflect the artistic image of our age.

Soviet life with its great, daring plans demands equally courageous efforts in the field of decorative art.

The search for style is especially important when working on large thematic objects. The significant nature of the content will of itself demand new forms. Commencing with the development of large forms, the artist will logically follow through to the development of smaller forms and ornaments. With the adaptation of these formal (but not formalistic) discoveries to the works of art, the formulation of the Soviet style will progress more rapidly into the field of domestic objects, because style is also a unity of large and small objects. The search for the novel will not be limited by discoveries of new themes alone but will inevitably lead to the evolution of new forms.

In the early stages of our architecture we went through a period of Constructivism, which was introduced under the pretext of being "economical" and "modern." Our art suffered a real set-back during this period, because formalistic exercises in "originality" were substituted for the search for new forms. This trend appeared under the influence of reactionary Western art in which formalistic devices dominated the image. The destruction of the image is fully acceptable to bourgeois artists for they are only hindered by the truth.

As for us, we must ruthlessly expose formalistic trends which lead the artist away from objective reality. We call our art Socialist realism because it expresses the truth of our life.



Architect's drawing of the portal of the first lock on the Volga side of the great Volga-Don Shipping Canal nearing completion in the Soviet Union

Our people, who have won great battles and are enthusiastically building a new life, want to immortalize their deeds and to continue their victorious building of the Communist society. They need a great life-affirming art, an art of people's joy and happiness.

In our era of great transformations one cannot keep pace with life without having a larger view of things, without analyzing and generalizing. However, we Soviet artists at times fail to see things in this light. We must work and create more daringly, more imaginatively.

The October Revolution has swept away all the barriers of the old regime. Man looks with greater vision at life, he achieves higher levels of interests and broader horizons.

In the past man expressed his worship of nature through classical art.

But we live in an age when nature reveals its secrets to us and, tamed by the masterful hand of man, yields her riches. Therefore such themes as the bounty of our land and our transformation of nature must be the major subjects of our artistic expression.

Our people are engaged in the building of a Communist society, they live in an atmosphere of free, creative labor, they are waging a noble but gigantic struggle for peace and happiness for toiling mankind. The people should be able to see great works of art, not only in the galleries and museums, but out in the streets, on the city squares, in stadiums and parks, and on the walls of public buildings.

Slightly abridged translation from  
*Pravda*, Sept. 19, 1951.

# Poland Rears a New Peasantry

*Agrarian reform, establishment of cooperatives, modern machinery and farming methods and cultural facilities have brought a new life to the farmer*

by R. WESTGATE

TO appreciate the tremendous significance of a recent statement by the Polish President Boleslaw Bierut that "today there is no starvation in the Polish village . . . nor unemployment, nor necessity to wander about in the world seeking bread," it is necessary to recall the appalling conditions of the Polish peasantry during the inter-war years.

It has been estimated, for instance, that the agricultural surplus population in Poland in 1937 was no fewer than 5,000,000 and that by 1939 the figure had reached 8,000,000. It is worth remembering, too, that this staggering number of people redundant in rural economy was in spite

of the thousands who sought to escape the misery of their own country through emigration. Even during a period of agricultural boom, from 1927 to 1929, no fewer than 400,000 people left Poland.

A decline of nearly 50 per cent in the consumption of industrial goods on the part of the rural population between 1929 and 1936 reflected the pauperization of the peasantry which went on unchecked.

It was the agrarian reform carried through between 1944 and 1946 that constituted the first step toward freeing the productive resources of the Polish countryside and laying the basis for raising the whole standard

A field lesson in agrotechnique at the State School of Agricultural Mechanics in Gorzow. Modern farming methods have already resulted in higher crop yields



of life of the peasantry. This reform eliminated the features of the former Poland ruled by the great landowners. It liquidated large estates and distributed about 17 million acres among 900,000 families of farm laborers, poor peasants and others.

The Plan of Economic Reconstruction, covering the years 1947, 1948 and 1949, was the framework in which the first important steps were taken towards improving the lot of the Polish peasantry. During the war agricultural property had been devastated to the extent of 35 per cent of its 1939 value, 20 per cent of all the farms had been destroyed and mining and fortifications had reduced the area of arable land by nearly eight million acres.

In spite of these enormous difficulties, the main objects of the plan were realized—that is, the problem of waste land was virtually solved, yields from farm land and livestock production were increased and the basis was created for an exportable surplus of agricultural products.

The way was thus cleared for the present Six-Year Plan to build the foundations of socialism in Poland. It is against the background of this plan and the "struggle for the socialist transformation of the countryside" that the present position of the Polish peasant has to be considered.

The producer cooperatives merit first attention in spite of the initial stage of their development—they are established in less than 5 per cent of the villages and include no more than 2 per cent of the peasants.

There are three types of cooperatives in Poland today. The simplest kind is based on no more than collective cultivation and harvesting. Members have the right to own their own land and can if they choose market their own produce. The latter is di-



Magdalene Figur, tractor driver on the Blotnik State Farm, exceeds her norm by 160 per cent

vided according to land and work contributed.

In the second type—the most common—all the cultivated area is joined together and livestock and machinery are pooled. Each member has the right to own his own portion of land, as in the simplest type of cooperative, and has the right to withdraw if he should wish to do so. Work is carried on collectively and it is the duty of each member to work for not less than 100 days each year in the cooperative—a provision made necessary because membership in the cooperative is not necessarily the sole means of livelihood as members can retain up to just over two acres of land for their private use in addition to two cows and other livestock.

Work in the cooperative is paid for in accordance with norms decided by

members (there is a differential scale which takes into account the nature of different kinds of work). Of the produce not more than 20 per cent is devoted to investment in such things as new machines and buildings, from 20 to 25 per cent is divided among members on the basis of the land they have contributed and from 10 to 15 per cent in accordance with stock, machines and agricultural tools put as the disposal of the cooperative. Something like 60 per cent of the produce is shared on the basis of work done by member families.

The third type differs from the second only in the division of the produce. The basis of this division is much simpler and clearly shows the more advanced nature of the cooperatives. Not more than 30 per cent is devoted to investment and the remainder is shared on a straightforward basis of work done.

The number of producer cooperatives had reached 2,872 at the beginning of February, 1951, and, together with State farms, they make the socialist sector of Polish agriculture equal to 11.5 per cent of the total agricultural production.

As in all the New Democracies, it has always been stressed that producer cooperatives can develop only on the basis of a completely voluntary decision by the peasants themselves. Clearly it is by example that the peasants can most effectively be won over to the idea of cooperative farming and considerable impetus has been given to the movement in Poland since cooperatives which took part in the 1950 sowing gathered harvests from 20 to 50 per cent above those of individual peasants in the same neighborhoods. Another important factor has been the visits paid by some 1,000 peasants to Soviet col-

lective farms. Also, the State farms are working examples of what mechanization and modern agricultural methods can achieve.

Cooperative machine centers established throughout the country by branches of the peasants' own organization, the Union of Peasants' Mutual Aid Societies, have already brought modern agricultural machinery within the reach of the Polish peasantry.

State machine centers—now numbering over 200—make equipment available to producer cooperatives and groups of peasants wishing to cultivate their land collectively. Tractor production, the basis of mechanized agriculture, is increasing steadily and is expected to reach a yearly output of 10,000 to 12,000 in 1955. There are over 28,000 machines available in the country today.

The standard of living of the Polish peasants, now as never before closely linked with the standard of living of the urban population, has made impressive advances since the end of the war and is scheduled to rise at an even greater rate during the course of the Six-Year Plan.

The planned increase in agricultural production is between 35 and 45 per cent—to be achieved through extensive mechanization, rural electrification, the teaching of modern agricultural techniques and organized assistance to poor and medium peasants.

Especially important from the point of view of the peasants' living standard is the scheduled increase in commodity production (that is, production in excess of the peasants' own requirements and therefore for sale) which will sell at more advantageous prices than ever before. By 1948 the peasants' wheat was already exchanging for 50 per cent more

fertilizer and 100 per cent more farm equipment than in 1938. Similarly, between 1949 and 1950 purchases in the countryside of a variety of industrial goods such as pottery, chairs, textiles, shoes and soap rose by amounts varying from 50 to 500 per cent.

Another development bringing hitherto unknown benefits to the peasants is the extension of electricity to the Polish countryside. From the liberation to 1949, 11,450 villages and rural settlements were supplied with electric power, this being double the achievement of the 20 years between the wars. The Six-Year Plan provides for the electrification of a further 8,000 villages.

The spreading of education was perhaps one of the most neglected of all problems in pre-war Poland. Neglect, land-hunger and unemployment, undeveloped industry and the sheer absence of means for educational and cultural activities were some of the insuperable obstacles until agrarian reform prepared the way for radical changes. The reform provides for the setting aside in each community of sufficient land for the building of schools and there are many evidences of the use that the peasants are making of the educational opportunities they now have for the first time.

Cinemas, libraries and other educational and cultural facilities are all constantly becoming more numerous in the rural areas and playing their part in the great battle to overcome the legacy of the past.

The Polish peasants have their own political party, the United Peasants' Party, which was formed in December, 1949, when the then existing parties—the Peasant Party and the Polish Peasants' Party—merged. At the present time the party has about



Electricity comes to a Polish village. From liberation to 1949, 11,450 villages received electricity; 8,000 more will have it during the Six-Year Plan

25 per cent of the seats in the Polish Parliament. There is the closest co-operation and understanding between the United Peasants' Party and the Polish United Workers' Party in carrying out the program laid down in the present Six-Year Plan. It is worth noting, too, that peasants and agricultural workers in the Polish United Workers' Party number some 200,000.

Nobody would pretend that the life of the Polish peasant—any more than that of his counterpart in the other New Democracies—is idyllic. He still faces many difficulties and inconveniences, but the progress he has already made can leave him in no doubt that they are very definitely obstacles on an upward path.

(From the *New Central European Observer*, December 8, 1951)

# Genocide Stalks the U.S.A.

by

PAUL ROBESON

**O**UT of the lessons of the barbarities of Nazi Germany, the voice of outraged mankind caused the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt a Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

The opening statement of this historic petition dispels the generally held misconception that the crime of genocide can be charged only when there is mass extermination of a people.

As defined in the United Nations Convention, genocide includes "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction in whole or in part."

It is not difficult to understand why this Convention has never been ratified by the Senate of the United States. This book,\* in fact, reveals that a determined effort has been made by white supremacy to block U.S. signature. From the openly terrorist Ku Klux Klan to the more suave spokesmen of the American

Bar Association, there has been a brazenly open recognition of the applicability of the convention to the treatment of the Negro people in the United States.

Let anyone review the history of the Negro people of these United States. Tens of millions sacrificed in the slave ships and on the plantations. Till this day terror stalking this great people, not only in the South, but in the Peekskills, Ciceros, Detroit. Constant warning to stay in "your place," accept the serf-like status imposed by a resurgent Dixiecrat South brazenly waving its Confederate flags in this year of 1952.

How parallel to the condition of another great people—the Jewish people of Nazi Germany. During the trials at Nuremberg—the very base of the genocide convention—I was chairman of a delegation to the President of these United States. A leading church-woman observed in this conference that we could not morally sit in judgment at Nuremberg while

\* **WE CHARGE GENOCIDE: A Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government Against the Negro People.** Edited by William L. Patterson; Staff: Richard O. Boyer, Howard Fast, Yvonne Gregory, Dr. Oakley Johnson, John Hudson Jones, Ruth A. Jones, Leon Josephson, Steison Kennedy, Elizabeth Lawson. Published by the Civil Rights Congress, New York, 1951. 240 pp. \$1.50 (Paper Cover); \$2.50 (Cloth Bound).



Paul Robeson

lynchings were rampant in the South (this was 1946), while an Isaac Woodard (a World War II vet) had his eyes gouged out. The President said the Nuremberg trials had "nothing to do with the South," that ours was a domestic problem. I observed that the history of Nazi thought proved that they had learned much from the South, that a straight line led from Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama to the Berlin and Dachau of Hitler.

I stood in Dachau in 1945 and saw the ashes and bones of departed victims. I might have seen the ashes of some of my brothers in Groveland, Florida, just the other day—or in Martinsville a few months back.

And when we come to other aspects of genocide—of stifling the growth of a whole people—of holding them in constant threat of "operations kill-

er"—there can be no such evasive answer.

The very reason for the Genocide Convention is to prevent the destruction of a people. The daily lives of the Negro people testify as to the "intent" of their persecutors. The business of the United Nations is to exercise its powers to remove this threat and terror.

While the Voice of America beams its hypocritical concern for the welfare of the peoples behind the so-called Iron Curtain, the Genocide Convention remains unratified by the U.S. Government. But our failure to sign could not block the adoption of the Convention. By January, 1951, the requisite number of member nations had signed and it is now binding on our government.

Now that the Convention is in effect, the State Department is trying to move it into its war arsenal. Not an issue of the *Sunday Times* seems to go by without a sob story in which some groups of fascist emigres charge genocide against the Soviet Union or the new democracies which have ended national oppression and outlawed racism.

William L. Patterson, National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, has added still another contribution to his magnificent record in the struggle for Negro freedom by seeing that the Genocide Convention must become a weapon for liberation of his people.

The American people will some day take pride in the fact that at a time when the United States Government was the driving force behind the oppression of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, it was boldly called before the bar of world opinion by progressive Americans who exposed its pretensions of "democracy" and proved it guilty of

genocide within its own borders.

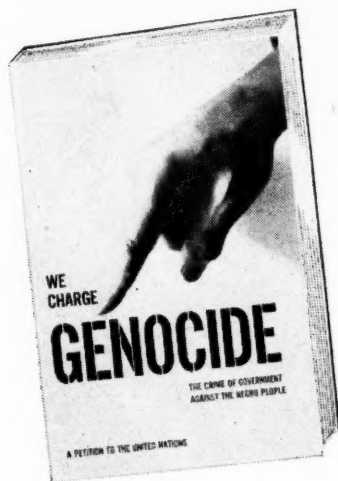
The demagogues and apologists for white supremacy will never be able to brush this document aside. The facts gathered here are irrefutable. Every assertion has been documented.

And since the publication of this petition, we can add the bloody documentation of new genocidal acts like the murder of Harry T. Moore, an N.A.A.C.P. leader, and his wife on Christmas night in Florida, and the mockery of the local authorities and the ballyhooed FBI pretending inability to apprehend those responsible for this brazen act of terror.

The *Baltimore Afro-American*, a leading Negro newspaper, has revealed that the State Department asked Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to attack this petition. Instead, in his syndicated column, Mr. White declared, "The United States has been hit in its most vulnerable spot by *We Charge Genocide*, an appeal to the United Nations by the Civil Rights Congress. . . . The most immediate and effective step is for the United States to plead guilty to the charges." Of course, Mr. White went on to expound his usual gradualist credo about how "the other side should be given the widest possible publicity."

We, the people, charge genocide. We, Negro and white petitioners, declare that jimcrow and segregation are a genocidal policy of government against the Negro people. The proof is all in this monumental book—the lynchings condoned and encouraged by government officials, the killings by the police authorities of state, the legal lynchings by the courts of our land, the racist laws. The violence and murder are all stamped with the government seal.

Yes, and economic genocide too, the



Jacket of the Petition

silent, cruel killer. The petition presents all the terrible data—the death toll in Negro ghettos, the prevention of access to medical treatment, the unemployment and the discrimination in employment, the denial of education. Out of the government's own statistics, the petition makes the accusation:

"More than 30,000 Negroes die each year in the United States who would not have died if they had been white. In addition, the Negro people are robbed of more than eight years of life on the average."

This petition does more than present facts. It digs into the meaning of these facts and bares the motivation for the anti-Negro genocide. "It is genocide for profit. The intricate superstructure of 'law and order' and extra-legal terror enforces an oppression that guarantees profit. . . . The prime mover of the mammoth and deliberate conspiracy to commit genocide against the Negro people in the United States is monopoly capital.

Monopoly's immediate interest is nearly four billions of dollars in superprofits that it extracts yearly from its exploitation and oppression of the Negro people."

We have filed our petition with the United Nations not only on behalf of the 15,000,000 Negro people in the United States but, also, in the interests of all humanity. For we know that genocide at home inevitably develops into the genocide that is aggressive war. As Patterson declares in his introduction, "The Hitler crimes of awful magnitude, beginning as they did against the heroic Jewish people, finally drenched the world in blood."

While this book was still in preparation, a delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation went to Korea and saw with their own eyes how the American government was practicing genocide against a colored people struggling for their independence.

The horrifying report of the women's delegation and this petition be-

long side by side. Both are weapons in the same struggle for peace and freedom.

In the short time since its publication, the charge made in this petition has already begun to be heard in Europe, Asia, and Africa. But most of all, it must be heard and supported within the United States. All Americans who work for peace and civil rights must read this book, sell it in their communities, use its rich documentation and absorb its penetrating analysis of the meaning of the struggle for Negro rights in relation to the fight for world peace.

We of the true progressive America have the deepest and most sacred obligation, to our own land and to the people of the world, to preserve and hand on the honest traditions of our fathers—traditions of full equality for all, of the need to live in friendship and cooperation with all ways of life—reaching toward the fulfillment of the profoundest aspirations and hopes of all human kind.

## **HIGH ITALIAN MAGISTRATES JOIN PEACE FORCES**

THREE high ranking magistrates—Giovanni di Muro, First President of the Italian Court of Appeals; Alfredo Occhiuto, Prosecutor General of the Supreme Court; and Modestino Petrozziello, President of the State Council—have joined the Italian Partisans of Peace movement, it was announced at a recent public meeting in Rome.

## **CZECHOSLOVAK INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT RISES**

ALL ROUND industrial progress was reported by President Klement Gottwald in a radio address opening the New Year. Output of industry as a whole in 1951 was 12.7 per cent greater than that of 1950, and two-thirds greater than in 1937.

In Slovakia alone, industrial production increased 19.2 per cent compared with 1950, and was three and a half times as large as in the pre-war year 1937.

Individual sectors of industry in Czechoslovakia showed the following increases: heavy industry, 14.3 per cent; light industry, 6 per cent; food industry 18.6 per cent. The national income increased 10 per cent compared with the preceeding year.

# People's Record Holders Get Set for the Olympics

by STEVE MURDOCK

**I**N DAYTONA BEACH, Florida, on December 1, 1951, Richard B. Walsh, a representative of the U.S. State Department, delivered a long speech before the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States in which he accused the Soviet Union of "juggling" sports records and being "win-happy" in international competition.

He closed his remarks on this note:

"We wish the Soviet athletes were free to compete as our athletes are. We would like to meet them—win or lose. We would like to meet them in a spirit of fair play. We sincerely hope this will be possible in the forthcoming Olympic Games."

On January 5, the Soviet Olympic Committee Chairman, K. Andreanov, formally cabled Baron Erick von Bracknell, chairman of the Finnish Olympic Committee, that the USSR will be represented in summer Olympics, at Helsinki, July 19-Aug. 3. Walsh had his wish.

The cable signaled the completion of the cast for the greatest international sports festival in the world's history—an event that could be of immense significance in the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace.

Walsh, for all the stereotyped State Department slurs he hurled at the Soviet Union, could not ignore

the significance of the XVth Olympiad as a force for peace.

"You have in your hands," he told the AAU, "the finest tools for building the kind of understanding that one day will bring genuine peace."

More nations than ever before, including for the first time the Soviet Union, will be assembling under the multi-ringed Olympic banner and the Olympic torch in the stadium at Helsinki—built originally for the war-cancelled games of 1940.

There will be 54 nations competing at Helsinki as compared with 53 in

Vladimir Kazantsev (USSR) who thrice bettered the Olympic record for the 3,000 meter steeplechase during 1951





Czech distance runner Emil Zátopek who in 1951 established four world records in a single race

London in 1948 and only 39 at Los Angeles in 1932. Thus, more of the world's fine athletes than ever before will gather in a single city—in a world threatened again by the prospect of war—to demonstrate the potential of the peoples of the world for peaceful co-existence.

Indeed, were it not for war, there would have been three more Games in the modern era. The 1916, 1940 and 1944 Olympics were cancelled because of war.

Mythical "iron curtains" will be pulled aside at Helsinki and the athletes whose records Mr. Walsh says have been "juggled" will put their abilities to common competitive test with those of the "Western" world.

Comparative marks in Olympic events for 1951, assembled by a U.S. source, *Track and Field News*, indicate athletes from the Soviet Union and the New Democracies will acquit themselves well at Helsinki and perhaps place the XVth Games among the most record-producing in history.

For example, Emil Zátopek, the tremendous Czechoslovak distance runner, who was a star at the 1948 Olympics in London, is better than ever. On September 29, 1951, at Hou-

stka stadium, 20 miles outside Prague, he performed one of the greatest running feats in athletic history when he established four world's records in a single race. He surpassed by more than six seconds his winning time in the 10,000 meters in the London Olympics and then kept going for twice that distance.

The fifth annual world ranking of track and field athletes (men), assembled by *Track and Field News*, places athletes from the Soviet Union or the New Democracies among the first 10 in 14 out of 19 events on the Olympic program.

Vladimir Kazantsev of the USSR thrice bettered the Olympic record for the 3,000 meter steeplechase during 1951, once by 14 seconds, while his teammate, Mikhail Saltykov, twice beat the Olympic standard.

The official U.S. Track & Field Guide for 1951-52, published by the AAU, shows that five out of 19 women's world track and field records are held by Soviet athletes.

Heino Lipp of the USSR, who ranked third among the world's shotputters; is also given a chance of dethroning Bob Mathias of the U.S. as Olympic decathlon champion.

Even sceptics among U.S. experts are willing to concede that the USSR will be the "team to beat" in women's track and field competition, but some of the other performances may come as a surprise, particularly to those who have become accustomed to U.S. athletes romping off with a major share of the medals in men's track and field competition.

The USSR can also be expected to

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**STEVE MURDOCK**, long a well-known track man, and sports writer on California newspapers, is now on the staff of the *Daily People's World*, in San Francisco.

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field strong competitors in wrestling, boxing, swimming and soccer.

Here are some of the athletes from the USSR and the New Democracies who stand good chances of winning Olympic medals:

- Zátópek, rated second in the world at 5,000 meters and first at 10,000, stands a fighting chance of capturing the "double" he missed at London when Gaston Reiff of Belgium beat him in the shorter race.

- Vladimir Sukharyev, Soviet sprint champion, ranked third in the world at 100 meters and 10th at 200, has equaled the Olympic record of 10.3 for the shorter race and could win this classic event.

- Vaclav Cevona of Czechoslovakia, who was fourth in the 1,500 meters at London and was ranked 10th in the world last year, has an outside chance in the "metric mile" at Helsinki. He has run 3:50.

- Vladimir Kazantsev, who was ranked ninth at 5,000 meters and 10th at 10,000, will be the pre-meet favorite in the 3,000 meter steeplechase with a world record shattering 1951 mark of 8:49.8 as compared with the Olympic standard of 9:03.8. His compatriot, Saltykov, has a top time of 8:57.6.

- Yuriy Lituyev of the USSR, who ran the 400 meter hurdles in 51.7 during 1951, was ranked second in the world by *Track and Field News* and, together with his teammate, Timofey Lunyev (who ran 52 flat), must be considered in contention for the Olympic crown being vacated by Roy Cochran of the U.S. (Olympic record, 51.1).

- Pyotr Denisenko, Soviet star who ranked 10th in world pole vault standings and ninth in the decathlon, beat the Olympic record by  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch when he pole vaulted 14 feet 4 inches during 1951.



Heino Lipp, of the USSR, is a serious contender in the decathlon or in the shot put—or perhaps in both

- Leonid Scherbakov of the USSR, who had a top 1951 hop, step and jump mark of 50 feet 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, is still two feet shy of world record distance, but he would have been third at London and could win at Helsinki.

- Heino Lipp, whose 1951 shot put of 55 feet 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches is only 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches below the Olympic record, is a contender in either this event or the decathlon—or perhaps both.

- Ferenc Klics of Hungary, rated fifth among world discus throwers, has a top mark of 169 feet 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It's almost 10 feet better than the throw he got off for fifth place at London.

- Imre Nemeth of Hungary, the defending hammer throw champion; Jiri Dakak of Czechoslovakia, J. Csermak of Hungary and Georgi Dybenko of the USSR are all rated among the first 10 in this event and must be considered contenders.

- Yuri Scherbakov of the USSR, with a top throw of 235 feet 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, rates seventh among the

world's javelin throwers and could have won at London with a toss like that.

• Vladimir Volkov of the USSR has scored 7,106 points in the decathlon, enough to have won him a second at London. Denisenko, the pole vaulter, has scored 7,023.

To these performances add those of the women, and the potential is indicated. E. Tochenova of the USSR won the Soviet women's shot put championship at 47 feet 10.8 inches this year, more than two feet better than the winning women's distance at London.

In fact, so vigorous was Soviet women's competition in 1951 that two world record holders, N. Smirnitckaya in the javelin and Nina Dumbadze in the discus, did not win their events in the Soviet national championships.

The new Soviet discus champion, N. Romashkova, threw the women's discus (lighter than the men's) 163 feet 4 inches—almost 26 feet further than the women's winning distance at London.

These are the athletes who, in a



Nina Romashkova (USSR) threw the discus 163 ft. 4 in.—26 ft. farther than the woman's winning distance at London

spirit of peace and fair play, will place their "juggled" records on the competitive line at Helsinki.

And it is no accident that the Czechoslovak government describes the modest Zátópek, one of the greatest athletes of all time, as a "protagonist for peace."

## **QUENCHING A LONG THIRST**

OVER 60,000 people are attending literacy classes throughout Albania this winter. This thirst for knowledge is seen in the striking fact that in the last few years 150,000 Albanians have learned to read and write. Before the liberation, only a half dozen years ago, 80 per cent of the Albanian people were illiterate.

## **WOMAN ORDAINED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

FOR THE FIRST time in the history of the Slovak Lutheran Church a woman has been ordained a minister of the Gospel. She is Darina Bancik who, together with ten other theologues from the Bratislava Seminary, was ordained in June.

## **CHINA MAKES PENICILLIN AND STREPTOMYCIN**

EAST CHINA People's Pharmaceutical Works is producing large quantities of penicillin and streptomycin. The penicillin, now available in Shanghai drug stores, is cheaper than imported brands.



## WINTER SPORTS IN THE U.S.S.R.

Vladimir Preobrazhensky, Moscow medical student and outstanding slalom skier, in the Caucasus where he spends his winter vacation



Ice-boating is popular from Moscow, Leningrad, other cities, taking kilometer races on the G

Dynamo team of Riga meets Soviet Army team of Moscow in a lively hockey game



These Kirov nursery kids have their own winter sports, too



# SPORTS THE USSR

Maria Isakova thrice has held the world championship for all-round speed skating. Here she is training for the gruelling 5,000 meter race



is popular. These boats, from Leningrad, Archangel and other ports, are taking part in a 15-day race around the Gulf of Finland

Outdoor skating rink in Moscow Park of Culture and Rest is always busy

On the slalom run at Bakuriani, the Caucasus, a devotee tries her skill



A sleigh ride! But they get it every day, for the sleigh picks them up after school and carries them home. That's part of the fun of living in the village



Rural school children try out their skis. Who knows, perhaps among them is a future champ?



On their way to the starting line. One of the women's units of a mammoth nationwide cross-country ski race which includes thousands of Soviet skiing fans

# **Business Moguls Wanted Trade With China**

**But Dared Not Say So Publicly**

by VICTOR PERLO

**L**AST FALL presidential hopeful Harold Stassen blasted the Far Eastern policies of various State Department officials and advisers. There followed the charges and counter-charges so common in Washington these days when politicians compete in insane proposals to destroy the New China. Much of the argument revolved about a conference held in October, 1949, at which twenty-five business men, professors, and others advised the State Department on U.S. policy toward China. In order to prove that it opposed China as strongly as did Stassen, the State Department was finally forced to release the minutes of that conference\*. But its actual contents remained suppressed by the newspapers and radio.

The reason is that the record is dynamite for both sides in the controversy. Stassen exposes himself as one who brazenly desires to create an American Empire in the Far East with its capital in Bangkok and U.S.

airplanes flying American flags covering the Asian skies. George Kennan, the chief State Department briefing officer at the conference, and now Ambassador-designate to the USSR, proposes to achieve the same effect through the disguise of a U.S.-controlled Japanese Empire in Asia. Kennan, formulator of the cold-war policy, admits the non-aggressive character of the Soviet and Chinese regimes, while Stassen admits that no country in Asia will threaten any western country for generations. General Marshall admits that his agents tried desperately but vainly to find the slightest shred of evidence of Soviet interference in the Chinese Civil War, and that the Chinese Communists tried by all means to avert that war.

Various participants openly discuss the espionage and diversionary activities of U.S. missionaries, business men and other "unofficial" persons in China and the Far East generally, which shows the insincerity of recent cries of persecution when such gentry have been apprehended.

The State Department calls a con-

\* Transcript of Round Table Discussion on American Policy Toward China Held in the Department of State October 6, 7 and 8, 1949, 514 pp., issued by Department of State Division of Central Services, Washington, labelled *Confidential*, Classification canceled.

ference to discuss relations with China and announces to the conference that it is breaking off all relations with China. Most participants show a complete failure to understand the ability of the Chinese people, with their own government, to convert their weak and backward country into a great power within a very short period of time.

But all this is not the most important part of the record. History is exposing the policy urged by Stassen and followed by Truman better than any quotations. The people of this country want a new policy of friendship, trade and recognition towards China. *The record shows that leading businessmen in foreign trade thought likewise two and one half years ago, although they did not venture to say so publicly. This is the*

Rail depot near Canton where bananas await transportation to the north-east parts of China 2,500 miles away



most vital part of the record for today's problems.

The positive discussion of trade with China was opened up by Ernest B. MacNaughton, Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank of Portland, Oregon, and a leading figure in the state's industry and public affairs:

"We will never get this world going unless we start trade and I would start trade with Communists in China until I found out they were impossible to do business with."

Opposing the argument that one should not trade with the Chinese because they have Communist leaders who denounce capitalism, he told of a customer who had tried to sell machinery to a mill man. The customer came to MacNaughton and said: "I had a terrible time. He called me an s.o.b., but he did it in a nice way, so I sold it to him anyway."

The banker's comment, and sound advice to the State Department, was: "You let trade alone. As long as it makes a deal that is a deal that will stand up, we will take care of ourselves."

J. Morden Murphy, an official of the Bankers Trust Company, a Wall Street bank in the Morgan sphere of influence, took a similar position and criticized the State Department for its planned closing of consulates.

William R. Herod, President of International General Electric, the most important U.S. firm in international trade and investment in the electrical industries, said:

"I have a very definite feeling that we should not discourage U.S. trade with China because its political government happens to be Communist except in so far as those particular war or strategic materials are concerned which might be used in a military sense against us. I think it

A trade union group meets in a textile mill to discuss the news, technical problems, working methods and their plan of work



would be most ill-advised to do it. I don't think you could do it effectively to the disadvantage of the Chinese . . . I don't believe it would obtain a political objective of any greater security for the U.S. or following any objective of the U.S. there."

He noted that despite difficulties (resulting from the U.S. sponsored blockade) his company had just shipped a power plant for a cotton mill on the Yangtze: "The thing is there and we have received the dollars and I would be inclined to think that that would be a legitimate sort of thing to undertake and do."

Perhaps the officials of General Electric remember the days of the great depression when production of turbines for the great Soviet hydroelectric project Dnieprostroi were vital to keep factories going. Perhaps they realize that countries building socialism constitute the only certain peaceful markets for capital goods.

The views of these business men found overwhelming support at the

meeting. The main opposition came from John D. Rockefeller III, who crudely urged the cutting of trade with China in the hope of worsening the economy, bringing about starvation, and thus "discrediting" Communism. Columbia Professor Nathaniel Peffer rightly pointed out that such a course would discredit America, not Communism. However, Rockefeller's view is typical of the line of the oil trusts, the most aggressive international profiteers, whose recent gains are based on the spreading of U.S. troops and fomenting of armed conflicts all over the world.

General Marshall tried to convince the advisers that recognition of China would cause internal political trouble in this country. Not content with a rambling speech on the subject, he followed up with a whispering campaign on the individuals present. Mr. MacNaughton said that he had been convinced of the desirability of recognizing China, but after listening to Marshall's whispering for several days, he thought it better to watch and wait awhile until public opinion became ready. He feared that Oregon might "blow up."

Mr. Peffer, arguing for recognition of China, and its admission to

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the U.N., exposed those who falsely equated special big business interests with public opinion:

"Are we going to go along against our better judgment because momentarily Portland . . . and one building in Rockefeller Center—you know what I mean—lifetime fortunes—because they will blow up? Let them blow. . . . If this country—the most powerful in the world at the most dangerous time in the world—is at a stage in which the government is hog-tied against its better judgment because some people are going to blow up, then God alone help the Republic. That is all." (Applause).

Mr. Herod evoked still more enthusiasm. He urged recognition as soon as the People's Republic obtained control of the machinery of state:

"I think it is rather amusing. We recognized Russia and Yugoslavia. We recognized everybody else. . . ." After noting the historical futility of tsarist Russia refusing to recognize the rebellious American colonies, (other speakers pointed to the uselessness of our government's prolonged non-recognition of the Soviet Union) he went on:

"My own experiences in China since the war have indicated that the Chinese people, with whom I have had very many contacts, even though not Communists, are so fed up with the former Nationalist regime that they definitely want that out no matter what happens and I don't think we should be hitching our wagon to a descending star on any ideological basis. I think we have to be bright and practical people—"

From the floor: "Hear! Hear!"

Mr. William S. Robertson, President of American and Foreign Power, the international section of the Morgan electric power empire,

made one of the most interesting contributions. His firm owns the Shanghai Power Company, which was severely damaged by Kuomintang pilots using U.S. planes. Robertson read a letter from his Shanghai manager, Paul Hopkins:

"The authorities are all significantly honest, hard-working individuals, who live on the barest essentials of food and clothing. . . . I have found them all intelligent, very frank in discussing problems, and most of them with a good sense of humor.

*"There is no question but that it is a new type of people who, if not subject to outside pressure, will ultimately bring great progress to China. [My emphasis—V. P.]*

"To my mind, the pessimistic future stems from the increasing breach which has developed between China and America. There are arguments on both sides, but, in my opinion, the passage of time has seemed to confuse the issue and eliminate realistic thinking which bodes ill for everyone. . . . The almost daily bombing activity of the K.M.T., and the increased miseries caused the Chinese people by those activities against non-military objectives constantly irritate an open sore. Grant it to be un-Anglo-Saxon to deny an ex-war partner, but evidence would seem adequate that that partner has for several years served its people so ill that it has been rejected by its own people. America is now contributing indirectly to the miseries of those people. Recognition should be withdrawn [from Chiang Kai-shek—V. P.] and the blockade of the coast broken."

The State Department officials listened and poured cold water. The Administration ignored the recommendations of its advisers, and followed the line of Rockefeller, Stas-

sen, and Dulles. Two and one half years have passed. The whole foreign policy of our government became centered around hostility to China, the blockade of China, the seizure of Chinese territory (Taiwan), attempted aggression against China (bombings and the Korean war). More than 100,000 American soldiers have been killed or wounded. The living standards of our people have been reduced. Our country is overloaded with armaments and heading to economic disaster. The bankruptcy of the Government's policy in the Far East is apparent to everybody, and is attacked even by those who shared responsibility for it in the first place, but now seek to gain political capital from its collapse.

The ordinary people of America are more and more speaking out for the restoration of normal relations with the New China. But the big businessmen of America, with a few exceptions, are quietly raking in today's billions while tomorrow's collapse stares them in the face. Working people are fighting back against the persecutions of the Stassen-Dulles-Rockefeller police agents. Can it be that the infamous team of MacCarran, McCarthy and McGrath have intimidated the MacNaughtons, the Herods and the Robertsons?

This year 35 per cent of the business of General Electric is war business. But Philip Reed, the company's Chairman, warns that the armaments program is going too far, and urges a halt. Apparently Mr. Reed, among many others, is concerned.

Would it not be better, Mr. Reed, to build turbines for hydroelectric projects on the Yangtze than to produce materials for atomic bombs to drop on Shanghai?

Mr. Herod, you objected when the State Department conference refused



Hsu Chin-chai, crane operator at the Fushun State Colliery, was awarded a banner for a one-year safety record

to consider your project for building hydroelectric power plants in Asia. Is it not time for you to speak out publicly, as you did two and one half years ago privately, for trade and recognition of the New China?

Mr. Robertson, is it not yet time to help the public know that the new Chinese Government serves the people and leads it to a great future? Would it not pay to urge the unfreezing of Chinese funds, the ending of the blockade, the payment for damages done by American planes—would these steps not hasten the restoration to profitable operation of your Shanghai properties?

Mr. MacNaughton isn't it true today that, far from blowing up, Port-

land would welcome the restoration of peaceful relations with China? Isn't it true that unemployment is again rising in the Northwest, that trade with China is even more important than in 1949?

Mr. Pepper, is it not time to call for trade with and recognition of China in the magazine section of the *New York Times*, with the same forcefulness you showed in the State Department conference?

Mr. Kiser, the Spokane lawyer and corporation director; Mr. Decker, of the International Missionary Council; Eugene Staley, of the World Affairs Council of Northern California; Professors Colegrove of Northwestern, Vinacke of the University of Cincinnati, Holcombe and Reischauer of Harvard, Quigley of Minnesota, all spoke for trade or recognition or both. Is it not time that not a handful, but scores and hundreds of professors and officials of organizations take an open, public position on these issues, without fear of the Rockefeller-

lers and their ilk who control too many—but not all—purse strings?

Mr. Owen Lattimore, Mr. Rosinger, of the American Institute of Pacific Relations—you who were damned by the Stassens and McCarthys for agreeing with the forthright statements of business men and professors at the State Department conference—is it not time to fight back publicly *on the main issues*, to help the people of America take Far Eastern policy out of the hands of the arrogant and ignorant empire builders?

More and more thousands, and millions of Americans, trade unionists, farmers, professionals, are joining and will in the future join in the active campaign for peace and friendship with China. The support of the big business executives, with whom we differ on many vital issues—is welcome on this issue which is so central to the future of our country, to the very existence of millions of our people.

## **RECORD RICE CROPS IN CHINA**

OVER THREE TONS of rice to the acre is a yield that was undreamed of in China's agriculture. But more than 200 peasant households in Siaoan, near Tientsin, have reached or exceeded this production level. The secret: adequate and timely application of fertilizer. For years, Siaoan has provided Tientsin and Peking with China's finest rice.

## **SOVIET RAIN MACHINE WORKS EVERY TIME**

A NEW Soviet machine, operated by electricity, picks up irrigation water and hurls it with great power, the water then falls over a wide area like natural rain. A single unit, Soviet engineers calculate, makes the "rain" fall on 16 acres of crops. The units are mobile. Replying to the question, why make rain if irrigation water is already there, Soviet scientists of the Irrigation and Drainage Institute, proved that all crops grow better if watered by rain instead of irrigation ditches. Grain yield increases 150 per cent; some crops ripen two to three weeks earlier.

The French people are—

# Ripping Down a Curtain of Lies

by ALDEN TODD

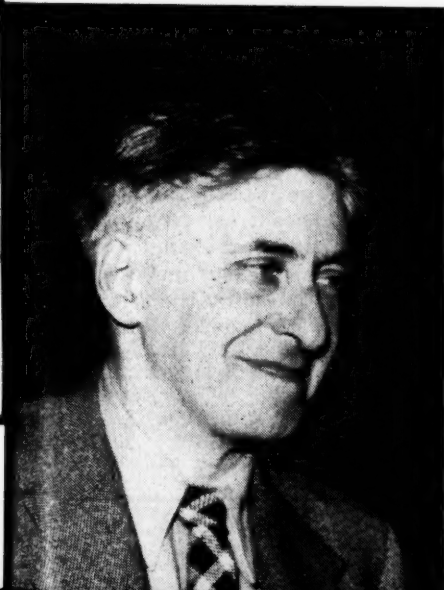
**I**T WAS nearly 1,400 miles from Moscow, but the voice of the great Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, eloquent and forceful, came clearly into that railroad worker's front room where I was visiting a year ago. In the northern French town of Douai, a hundred yards from the railroad tracks which had been torn up by bombs in 1944, we sat and listened. In faultless French, Ehrenburg told his friends in France, among whom

Ilya Ehrenburg

he had lived for several years before the war, how deeply his Soviet people wanted peace. Thousands of others in French homes must have been stirred by that plea for peace, delivered as ground was being surveyed for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization headquarters just west of Paris.

The people of France, spurred by their need for peace, have steadily been ripping to shreds the curtain of lies behind which reaction has tried to hide the socialist sector of the world. Since France and her 41 million people are at the heart of the North Atlantic alliance, the fact that anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda is yielding to truth is of capital importance for the peace of the whole world.

The series of French governments which have been in power since the cold war began and the reactionary propertied interests backing them have done their best to keep out the truth. The U.S. government has spent billions to bolster France as an anti-communist political, economic and military force. But the 1950's are not 1938 and 1939. The French people have changed greatly since the time of the Munich pact and the phony war.



France has a powerful progressive movement, with deep historic roots in home soil, striving toward the establishment of socialism in France. This movement is quite naturally interested in the progress of socialism abroad. It is spearheaded today by the Communist Party of France, which in every general election since the liberation from the Nazis has polled between 26 per cent and 30 per cent of the popular vote. But it also includes many persons who are neither Communists nor sympathizers with the Communist Party. This movement is far stronger than it was before World War II, in large measure because the socialist world showed its strength in defeating the Nazi armies and thus playing a vital part in the liberation of France.

In addition to those who are striving for socialism, a group which includes most of the industrial workers and a sizable proportion of the small peasantry and intellectual middle class, there is a growing number of French businessmen interested in commercial relations with Eastern Europe. Many have been injured by the cold war, through the choking of east-west trade, and want to find a way to get along with their eastern neighbors simply so as to stay in business. With coal jumping 50 per cent in price in one season and dire shortage ahead, for example, they are eager to buy Polish or Donets coal.

To French people of widely divergent views on domestic matters it is becoming ever clearer that the campaign of hostility to the socialist world is being dictated from Washington. Public opinion is steadily focusing on the problem of keeping others from starting a war into which France would inevitably be dragged.

As far as the French press is concerned, reaction controls most of the daily circulation. But what is significant for a western capitalist country is that a policy of friendship and peace with the socialist world is advocated by daily papers having 13 per cent of the circulation in Paris and environs, and 11 per cent in the provinces. The proportion of the people reached by these papers is higher than these figures indicate because most of their readers can afford but one newspaper daily whereas wealthy people can and do buy two or three reactionary papers.

Three of the minority papers are Communist Party organs; eighteen are non-communist progressive papers supported by the working class in general, and by small farmers and professional employees. The latter group also have the moral backing of the most powerful union federation in the country, the Confederation Generale du Travail, or CGT.

These newspapers carry news of the socialist world to all corners of France. They tell the truth about price cuts in the USSR while prices are soaring in France (35 per cent in the past year). They tell of atomic energy being exploited for peaceful purposes, of land-hungry peasants receiving their own plots of ground and what they are doing with them. They carry pictures of reconstruction in Warsaw, Stalingrad and Budapest—which contrast strongly with the lack of building even to replace postwar deterioration under French governments pursuing the cold war.

Printed matter devoted to peace

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ALDEN TODD is a news reporter who has written for labor papers in the United States. He recently spent 15 months in France writing and studying.

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Representing broad sections of France, delegations and individuals visit the USSR and return to tell of their impressions. This is a delegation from the Union of French Women watching the May Day parade on Red Square, Moscow



and friendship with socialism can be found in great variety in France. There are many books from the pens both of French writers and foreigners, describing life in Eastern Europe. These are sold at prices within the reach of working people. Among the Sunday papers, which are largely magazine in form, the Communist *l'Humanité Dimanche* enjoys the fourth greatest circulation in the country—between 450,000 and 500,000 copies, all sold by volunteer vendors on the streets.

Then there are non-communist progressive weeklies such as *Regards*, a general interest picture magazine with 70,000 circulation; *La Vie Ouvrière* (Workers' Life), circulated among industrial workers, 300,000 copies; *Le Peuple* (The People), official weekly of the CGT; and numerous weeklies devoted to the arts, youth and women's problems, sports, literature, radio, motion pictures, etc. In addition there are monthly organs of groups such as the Franco-Soviet and Franco-Hungarian Associations.

The screen is another medium by which the French have spread the truth about socialism. Most important are films from the Soviet Union, although recently some films from

the People's Democracies have also been shown. The government has refused permits for some of these films to be shown commercially, but various organizations, ranging from temporary committees to such well established groups as the CGT and the Franco-Soviet Association, have arranged highly successful private showings. In May, 1951, it was estimated that more than 200,000 had seen the film *Michurin*, based on the life of the great Russian agronomist, in private showings since January 1, 1950.

Soviet films have also been highly popular among hundreds of "cine-clubs," organizations scattered all over France devoted to bringing good films to their membership on a private basis.

It is worth noting that only one Hollywood film devoted directly to creating ill-will toward the Soviet Union has been shown in France. That was *The Iron Curtain*. The film was tried out briefly in but one theater, and that on the swank Champs Elysées in Paris, stamping ground of well-to-do businessmen, foreigners and diplomats. Spectators raised such a protest, despite dozens of police both outside and inside the

theater under orders to rough up anyone expressing disapproval, that the film was withdrawn and never shown elsewhere in France.

One medium of communication over which the government has complete control in France is radio broadcasting—but it cannot control radio listening. Almost all the ten million radios in France can pick up foreign stations, including Radio Prague, Budapest, Bucharest and Moscow. In recent months these stations have broadcast a series of programs in French, publicized under the title "The Voices of Peace." They stress the need for peace and friendship between eastern and western Europe, and in particular between the French people and their neighbors. The weekly magazine *Radio-Liberté*, with 35,000 circulation, gives "The Voices of Peace" full publicity, as do all other democratic publications in France.

Another important development has been the organization of a broadcasting station (presumed to be somewhere outside France) which every evening carries a program "This Evening in France." This is not a foreign station directed toward French listeners, but rather an all-French affair. It features talks by trade unionists, farmers, members of the National Assembly, journalists and others whose progressive views ban them from the government radio system. These recorded programs are devoted to bringing to the people truth which the French government censorship does not permit, on both foreign and domestic affairs. By all evidence they are heard by far more people than tune in on the "Voice of America" carried half-hourly each evening on the government system.

To literally thousands of people in France the Soviet Union and the

new democracies are not places they have merely read about or heard about.

In the summers of both 1950 and 1951, many people, both individually and in groups, visited Eastern Europe on their vacation time.

A number of groups arranged by French unions reported on their experiences to the entire union membership through articles in the union papers. In addition, the CGT has encouraged individual workers to use the factory lunchrooms to deliver talks on their experiences, show photos they have taken and answer questions. In hundreds of French workshops and factories today there are men and women constantly answering slanders about the socialist countries with the authority of eyewitnesses.

This past summer and fall *Le Peuple* ran a series by members of a delegation of leading CGT officials who went to the USSR for May Day and the ensuing month. The president of the French electrical workers union described the development of electric power in the USSR, in comparison to that of France. A leader of the Paris subway workers gave his impressions of the Moscow subway system. A woman union official discussed the position of women in Soviet industry, and so on.

The composition of these French delegations is significant. They include Communists, to be sure, but they also include Catholics, independents, Socialists and others. In many cases, reports in union papers are written by the most conservative members of the group, as was the case in the articles appearing in *Le Peuple*.

Nor is this see-it-for-yourself program limited to trade union officials. A party of French doctors toured Soviet hospitals and clinics last sum-

A great variety of literature in France is devoted to peace and friendship with socialism and to the truth about life in the USSR and the People's Democracies



mer, returned in September and published a report on progress in Soviet medicine. Bernard Paumier, a peasant leader and former deputy (member of the National Assembly) from the Blois area, wrote on recent improvements in Rumanian peasant life which he observed in August. His report was carried in the Communist peasant weekly *La Terre* (The Soil) which goes into 170,000 farm homes. A group of thirty children of French miners and longshoremen spent their vacation in Poland at the invitation of Polish unions. In November, the CGT sent off a delegation of rank and file workers to various socialist countries as a prize for outstanding work in signing up new members in CGT unions.

Nor "screened" before they go, except by the fact that they want to make the trip, assisted in seeing what they wish but not taken on the mythical "guided tour," these French visitors have returned with impressions of all sorts.

But on certain points they appear to be unanimous. These are: that neither the people nor the governments in Eastern Europe express any desire for war; that no signs of war preparation, either physical or psychological, have been observed; that the material conditions of life (housing, real income, medical care, etc.) are improving; and that the French

reactionaries and their allies have been trying to drown the truth with lies.

Despite difficulties caused by the French government, such as refusing visas to certain visitors at certain times, there is traffic in the other direction. No one in France who reads the papers could avoid learning during the past year that Soviet weightlifters came to Paris and made a most impressive showing in the world's championships, or that Soviet teams came to France and swept the European amateur championships in men's basketball and in men's and women's volleyball. Nor did they miss the fact that teams from the People's Democracies, newer at these sports, made a most creditable showing. And the sports pages last August were full of the exploits of the Czech runner Zátopek who became the first man in history to cover 20 kilometres in less than an hour.

French music lovers who followed the International Music Festival in Brussels late last spring marveled at the performance of three young Soviet violinists who walked off with first, second and fifth places in a large field. Students of agricultural science in France have organized a group called "The Friends of Michurin," the purpose of which is to improve French agriculture by appli-

cation of the principles and conducting experiments along lines worked out by Michurin and his disciple, Lysenko. This organization has set up an experimental station, publishes literature and enjoys the sponsorship of a distinguished group of French scientists.

This account can conclude appropriately with the experience of a young woman, Olga ———, who works in the Paris area. She left her native Czechoslovakia, she said, for fear of communism. Olga is from an upper middle class family, but earns her living now as a maid in the rented home of an American Marshall Plan employee. Because she had not heard from her family in more than a year, Olga readily spread the story that she feared for their safety, that she was certain they had been jailed or deported.

But recently she received a letter from her mother in Czechoslovakia. The mother wrote that the local government had placed the family home under requisition, since it was con-

sidered too large for a small family to occupy alone. But, the mother wrote, out of deference to her age and infirm condition, the authorities had neither turned her out nor moved others into the house. Olga's brother, far from being imprisoned, had been deferred from the army because he was studying architecture. Recently he had finished his studies, received a good job and was happy at his new work. Finally, the mother wrote, a branch railroad line had been extended to their home town, the first time a railroad had ever come into that immediate area.

The letter was a revelation for Olga, as well as for the Marshall Planner's family where she worked. To a large degree it destroyed a tissue of fear and hostility which several years of propaganda and frustration had woven in her mind. In the same way truth is steadily penetrating the ragged curtain across Europe, and is assuring the fact that the people of France will never march in an anti-socialist war.

## **THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE**

PREPARATIONS for the International Economic Conference which is to meet in Moscow this April are now under way in many countries, following the meeting of the Initiating Committee held in Copenhagen on October.

The purpose of the Conference is to promote peaceful cooperation between the different economic and social systems existing in the world today and to find ways of opening up mutually advantageous trade relations. It will be attended by economists, industrialists, farmers, merchants, engineers, trade union and co-operative leaders representing diverse political views.

In many countries of Eastern and Western Europe and the Middle and Far East preparations to send delegations of leading people are under way. Prominent industrialists and businessmen of India and Pakistan have signified their intention to attend. National preparatory committees have been set up in these countries, and also in such countries as Syria, Lebanon, Iran, the Scandinavian countries, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, France, Italy, Argentina and Colombia. Representation from the United States is also expected.



"They listened while Shvyriev read John Wood's letter to them"

## YOUNG AND OLD—THEY REPLY TO AN AMERICAN

by RALPH PARKER

**L**ET ME TELL you about a letter a certain John Wood of New York City wrote to Andrei Shvyriev, constructional steel welder of Moscow, and about the events that letter caused to happen. A year has passed since, but I have only recently learned the story from one well acquainted with the characters concerned.

At that time Shvyriev was welding in the upper story of the new 32-floor skyscraper on the Moscow River embankment. I suppose it was the mention of his name in some article in the New York newspapers that caused Wood to write.

Shvyriev cannot read English so he gave the letter to his son, Victor,

then in the eighth grade, asking him to get it translated by his English language teacher, and bring it to him at the building site in the afternoon.

The translation in his pocket, Victor turned up at the site during the luncheon break. It was a boy of his own age whom the foreman instructed to accompany him aloft.

"Anton Zubar," his companion introduced himself. "Plasterer." His thin face, with round light brown eyes, wore a rather melancholy expression. He looked with undisguised scepticism at Victor's slightly built figure, at his school satchel and wind-breaker.

Anton Zubar, whose father was

killed on the approaches to Moscow in 1941, only had four years at regular school. Then he went to a trade school for training building workers. In his last year there he was put to work halfdays on the new skyscraper. His mother and two sisters live just outside Moscow so Anton boarded at school. He discovered that Victor's school was almost next door to the dormitory.

He looked at Victor: "And what brought you here?"

Victor took the envelope from his pocket. "It's from America. I took the stamp off. I don't know if its worth putting in my album yet though." Zubar seemed to be trying to restrain his curiosity. He paused before taking the envelope.

"Do you get many from there?" he asked.

"It's the first from America. But not from abroad, of course," Victor replied. "Czechoslovakia, Rumania, France, Italy; Father's had letters from all those countries. Not as many, of course, as we get from our own people. . . ."

Beyond the sixteenth floor the steel frame-work of the skyscraper was uncovered. At the twenty-fifth the boys stopped for a breather. Through the girders they could see all Moscow. . . .

At last they reached the top of the skyscraper. Three welders were at work. One was Victor's father, a broad-shouldered man with a heavy moustache. He read the letter carefully. "Hey, Comrades, this is interesting!" he exclaimed. "Let's knock off for a while."

He put his fingers to his mouth and whistled shrilly.

"Hey, highest of all in Moscow! Vasilievna!" he called to the occupant of the cabin of the crane above them. It was a young round cheeked girl

who looked down at them. She was eating an apple.

"Come and eat your lunch here. We want some advice!" Shvyriev called. The girl climbed down. The other two welders, young sunburned men in blue overalls, joined the group. They listened while Shvyriev read John Wood's letter to them.

It was a long, disjointed and not a happy letter. Words written from the heart of an anxious and bewildered old workingman. He had read, he wrote, that Moscow was building skyscrapers but someone had told him that "it was only propaganda" and he was inclined to believe that,



"It was written by an anxious and bewildered old working man"

because with so much talk of another war impending, who would seriously think of building skyscrapers? John Wood's son was a steel welder, too, but out of a job, and all he could think of now was joining the army.

Wood then asked Andrei Shvyriev whether it was true that the Soviet people wanted to fight the Americans, as he read they did in the newspapers. He said the American people were peace-loving folk and didn't want to fight anyone, though, he went on, the war-like atmosphere in New York today was having a very

bad effect. And he cited the example of his grandson, Johnny, who was nearly at the bottom of his class at school and had taken to rough play in the streets. "I'm afraid to think what it may lead to. He came home with knife cuts yesterday," he wrote.

When Shvyriev finished reading, Vasilievna asked him to repeat the passage about Johnny.

"So that's how their bandits begin life," she commented.

"It's not the old man's fault. It's the system that prevents people growing up straight," Shvyriev replied rather severely.

One of the welders joined in. He sat on a girder a little higher than the rest: "You ought to reply very carefully, Andrei," he said, taking his pipe from his mouth. "Over one hundred million of us have signed the Stockholm appeal. Every grown-up in the Soviet Union. And here's an American workingman still thinking we want to fight them. The old fellow ought to be ashamed of himself. He should know better. I'd say you ought to write very sharply."

But Shvyriev did not agree. "Oh, Senya, when will you learn how to help people?" he replied good humorously. "Don't you realize what this letter means? For people like John Wood we are the only ones he can turn to for advice. You don't realize yet how much responsibility we have."

"That's right, Andrei," Vasilievna added. "Comrade Vyshinsky wouldn't be grateful for Senya's way of replying. That's not the Soviet way."

"I propose replying roughly like

this, friends," Shvyriev was serious now. He held the letter before him and spoke as though he were addressing John Wood face to face.

"Now look here, old man! You're quite right when you say I'm young enough to be your son. My father was killed in 1915, in the first Imperialist War. And he, like you, was a man of peace. If you, grandpa, still have any doubts about whether your signing the peace petition will do any good, then remind yourself that over one hundred million men and women in the Soviet Union signed too. My mates and I are building a house for 700 families. Perhaps if I do my job well, I shall live there myself with my own family. We are working a Peace Watch. You ask, who would build skyscrapers in these days? From where I work I can see six being built. . . . Something along those lines," he said to the others.

On the way down Anton was unusually silent.

"And what about young Johnny?" he asked his companion at last. "Don't you think we ought to write to him?"

Victor's response was not very eager. He explained that he was having some trouble with his algebra and that his father had advised him not to take on any extra work until he had turned the four on his school report into a five.

"There'll be time later on," he said.

"When you fight for peace in the world, every second counts," Anton replied sternly, and then added a little shyly, "I didn't think of that myself. It was Joliot-Curie who said it."

They parted good friends. Anton invited Victor to come to a concert the technical school was holding. He was to sing in the choir.

It was during the intermission at

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---

this concert that the matter of writing to Johnny arose again.

"What shall we write about?" asked Victor.

"First, we'll tell him what we are learning and doing. Then something about the future. It's absolutely necessary to have something about that."

Victor was making notes.

"Will two pages be enough, do you think?" he asked.

"It's not a question of paper but of content," Anton reminded him. "For example, what do you mean to tell him about yourself?"

"I'll say I'm planning to go to the University to major in geography," Victor replied. "That's already decided."

"And I'll write how I'm going to get to the Building Academy one day," Anton said. The idea had only just occurred to him but now that he had given it voice, it seemed as if he had decided long ago. "Yes, there is a Building Academy," he added hurriedly. "You can study there without interrupting your work."

And so, discussing their plans for the future, these two Moscow lads sketched out their letter to Johnny Wood of New York. And there the matter was left for a time. Victor became involved in improving his algebra mark and in Anton's mind grew the idea that the projected letter was so important that it warranted a consultation with the rest of his friends.

Some days passed. Meanwhile Andrei Shvyriev had handed the original letter from John Wood to a Moscow newspaper where it appeared with his reply.

Shortly after, there was held a routine meeting of the Komsomol, the Communist Youth group, at Victor's school. The secretary, a boy in the

tenth grade, referred to the case of Johnny Wood of New York as described in the newspaper. "It's our duty to help that American boy," he said. "We ought to write to him very frankly. Try to make him realize his mistake."

Victor told the meeting that the pupils at the neighboring technical school were preparing a reply and as a result, the Komsomol secretary paid a call on Barbara Krasnenkova, who held the same post at the technical school. They decided to send a joint reply to Johnny, and further, they drew up a program for cooperation in several other ways. To put a seal on the arrangement they went to the movies together that evening.

A few days later, about two hundred boys and girls from the 122nd Boys School and the 11th Technical School met to draft the letter.

"You have the task of writing a letter to a youth very much like one of yourselves, but who is living in America," the tenth grade Komsomol leader told them. "His name is John Wood. Whether he's a good or a bad boy we won't even consider. All we know about him is that he is an ordinary American boy, and that there are many there like him. We would like to know how he lives, what he likes doing, what are his hobbies.



"Victor's father, sitting astride the girder, read the letter"

And I'm sure he is just as curious about us. It's always interesting to know how people in other countries live. We need to exchange experience of life, give and take advice, set examples to each other.

"We've plenty to write about," he said. "How Moscow's growing. How its people's lives are changing. Write freely about yourselves. Then we'll put all your letters together into one and send it."

"I've already written mine!" exclaimed a young mason apprentice, and began to read: "We, simple Soviet children, write to you, John. You, like us, don't live in a palace or eat off golden dishes. . . ."

A shout of protest came from the other side of the hall. "Wrong!" a girl declared firmly. "Why write about golden dishes? How do we know whether he gets anything at all to eat some days?"

"Also, what do you mean by not living in a palace?" asked Victor. "Some children here do live in palaces. What about Artek in the Crimea and the other holiday places. And nearly every town has its Pioneer Palace."

"And when we have Communism anybody who wants to can eat off gold dishes," added a boy called Sergei. There was a road of laughter, and shouts of "Idealist, idealist!"

"No, he's right," said Barbara Krasnenkova. "There won't be any money when we have Communism. Gold will lose its value. Except of course as very useful metal. It doesn't rust."

Not everybody agreed with her, but by now most were penning their contributions to the letter. Victor's was quite short:

"We should be glad to see you here as our guests, Johnny. You might be able to go to the Crimea, to

the children's camp Artek. I'm sure you'd like it as much as our other foreign friends, Bulgarians, Germans, Czechoslovaks. We have had many here and there will be more too. We want to live on good terms with all. It would not be such a bad thing if you were to make friends with us. It doesn't matter that there's an ocean between us. All that matters is that we should understand each other. Real friendship cannot be broken by fire, war or steel!"

All the evening the drafting committee worked on the dozens of texts while the others sang and danced and watched a movie. Then at last the draft was handed round to all these apprentices and schoolboys, and though even then there were some who would like to have made an alteration here and there or to have added a line, all gladly and somewhat solemnly signed their name to it.

Whether the letter to John Wood, Sr., composed by a group of Russian building workers on top of a skyscraper, set the old man's mind at rest about the Soviet Union's intentions I do not know. Nor have I heard what Johnny Wood, Jr. thought of the letter and invitation he received from so many boys and girls of his own age in Moscow.

But should they read these lines, perhaps they will realize that what is so often dismissed as "only propaganda" is in reality the expression of the Soviet people's genuine desire to live at peace with America, and that behind every statement of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy, official or private, there lies this whole deep and varied background of limitless discussion, argument and analysis, going on at the building sites as in the classrooms, in the homes of workers as in the Kremlin.

Let the conscience of

the American people demand—

# An End to the Korean War!

by JESSICA SMITH

THE AMERICAN people have little stomach for the war in Korea. But if there were greater realization of its horrors there would be a far greater protest than has yet developed against the useless sacrifice of American lives and the wanton destruction of a land and a people who have in no way harmed or threatened us and who wish only to be left in peace to rebuild their country.

The *Compass* (Sunday Magazine, January 13) has done a service in bringing this realization home to Americans by reprinting from a leading French rightist magazine of Catholic tendencies, *Esprit*, an article written by Charles Favrel, former correspondent in Korea for the conservative *Le Monde* of Paris. Addressing himself to "Average American, Mr. Smith," and explaining that Europeans fear no danger from the east, but consider American policy the Number 1 danger, Favrel writes:

... You will never know, I hope, what it means to be invaded, deported, sent to death camps, to have your cities wiped out and your fields burnt by enemy raids. However, if you had seen your own people's flesh and mind aching with such pains, you might feel closer to other people's sufferings, you might become more human.

That indeed you Americans are not human is the sad truth that I, an

average Frenchman, feel bound to confess. You are not human and you proved it to a stunned and infuriated world by the ruthless, vicious, deliberately aloof way you are waging the Korean war in which you are entangled. . . .

All this, I say, because I happen to know more about it than you do. I have seen the GIs at work. . . . In Korea GIs know no pity. They think themselves a superior race and treat the "natives" like filthy dogs. . . .

American intervention in Korea has ended in disaster. It has bled that country to death, killed many of its people, starved and terrorized it, and annihilated and ruined it . . . the bodies of women, children and old people suffice to tell a story of death and suffering . . . towns and villages have been reduced to ashes with their shelterless inhabitants buried under the wreckage. The pitiful refugees herded along paths and roads have been mercilessly machine-gunned. . . .

If anybody ever dared to publish figures of the death toll and destruction suffered by North and South Korean civilians, as a result of the "strategic" Allied bombings, you would understand why the peoples of the world are so reluctant to agree to a possible World War intended to liberate them at the price of total annihilation. . . .

Favrel's eyewitness descriptions of American actions in Korea confirm the atrocities recounted in the report of the International Women's Commission to North Korea, suppres-

Sinyichju, destroyed by U.S. bombs, like other towns and cities of North Korea



sed by the American press even though officially presented to the United Nations (See page 50, October '51 issue *New World Review*).

Yes, these are Americans Mr. Favrel writes about, our sons and brothers, and it is our government which is responsible for the policies which require such brutalization and which today is blocking the agreement which would bring the Korean horror to an end.

At Panmunjom the North Korean and Chinese negotiators have repeatedly demonstrated their intense desire for a successful conclusion of the cease-fire negotiations, now in their seventh month. They agreed to a cease-fire line which meant relinquishing a large area north of the 38th Parallel. They faithfully met the terms required of them in presenting a complete list of prisoners of war. They abandoned their position that there should be no troop replacements under the cease-fire arrangements, and agreed to an arrangement that would permit the United States to continue its troop rotation system. These are only a few of the many concessions they have made in the effort to reach agreement.

The United States negotiators, on the other hand, have taken the position that they are negotiating with a defeated enemy, which is wholly contrary to the very basis of the cease-fire talks. While appearing to make certain minor concessions, they issue what amounts to an ultimatum on the points they know are least possible for their opponents to accept, thus in fact themselves preventing agreement while claiming that the other side is to blame.

Such a point is the U.S. demand for a ban on rebuilding of military airfields in North Korea, which North Koreans consider an unwarranted interference in their internal affairs. They have made clear that they are concerned about the airfields for defensive purposes alone, and have no intention of attempting to build up their military strength during a truce.

The disadvantage the ban against such building would place upon them is clear when it is recalled that their military airfields, as well as their cities and villages, have been almost completely destroyed under the incessant American bombing.

In South Korea, the military airfields are intact, since *there has been*

*no bombing whatever of South Korea by the North Koreans and the Chinese.*

It is true that planes operating in North Korea have caused great losses to the United States air force. But these are fighter planes, taking the air in defense against the deadly napalm and other bombs dropped by U.S. planes. No bombers have been used by the North Koreans and Chinese. No cities and towns, no civilians in South Korea have been attacked by planes.

Thus the insistence that the North Koreans shall not have the right to

rebuild their airfields can have no justification whatever, and can only be interpreted as a pretext for blocking any real truce agreement. Meantime the U.S. bombing continues, and there are ominous signs that the West is planning further military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Let the conscience of the American people awaken to the enormity of the crimes being committed in their name. Let there be a compelling and irresistible demand for an immediate cease-fire agreement in Korea, for an end to all plans for more Koreans, through a five-power pact of peace.

## **New Soviet Peace Move in the UN** **—And America's dwindling majority**

**I**N A STRONG new move to get constructive action at this session of the UN General Assembly on outlawry of atomic weapons, disarmament and peace, Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky on January 12 submitted a revision of earlier Soviet proposals, designed to meet the criticism of the West.

Under the new Soviet proposal, the full machinery for inspection would go into effect simultaneously with the prohibition of atomic weapons, and the inspection shall be continuous and not periodic.

The Soviet peace plan calls again for a one-third reduction of all armed forces within a year, for a world disarmament conference, for an immediate armistice in Korea, and for the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. With the UN debate on the new Soviet proposals continuing as we go to press, a full account will have to await the next issue.

But it is important to note this

new evidence of Soviet willingness to make far-reaching concessions to facilitate agreements. Its hostile reception on the part of the Americans can only serve to strengthen the conviction that the United States does not want any agreement on disarmament, and is fearful that any lessening of international tensions will interfere with its war and armaments program.

While the United States is still able to muster its mechanical majority in the United Nations, this session has demonstrated that it is becoming increasingly difficult for it to do so, and has given numerous indications of the mounting resentments and fears aroused by American policies of pushing European and West German rearmament to the limit while giving lip-service to disarmament, and blocking peace in Korea.

Not only are the Asian and Arab countries more and more frequently

found in opposition to the United States, but the Latin American countries no longer act in complete unison, and there are breaks even in the Western European ranks. And there are an increasing number of abstentions in voting on the part of countries on whom the U.S. could formerly count, even when they fear to take a stand of outright opposition.

The meaningless U.S.-backed resolution on disarmament (described in previous issues) went through the Assembly 42 to 5, but considerable support for the Soviet demand for prohibition of atomic weapons was indicated both during the debate and in the corridors of the Palais de Chaillot. And the U.S. persistence in retaining the widely discredited Baruch Plan as the basis for atomic energy control confirmed the suspicions in many quarters that the United States wants not agreement but continued deadlock. The only step forward in the U.S. plan was the setting up of a Disarmament Commission to consider both atomic and conventional weapons, in which the USSR has agreed to participate.

**On Morocco.** When the Western Big Three joined early in the session to quash the Arab-Asian demand for a formal debate on French oppression in Morocco, the vote was very close indeed, 28 to 23, with 7 abstentions. When the United States supported the French plea that such discussions would "poison the atmosphere," Pakistan Foreign Minister Sir Mohammed Zafrillah Khan, according to the *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 14:

... declared that when a general question of freedom for non-self-governing peoples was being discussed the European powers were always for it, but that on specific issues the Western powers—with some exceptions—were almost always against it. On the other

hand, he said, the Eastern European countries always voted for independence and for that reason the Asian countries felt gratitude to them.

**Greece and the Security Council.** While the United States finally managed to get Greece elected to the Security Council, it took nineteen ballots and an unlimited amount of pressure and arm-twisting before this was accomplished. Under the UN Charter, seats in the Security Council are supposed to be distributed geographically, and that part of the world is already represented by Turkey. Furthermore, under a 1946 "gentlemen's agreement" permitting each bloc in the UN to nominate its own representative, the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries had the right to name Byelorussia and to expect its election. In the initial ballots Britain, France, Sweden and other Western nations, believing gentlemen's agreements should be kept, voted for Byelorussia, as did most of the Latin American countries, miffed because the United States had refused to support their candidate for the International Court. Greece itself had to be pressured to remain a candidate. The U.S. finally got the votes, but won no friends in the process.

**On the German Elections.** The Western proposal to have a UN Commission concern itself with elections in Germany was opposed by the Soviet Union, since relations with former enemy states are not within the purview of the UN, but come under the jurisdiction of the Allied Control Council and the Foreign Ministers. The USSR held that any such commission should be composed of representatives of East and West Germany. The Soviet position won considerable support. It was known

that the suggestion of the German Democratic Republic for convening a joint conference of East and West German representatives to arrange for the holding of free all-German elections and setting up a unified, democratic and peaceful German state had wide support all over Germany. Such a plan, of course, would interfere with the West's plans for remilitarizing Western Germany, for a revived German army, with Germany as a colony of the West. The United States plan, opposed by the East German representatives who accepted the invitation to come to Paris, was obviously unworkable and was in fact designed to perpetuate the partition of Germany. Sweden introduced a resolution calling on the Big Four foreign ministers to hold talks with the East and West Germans to arrange for free elections, thus returning the matter to the Potsdam decisions which the United States was attempting to by-pass. While the United States won the votes in the Political Committee, with five votes opposed, there were eight abstentions.

**The U.S. Terrorist Fund.** A very sharp debate developed around Mr. Vyshinsky's proposal to condemn as an aggressive act the U.S. Mutual Security Act's appropriation of \$100,000,000 (see page 50, January issue NWR) for the obvious purpose of fomenting revolt and terrorism in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The embarrassment of the United States at the airing of this issue was indicated by the attempt of Ambassador Gross to by-pass the usual Political Committee debate on the subject. The operations of the fund were highlighted by the incident of an American plane forced down in Hungary and found to contain military maps and equipment

difficult to explain on any grounds other than as supplies for agents operating in foreign territory. (Since the U.S. payment of \$120,000 in fines imposed on the plane's crew by the Hungarian court, an extraordinary pall of silence has been dropped over the whole incident.)

Rep. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) was rushed over to Paris to explain that whatever the wording of the act on the appropriation, it didn't mean what it said, and its only intent was to aid refugees, and not people *residing* in the People's Democracies as clearly stated in the Act. Mr. Vyshinsky's motion was voted down 42 to 5, but significantly there were *eleven* abstentions representing a considerable drop in the usual U.S. majority.

In an article in the *New York Times* for December 20, James Reston, while defending the purpose of the act in supplying aid to anti-Communists, criticized U.S. delegate Philip Jessup for calling Vyshinsky's charge "as spurious as it is false." Reston wrote:

... To deny everything, in the face of the Congressional action, merely gives Vyshinsky an opportunity to prove us wrong, wastes an opportunity to remind the satellite areas that we have not forgotten them, and clouds the most precious thing we have in the United Nations, which is our reputation for telling the truth, even when it hurts.

**"Collective Security Measures."** The effort of the United States following the Acheson plan of last year, which in the name of "collective security," would in fact transform the Assembly into a permanent instrument of aggression in the hands of the United States, as was the case in Korea, met with the strongest opposition of all.

The questionnaire sent out last

Americans in a Prisoner of War camp in North Korea relax over a game of chess



year by the "collective measures" group asking UN members to earmark armed forces for the UN got a very cool response. Many countries failed to answer, and most of those who did refused to commit themselves.

When the U.S. led a move in the current Assembly calling on nations to revise their laws to make possible a special UN army, giving the Assembly broad scope to take military measures to fight aggression if the Security Council failed to act, and calling for recognition of regional defense arrangements such as the North Atlantic Alliance as an important part of the UN "collective security" system, many nations balked. Mr. Vyshinsky warned that such a program would mean war, a warning completely distorted by the press as a threat of war on the part of the Soviet Union.

In order to get a semblance of its motion through the special Political and Security Committee, the U.S. was forced to accept a Mexican amendment that the Assembly would merely note instead of approving

these recommendations, and another providing that no action could be taken by the Assembly against aggression without the consent of the supposed victim, submitted by the Arab nations as a protest against the effort of NATO to create a Middle East Command without consulting them.

Leon Edel commented in the *Compass*, Jan. 1:

In the light of the cold war, the collective measures blueprint is seen by some states largely as a master plan by which the U.S. could automatically enlist the whole UN if it got into a conflict with Russia.

**Top Level Security Council Meeting.** On January 3, Mr. Vyshinsky offered a Soviet resolution in the Political Committee proposing abolition of the Collective Measures Committee as illegal, because it usurped powers belonging to the Security Council and was designed to turn the Assembly into an instrument of war. The second point recommended calling without delay, under Article 28 of the UN Charter, of a periodic

high-level (premiers or foreign ministers) meeting of the Security Council to consider measures to remove international tensions and first of all measures to bring the Korean negotiations to a successful end.

The United States, supported in general by Britain and France, immediately opposed the idea, especially the section on Korea, on the ground that it would interfere with the Panmunjom negotiations, although Vyshinsky made clear that he had no intention of transferring negotiations from Korea, but only of supplementing them and trying to help them succeed. A strong movement in support of the USSR developed among the smaller countries, spearheaded by Iran and the Arab states.

In the light of the support for the Soviet proposal, the United States, Britain and France were forced to approve the move for a special high-level Security Council meeting, although the point calling for the end-

ing of the Collective Measures Committee was eliminated, as well as that calling for immediate consideration of the Korean issue. In the final vote, 50 to 0, the USSR voted with the West. Mr. Vyshinsky explained that even in its amended form the resolution was valuable because it stressed that the main responsibility for peace rests with the Security Council.

When the Korean issue came up as the next item on the agenda, the Political Committee voted to postpone discussion until the conclusion of the negotiations at Panmunjon. However, Mr. Vyshinsky's resolution, referred to in the opening paragraph, on "Measures to Combat a New War and Strengthen Peace and Friendship Among Nations," includes a call for an immediate armistice in Korea, which brings the matter again to the fore along with the general Soviet program for disarmament and a Five-Power peace pact. —Jan. 14

### **THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE AWARDS**

THE International Stalin Peace Prizes "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations," were instituted on Premier Stalin's 70th birthday in 1949. They are awarded annually to citizens of all countries, irrespective of political, religious or other differences, for outstanding services to the cause of peace. They are adjudged by an International Committee of distinguished democratic figures.

The awards for 1951, announced December 20, went to the following: Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Deputy Premier of the Chinese People's Republic and Chairman of the All-China Association of Cultural, Literary and Art Workers; Pietro Nenni, General Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and Member of the Italian Parliament; Ikuro Oyama, Member of the Japanese Diet and eminent scientist; Monica Felton, British economist, member of the 1951 international women's delegation to Korea; Anna Seghers, well-known German anti-fascist writer; Jorge Amado, Brazilian writer, poet and public figure, former member of the Brazilian Congress.

The entire Soviet press of December 21 carried articles on the awards, hailing them as new evidence of the Soviet peace policy and as an inspiration to people of good-will to wage an even more active and organized struggle against the threat of war and for the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

# Lenin on the National Question

A review by JOHN PITTMAN

THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION, by V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, New York, 1951, 90 cents.

THE collection and re-publication in inexpensive form of Lenin's basic theoretical essays on the national question is no small service to the peace movement in the United States today. These writings, together with Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question*, form the theory, tested and proven in the practice of the Soviet State, the People's Democracies, and the Chinese People's Republic, for consolidating the friendship of peoples and guiding their peaceful collaboration toward the universal goal of freedom and abundance.

The volume appears at a time when the words "freedom," "sovereignty" and "national independence" flow easily from the tongues of those who, plotting war, conspire to deny the right of self-determination to hundreds of millions of people in the colonies and semi-colonies, to destroy the independence of free nations, and to limit or nullify the sovereignty of national states. But no one who has read seriously these essays of Lenin could believe, as we are told, that the current wars against the people of Malaya, Viet Nam and Burma are to bestow upon them the right of self-determination. Or that the war against the Koreans and Chinese is being waged to preserve the independence of these nations. Or that the Middle East Command constitutes no violation of the sovereignty of the Middle Eastern states. Nor would a careful reader of this volume fail to understand how the economic domination exercised over those states, whose representatives in

the United Nations so obediently vote according to the whims of the State Department, prevents the peoples from freely exercising the right of self-determination.

For self-determination of nations, declares Lenin (p. 11) "means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, the formation of an independent national state." And it follows from this that nations which are forcibly restrained from such separation, or national states whose independence is only nominal, being practically nullified by alien control of their economy, are deprived of the right of self-determination.

Obviously, clarity on such questions would arm the peace forces of the United States for their difficult task of refuting the lies of those who are preparing a new world war. But in addition, a study of Lenin's writings offers guidance as to how these forces may be multiplied, and their fighting capacity increased.

For these writings give answers to many of the tactical problems involving the full participation of oppressed nations and national minorities in the peace movement of the United States. Such participation cannot be realized without action by the leaders and members of the oppressor nation within the peace movement on a number of questions, to wit: the Puerto Rican people's demand for separate state existence; the Filipinos' struggle to free themselves from the economic domination of Wall Street; the movement for separate state status among the people of Hawaii; the struggles of national minorities, such as the Indian, Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Rican and Negro national minorities, for full citizenship rights; and finally, but

most important of all, the struggle of the Negro nation in the Black Belt of the South for representative government, which is the present form of their demand for the right of self-determination.

The importance of such struggles in the world fight for peace was recently emphasized by the World Peace Council, which stressed the indivisibility of the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom. And Lenin's writings disclose the penalty history imposes on nations which oppress others: by denying to oppressed nations the right of self-determination, oppressor nations lose the power of exercising their own right of self-determination. The most recent confirmation of the truth of this principle is to be found in the pres-

ent-day status of the West Germans, Italians and Japanese. And without a qualitatively sharper struggle by the American peace movement for peaceful co-existence of the United States and the Soviet Union—such a struggle as only a correct policy in respect to the right of nations to self-determination can generate—the penalty of history will be imposed on the oppressor nation in the United States.

In view of the greater role of the conscious efforts of men and women in determining the course of history in our time, a study of Lenin's writings assumes the highest importance in the fight for peace. Their publication in time for the current observances of Negro history should facilitate their widespread distribution.

## **Background to the New Rumania**

THE NEW LIFE IN RUMANIA, by  
*E. V. Tempest*. Excel Printing Co.,  
Bradford, England, 1951. 58 pp. 35c.

**T**HIS is a remarkably clear little book, full of information. It gives the essential background of the new Rumania, enabling the reader both to understand Rumania better if he visits it, and to understand the descriptions of life in 1951 better if he does not visit it.

The description of life today is vivid, and conveys much of the fascination of the new country. It is a country with advantages and disadvantages that distinguish it substantially from some of its neighbors. It rid itself later than most of them of its old rulers; it had had to put up with corruption perhaps greater than any of them;

its industries were highly "colonial," and its industrial-agricultural balance pretty bad. On the other hand, it was and is really richer in natural resources than any of them.

The study of such a country, in such a period, is bound to be interesting, whether one compares it with its neighbors or not. Mr. Tempest really makes it live before the reader's eyes, and helps us to understand once again how fine ordinary people are, how well and quickly socialist methods produce effects, what a good friend the Soviet Union is, and what a burden lies—or ought to lie—on the consciences of those who run the periodical publications which the British, with their incurable sense of fun, still call "news-papers."

D. N. PRITT

## **CHINESE MAKE THEIR OWN JEEPS**

THE TIENTSIN Automobile Assembly Plant is now producing jeeps, all their parts, from door handles to engines, manufactured in China.

## Beautiful Soviet Film on Ukraine Farm Life

by AMY SCHECHTER

**BOUNTIFUL SUMMER**, produced by the Kiev Film Studios, directed by B. Barnet, screenplay by E. Pomeschnikov and N. Daleky, camera by A. Mishurin, music by E. Zhukovsky. Released by Artkino Pictures.

**T**HIS is a quiet picture in which the use of color reaches a new level. It is about postwar farm life in the Ukraine and is really a picture about peace; and though it is a minor work it achieves at times great beauty and richness and harmony, and really captures the content of peaceful living.

Life for these Soviet farm men and women is at the opposite pole from the bestial passivity of the peasantry of the Nazi ideal and the Knut Hamsun cult. They live in harmony with the land and nature's moods; but live also in the broad and energetic and humane Soviet world. They bring the resources of Soviet science to raising better crops and cattle; and their personal relationships are the free and dignified ones developed under socialism.

There is much quiet and affectionate humor in the film; it kids the eager, awkward young Communist pushing her way through a crowded meeting to have her say and sighing gustily with relief after her effort.

There are marvelously photographed sequences using as background interiors of Ukrainian farm homes with softly colored embroideries against white walls; and of the river and meadows and delicate birch groves, and enormous spreading oak trees, and long-shots of the expanse of richly-cultivated steppe-lands. There is a lyrical feeling for



Darka, the zootechnician, and Oksana, one of the heroines in the new Soviet film "Bountiful Summer"

nature here reminiscent of films made by peasant-born Dovzhenko; and it is never just scenery but an active element in the story.

In his passionate attachment to the soil, Nazar Protsenko, still young and chairman of the collective, risen from the ranks, tends to retain something of the narrow old-line peasant viewpoint about farming and living. Returning after years away at war, he has taken up his job without special training; he fails to understand the need for further development of the farm, introducing new lines, a scientific approach, and for cooperating with neighboring collectives on questions like building a new enlarged hydroelectric station.

He is touchy about criticism even from his childhood friend and wartime comrade, Peter Sereda.

Peter is something rather new in films, a very up-to-date and efficient bookkeeper who is co-hero of the film, and is a husky, good-looking, smiling young Communist far removed from the bone-dry, petty, fear-ridden little bookkeeper of pre-Soviet tradition.

Oksana, a Heroine of Labor, whom the chairman has loved for years, sides with Peter in his criticism. Nazar has not yet learned the impersonal nature of this sort of criticism and interprets their alliance as a sign that Peter is taking away his girl. Beautiful and digni-

fied Oksana is hurt by his jealousy and lack of faith in her and his friend.

All this is finally disentangled and there is a solid realism in handling characters and solutions. Peter's real love is the gay and energetic Vera Groshko, a young farm specialist, a zootechnician,

also up in arms against the chairman because of his efforts to use her for working in his beloved fields instead of in the work she has been trained for.

There is a final love scene between Vera and Peter standing looking into the river where they first met—an amusing incident when she had fallen from the heights of a hay wagon into the water and he jumped in to rescue her—that, without embraces, almost without words, conveys the feeling of a man and woman in love with much more strength than a score of synthetically impassioned Hollywood close-ups.

At the Stanley Theater *Bountiful Summer* was accompanied by a delightful animated cartoon, a real children's picture about New Year's celebration and Grandfather Frost, who is like our Santa Claus, that ought to have many more showings. In fact, so many good Soviet children's films have now been shown here that special children's programs could easily be organized.

Like other such films this one is marked by great tenderness, love for children, an understanding of their world, and a charming good temper and light-heartedness. There is a little girl and even tinier boy to make the film real to children. A gay score with children-sized waltzes and sleighing-music accompanies the tale of the exciting adventures of the velvet teddy-bear and white rabbit who fall off Grandfather Frost's truck (the Snow Man, hoarse-voiced and amiably tough, is truck-driver). They are rescued by the little Snow Maiden, who is Grandfather Frost's granddaughter, are dried out and comforted and fixed up, and finally brought in her reindeer-powered sleigh to the children's party where the toys are to be given out.

There are wonderful ballets of toy animals and dolls and lovely fairy-tale scenery. And though the Wolf does appear for a moment, he is just a joke any child would laugh at and not frightening at all. And there are none of the harsh and frightening characters or incidents you find in so many so-called children's films made here.

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