

SOCIAL SCIENCES **NEW WORLD**

MARCH
1952

Review

20c

PUBLIC LIBRARY
MAR 14 1952



**5-Power Pact • China Land Reform • McCarran Plot
Yugoslavia's Bosses • Prokofiev on Soviet Music**

The War In That Mailbag

THERE'S constant war in that mailbag that's deposited in our office every day—war between the letters containing bills and those that bring the wherewithal to pay those bills. Sometimes it's hard to tell which army will win, but we are never doubtful of the outcome. We know that the army supported by the people is always victorious. That's the way it is with NWR, whose readers constitute such a people's army.

You, our readers, help maintain NEW WORLD REVIEW because it fights for peace—for the things that are close to your heart.

One way to make the NWR army invincible is to get just **ONE MORE** reader. That would **DOUBLE** our circulation, make us twice as effective and bring the facts and views **YOU** believe in to twice as many Americans.

So please send your dollars and the names of possible readers. \$2 pays for one year; \$1 for six months. If you have names but no dollars, send the names. If you have the dollars but no names, send the dollars. Whatever you do will help. (See back cover for **FREE** premium with a gift sub.)

Here's the coupon. Act **NOW!**

NEW WORLD REVIEW

114 E. 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

Here are \$..... and on a separate sheet, the names to help double the circulation of New World Review.

NAME.....

ADDRESS..... ZONE.....

CITY..... STATE.....

NEW WORLD *Review*

MARCH

1952

No Time, No Taste for War	
<i>Dr. Hewlett Johnson</i>	5
Curtain Time in Warsaw	
<i>Margaret Schlauch</i>	8
Is US-USSR Co-Existence Possible?	
<i>Eslanda Robeson</i>	14
War Moves Over the Middle East	
<i>Clemens Dutt</i>	16
International Economic Conference	
<i>Theodore Bayer</i>	22
Truth Is Fatal to War-makers	24
Red Tape and Barbed Wire	
<i>Sender Garlin</i>	26
How China's Millions Won Land—and Life	
<i>Lement U. Harris</i>	37
Letters for Peace	
<i>Virginia Epstein</i>	40
To an American Mother	
<i>Wieslawa Szymborska</i>	43
The Exploiters Return in Yugoslavia	
<i>Victor Perlo</i>	44
My Musical Credo	
<i>Sergei Prokofiev</i>	49
Sixth UN Assembly	
<i>Jessica Smith</i>	53
A Paean to Life and Peace	
<i>Amy Schechter</i>	59
Fact, Half-Truth, Jaundice	
<i>Edwin S. Smith</i>	62
Our Cover: Youngsters of the New China	

JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*

FREDERICK V. FIELD, *Far Eastern Editor*

ANDREW VOYNOW, *Managing Editor*

SENDER GARLIN, *Associate Editor*

DONALD SCHOOLMAN, *Business Manager*

Vol. 20, No. 3, March, 1952. Re-entered as second class matter June 27, 1951, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months (Canadian and foreign \$3.00 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York). Published monthly by the S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 3-3855.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

209

SUREST WAY TO PEACE

THERE is an inescapable lesson to be drawn both from the failure of the Sixth UN Assembly to take any effective action toward reducing armaments and a constructive peace program and from the continued blocking of the armistice talks in Korea by the U.S. negotiators. It is that the people of this country must now intensify their pressure on our government to enter upon negotiations for a Five-Power Pact of Peace.

The conditions for success exist in the growing dissensions among the imperialist powers and the growing strength of the people's movement for peace as reflected in the Assembly, where changes in the voting line-up open up prospects of restoring its functions of maintaining international peace.

But that will take time, and the main work at this crucial period must take place outside the U.N.

Within our own country there is increasing realization not only among the people but in high political and business circles that the present course of our government has created an impossible and unbearable situation. Warnings are heard from many quarters that the Administration's continued arms spending and aggressive militarist policies if not halted will plunge us into a war of measureless disaster, and that their immediate effects even short of war can only bring ruin to our economy and the people's living standards.

That such warnings are coming from people advocating policies that would also mean war, only at a dif-

ferent tempo and with different tactics, does not negate the truth of much that is being said. Nor must we be deceived into following false leaders because so many of the criticisms they launch against the government's policies parallel those of people who sincerely want peace.

The most important, the most hopeful fact in the world today is that over 600,000,000 people, almost half the adult population of the globe, have signed an appeal for a pact of peace among the five great powers open to all nations.

Millions more will be added to this appeal, until the overwhelming majority of mankind have gone on record for it, since this is a continuing campaign and will never stop until peace is won.

The UN Charter is based on the principle of unanimity among the great powers, since only by negotiation and agreement among the great powers can peace be maintained. This principle has been abrogated by the United States in its efforts to turn the UN into the instrument of its own aggressive policies. It has been abrogated by keeping out of the UN the lawful representative of the 475,000,000 people of China.

Is it therefore not evident that unless the five great nations get together and decide that they will maintain peace there can not be any solid basis for the United Nations to function properly?

The Soviet Union has again and again raised the question of a five-power peace pact within the United

Nations. At this recent session this was the item on the Soviet peace program against which the United States was able to muster the smallest majority.

The World Peace Council, representing millions of people of varying political, religious and economic views in almost every country of the world, met in Vienna on the eve of the opening of the Assembly. It addressed to the UN Assembly and to the peoples of the world an appeal outlining the various measures necessary to restore and maintain peace in all troubled areas, and having as its core the need for Five-Power negotiations for a peace pact.

The appeal, seeking the widest possible area of agreement, did not propose that the Five Powers consider the entire world Peace Council Program. It did propose that the Big Five, which have the biggest armaments, negotiate an agreement on the absolute prohibition of atomic weapons, insured by strict international control, and the gradual and controlled reduction of every kind of armaments.

Taking into consideration that flat proportional decreases might leave some nations at a disadvantage, the appeal proposed that the arms reduction should amount to from a third to a half by the end of 1952, the reduction to be arrived at on the basis of an arms census fully checked and inspected. It proposed that the relative proportions and time schedules applicable to reduction of various types of arms, armed forces and arms production, be fixed by reference to the number of inhabitants, length of frontiers and communication of each country concerned, and that a strict international inspection and control system be set up to guard against violations.

THE MORE THAN 600,000,000 people who have signed the appeal for a Pact of Peace so far include no Americans. But a campaign is now going forward in our country to insure that the real Voice of America, its voice for peace, shall soon be heard throughout the world, as it was in connection with the Stockholm Appeal, which stayed the hands of those who would drop the atom bomb.

The campaign is spearheaded by the American Peace Crusade, which has issued an appeal couched in the simplest possible terms, already endorsed by a distinguished group of Americans in thirty-two states, and already signed by tens of thousands of peace loving people. It calls upon our President and Congress to urge a conference among the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, the Chinese People's Republic and France, to draw up an agreement for lasting peace.

Many other groups, the Progressive Party, independent community groups, religious groups, trade unions and others are carrying on similar signature campaigns. With whatever group you may be working, it is urgent that you add your name to this campaign. Every single voice that is raised will strengthen the possibility of achieving peace, for your voice will be added to millions of others, and behind it will be the invincible strength of the great majority of the world's people, who, whatever other differences there may be among them, are uniting in their will for peace. And along with this, there is the special urgency for every American to call upon the Administration and Congress to do everything possible to stop further bloodshed in Korea and speed up the negotiations for an armistice.

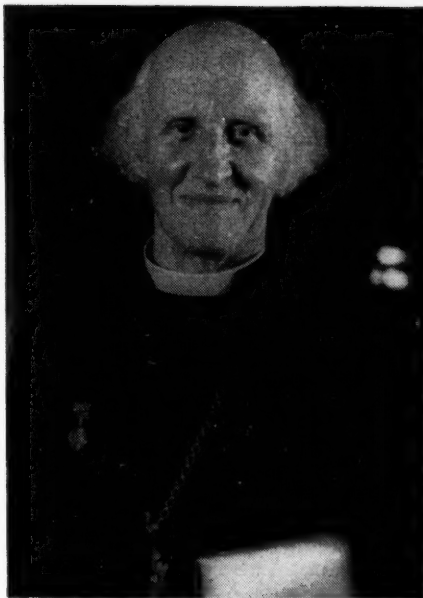
—J. S.

"NO TIME, NO TASTE FOR WAR"

**Dean of Canterbury
says that a new day
dawns for Rumania**

by

DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON



Dr. Hewlett Johnson,
Dean of Canterbury

FOUR years ago I was entertained by the editor of the Rumanian journal *Scanteia* in a small crowded building in Bucharest. They took me to see primitive printing shops in the basement. I was interested in the type mechanic. He held in his hand a small but vital part of the type-setting machinery, hardly bigger than my watch. Supplies from the West had been cut. In triumph he held up to me the vital part he had made himself, with his own tools, on his own bench.

This summer I again visited *Scanteia*, but in the largest and noblest printing complex in the world. In a vast structure which measured 900 feet each way, Soviet rotaries, the last word in newsprint machinery,

revolve smoothly in spacious interiors, light, airy and scrupulously clean. In similar halls stand ranges of type-setting and other machinery. No crowding, no basements. Every kind of social amenity for the workers: baths, libraries, refectories, individual clothes lockers. The main office frontage rises 85 feet high, the central tower, housing the editorial offices, 350 feet, with grand views over Bucharest. Factory and offices are surrounded by park lands, flower beds and lawns, with neat and beautiful workers' dwellings in lovely surroundings.

That is *Scanteia's* new home, and the managing engineer over the ranges of machinery in the type-setting halls was the skillful mechanic who constructed the missing parts of the old machine with his own hands.

The *Scanteia* complex is a symbol,

a picture of what happens everywhere in the New Rumania. A picture of the new spirit, the new tempo, the new *man*. The workers have had their chance and they have taken it.

The old colonial, agricultural, backward, illiterate, handicapped Rumania is free. The exploiters have gone. A new race of workers is in command. Only four years divides the old *Scanteia* with its primitive tool shop from this vast and noble structure of the new *Scanteia* with its huge super-modern machines, admirably placed and skillfully arranged with civilizing effect on every worker. Four years, four creative years.

And look where you will, you will find the same spirit, the same skill, the same tempo throughout the whole of Rumania. The fettered engineer and worker of yesterday is the manager of today. He carves a vast canal through hill and plain from the Danube to the Black Sea, shortening transport distance by 300 miles and bypassing the shifting shoals of the Danube Delta. He plans ambitious targets for electrification of the whole country, within 10 years, and straightway overshoots them. He irrigates vast areas of desert. He masters a totally new collective mechanized agriculture.

And amidst all this industrial and agricultural activity, the amenities of the workers' lives occupy a pri-

mary place. The spacious halls, the cleanliness, the civilization of the *Scanteia* works repeats itself in every factory, in every farm, in every block of buildings. This respect for life, all life—for child life and adolescent and adult life—reveals itself in vast schemes of creches, schools, universities, theaters and in literature and art. Rumania is well on the road to ranking among the most progressive countries in Europe. She is a bright and shining light in the new constellations of the East.

All Rumania wants is peace. Rumania has a mighty task on hand. She has neither time nor taste for war. She covets no man's land and suffers none to covet hers. She has good will to workers of all lands. She fosters reciprocal trade, reciprocal culture, reciprocal consideration with all her neighbors. She owes much to her great neighbor, the Soviet Union, and repays the debt with gratitude, and with concrete production in return for all she receives. She seeks peaceful trade with Great Britain and with all the world.

Rumania knows the value of peace, the significance of peace, the possibility of peace. Rumania takes a foremost place in the campaign for peace. Nearly 100 per cent of her workers sign on for peace.

Rumania makes peaceful gestures. She welcomes as guests the workers of other lands. She says "Come and



Model of the giant *Scanteia* printing complex now being built in Bucharest

—Romanian News

The vast scale of the Scanteia printing ensemble can be seen from this air-view taken during construction work



—Romanian News

see." And many have gone and many have seen. Over 50 men and women, representative of all walks of life in Britain, trade union delegates, miners, engine drivers, artists, journalists, doctors and clergy, among them eight women workers, have been to Rumania in 1951 and have returned to tell the tale. Rumania needs peace and Britain needs peace. Rumania seeks trade and Britain needs trade.

No longer need Britain go across the ocean for her dollars. She can earn dollars by trading with the East. Rumania's doors are open for trade with all the eastern world, with the eastern lands from Poland to Bulgaria; with Russia, with China. She gives to others the trade she willingly

would give to us. She offers and we refuse. And yet without such trade we shall soon be helplessly striving for trade in an ever-shrinking market. The prospect is black indeed. But it could be bright beyond compare. The eastern world needs what we can give; it can supply what we need. Britain could once more be Great Britain. She could be one of the dominating voices in the world, a voice for peace. With Great Britain and all the eastern world there could be none to challenge the new era of world peace that is a possibility. A new day can dawn. A new bright light is shining from the East.

*Reprinted from the
"British-Rumanian Bulletin"*

THEY PLEDGE HIGHER FARM YIELDS

BULGARIA'S first conference of tractor and harvester-combine drivers met in Sofia in December to exchange experiences and outline plans for increased agricultural output. The 600 delegates represented 10,000 drivers. The conference expressed appreciation to nine Soviet experts who had trained 612 Bulgarian drivers. The conference revealed that in 1947 there were only 30 machine and tractor stations in Bulgaria; in 1951 the number increased to 115, and the plan for this year will raise it to 140. Spring sowing last year was fulfilled 225 per cent, and harvesting, threshing and plowing were all above plan.

CURTAIN TIME IN WARSAW

by

MARGARET SCHLAUCH

FOR A CITY of only 600,000 people, Warsaw has a very rich theatrical life. Almost any evening of the week, including Sundays, you will find half a dozen serious plays being performed, with some lighter offerings such as puppet shows, satiric variety sketches, and light opera. There are also concerts and some regular opera too.

All the main theaters are run on a repertoire basis, alternating a number of plays throughout the season. Thus the public receives a diversified fare, and the actors have sufficient variety to keep them from going stale or falling into a routine. Moreover, seats are inexpensive. The best ones never cost as much as \$2.00, roughly, in purchasing power, and are 50% cheaper if obtained through trade unions.

One thing that strikes a visitor at once is the abundance of classical plays from world literature being performed here at all times, besides the abundant offerings from Polish literature, classical and contemporary. Among English dramatists, Shakespeare has been represented in the recent past by three comedies, *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, all three charmingly done. The first-named was the least distinguished

in execution. As *You Like It* was richly staged and costumed in the style of French illuminated manuscripts of the early 15th century, and it featured a Rosalind who not only carried off the boy's disguise convincingly (a rare feat!) but spoke the lines with a flexible music that was a constant delight to the ear. *The Merry Wives* was robust and infectious fun. Perhaps it is favored here because it shows the discomfiture of feudal aristocracy (as represented by the paunchy Falstaff) at the hands of two quick-witted women of the commons—but if so, the sociological message is not unduly labored. The audience enjoys the farcical doings in the hilarious spirit in which they were apparently intended.

Other translated classics have a more overt message. When this is "some satire keen and critical," the audience responds with lively understanding. To such a type belongs Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (that supreme sardonic expose of greed), and also various plays by Molière, *Tartuffe*, *The Miser*, *The Bourgeois Gentleman* which appear frequently in the repertoires. At the present time Schiller's *Cabal and Love* is on the boards: a play of class interest which pits sober bourgeois mores of the

DR. MARGARET SCHLAUCH, now teaching at Warsaw University, was a professor at New York University until quite recently. She has also taught at Chicago University and Johns Hopkins.

late eighteenth century against aristocratic pride and corruption. A very special tribute should be given to the brilliant acting and direction of a Russian classic of the same period, a poetic social comedy called *Wit Works Woe* by A. Griboyedov, in the verse translation made for the occasion by Julian Tuwim.

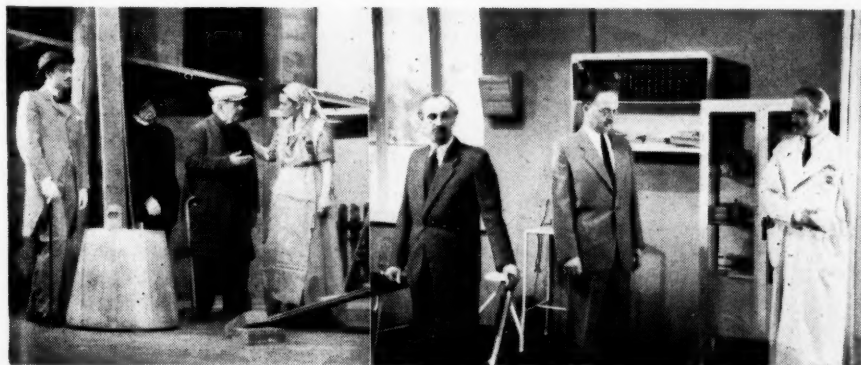
Modern translated plays also appear frequently. This year is witnessing two of Shaw's, *Mrs. Warren's Profession* and *Pygmalion*. The latter is not easy to do in a foreign tongue. The chief actress has to suggest an equivalent of Cockney in her own vernacular, and to translate the personal traits of Liza Doolittle (her rowdy vulgarity overlaid with smirking Puritanical affectations) into native terms. Our local Liza did a beautiful job linguistically, imitating the sing-song of the Warsaw argot and then passing into the beau-

tiful melodies of literary Polish; but she did not suggest a Londoner so much as a countrified Slavic Amazon. Her shrewdness was of the village rather than the gutter. Her father's part was however quite urban in its concept, and played with great gusto. The mother of Higgins, instead of being a competent middle-class Englishwoman, appeared as a porcelain-dainty personage, very *ancien-régime* and very Polish indeed (in an old-fashioned sense). Thus, the total impression was one of combined Anglo-Saxon and Polish traits in one and the same piece.

Translations of modern plays include those from Russian and the languages of the people's democracies. Russian has been represented by A. Makarenko's *Pedagogical Poem*, a play about the reclamation of a group of "wild boys" after World War I. The first scenes especially were notable for the careful accuracy of the direction and the realistic skill of the young actors.

Maxim Gorky's play *Philistines* was also done in this excellent style. It presents a study of middle-class provincial life in Russia before the

Scenes from two contemporary Polish plays. Left: the modern third act of "The Sin," a nineteenth century play, and, right, a scene from "Test of Strength"



Revolution. Pitched in a rather quiet key, it is not marked by strong conflict nor very decisive action, but it is none the less effective. The dullness, the pettiness, the graspingness and futility of these lives are shown in various aspects through the parents and adult children: the daughter, a high-strung, purposeless, abysmally bored young lady (who makes a half-hearted attempt at suicide in the midst of the plot); the maladjusted son; the parents with their small tyrannies and meannesses. None of these, mind you, is intentionally bad. The parents are devoted to the young people in a blind and misdirected way. But Gorky makes you feel the doom of a whole class through his dissection—not without pity—of these representatives of it.

Another modern translated play which makes a strong impression is *The Case of Paul Esterag* by the Hungarian Alexander Gengely. Here too the action concerns pre-war times. It tells how a minor official in Horthy's dictatorial regime—a weakly ambitious man, captivated by the promise of distinction and some social success—betrays his brother-

in-law (a Communist who had returned from exile illegally to do political work) to the authorities. The situation is simple, but the treatment is by no means so. The betrayer is delineated as a fully rounded character, not a mere political stereotype. His vacillations, his human feelings concerning his family, his subservience to his wife's ambitions, all make him an individual living before our very eyes.

The hero's mother, too, is a fine characterization, representing the simple courageous people of the class from which her daughter wishes to rise. There is splendid drama in the scene where the police confront the mother with her imprisoned son, in the hope that she will break down and identify him. The actress who played this part is one of the survivors, all too few in number, of the pre-war veterans of the Polish stage.

The reason for their fewness is obvious, of course. And the effects are especially apparent in relation to the production of great tragedies.

If you walk through the corridors of the Polski Theater you will see photographs of ambitious pre-war



Liza takes a lesson in phonetics in the Polish production of Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" which is having a successful run in Warsaw

productions including such plays as *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Oedipus the King* and native Polish tragedies, together with portraits of those who played in them.

Most of these men and women are dead. Their stories are typical: perished in the Ghetto, shot by the Germans, died of exposure. . . . Such training as they had can not be replaced overnight. The fine ensemble work now being done by younger people will prepare for more exacting undertakings such as these in time to come; in due course we shall have a new generation of tragedians.

It must not be thought that contemporary Polish dramatists are being neglected. *The Sin*, an unfinished play by Zeromski, a late nineteenth and early twentieth century dramatist, has been completed by a contemporary writer and very successfully performed. It deals with a philanderer and a wealthy, neurotic woman who uses her money, first, to get the philanderer for herself as husband, and later, to frustrate the aspirations of a rival. At the end of Act II the rival is left abandoned—and pregnant—and ordered out of her mother's house. Real melodrama style!

Act III, added by a contemporary, shows the unmarried mother finding her dignity as a human being in the ranks of the working class—and refusing to leave her comrades even in the face of bribes.

The third act does sound different from the first two in style, but both parts are written with a keen sense of realistic style—one in older style, one in more modern.

An Ordinary Case, by Adam Tarn, is of especial interest to Americans, because the scene is laid in a court in New York City, and the characters are members of a jury discussing



Ben Jonson's "Volpone" is among the classics played in Warsaw today

the case before them. What had appeared as an "ordinary" *crime de passion* (man-kills-woman) becomes more complicated when it is revealed that both the victim and the supposed killer were Communists. At this point the unreflecting jury members are ready to give the verdict of guilty demanded by the police. But honest doubts concerning gaps and contradictions in the evidence lead three jurors to challenge that conclusion. It becomes evident that the accused could not possibly have been the killer. Instead, the police themselves were responsible for the girl's death, because she had in her possession some damning material on city corruption which was about to be delivered to the press. Two out of the three truth-seeking jurors are blackmailed into silence, during a recess, by a henchman of the city's moneyed and political power. But when this man proceeds to call con-



A scene from Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor." Other plays of the bard showing in Warsaw include "Twelfth Night" and "As You Like It"

fidently for a verdict of guilty, the third dissident—an uncowed taxi-driver—leaps to his feet and cries: "Just a moment! Now it's *my* turn to talk!"—and with this line the curtain falls.

Another effective modern play is *Test of Strength* by J. Lutowski. The story deals with physicians in a hospital, and the main thread of the action is the gradual unmasking of one of the staff as a previous collaborator with the Nazis who denounced Jewish victims to them. The evidence against the culprit is gradually heaped up through a "recognition scene" (as the Greeks used to call it), until the climax in which a disabled worker finally identifies him. Minor themes deal with malingering on the job, social irresponsibility, bribed preferential treatment given to private patients, and so on. For my taste, the themes were too patly coordinated and the preachments a bit too obvious. Still, there were moments of undeniably effective drama, and the hospital atmosphere is persuasively conveyed, as one might expect from an author who is himself a physician.

Theatrical companies from other cities and from other countries contribute variety of interest to the

Warsaw stage. Thus we recently had the pleasure of hearing the Breslau opera singers do Szeligowski's *Clerks' Rebellion* (text by R. Brandstaetter), dealing with an uprising of students at Krakow University in 1549, and with their expulsion from the city. The music seemed to me to be a happy combination of melodiousness and untrite harmonies (dissonant and consonant effects appropriately used according to situation): not great, perhaps, but definitely original and very promising. The Dresden Theater sent its actors to us in October to present several plays, both classical and modern. *Emilia Galotti* by Lessing, a literary turning-point in its time but difficult to make convincing today, received competent if not quite memorable treatment in stage settings of simple beauty. The most moving aspect of the performance was not the Virginia-like death of the heroine, a victim of aristocratic intrigue and lust, but the fact that the actors had chosen Warsaw as the scene of its première. They played it in a restored wing of the huge old opera house, more than half of which is still a silent ruin. It was a symbolic experience to hear the noble accents of German classical drama sounding

within these walls, and to see the tribute of flowers—with which Poles are proverbially generous both in public and in private life—which greeted the end of the first performance of the play.

The Leningrad Theater has been here, too, and also offered both contemporary and classical plays. As two examples, *Twelfth Night* was played with the maximum of poetic fantasy, and *The Unforgotten Year 1919* showed events of recent history portrayed in epic style. The latter work, a concatenation of numerous rather short scenes reveals, I believe, the impact of motion picture technique on the theatrical stage. Though loosely constructed, the play had some scenes of fine theater, as for instance a party held in a tawdrily elegant bourgeois apartment, an espionage center of reaction, which is suddenly interrupted by stern (but by no means humorless!) representatives of the Cheka. The actor who created the role of Lenin deserves the highest praise for its amazing verisimilitude.

Opera has not been developed on a grand scale since the war. The standard repertoire includes *Eugene Onegin*, *Tosca*, and two operas of the 19th century Polish composer Moniuszko, who succeeded after some struggles in gaining a hearing for works that combined Polish musical themes with librettos on Polish subject matter.

The career of Moniuszko suggests some parallels with that of Mussorgsky in Russia, and was the subject, by the way, of an excellent film called *Warsaw Première* which ran here last spring.

There is a Polish ballet-pantomime, Rozycki's pre-war *Pan Twardowski*, which is given in somewhat re-

vamped form, with much spirit and much pleasure to the eye and ear. It tells the story of a Polish Faust of the 16th century, a would-be alchemist who sold his soul to the devil in a dream in order to feast on exotic knowledge and delights. His contract stipulates that his soul will be forfeit only if he ever permits himself to be found in Rome. Though he carefully avoids that place in his wanderings, he does one day seek harborage in a Polish inn named for the Eternal City, and he is about to be whisked off by a triumphant devil when he awakens, aroused by his shrewish wife, to the cares of everyday living. She jeers at his megalomania, and puts him to useful work carrying vegetables on his back for her, while his fellow-townsmen laughingly applaud.

There is a certain pertinence to our present situation in this conclusion of *Pan Twardowski*. Dramatic art, which has in the past expressed many types of human dreams and aspirations, is surely being drawn away here from the mists of futile romanticism and escapism in which it has sometimes tended to lose itself when alienated from the people's actual struggles and problems.

The theater in Warsaw is closely related to contemporary strivings, and to past ones generically related to them, which surpass the magic dreams of the Faust-legend in their power to beautify and to elevate. The ex-alchemist begins to work with his fellows, and in People's Poland he has before his eyes a vision of life and art surpassing in beauty anything that escapist fantasy ever offered to the world's ruling classes in their periods of decline.

IS US-USSR CO-EXISTENCE POSSIBLE?

by ESLANDA ROBESON

WELL of course American-Soviet peaceful co-existence is possible, and will most surely come about. The only question is *when?* Before or after another war?

If there is another war, which God forbid, we all know that it cannot last forever; sooner or later it will have to end (even the Hundred Years War came to an end) and eventually we shall have to co-exist peacefully.

If eventually, then why not now?

Very practically, I am all for survival, and for preventing waste and destruction. I even save string, so naturally I want to save my life, my family, my friends, my fellow citizens, my country and the world.

After 50 years of experimentation, I have learned that the surest way to survive is to look at the facts, and cope with them as best you can with everything you've got—with knowl-

Eslanda Robeson (right) meets famous Uzbek dancer, Tamara Khanum, when both attended the Women's International Democratic Federation session in Moscow in 1949



ESLANDA ROBESON (Mrs. Paul Robeson) is a distinguished anthropologist and lecturer. Among her writings is "African Journey" and, with Pearl Buck, "American Argument."

edge, common sense, training, ingenuity, tact, as well as strength.

And as I see it, some of the important facts are these:

The USA and the USSR are both in this world, and neither has any intention of leaving it, voluntarily; it is a physical impossibility for either to push the other out of this world forcibly. So here we are, co-existing. That's a fact.

If we fight each other, lots of us are going to be dead or crippled; lots of homes, factories, farms are going to be destroyed; and since no war can last forever, at the end—in what there is left of the world—we will again be co-existing, but with all of us much worse off than before. That's another fact.

If we don't fight each other, but find some other way to live and let live, we will have won a major victory for all of us: we will have proved

ourselves civilized human beings, well above the animal, having won our victory without fighting. That's still another fact.

Many loyal American citizens deeply resent the suggestion of some of our arrogant, aggressive, corrupt and stupid government officials that we are so lacking in brains, common sense, diplomacy, ingenuity and tact, that we must resort to armed strength alone in our relations with our world neighbors. It is an insult to the intelligence, resourcefulness and humanity of the American people. Our present Administration is putting all the emphasis on armed strength and none on diplomacy in our foreign relations. This is a fact which has spread fear in the world.

Of course American-Soviet peaceful co-existence is possible. Peaceful, even friendly co-existence was a fact yesterday. Co-existence is a fact today. Peaceful, even friendly co-existence can be a fact tomorrow.

We Americans, at our best, have the intelligence, resourcefulness and humanity to negotiate with anybody. Never let it be said that we have not; never let us prove that we have not, by resorting to war.

THE COST OF WAR

WORLD WAR I cost \$600 billion; World War II, \$1,030 billion. Total, \$1.6 trillion! What does that mean to those unfamiliar with astronomical figures? It means that this sum would give to each of the 45 million families in the U.S. a \$15,000 home, free and clear of all encumbrance in addition to \$6,000 cash for each man, woman and child in the United States.

WAGES UP IN HUNGARY

TEACHERS, railway and postal workers, and certain categories of factory workers have received substantial wage increases. The salaries of kindergarten teachers are increased an average of 13 per cent; primary school teachers, 17 per cent, and secondary school teachers 14 per cent. For railway and postal workers, both basic rates and premiums have been raised in all grades.

WAR MOVES

Over the Middle East

by

CLEMENS DUTT

We are extremely pleased to publish this important article about a vital area very much in the news today and written by an authority on international affairs. We share our good fortune with our readers, knowing that they will be interested not only in the clear presentation of what is happening in the Middle East today, but also in receiving a sober British viewpoint of the situation. For this, we are indebted to the British publication *Labour Monthly*—THE EDITORS.

THE ill-defined region which stretches from the Greek end of the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and is now usually called the Middle East, rather than the Near East, has recently come to occupy the forefront of attention in the international situation. The Middle East, no less than the Far East, has become a key battleground in the world-wide struggle between the democratic forces of the people and the forces operating to preserve the existing system of imperialist domination and exploitation.

The present importance of this region arises, however, particularly because this struggle has flared up just at a time when the Middle East has become a vital area for the aggressive war plans of Anglo-American imperialism and the states subsidiary to it. The two phenomena are, of course, closely interrelated. The Middle East has more than half the world's oil resources. It is an area of foreign capitalist exploitation in

which the American monopolies are playing an ever-increasing role.

The war plans of imperialism envisage measures intended in the name of security to hold in check, and if necessary to suppress by force, the national liberation movements for the overthrow of foreign domination and exploitation. But the so-called "global strategy" of the "free world" goes further and comprises in essence thinly-veiled preparations for an offensive war to win back for capitalism the countries advancing to Socialism and even, in some, ambitions to destroy the citadel of Socialism itself, the USSR.

By naked force in the case of Greece, and by military and economic pressure in the case of Turkey, these two countries have been won for the planned ring of anti-Soviet states on the southern borders of the USSR, and accordingly have been admitted into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in open mockery of the latter's ostensible character as

a defensive grouping of Atlantic countries. Turkey is strategically situated in relation to both the USSR and the Arab states of the Middle East. Hence the endeavor to use Turkey as one of the bases in extending the Atlantic Alliance by setting up under Anglo-American leadership a regional grouping of Middle Eastern states capable of attacking the vital areas in the south of the USSR. Of course, this is being done in the name of "defense."

British imperialism has always justified its domination in the Middle East on the ground of the vital strategic and economic interests of the British Empire. Now U.S. imperialism has not only penetrated this former British preserve to such an extent that it can adopt the same argument of the need to safeguard its own economic interests there, but it puts forward on its own behalf the same argument of vital strategic in-

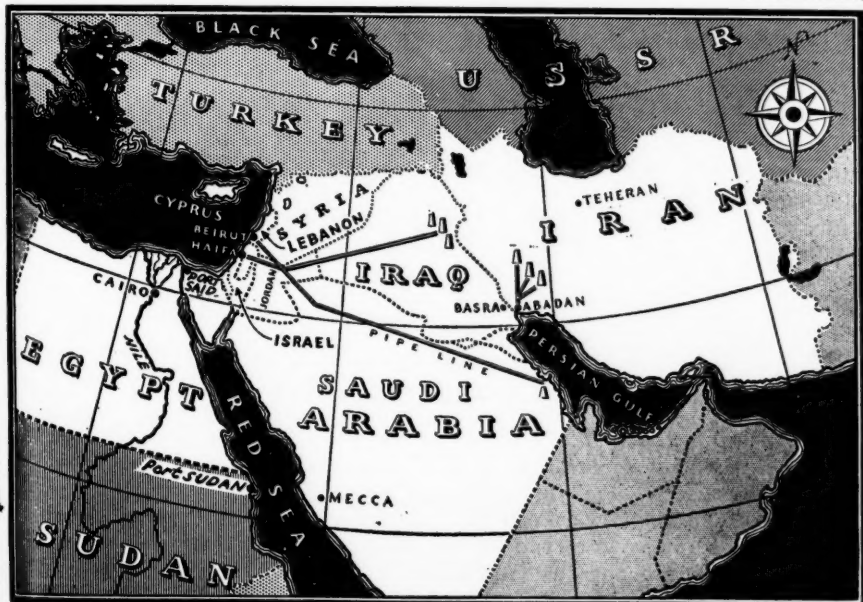
terests. This can be seen, for example, from the U.S. State Department's Mutual Security Program for 1952, submitted to Congress for approval. This says:

The Near Eastern area is important to the security of the United States and of the free world. It lies athwart the principal lines of sea and air communications in the eastern hemisphere. It is a land bridge between Asia and Africa, Soviet control of which would expose the African continent. It is the source of a prime strategic material, oil, the continuing supply of which is essential to friendly nations in Europe and Asia. It supplies three-fourths of the petroleum requirements of Western Europe.

Commenting on this, the *Economist* (August 4, 1951) remarked that it could be added, but is not added in the official document, that:

If Soviet expansion is to be arrested, the Middle East is important also be-

—Labour Monthly



cause it is the site of bases (British in Egypt, Jordan and Iraq, and American in Saudi Arabia) which cause the Soviet Union to reflect that the Caucasus is its soft underbelly.

This is, in effect, a striking admission of the considerations underlying the building up of a "striking force" in the Middle East. Just as the favorite dream of the anti-Soviet war maniacs in 1918 and 1919, and again in the "switch the war" propaganda of 1940-41, was to strike at the USSR through the Baku oil fields, so once again the thoughts of the anti-Soviet warmongers are centered on launching a blow at the Soviet Union through what they hope to be the latter's "soft underbelly."

Following the Ottawa Conference of the Atlantic Pact countries, the United States initiative for extending this Pact by a Middle East regional Pact came to fruition in the invitation made to Egypt, on October 13, to become a partner in a joint Middle East "defense organization" along with the U.S.A., Britain, France and Turkey, an invitation extended jointly by these Powers. An "Allied Middle East Command" on which these five countries would be represented was proposed, and the inducement was held out to Egypt that British troops would then be withdrawn from the Suez Canal Zone, except for those authorized by the Middle East Command to remain as part of an international garrison.

The lure was not very strong and indeed the moment chosen was hardly auspicious. The unprecedented upsurge of the Egyptian mass movement for national liberation and popular sovereignty, had just compelled the Egyptian Government to announce the abrogation of the 1936 Treaty with Britain and to demand

the removal of foreign troops from the Suez Canal.

To answer this demand by proposing that the British war bases should be exchanged for American-dominated ones could only be regarded as more of a threat than a promise. To the Egyptians it looked as if casting out the foreign devil by this means would only involve his return with others worse than himself. Particularly cynical was the proposal that Turkey, the historic oppressor of the Arab peoples, should be a partner in the new foreign military occupation of the Arab countries. Further, the immediate support for the plans expressed by Canada, Australia and New Zealand, whose participation in the command has only been deferred as inexpedient at present, indicated that the term "Middle East Defense" was as much a camouflage as the term "Atlantic Defense."

In vain was it stressed, as *The Times* put it, that the proposals "express a revolution in the diplomatic and strategic thinking of many pow-



erful states" and, in particular, that "Britain, which has been the chief guardian of Suez and the bridge between Asia and Africa, recognizes the shifts in the balance of world power and is now ready to share the guardianship with others."

The essential feature in Egyptian eyes could only be that the country

would remain under foreign occupation while Egypt would be compelled to give all assistance to imperialist preparations for a future war. The annex to the proposal put the matter bluntly:

1. Egypt will agree to furnish to AMEC (Allied Middle East Command) such facilities on her soil as are indispensable for the organization in peacetime of Middle East defense;

2. She will undertake to grant the forces of the AMEC all necessary facilities and assistance in the event of war, imminent menace of war, or apprehended international emergency, including the use of Egyptian ports, airfields and means of communication.

Consequently it is not surprising that the proposals were indignantly rejected by the Egyptian Government. The clumsy pretense of Egyptian "equal partnership" was too threadbare. It was too evident that military control would rest in the hands of the U.S.A. and Britain and that any Egyptian forces would play as subordinate a role as the armies of the smaller European States do in NATO.

The situation in Egypt became more and more tense, and British troops were poured into the country in an inflammable situation. A new version of the plan was worked out behind the scenes and put forward in a Four-Power statement on November 10. It contained a slight change of tone but not of substance. The effort was made to give an assurance that Egyptian internal sovereignty would not be impaired, specifying for instance:

The Middle East Command . . . will not interfere in problems and disputes arising within the area. Movement of those troops placed under the Supreme Allied Commander Middle East's Com-



—Wide World

A British soldier guards an Egyptian at bayonet point during the recent fighting in Ismailia

mand to or within the territories of the States joining in the defense of the Middle East will be made only with the agreement of the State or States concerned and in full accord with their national independence and sovereignty.

Any facilities granted to the Middle East Command by States joining in the defense of the Middle East will be the subject of specific agreements.

The explanations only confirm the essence of the plan as one for the continuation and expansion of foreign occupation. The Egyptian Prime Minister denounced the plan as "worse than colonialism," as a plan for furthering the ambitions of "greedy Great Powers at the expense of smaller nations." The head of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations in Paris said that it was an interference in the sovereign rights of the Arab states.

Nevertheless, under American direction, the plan is being pushed forward and every form of pressure

is being exercised to secure support from the other Arab states. Imperialism relies on its protégés among the rulers and on the corrupt bourgeois politicians who would be swept aside if the movement for national freedom triumphed. The bait is held out to the Arab states that they will receive arms from the U.S.A. and help in the development of their armed forces if they participate, which would otherwise be refused. The Arab-Israel conflict is being played upon, since Israel's support is expected owing to its being more directly under American control. The *Daily Telegraph* voices the threat that in case of refusal by Egypt, the Western powers will make Israel a central part of the defense scheme and that it will thus become more powerful than the Arab states. Above all, the "menace of Communism" is increasingly used as a means to scare the bourgeois political leaders in the Arab countries.

So far all this has had no effect. The Communist bogey is regarded in Egypt as a "fabricated nightmare."

But whatever the outcome, it is clear that a new stage has been reached in the Middle East in which the dominant role is played by the U.S.A., which is seeking not only to oust Britain as the chief exploiter of the Arab peoples, but to secure its own military and political domination in this region. As the *Observer* remarked (October 28): "We have to accept the climate made in the U.S.A.," and Mr. Churchill has

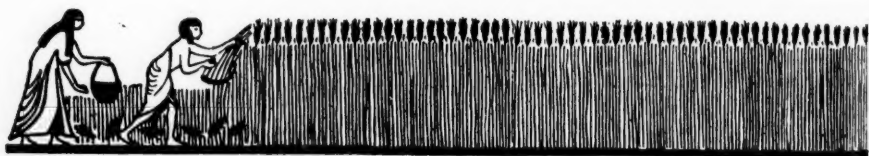
been taken to task for his unqualified admission, in his Guildhall speech, that "the Americans have risen to leadership of the world."

The Anglo-American rivalry goes forward in the new stage although it is now recognized that the British role is subordinate to that of the U.S.A.

Britain has shown a "firm hand" in Egypt, relying on U.S. support. But the U.S.A. is not primarily interested in the protection of British interests. The *Economist* (September 1) commented, "Visiting American dignitaries in Cairo, as in Teheran, have left the impression that they will be glad to see the British removed." In the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons on November 20, Mr. S. N. Evans (Labor) pointed out that there seemed to be two American influences at work. "One seems anxious to put us back on our feet, and the other to do just the opposite."

The enormous augmentation of British troops in Egypt must be viewed also in this light. Not only do they far exceed the limits permitted by the 1936 Treaty but they far exceed any possible requirements for suppression of civil disorder in Egypt. One reason is given by the Egyptian correspondent of the *Sunday Times* (November 18), who says that it "constitutes an effective British claim for playing a major part in the development of plans for a joint Middle East Command."

The Anglo-American struggle for control of material resources and



strategic positions extends even to the Sudan. Despite the Condominium agreement for joint British-Egyptian rule, Britain has treated the Sudan as its colony and covers its imperialist exploitation by claiming that it must protect the Sudanese people whom it is leading towards independence.

But the Sudanese are biting their protector's hand and even the pro-British party in the Sudan is now telling the British to get out. The fact that Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who enjoys favor with the Americans, is sponsoring the idea of a Sudan plebiscite in the near future after both Egyptian and British troops have been withdrawn, suggests that the U.S.A. sees here a method of putting pressure on Britain.

Under American leadership, the so-called Western world is rushing headlong towards war. Nor is there any doubt as to what war is intended. The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial on the revised Middle East "defense plan" (November 12) tells the Arab states: "The great question . . . is whether they wish, in the event of war, to be counted among the allies of the Western democracies against Russian imperialism." No talk here even of the invasion bogey. They are to be dragged into a war which will be decided on elsewhere, in which they will have no say and in which they will be used as tools.

The Soviet Government in its Notes of November 21 and 24 gives serious warning of the consequences

of the steps that are being undertaken. It makes clear that the plans for a Middle East Command have nothing in common with the interests of safeguarding peace and security in the Middle East, nor with the genuine national interests of the states in this region. Their operation would mean the loss of the independence and sovereignty of the Middle Eastern countries and would damage the relations existing between the Soviet Union and these countries.

The Arab peoples do not want their countries to be converted into a battlefield. The national liberation struggle is embracing ever wider sections of the people, who know from their own experience that subjection to foreign imperialism means their exploitation and impoverishment and their use as cannon fodder. Hence the growing mass movement in Egypt, Iran and other countries of the Middle East has a significance far greater than that of a domestic movement for national liberation.

A resolution of the World Peace Council has emphasized the importance to the cause of world peace of this resistance to the imposition of imperialist bases and foreign troops in the Middle East. In the present circumstances this movement takes its place as an integral part of the fight for world peace, as a contribution to the cause of the millions of ordinary people all over the world who are seeking to bridle the warmongers and prevent them from launching a third world war.

THE ATLANTIC FLOWS INTO THE CASPIAN

"THE SENATE approved today, by vote of 73 to 2, an expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty to bring in Greece and Turkey and thus to extend the Western defensive [*sic*] alliance nearly to the Caspian Sea."—William S. White, *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1952.

The International Economic Conference

by THEODORE BAYER

IN THE CITY of Copenhagen this past October, there took place an event that may be well remembered as the first international, non-governmental gathering which succeeded in breaking the frigid atmosphere of the cold war and started a trend of international cooperation, particularly between East and West, which holds great potentialities for world peace.

A group of industrialists, financiers, economists and trade unionists, representing about 25 countries, from East and West, constituted themselves as the Initiating Committee for an International Economic Conference to be held April 3-10, 1952 in Moscow and set up an organizing group to attend to the securing of delegations and all other preparatory arrangements. The Committee has its offices in Denmark and can be addressed: Hotel Beaulieu, Springforbi, Denmark, Attention Robert Chambeiron, Secretary.

The Initiating Committee describes the character and purpose of the International Economic Conference thus:

"In view of the fact that the gradual deterioration of international relations is endangering the standard of life in a great number of countries, those taking part in the meeting decided to organize an International Economic Conference. . . .

"The discussions at the Conference shall not intervene in the political differences which today divide the participants of the Conference, but bring out the issues of economic cooperation and development of economic relations with a view of reaching agreement. The aim of this Conference will be to seek means of promoting peaceful cooperation between different countries and different economic and social systems. The Conference will rule out any discussions of the respective merits of different economic and social systems."

The Conference is expected to consist of about 400 to 450 persons from all continents and many lands. This can be seen from the composition of the Initiating Committee, which has representation from Western European countries such as France, Belgium, England, Scandinavian countries and others; from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other People's Democracies; from China, Japan, India, Pakistan, as well as from Brazil, Chile, Iran, Syria, and Lebanon. In this country, Mr. Beryl Lush, Philadelphia importer, who was invited to attend, is now endeavoring to interest American business and financial circles in attending the Conference.

As Michael Hoffman, *New York Times* European correspondent remarked in his dispatch of January 12, "There is no great fear in Europe, as there seems to be in the United States, of being branded as Communist sympathizers for accepting invitations to this meeting." He further comments: "Some American sources believe United States groups and the United States Government are making a serious mistake by not actually encouraging United States participation, if only so that some reliable reports of what goes on can be obtained."

However, the *Wall Street Journal* on February 7, 1952 in a front page story describing the Conference as an attempt to put new life into dying trade and revive East-West commerce, declared:

"... the Russians will play host in Moscow this April to a one-week conference of businessmen from a score of lands. Merchants from Europe, the Middle East, Asia and the Western Hemisphere will gather to discuss the possibilities for boosting trade with the Soviet bloc.

"More than 30 invitations have been sent to American business leaders—but only three have accepted so far. Many of those invited are leery of having their names linked to a Moscow gathering, though at least some of these admit privately they would like to attend. "We are making a mistake by not keeping open the few links to the Russians that remain to us," says a prominent shipping company executive."

It is important that American business circles realize that the Conference is anything but anti-American. On the contrary, there is great desire on the part of the organizing committee to secure the best possible representation of American business, finance and economic thought and trade union leadership. The question of American official attitude toward the Conference is the subject of another front page note of the *Wall Street Journal*, February 11, which says that the U.S. State Department, while not enthusiastic about the Conference, has decided to "grant passports to non-Communist Americans who believe it would be in their interest to attend. . . . Only a 'handful' of U.S. citizens, officials reported, have indicated they will go to the Red capital Conference."

There seem to be signs, and this is one of them, that some groups among American business men are awakening to the evils of U.S. commercial self-isolation from the growing Soviet, Chinese and East European markets, embracing over a third of the world's population. This is even more true of West European business, particularly of France and Great Britain. American pressure upon these countries to abstain from trading with the East is playing industrial havoc in Western Europe because it artificially creates shortages of raw materials, of coal, food and timber, which are in abundant

supply in the East. Great Britain makes no secret of the fact that American pressure against trade with the USSR is preventing her from exchanging British machinery and equipment for much needed wheat, fodder, timber. It is aggravating the balance of payment difficulties and producing a chain reaction to the detriment of commercial interchange practically the world over.

The financial and industrial press of France and Italy carry on a lively discussion of the Conference. Such outstanding personalities as Lord John Boyd Orr, former Director General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, are expected to attend. There is growing interest in Western Germany; Eastern Germany will also be represented. In Moscow, the delegates will be guests of the Soviet delegation.

There isn't the slightest doubt that many American firms, particularly in machine building and machine tools and equipment industries, are greatly concerned with the market for capital goods in the USSR and in the rapidly developing markets in Eastern Europe and China, but have been inhibited by administration cold war policies. It is to be hoped, however, that neither the cold war nor the temporary backlog of military orders will blind these exporting industries to the long term possibilities in danger of being lost to competitive suppliers of other countries. It is equally important that American labor should realize what these possibilities mean in terms of jobs.

The Economic Conference in Moscow is the one great occasion to demonstrate in most practical terms, those of economic interchange and cooperation, that peaceful co-existence between varying political and economic systems is indeed possible and desirable and above all is the surest way to dispel the threat of war and build toward peace.

THERE IS, INDEED, AN ALTERNATIVE

"THERE ARE two obvious places we could go. One is to war. The other is broke. There must be another alternative. There must be some way to learn to live with Russia."

—Henry Ford II, as quoted in *U.S. News*, Jan. 25, 1952.

Truth Is Fatal to Warmakers

FOURTEEN British students and young workers recently completed a three-weeks visit to the Soviet Union and are now reporting their impressions to groups in various parts of England. In a joint statement they said that "youth must play an active part in building such a barrier to war in our country that no enemy of youth can succeed in launching a new war."

Highlights of their impressions:

"We come from many parts of Britain and represent many interests, occupations and opinions. We readily accepted the invitation of the Soviet Anti-Fascist Youth Committee to visit the USSR because we knew that such a visit would help us understand each other and assist youth to bring common sense and truthfulness into a world in danger of a new war.

"As young British citizens who reflect the concern of our generation at what could befall us in such a war, we are anxious to tell only the truth as we have seen it.

"Our reporting to British youth will be an important contribution to the cause of peace. Soviet youth is confident that they and young people everywhere will succeed in preventing a new war. We met not one man, woman or child who saw war as necessary or probable. We saw slogans calling for agreement between the great nations; none for

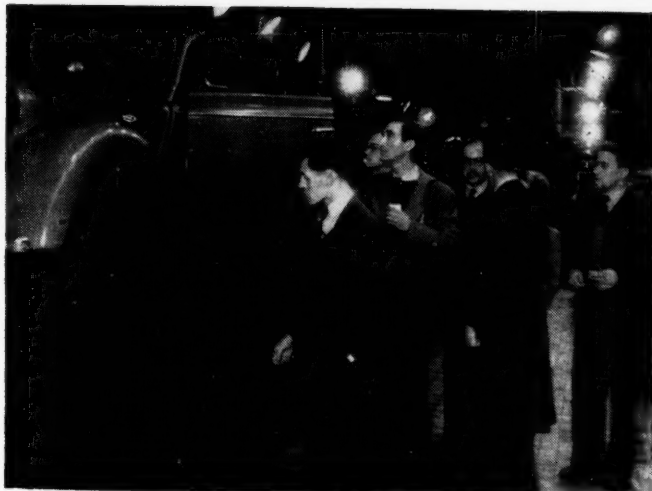
rearmament. We saw many children reading picture books and magazines about friendship and creative adventure—none glorifying violence and killing.

"The most powerful impression our delegation gained of youth at work was the overwhelming sense of looking forward to an increasing standard of living and leisure as a result of their own efforts. Work itself is looked on as a glorious adventure. Soviet youth are happy workers and have no fear of ever working themselves into unemployment.

"The standard of education is very high; equipment, visual aids, films, museums and other aids are in plentiful supply. We found here a young generation which knows how to enjoy life and how to appreciate the beauty of life. We found a high level of sports and cultural achievements and a growing desire to become all-round, fully developed human beings. Nowhere did we see gangs of youth hanging around the streets with nothing to do. Everywhere we saw evidence that the resources of society were used to foster the greatest possible participation in sports and cultural activities.

"Culture and recreation have a higher value to the young Soviet worker, and a lower price than has been our experience in Britain. The value of medical services and educa-

British Youth Delegation watches the assembly line at Stalin Auto Plant



tion must be added to wages. And nowhere is the wage for the job based on age or sex.

"Our criticisms of Soviet life are minor ones. We noticed that the plumbing system was not up to our standards and that the trains travel more slowly than in Britain. We found that the women's clothes were rather unfashionable by our standards, although the complete emancipation of women seems to have resulted in people being judged by others more by what is inside, rather than on outside looks. Young worker-students told us, when we asked, that it needs much more than cosmetics or padded shoulders to attract members of the opposite sex.

"To win a happy future for British youth and the chance to engage in vast schemes of reconstruction and improvement in our country, peace is necessary. To safeguard the happy future of Soviet youth, there must be peace.

"Our delegation therefore is convinced by all our experiences during our happy visit to the USSR that peace can be won if truth prevails. And we will act for peace in the knowledge that it is not enough for young people to long for peace or even just to talk about peace. Youth must play an active part in building such a barrier to war in our country that no enemy of youth can succeed in launching a new war."

ENLARGED BUILDING PLAN FULFILLED

DESPITE the fact that in the middle of 1951 the plan was expanded by 6 per cent, Poland's industrial construction plan for 1951 was completed by November 18. The Ministry for Industrial Building supervised work on 2,026 projects, 1,500 of which were ready for use by mid-November. These included 400 factory premises, 22 bridges, large warehouses, railroad sidings, open-hearth furnaces, boiler houses, batteries of coke ovens, compressor rooms, etc.

RED TAPE *and* BARBED WIRE

by SENDER GARLIN

A UNIFORMED guard sits outside Room 113 on the ground floor of the Reconstruction Finance Building at 811 Vermont Ave., N.W., in Washington, D.C. His chair is tilted against the wall and he waits for 4:30 P.M. to arrive so he can leave his post. He has little to do. When someone enters Room 113 the guard makes a manful effort to rise, but more often than not he is too late to seize the door knob. His aid rejected, the custodian guides the door back to its place so that no sound of clicking be heard inside.

A deputy marshal holds a seat of authority between the rail that separates the section marked off for the public and that reserved for the press. Farther down, on the left, is a "Hearing Officer" whose duty it is to walk several paces to the witness chair from time to time, bearing exhibits (materials offered in evidence) for the perusal of the witness. There is the official reporter playing nimbly on a stenotype machine and occasionally holding up his hand. The spelling of names of foreign cities, public personages, scientific terms causes him difficulties. After all, this is not a simple, familiar kind of action like the pilfering of the U.S. treasury through political-pull RFC loans; this "case" involves history, ideology,

world policy, theories of social organization, all of which is as uninteresting to the government attorneys as it is to the court reporter.

Fresh copies of house rules are laid out neatly each morning. They wistfully ask that hearings be conducted "with the same dignity, decorum and adherence to the relevant issues as is customary in court rooms." Rule 3 says that spectators who cannot find seats may not remain in the hearing room and that there are to be no spectators standing. This is academic when nearly 100 seats are generally unoccupied.

The rules also forbid television operations, wire recording, the running of sound tracks for public broadcasting or distribution, "or television operation within the hearing room at any time." But so far not a single Brownie camera has been apprehended by hearing room officers.

Point 5 assures that "exclusive space is provided for members of the press who may desire to attend the hearing" and in the case of this writer it was literally true. Fuller coverage of the proceedings were vouchsafed only when appropriations for the Board were pending in Congress. On that occasion newspapers and press agencies were tipped off "something hot" was in the offing.



—Drawn for NWR by
William Gropper

The sensation turned out to be a paid FBI informer who first told his story three years ago.

There is a curious, unreal calm in Room 113. No one is physically threatened. There are no menacing gestures, no guns are brandished. All is bland and unruffled, only the sound of words and the shuffling of photostatic copies of "exhibits."

DO YOU KNOW what is happening in this quiet hearing room in the RFC building in the nation's capital? Acting by authority of the McCarran Act ("The Internal Security Act of 1950"), the Subversive Activities Control Board is conducting hearings to prove that the Communist Party of the United States is a "Communist action" organization, dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union. Later the board will get on to other, less publicized organizations and groups who will be tabbed "Communist front" groups, con-

trolled by the Communist Party of the U.S.

There are five members of the Board, although only two are actually sitting; one is acting chairman. Each member gets \$12,500 a year in salary. The chief counsel of the Board also gets lush pay. And Attorney General McGrath has put a dozen of his legal staff on the job to push this case and they, too, are handsomely rewarded. No cause for concern; it all comes out of the public treasury.

Volumes could be written about a number of aspects of the current Washington proceedings:

- The law as framed finds against the organization now getting a "hearing" *in advance*, for Congress in passing the McCarran Act declared the Communists to be "foreign agents."
- The character of the board and the pressures exerted to guarantee the verdict wanted. The members of the Subversive Activities Control Board have to be confirmed on the recommendation of the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman, Senator Pat McCarran, is himself the author of the Act which spawned the board. (The former chairman of the board, ex-Rep. Charles LaFollette, one-time head of the anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action, failed of confirmation because his methods were apparently not completely acceptable.) The current panel was confirmed only after five months of companionate marriage to the McCarranites. Thus the same Senate committee that authored the law and wrote in its built-in verdict is, through its appointees, sitting in judgment on evidence at the hearings.

The panel as now constituted consists of Peter Campbell Brown, a Brooklyn Democrat and one-time Department of Justice staffer, who pre-

sides, and Miss Kathryn McHale, Ph.D., whose brother, the Democratic national committeeman from Indiana, succeeded in getting his man, Frank McKinney, named as Democratic national chairman.

McGrath's chief handlers are William A. Paisley, born in Mississippi, reared in Tennessee and now living off the Democratic pork barrel in Washington; Nathan Lenvin who, until a federal judge dismissed the case in November, boasted that he had prepared the prosecution of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and his co-defendants who were charged with advocating peace.

Challenging the government's synthetic case are three hard-hitting lawyers whose skill in their profession as well as their ability to deal with the complicated political and social issues must impress even the cynics on the other side of the counsel table. They are former Congressman Vito Marcantonio; John J. Abt, for many years general counsel of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and Joseph Forer, who as OPA attorney, gave battle to price chiselers during the war.

THESE HEARINGS have been dragging on, four days a week, since April, 1951, and McGrath has not yet completed his case. The record already fills 10,000 pages, with thousands more pages of exhibits from past and current Marxist literature, beginning with the Communist Manifesto. The purpose of all this is to prove that the Communist Party is "dominated and controlled" by the Soviet Union, and hence required, under pain of jail sentences, to register itself and the names of all its members, subjecting them not only to the loss of their jobs but to prosecution under the Smith Act and the

new offense, created by the McCarran Act itself, of "substantially contributing to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship."

In an effort to establish its case, the government has so far called to the stand a miscellany of renegades, stoolpigeons and paid FBI informers who for years have made a profession of peddling their questionable wares to the Un-American Committee and anyone else who would pay to hear them.

Unable to prove its case by direct testimony from this stock company of anti-communism, the Department of Justice has brought forward a new actor and cast him in a stellar role. He is Prof. Philip Moseley, whose role it is to establish that the Communist Party and all those in America who fight for peace, are "foreign agents," because, in the language of the McCarran Act their views and policies do not deviate from those of the Soviet Union.

Prof. Moseley's self-portrait as the above-the-battle scholar, untouched and uninfluenced by the conflicts of the times proves, on closer examination, to be highly idealized.

- He is a former employee of the State Department and a supporter of the Pentagon's aggressive war policies.

- He recently addressed a meeting of the Ukrainian Nationalists who work for the destruction of the Soviet Union.

- He is a member of the "Free Europe Committee," financed by the Ford Foundation. Purpose of the Committee is to incite counter-revolutionary and separatist movements in the USSR and the People's Democracies.

- He is paid \$50 a day as an "expert witness." Payment is not only for days testified but for time spent



Vito Marcantonio

in dredging up exhibits available in the public press.

• He is chief of Columbia University's Russian Institute. The Institute, indirectly subsidized by the federal government through scholarships, has on more than one occasion been the target for attacks by Soviet commentators as "a school for spies." Moseley himself testified that a considerable number of trainees at the Institute are State Department employees, while an even larger proportion are preparing for foreign service assignments by the Pentagon.

THE PROFESSOR'S TECHNIQUE was simple enough. He identified a Soviet document—*Pravda*, *Izvestia*, a speech by a Soviet official—dealing with some aspect of foreign policy ranging in time from the League of Nations in 1919 to the Japanese Peace Treaty in 1951. He then identified a Communist Party document, a *Daily*

Worker article or editorial, a C.P. convention report or resolution dealing with the same subject matter and then pontificated that in his opinion the two views were "closely" parallel.

The lawyers for the Communist Party argued vigorously that all this had no tendency to show that the Soviet Union "dominated and controlled" the Communist Party or made it an agency of the former. In support of their position, they attempted to prove, through cross examination, that: 1—In many cases the position by the Communist Party pre-dated the Soviet expression on the same subject; 2—Many non-Communist Americans and avowed anti-Communists, from Senator Borah in 1919 to Justice William O. Douglas in 1951 had expressed similar views; 3—The views were sound, justified by events, in the interest of the American people and, in some cases, were paralleled by the official position of the United States Government; 4—The views were arrived at independently through the application to current problems of a common system of political and scientific thought first elaborated by Marx and Engels a century ago.

All this offered proof was rejected by the Board as irrelevant and immaterial. The only issue, held the Board, is whether the views are "parallel"; with that established, "domination and control" is proved as far as they are concerned. In this 1951 heresy trial it is not necessary to show that the "heretics'" ideas are evil or dangerous. It is enough that they are similar to those of the Soviet Union. The sentence of the tribunal thus becomes automatic.

The government, for example, through its hired professor, introduced five exhibits to prove its contention that the views of Soviet

spokesmen and American Communists were similar on the issue of the Japanese Treaty. These exhibits consisted of articles in the Soviet press and the Communist press of the U.S.

- The Attorney General offered in evidence an article in the *Daily Worker* of August 23, 1951, but sought to muffle the fact that the Communist Party had formulated and expressed its views on a Japanese peace treaty even before the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan. A Communist Party resolution adopted July 28, 1945 stated that powerful circles in Washington harbored the idea of a compromise with the Mikado in the hope of maintaining Japan as a reactionary bulwark in the Far East, denounced a "soft peace," demanded demilitarization and called for payment of full reparations.

- India opposed the treaty, and in its note to the U.S. Government, assailed the fact that the People's Republic of China was not invited to the San Francisco signing.

- Speeches by representatives of the Philippine and Indonesian governments, which reluctantly signed the treaty, in San Francisco severely criticized the treaty for its lack of provision for reparations and for other reasons which "closely paralleled" the grounds of Soviet objections to the treaty.

THE FAR-REACHING and dangerous implications of these hearings were seen in the discussion around the liberal British publication, *New Statesman and Nation*. An article in this publication by George Bernard Shaw had been quoted by the authoritative Soviet newspaper, *Izvestia*. Witness Moseley intoned that "while it is not a Communist publication in the sense that it is not issued by the

Communist Party of Great Britain," that nevertheless "in some aspects of its policies and recommendations it tends from time to time to parallel many of the Soviet and foreign recommendations." Editors of *Nation* and *New Republic* (U.S.A.), please note!

Consider another exhibit introduced by the government. It consisted of an article in a Soviet newspaper in 1935 which condemned atrocities in China by Japanese occupation forces. Prof. Moseley, the government's expert, testified that the article "closely paralleled" the views of American Communists! Therefore, it is evidence of "domination and control."

The government's expert witness drew many "parallels" on a variety of issues: the war in Korea, the Moscow treason trials, the rearmament and renazification of Germany, the struggle in Southeast Asia, atomic

John J. Abt



energy control, the Italian peace treaty, the Second Front, the attempted assassination of the Italian Communist leader, Togliatti, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, Greece, Viet Nam, the Philippines and Burma, the world-wide campaign for peace and for banning atomic weapons.

By Mr. Marcantonio:

Q. Is it your view that the 600 million people who signed this Stockholm appeal were all seeking to advance Communism?

Mr. Lenvin: Objection.

Chairman: Sustained.

Q. You are aware, are you not, that among the persons who signed the Stockholm petition were Dr. Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, former President of the UN General Assembly; Lazaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico; Vittorio Orlando, former Premier of Italy; Thomas Mann; George Bernard Shaw; Henri Matisse; Emily Greene Balch, 1946 Nobel Peace Prize winner; Justice James H. Wolfe of the Supreme Court of Utah; numerous Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergy, and many other famous and prominent persons? Are you aware of that?

Mr. Lenvin: Objection.

Chairman: Sustained.

Objected to, also, was the question whether an "informed observer could reasonably conclude" that the signing of the Stockholm appeal to ban atomic weapons was in the "best interests of world peace and in the best interests of the U.S."

THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS' support of a cease-fire in Korea was merely an echo of Jacob Malik's proposal of June 23, 1951, the government charged, and offered as evidence an article in the *Sunday Worker* headed, "World Hails Bid for Cease Fire in Korea."

Opposing counsel vainly attempted to show:

- The Communists energetically supported the Johnson resolution (Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, D-Colo.) introduced in the U.S. Senate May 17, 1951. The Johnson resolution preceded the Malik speech.

- Prior to the Malik speech the Communists of the U.S. vigorously supported other and earlier proposals for a cease-fire including those made by India's Premier Nehru and the Arab bloc in the UN.

By Mr. Abt:

Q. It is a fact, is it not, that there was in this country and elsewhere almost universal welcoming of Mr. Malik's speech of June 23, 1951, opening a possibility of achieving peace in Korea, is that correct?

Mr. Lenvin: Objection.

Chairman: Sustained.

Q. The United States did enter truce negotiations in Korea, did it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the U.S. thereby "adopt a position advanced by the Soviet government?"

Mr. Lenvin: Objection.

Chairman: Sustained.

Incredible though it may seem, McGrath's aides at the hearing sought to show that the fight on colonialism and imperialism was a quite recent development and part of the much-publicized "Moscow plot." An ironic touch was provided by Mr. Marcantonio when he asked the display witness of the government, Prof. Moseley, if he recalled a speech on U.S. policy toward Asia by Dean Acheson before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, March 15, 1950, in which he said that "the deep and revolutionary movement of the peoples of Asia" is made up of two dominant ideas, "the first is a revulsion against misery and poverty as a

normal condition of life; the second is a revulsion against foreign domination."

The witness said, "Yes, I recall the general terms."

He was asked whether he remembered reading Justice Douglas' famous articles in *Look Magazine* on the same subject, including his statement that "If any power had done to us what the French have done to the people of Indo-China, we would produce the most glorious revolution the world ever witnessed."

Mr. Lenvin: Objection.

Chairman: Sustained.

The definitive view of the Government-McCarran position, concurred in repeatedly by the panel's chairman, was enunciated by the D. of J. attorney, Paisley:

"It doesn't matter whether the particular view or policy is held by many people, by some people, or by all the people of the world. The issue is whether the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the U.S. hold similar views."

Prof. Moseley's formula of the Soviet Union vis-à-vis the American Communists is paralleled by Sen. McCarthy's homicidal crusades against Owen Lattimore, Ambassador Jessup and John Carter Vincent. Ironically, the technique which McGrath is using in the hearing room is employed by the McCarthys and McCarrans on Capitol Hill to discredit the Truman Administration.

ONCE the McCarran Board rules that the Communist Party is "dominated and controlled" by the Soviet Union and stigmatizes it as a "Communist action" organization it will then move on to what the Act calls "Communist-front" groups. There-

after the criterion of a "Communist-front" group will be the degree of its "non-deviation" from the proscribed "Communist - action" organization. While an appeal to the courts from the findings of the panel now sitting would defer punishment for those involved in the current proceeding, it would not bar hearings on alleged "Communist - front" organizations. At that point the Board is empowered to flood the country with appointed examiners who can set up simultaneous hearings in various parts of the country—hearings that will entail harassment, expense, character assassination, and provide a field day for the warmongering and sensation-hunting press of the land.

If a union or community group has been active in the fight for peace, for pensions, for public housing, against discrimination, for national health insurance, or any other issue which Communists have also supported, such organization would be marked for destruction when the Department of Justice and the Board brand it a "Communist front" for harboring these views.

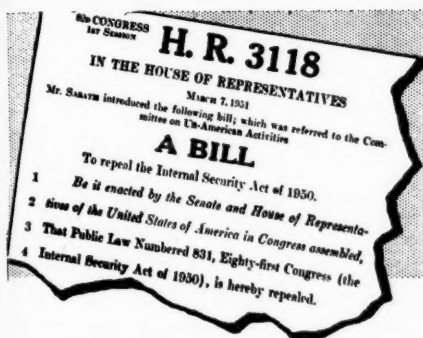
The influential *Washington Post* editorially has described the current kangaroo hearings in the nation's capital as "a ritual performance," adding that "the main reason for going through the ritual is to avoid the constitutional prohibition against bills of attainder by a proceeding which conforms to the requirements of due process."

It is not mere coincidence that the

HIS AIM: FORCE AND VIOLENCE?

"The U.S. should make it clear to the world, by everything that we say and do, that our objective is the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship by all means at our disposal."

—Sen. Pat McCarran, in television interview over Dumont network, Aug. 17, 1951.



Write your Congressmen and Senators
to support the Sabath Repeal Bill

McCarran Act which establishes this "ritual"—Nazi style—also makes provision for concentration camps. The victims of the quiet proceedings in Room 113 are being marked for internment behind barbed wire.

The Department of Justice has already announced that it is working on three major installations with a combined capacity for confining more than 3,000 persons. One of these is the former military airport at Wickensburg, Ariz. The others are World War II prisoner-of-war camps at Florence, Ariz., and El Reno, Okla. Surveys of other similar unused government properties are being made, including Tule Lake, Calif., where some 20,000 West Coast Japanese were held during the war against Nazi-Fascism and its concentration camp rule.

Meanwhile, Sen. James O. Eastland (D, Louisiana) finds the concentration camp provisions of the McCarran Act somewhat too remote and has introduced a bill calling for the immediate declaration of a state of emergency so that detention of fighters for peace can be commenced without delay.

Chief targets of the McCarran Act, with its provisions for registration, prison, fines, concentration camps,

are fighters for peace. And in their effort to discredit the crusade for peace the warmakers assert that these activities are proof of the Soviet Union's "indirect aggression." They proclaim that those who fight for peace are Moscow's agents. To guarantee the success of their imperial dream they chip away at America's hard-won civil liberties, rob the worker of his wages through inflation and threaten the peoples of the world with atomic bombs.

WHEN GOERING fired the Reichstag and pinned the blame on the Communists, millions of Germans justified their passivity by telling themselves that life for them could go on even if the Communists were destroyed. But the assault on the Communists did not stop with the Communists. Militant trade unionists, conservative trade unionists, Jews, Catholics, liberals, pacifist came next. The pattern has been set. It is familiar to students of contemporary history, to readers of the daily press.

"The application of the registration requirements to the Communist-front organizations," said Harry S. Truman, tongue-in-cheek, in his McCarran Act veto message, "can be the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press and assembly, since the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798."

Millions in our land are beginning to believe these words even if the man who uttered them does not. Time is short. But Americans who prize their heritage can still act to halt the attack on their waning liberties. The repeal of the McCarran thought-control Act would help salvage the Bill of Rights which is being rapidly torn to shreds by those who would make good citizenship—with its duty to speak the truth—a crime.



An end to exorbitant rent and a lifetime of indebtedness—burning the landlord's deeds



They gather to learn about the Land Reform Law. Below: Mutual aid teams pick cotton



LAND REFORM IN CHINA

For the Chinese peasant, dreams do come true—now he owns the land he tills. Land reform, which cast off the age-old yoke of feudalism, was completed by last October in areas with a rural population of 310,000,000. Trained workers visited the countryside, held meetings to explain the Land Reform Law, drew up a census of the rural population, and the peasants themselves redistributed the land on an equitable basis. The government gave them seeds, equipment, fertilizer and advice on scientific farming. And the peasants, working in mutual aid teams, helped harvest each other's fields. Result: Last year China reaped outstanding crops.



Peasants in Han Hsein, Cheking province, after redistributing the land, seize the grain of the ousted landlord and bring it to the village for distribution

After a complete survey of the land, and needs of the peasants, the farmers measure out the landlord's land in Chien Yuan village, in Cheking province



Before land is distributed, the peasants in each area register so that a complete record of their needs is obtained. Right: Peasants of Ping Loh village, Honan province, are registering



They were landless and poor before. Now this family (below) holds the title deed to their newly won land



Village women (above) attend a meeting to celebrate completion of the land reform



Yu Chin-yu has received his land. The sign he holds says: "The People's Government has distributed the land."

HOW CHINA'S MILLIONS WON LAND-AND LIFE

by LEMENT U. HARRIS

THE STORY of new China's agrarian reform is graphically told in a small book *How the Tillers Win Back Their Land*, by Hsiao Ch'ien, recently received in this country in an English translation.

The book reveals that by the Spring of 1951, 290 million of China's 400 million agricultural population had gone through the process of land reform. In every village there were landlords to contend with, rich peasants to win over, middle peasants to reassure, and the great mass of very poor peasants, half of them landless, to whom land, implements and seed had to be distributed.

Every one of the several million villages concerned in this rural revolution has been the scene of intense drama. Feudal conditions which held sway for a thousand years have been brought to a swift end. Formerly oppressed peasants have been helped to rise up and to recognize the landlord as their enemy, to administer the affairs of the community and plan for the future.

The book is the eyewitness story of the "overturning" of an average village. The author was a member

of a Land Reform Work Team which was sent from one village to another to help the peasants put through the reform. He gives a composite of the experiences of a number of villages, but every event described actually took place. The climax is the celebration mass meeting where the redistribution of land is announced and confirmed. The banners which decorate the platform read as follows:

"Earth and heaven overturned and feudalism destroyed!"

"All peasants everywhere are brothers."

The opening chapter presents the state of affairs in Hsinlu village just before the arrival of the Land Reform Work Team. Landlords still rule the community but are nervous about what may happen when the Work Team arrives. Some seek to curry favor with their farm hands by little gifts. One of the richest packs a satchel of valuables and flees with his favorite concubine, leaving behind his wife and twenty-room house.

The Work Team arrives and starts conducting daily discussions with the most active of the poor peasants. There is considerable hesitation. People remember the killings and tortures which the landlords meted out after the 1927 revolution subsided. There are more recent memories of betrayals to the Japanese

LEMENT U. HARRIS has worked for years on farm problems in the United States and has written extensively on agriculture here and abroad.

and orgies by Chiang Kai-shek's troops who followed the Japanese.

One of the team members, Yu Yang, sees the possibility of a people's hero in Fu-chuan, a bitterly exploited man-servant of landlord Peng Erh-hu. Yu's use of the word "exploit" puzzles Fu-chuan. "Yes, exploit," says Yu Yang, "a mixture of open robbery and pocket picking. Now you, for example, turned out seventy piculs of rice, but he only gave you ten."

"But," says Fu-chuan in a feeble voice, "the land was his."

"Indeed? Now tell me. How did he get his land in the first place? . . . You, Fu-chuan, among all the peasants are most entitled to getting a piece of land, because you belong among the poorest, most exploited and hard working."

Landlord Peng Erh-hu is foolish enough to send a note asking his wife to join him in a nearby city. Volunteer militia are sent and in a few days bring back their man. Then a public trial is held in which all who have grievances are invited to state them before a judge, jury and the people. For hour after hour, men and women come forward to scream their accusations against the three landlords who are in the dock.

Two of the landlords are proven guilty of the death of a number of patriots by pointing them out to the Japanese. These two are condemned to death by the judgment of the tribunal. The third landlord is no less hated, but is not proven guilty of causing anyone's death. But he is found guilty of collaborating with the Japanese, with rumor mongering about how Chiang Kai-shek is going to return with the hated Koumintang army, with making photostatic copies of his title deeds which shows he

still pins his hopes on the Kuomintang reactionaries. He is given seven years in prison and the crowd shouts its approval.

Having disposed of the most dangerous of the landlords, it becomes possible to systematically classify each inhabitant on his class status: landlord, rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant. A full month is spent interviewing, hearing complaints, and publicly posting the findings. Classes are conducted on the new Agrarian Reform Law, and in addition classes in literacy are set up.

Some of the remaining landlords argue that they should be classed as rich peasants, and many a middle peasant tries to show he is really a very poor man. But neighbors know neighbors, and after days of discussion all pertinent facts have to show up. Gradually the big book containing the class record and status of each person is filled.

Special pains are taken to reassure middle and even some rich peasants. Uncle Kuang-lin, for example, is listed "tenant-middle-peasant." Although his land is rented and he labors himself, yet he owns quite a complete set of implements and never has to sell his own labor power. His life has not been as difficult as some. But he feels disgruntled and complains: "How come I can't be classified as a poor peasant?"

Team leader Lu Yang is quick to hear this and to explain:





ACCUSING THE LANDLORD

Woodcut by Lo Kung-liu

"The main purpose in class differentiation is to draw a line separating us from the landlords. All of us peasants are in one group. We're all the masters of the countryside. The farmhands and the poor peasants of today will soon become middle peasants too, since their wealth will increase after they've got their own land."

Various special problems arise, such as a delegation of former artisans who fashioned charms and ob-

jects of superstition out of tinfoil. They request the privilege of becoming poor peasants and being assigned some land. This is granted.

In the end all available land is distributed and titles issued. Boundless is the joy when the Work Team announces that a sizeable shipment of selected rice seed has come in and is available for the next planting. There is only one condition: that this superior government-loaned seed must not be eaten up like ordinary grain.

At the celebration meeting when the land reform is completed, former servant Fu-chuan makes his first public speech:

"I only know how to meddle with mud, and I can't talk. But, when we drink, we don't forget the well-digger. In emancipation let us not forget the Communist Party. Without Chairman Mao, without the Communist Party, where would I be today? Wouldn't I still be trampled under foot by Peng Erh-hu?"

CHINA BUILDS A GREAT PORT

ONE of China's biggest construction jobs this year is the work on New Harbor, about thirty miles from Tientsin, North China's largest industrial city.

The new artificial harbor, just outside the port of Taku in Pohai Bay, will be one of the world's largest sheltered ports, with a total expanse of 18 square kilometers enclosed by breakwaters. By the end of this year, ocean-going vessels up to 10,000 tons will be accommodated.

In addition to the harbor, the project includes the construction of wharves, warehouses, drydocks and rail service linking the rest of the country with Tientsin.

New Harbor will prove a boon to Tientsin. The present port facilities enable vessels only up to 3,000 tons to reach the city. They have to go by way of the Haiho River, and then only when the mouth of Pohai Bay is not frozen. Larger ocean-going vessels must anchor out in the bay where they are unloaded by launches, a time-consuming and expensive process. New Harbor will go a long way to meeting China's expanding trade. Cargo delivery will be expedited and ship turnover accelerated.



WITH most normal avenues of communication between the people of our country and the Soviet Union blocked off by the cold war, it is heartening that one such avenue has been kept open through the simple device of letter-writing.

During the last year of World War II, the Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship initiated its "Correspondence Project," for the exchange of letters between American women and women with similar occupations and interests in the Soviet Union.

Since that time there has been a small but steady flow of letters, at first to a Dear Unknown Friend, and then to Dear Anna, Sonya, Priscilla, Irina, as friendships developed between the women of the two countries in this effort to help bring peace through mutual understanding.

In these letters American and Soviet women have poured out to each other the intimacies of their family lives, their joys and heartaches. They have written of their life's work, exchanged recipes and snapshots of themselves and their families, discussed music, art and literature. The Soviet women have asked many questions about our theaters, educational system, our housing problems, oppor-

tunities for employment and so on. The American women have asked about elections, trade unions, child care and the many things our people want to know about the Soviet Union.

In their discussions the points of view quite often differ considerably, but as one Soviet woman wrote, "Even though we disagree about some things we can still be friends."

Who are these women in the United States who are writing to their counterparts in the Soviet Union? They are church women, club women, farm and factory workers, professional women, office workers and housewives from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The replies come from women in similar categories. The dominant theme that runs through all the letters going back and forth is peace.

Answering a letter from an American college teacher asking about her life and her feeling about peace, a Soviet teacher wrote:

Even though we are separated by an enormous distance and speak different languages, we are nevertheless united by one sentiment, that of motherhood. Our main happiness lies in our children, their well-being and their good health. You ask me what I think about peace. For me, as for all our Soviet people, peace means life, prosperity, calm and



by VIRGINIA EPSTEIN

joyous work and the happiness of our children. I have a grown son and I do not want him to be the victim of a new war. I personally think that if all mothers unite and declare their ardent protest, there will be no war.

An American dance instructor out in California and a Soviet ballerina have been carrying on an animated correspondence about the subject nearest to their hearts for many months. In a recent letter the ballerina wrote:

What you wrote about your methods of teaching is very interesting but I must tell you that, for our ballet schools, this is a phase which we have passed through long ago. For can there be any other dances in a theater than "creative" dances? In our country every actor who performs role dances, not merely the movements stipulated by the ballet-master, dances them with proper consideration for the idea and aim of the respective role. In dancing the part of Esmerelda, besides mastering the technical part of the dances, I must first and foremost feel the role, enter it and live the life of a Gypsy of that epoch

VIRGINIA EPSTEIN is Chairman of the Correspondence Project of the Women's Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

and try, in my own way, to convey to the audience, Esmerelda's great love and hatred. In our theater we have no "entertainment" dances—by which I mean such dances as can be cut out from the play without by any means hurting the play itself. Every dance is connected with the development of the play and ensues from it and without it the play itself would be unintelligible....

To which the American dance instructor replied:

Your letter aroused in me so many, many trains of thought, so many cross currents of emotion that I find myself as I ride around on buses composing my answer in a hundred different ways. When I get a letter it is my greatest pleasure to answer it at once, for ideas surge into my mind from the stimulation of reading it. Your letters are more than just a personal pleasure to me. They are a symbol. They are a chain of love that connects our two great countries and holds them in peace. Would that there were as many of these chains as there are women in the two countries!

The following is from a letter written by a Chicago woman to "A Russian woman of whom I want to think as My Dear Friend":

I am the wife of an Episcopal priest (the same as "Orthodox" in your country). I help him in every way I can. Besides that I do all my own housework, cooking, cleaning, laundering and sewing, and am helping in a nursery school. This nursery school is open to children of all races.

This letter was written on April 24th but I have had to wait to get it typed. That was the day before the fifth anniversary of the "Oath at the Elbe River" when American and Russian soldiers swore that they would do everything in their power to prevent another war and to work for peace and friendship among all nations.

I do hope you will write to me and tell me about your life in your great land....

The "dear friend" was found. She proved to be a Soviet journalist, who wrote back:

Father Nikolai, arch presbyter and dean of our Patriarchal Cathedral, handed me your letter a few days ago. I will correspond with you gladly. It will be a great pleasure for me to have a friend in an American woman. I write articles for newspaper and magazines. Father Nikolai knows me well. We often meet in the course of our work. In addition I frequently attend the services in our Patriarchal Cathedral. The services there are exceptionally solemn and magnificent, particularly when conducted by the Patriarch himself. The Cathedral is large and beautifully decorated. Two choirs chant regularly. The Patriarch is fond of ancient Russian monastic melodies which give me a real delight when sung by the splendid choirs. This is why I prefer to go to the Patriarchal Cathedral although our parish church also has a fine choir and is under the charge of a kind and attentive archpriest and two very fine and experienced assistants. My mother attends matins every Sunday in this church....

A secretary in Chicago began a correspondence with these words:

Somehow I cannot feel we are complete strangers, because I, at least, feel we have formed a kinship through your great literature — Gorky, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Chekhov and so many others. And music too, some of which is playing on my phonograph as I write this letter to you. If only tens of thousands of Americans would join in an exchange of letters like this or some similar activity I feel we would establish bonds beyond even hints of war. I sincerely wish for world peace and want to do all that I am able to help—it will only be during such a period of peace that the apex of the arts and cultural endeavors, education and industrial levels will be reached.

Back came the answer. It was from a Russian woman, an agronomist,

IF YOU WANT TO CORRESPOND

1. Send your letter addressed to Dear Friend or Dear Unknown Friend, describing yourself, your family, your interests and asking any questions you have about life in the USSR, to the Committee of Women, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.
2. The Committee will send it for you to the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR.
3. There it will be translated into Russian and sent on to a woman with the same interests as yours.
4. Her answer will be sent back to the Committee of Women and forwarded to you with the English translation.

who works to improve the collective farm harvests:

You are quite right . . . the distance between people in different countries cannot be measured in miles. It is common interests, convictions and aims in life that are important for friendship between peoples. We were very glad to see from your letter that you like our great authors and that you like to listen to our music....

The interest of the Russian people in America's finest literature was expressed in a letter from a Soviet woman to an American woman in a small village on the Pacific Coast, who replied:

Your letter is here before me on my dining room table. It is something of a miracle to see it there and realize that it had come from across the world to establish a bond between people so far removed in point of mileage. If all the little people all over the world could know each other, they would also discover that we are all fundamentally the same in our hopes and desires. The knowledge that you too travelled down

the old Mississippi River with Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer, have dreamed the same dreams, heard the same music and are building for the same freedoms that we struggle to attain and cherish, all these things tear away the miles and language differences. Antonina, my friend, I salute you.

These are but a very few excerpts from the many letters exchanged over the past six years. Each one expresses the deep sincerity which has motivated these women in wishing to know the truth about each other.

So many women have asked "What can I do as an individual to help solve this world crisis in which we are all

so sadly and helplessly floundering?"

The simplest things are often overlooked. Writing a letter to a "Dear Unknown Friend" in the Soviet Union is a very simple thing to do, but if every woman who reads this article would write a letter and make it her concern to interest a number of her friends to do the same, this small but steady flow would become such a flood of understanding and friendship that the result could hardly be ignored. This would be an indisputable proof that "the pen is mightier than the sword" in bringing the world the peace for which all mankind is yearning.

To an American Mother

It will be all right, you are thinking. They don't take children to war.

My son's but a little boy now. A child! His age is just ten.

Before he's grown up, before the age for the draft

All will be well. Surely it will! The storm will have passed by then.

But wait, O mother. A memory speaks. I recall a city destroyed—

Blind and silent and deaf. If the moon's dead surface is seen

It appears just so when close up. Not believe me, you say? Examine

this picture with me.

Those craters are houses extinct; the street—a waste and rocky ravine.

Look closer—there. See, there's a part of a door in that wall,

And marks have been drawn upon it. A mother, recording so

The growth of her son, put them there. This one says: Three years, so tall.

This one: four and a half. (Love is so proudly precise!)

This one: eight years. And *this* shows the ten-years' height

Where a bullet has crashed it. After that—there are no more marks at all.

But Truman knows better, you'll say. It's his business to know;

I don't understand these affairs. What's politics to me?

My son's but a child. And before it's time that he go

To the army. . . . Just wait. A city destroyed I still see. . . .

WISLAWA SZYMBORSKA

(Translated by Margaret Schlauch from the Polish)

The Exploiters Return In Yugoslavia

by VICTOR PERLO

Victor Perlo, a leading economist, is the author of the recently published book, *American Imperialism*. Our readers will recall his penetrating series of articles on Yugoslavia (published in our predecessor, *Soviet Russia Today*, in the January-May issues, 1950) which brought out the tendencies of Yugoslav economic development as a result of Tito's betrayal of socialism. The article below describes the logical conclusions of those tendencies, with all their disastrous consequences to the Yugoslav people and to world peace.

"PROFIT AND LOSS is gradually resuming its proper role at the expense of central control in the economy of Yugoslavia," writes *The Economist*, leading journal of British big business (Jan. 5, 1952). The *New York Herald Tribune* reports "a fascinating and hitherto untold story of a thorough economic revolution in Yugoslavia toward a free system" (Dec. 29, 1951).

It has not been easy to fully restore capitalist institutions in Yugoslavia. The desire of the overwhelming majority of the people for socialism had to be taken into account. Therefore capitalist institutions were strengthened step by step, with continued avowals that the steps were towards socialism. Recent decrees consolidating capitalist relations in industry were announced as "a new stage . . . in the development of Yugoslav socialism . . . a great transition is being affected, from state ownership—the lowest form of

socialism—to ownership and control by the direct producers themselves" (Yugoslav Newsletter, Sept. 1951). Tito continues to talk of his "socialism" and "communism," and to describe his involvement in Pentagon war preparations as proof that "socialist and capitalist states can exist side by side and cooperate on many questions" (speech of Nov. 27, 1951).

But neither the *Economist* nor the *Herald Tribune* are under any such compulsion to pull the wool over the eyes of their readers on this score. They are very pleased with the "revolution"—or properly speaking, counter-revolution—which has taken place. What are the main features of this counter-revolution?

Private Industry and Trade

At the end of World War II, Yugoslavia's plants, mines, and banks were nationalized. Two years ago the first overt step towards restoration of capitalism was taken with the



AS ALIKE AS TWO PEAS

Tito is more and more subordinate to U.S. capital

Polish cartoon by E. Lipinski

shifting of most industrial enterprises from federal to regional and local control. This precluded the possibility of a centrally planned economy, and put the individual plants in the hands of Tito-appointed officials in various parts of the country. These officials, without central supervision, became in effect private industrial magnates. But the form of state ownership was maintained, as well as a pretense of planning through regional governments.

During the second half of 1951 the form and pretense were abandoned. The factory and mine managers were left in complete charge, and instructed to engage in competitive bidding for domestic and foreign markets and raw materials. They were authorized to make as much profits as they desired, and to spend them as they saw fit, that is, to distribute them as investments in the business, workers' benefits, and money in their own pockets. State subsidies, necessary to nurture infant industries in a system of planned economic development, were abandoned.

All that was left of "socialism" were the "Workers' Councils" which are supposed to have an equal voice in management and in the distribution of profits.

But even at an earlier stage, I. F. Stone wrote from Belgrade that "under the new system of 'worker management' of factories here the real power remained with the manager and with the organs of the State" (*Daily Compass*, Nov. 7, 1950). He described the workers' councils as devices for getting more production out of the workers, and for imposing discipline on them, with no influence on management.

The more recent talk of "profit sharing" was immediately made into a mockery with government regulations freezing wages and raising the cost of living.

Under actual conditions in Yugoslavia, the workers' councils can have no more real weight than the "workers' chambers" in Mussolini's corporative state, and are in fact a replica of that fascist institution. The comparison is heightened by the formation of "economic associations" of the employers in each industry. The personal background of the new proprietors is irrelevant. Whether they are former owners retained as "experts" by the Tito regime, or technicians formerly representing foreign firms, or political adventurers who jumped on the Tito bandwagon, they are today the owners, the new industrial capitalists of Yugoslavia.

In keeping with the emergence of this class, they are now represented on the Boards of Directors of the banks, which remain nominally state institutions, but are transformed into capitalist financial agencies, such as the Federal Reserve Banks in the United States.

In accordance with other recent

decrees, retail traders are completely "free"—that is, free to speculate, hoard, raise prices. The remnants of government "planning" consist of the levying of income taxes and of certain forms of state regulation common to all capitalist countries today.

Landlords in the Saddle

The Tito regime at an early stage boasted of a very rapid collectivization of agriculture—in contrast to the slow and wholly voluntary development of collectivization in the People's Democracies. But the "collectives" in Yugoslavia were frauds designed to discredit socialist forms among the peasantry. They were disguised forms by which the peasants, many of whom had won the land in partisan struggle, were forced again to toil for new and old landlords.

In a recent article Ivan Vukovic, director of cooperative agriculture in Croatia, admitted that "the cooperative peasants frequently considered the cooperative farmsteads as belonging to someone else, their work as something forced upon them." He told of "individual leaders" who took control, assigned jobs, supervised the peasants, and kept them in forced labor: "Thus we witnessed the establishment of relations similar to those existing under capitalism and even under feudalism" (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 13, 1952).

Last year the peasants engaged in large-scale resistance to this exploitation, seeking to quit the "collectives" by the thousands. Together with individual peasants oppressed by ruinous prices and taxes, they refused to sow their crops or deliver their grain. So the Titoite rulers are now formally abandoning what they falsely call "Soviet type collective farms," and are seeking new

forms for disguising the capitalist and feudal exploitation of the peasantry.

For a weak country like Yugoslavia to return to capitalism in the present-day world means to give up all hope of broad industrial development.

The Government has repeatedly slashed the ambitious program for industrialization, until hardly anything is left of it. The entire plan has now been reduced to one rolling mill, two aluminum factories, one coke plant, four textile mills, two ceramic factories, miscellaneous mining enterprises and seven hydroelectric power plants—which cannot possibly be completed. After this year, according to Boris Kidric, Chairman of the Yugoslav Economic Council, capital investments will be limited mainly to agriculture.

Colonial Exploitation

Manufacturing production in 1950, according to official figures, increased very little in some lines, declined sharply in others, mainly consumers' goods. Press accounts indicate that the 1951 showing was even worse. In 1947, Yugoslav industry was far ahead of that of the neighboring People's Democracy, Rumania. But by 1950, Rumanian production was from 50 to 100 per cent above Yugoslavia's in most lines.

The only industries that are booming in Yugoslavia are the extraction of non-ferrous metals and the cutting down of timber for export to the West. These two items alone account for two-thirds of all Yugoslav exports. In pre-war Yugoslavia the cutting of trees exceeded the annual growth by 40 per cent. By 1948, the excess cutting was raised to 65 per cent, and the most intense exports of lumber followed.

While almost all countries raised their prices for materials after the Korean War began, the Tito regime continues to deliver metals to U.S. companies at pre-Korea prices, although paying vastly increased prices for its own imports. The *New York Times* Belgrade correspondent explains:

"The Yugoslav Government is aware of the fact that it is one of the principal shippers of strategic raw materials to the United States and that it is, therefore, making a contribution, if only a modest one, to the American rearmament program" (June 10, 1951).

Even such a weak government as that of Bolivia holds out for better prices in the present market! In the classical colonial style, Yugoslavia today spends more for relatively small imports of finished metals than it receives for its major export of crude ores and smelted metals.

So far as public announcements are concerned, U.S. and British investments in Yugoslavia have been limited to Marshall Plan type grants

and credits, and to loans by the U.S.-controlled International Bank. At the same time, private foreign companies may well be buying up mining and other properties under cover, in the same fashion as the quiet acquisitions of Japanese and German industries in the early period of the occupation, acquisitions which have only recently been publicly acknowledged. Certainly the charges by exiled Yugoslav Communists that Anaconda Copper and other big U.S. corporations have taken control over important Yugoslav enterprises cannot be dismissed as idle propaganda.

The recent changes in Yugoslav economic organization will surely lead to an accelerated restoration of foreign ownership of the country's resources. With plant managers forced to bargain privately with foreign concerns for markets, raw materials, and credits, these Titoite "nouveaux riches" will be under pressure to accept foreign "stockholders" and "partners" in order to keep any stake in their businesses. This is the typical pattern in Latin America and other semi-colonial areas, made easier in Yugoslavia by its extreme economic weakness and lack of capital.

Yugoslavia's foreign trade deficit has worsened rapidly since the Korean War and the increased import of high-priced goods for military purposes. With no appreciable gold reserves, the Government must repeatedly beg the United States for credits in order to get the minimum quantities of raw materials needed to keep industry from complete collapse, and the foodstuffs needed to feed the swollen army. The credits are granted in return for far-reaching concessions.

On the recommendation of visiting staff experts of the U.S.-con-

TAMED

Polish cartoon by Ha-Ga



Conference in Defense of Children

AN International Conference in Defense of Children has been called to be held in Vienna from April 12 to 16. Ninety-four leading personalities from 34 countries issued the call, which has met world-wide response. The initiators appeal to all men and women of good will, and all organizations interested in the problems of children, to come together "to save the children, the most precious wealth of all mankind." Conference aims: to discuss in a friendly, objective and scientific manner, measures

- to protect the life and health of children threatened by a new war
- to insure the food, housing and medical care needed for their development
- to create opportunities for educational and professional training for every child
- to protect children from the pernicious influence of immoral literature, radio broadcasts and films, to organize suitable information for them
- to combat juvenile delinquency and to solve the problem of re-educating maladjusted children
- to find ways and means of solving the problem of young vagrants and abandoned children especially in colonial and dependent countries
- to combat the exploitation of child labor and to seek to improve legislation for the protection of minors
- to bring up the children in a spirit of democracy and friendship between all peoples

The call concludes: "Only the united efforts of those who have at heart the well-being of children will make it possible to guarantee to all young people a healthy, creative and active life in a world at peace."

It is of the utmost importance that there be American participation in this vitally significant Congress. For further information write U.S. Committee for Participation in International Conference for Defense of Children, Room 401, 111 W. 42nd Street, New York 18.

trolled International Monetary Fund, Yugoslavia on January 1 cut the value of its currency, the dinar, to one-sixth of the former value. This is the most drastic of all European currency devaluations of the Marshall Plan era.

The International Monetary Fund announced that this cheapening of money would lead to an increased export of agricultural products (the Yugoslav people are already struggling with starvation), a curtailment of imports, and that it would benefit foreign tourists and "others

making payment in foreign currency," that is, private foreign investors (*International Financial News Survey*, Jan. 11, 1952). The *Economist* gloats that the devaluation will make Yugoslavia "one of the cheapest countries in Europe" (Jan. 5, 1952).

Needless to say, all this has meant a drastic cut in the already low living standards of the workers and peasants. Moreover it is associated with the extreme militarization of the country. These features will be discussed in a subsequent issue.

MY MUSICAL CREDO

**Noted Soviet musician tells of
Salt Lake City episode, work of
his colleagues, aim of his art**

by **SERGEI PROKOFIEV**

I HAVE NEVER live or conducted concerts in Salt Lake City, Utah. Even when I visited the United States in 1938 at the invitation of my American friends, I did not have an opportunity to see that city—an omission I rather regret, for I have no doubt that music has quite as many devotees there as anywhere else in the world.

A short while ago a rather curious sidelight on musical life in that city came to my attention in the shape of an *Associated Press* dispatch from Salt Lake City which reported that the conductor of the Utah Symphony Orchestra, Maurice Abravanel, had notified the police of an anonymous telephone caller who had threatened

the previous night to kill or injure him if he conducted Prokofiev's Fifth Symphony as scheduled on the program of his concert. The program, however, was not revised, the dispatch stated.

This incident might perhaps not have been worth mentioning but for one rather important aspect that concerns me personally. Indeed, why should Prokofiev's Fifth Symphony have evoked such a violent reaction? As far as I know the symphony has always been well received by American concert-goers. It has been successfully performed on more than one occasion by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Artur Rodzinski, and by several other orchestras. I happen to own recordings of these performances. And here a conductor was being threatened with death for including the symphony in his program!

The Fifth Symphony is dedicated to free and happy Man, it sings of his mighty powers, his pure and noble spirit. I cannot say that I consciously chose this theme. It was born in me and clamored for expression. I wrote the music that had matured within me, the music that filled my soul. Perhaps it is because this music glorifies the freedom of

SERGEI PROKOFIEV, distinguished Soviet composer, is known internationally for his symphonies, ballets, operas, vocal and chamber music. They include the "Fifth Symphony," the "Classical Symphony," the "Third Piano Concerto," the operas "Love for Three Oranges," "War and Peace," the "Alexander Nevsky Cantata," the ballets "Romeo and Juliet" and "Cinderella." He has recently finished another ballet, "The Stone Flower" based on a fairy tale written by the late Pavel Bazhov. At the same time he also completed a concerto for violoncello and orchestra. This article first appeared in the Soviet English-language fortnightly "News."

the human spirit that makes it so distasteful to some people in Utah who evidently prefer music that debases man, blunts his perceptions and warps his finer feelings?

The other day as I was going through my library, looking over some old copies of my music published in various countries, I came across the Seventh Piano Sonata with annotations by Olin Downes, published in New York. (Incidentally I have good recordings of this work rendered by American musicians who, I know, have performed it any number of times.) I also found my symphonic fairy tale, "Peter and the Wolf," with annotations by Harold Sheldon (I conducted a performance of this work in Boston in 1938); a sonata for violin and piano, the "Alexander Nevsky Cantata," of which I have a recording by the Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Eugene Ormandy, and several other compositions.

All these works are extremely varied in genre, theme and technical treatment. Yet they are linked by one and the same idea—they all speak of Man, and are created for



him. I am convinced that it is this quality that has endeared them to music lovers in many countries of the world, including the United States.

Not long ago I composed a new oratorio. It is entitled "On Guard for Peace." I did not seek this theme either, nor did I select it from a number of others. It emerged out of

the very pulsation of life, out of all that surrounds and animates me and my people.

I usually spend the summer months in my country home not far from Moscow. I often drive out there from the city, and the road that runs right from the heart of Moscow through the outskirts and into the country, past old and new forests, across rivers and through grainfields is quite familiar to me.

Driving to town from the country, past a field of tall rye, I see a new machine, a self-propelled harvester-combine, working on the field. A few dozen kilometers farther on I see a group of rosy-cheeked children playing in a meadow under the watchful eyes of their teachers. They had all come out here for the summer with the kindergarten which belongs to a Moscow factory. A short distance away special cranes are at work planting venerable lime trees along either side of the road. Another few kilometers and I behold some new apartment houses which have just emerged from their timbers. And finally, at the very approaches to Moscow, the classical contours of the truly magnificent building of the Moscow University soar up amid a shimmering golden haze. All these are scenes from everyday Soviet life.

I know full well that what I observe on my brief journey from the country to Moscow is typical of the life of my country as a whole. I know reputable scientists who have left their Moscow laboratories for a time and gone off to Central Asia to help build the Main Turkmen Canal. I know some young engineers who went straight from the University in Moscow to the banks of the Volga, the Don and the Dnieper to lend a hand with the huge power developments under construction there. I have

The noted composer, Sergei Prokofiev, at work in his studio



many friends and acquaintances who are writing books, planting gardens and building houses. Their whole lives are filled with the poetry of peaceful labor. And that is how the theme of my new oratorio came into being.

It tells of the grim days of World War II, of the tears of mothers and orphans, of towns swept by fire, of the terrible trials that fell to the lot of our people; of Stalingrad and the victory over the enemy; of the radiant joy of creative labor, of the happy childhood of our children. In this composition I have striven to express my ideas about peace and war, and my firm belief that war shall not be, that the nations of the world will safeguard the peace, save civilization, our children, our future.

Perhaps all this sounds somewhat too ambitious for such a modest work, but I think the oratorio on peace expresses the principles I mentioned before.

I am now working on a large symphonic poem, dedicated to the joining of the two Russian rivers, the Volga and the Don. "The Volga Meets the Don" I have called it. The theme for this composition too was

suggested by life. A few weeks ago the builders of the new Volga-Don waterway joined these two great rivers. There are many old Russian folk songs about the Volga and the Don, and to these new songs have now been added that sing of the exploits of man, the remaker of Nature.

A great deal has been said in America and Western Europe about the artist's mission, and his freedom to create. But can the true artist stand aloof from life and confine his art within the narrow limits of subjective emotions, or should he be where he is needed most, where his writing, his music, his chisel can help the people to live a better, finer life?

Let us recall the lives of Beethoven and Shakespeare, Mozart and Tolstoy, Chaikovsky and Dickens, those titans of the human mind and spirit. Were they not great precisely because they followed the dictates of their conscience and devoted their talents to the service of man? Is it not this that primarily distinguishes their immortal works?

When I was in the United States and England I often heard discus-

sions on the subject of whom music ought to serve, for whom a composer ought to write and to whom his music should be addressed. In my view, the composer, just as the poet, the sculptor or the painter, is in duty bound to serve man, the people. He must beautify human life and defend it. He must be a citizen, first and foremost, so that his art might consciously extol human life and lead man to a radiant future. Such, as I see it, is the immutable code of art.

I may be accused of voicing platitudes. It may be said that my arguments have only the remotest bearing on what happened in Salt Lake City. Yet I feel sure that there is an inner connection.

Before sitting down to write this article I asked my colleagues what they are working on at the present time. Dmitri Shostakovich told me he intends writing a composition dedicated to the great construction projects undertaken by the Soviet people. Tikhon Khrennikov has begun a composition on the triumph of peace throughout the world. Yuri Shaporin who has been engaged for the past few years on his new opera

"The Decembrists," is also writing a cantata based on Russian classical and modern poetry. Nikolai Peiko, a gifted young composer and the pupil of the late Myaskovsky, is writing a symphonic poem for solo voices, choir and orchestra entitled "Morning of Our Homeland."

Soviet composers are creating music for the people; its theme is the peaceful life of the people.

The incident that occurred in Salt Lake City strikes me as additional confirmation of the correctness of the path we have chosen. Our music strives to imbue the people with confidence in their strength and in their future. That is why it is so abhorrent to those who scheme to destroy that future and thrust humanity into new sanguinary wars. They are powerless to drown out our music, our symphonies of peace and labor—of this I am certain. The Fifth Symphony, after all, was performed in Salt Lake City . . .



THE GOGOL ANNIVERSARY

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY of the death of the great Russian writer, Nikolai Gogol, will be marked in the Soviet Union and in various other countries this year as part of a world program to celebrate great cultural anniversaries that was launched by the second session of the World Peace Council, held in Vienna last November. The program is planned in the conviction "that promotion of cultural intercourse between nations creates favorable conditions for mutual understanding."

Other great cultural anniversaries to be marked in many countries this year include the 150th birthday of Victor Hugo, the 500th birthday of Leonardo da Vinci, and the 1,000th anniversary of the death of Avicenna, great Arabian philosopher and physician.

Sixth UN Assembly

Trial Balance

by JESSICA SMITH

When a Russian concession is dismissed so abruptly, the dismissal comes close to being a confession that the United States' own disarmament proposals were nothing but propaganda.—From editorial in *Washington Post*, Jan. 17, 1952, on Soviet atomic control proposal.

TWO BASIC FACTS stand out in reviewing the Sixth UN General Assembly session held in Paris November 6-February 5:

- U.S. pressure was primarily responsible for defeating the Soviet Union's repeated efforts to have the Assembly take measures to bring an end to the Korean war and to reach agreement on prohibition of atomic weapons and disarmament and other measures strengthening peace.

- The vote on numerous issues revealed the growing strength of the forces of peace. The decisions taken represented neither the will of the American people nor of the majority of mankind.

Final action of the Assembly at the Sixth Session was to approve the U.S.-sponsored plan postponing discussions of the Korean question until an armistice has been signed or a breakdown of truce negotiations should make an emergency session necessary.

Despite the ostensible victory of U.S. policy, the voting on many issues showed that, not only the Asian-Arab bloc, but the Latin American, African and even the western European nations are more and more often refusing to dance to the tune of U.S. martial music.

The real face of the warmakers was

exposed during the debates and by the dichotomy between their protestations of peace and the warlike policies being simultaneously pursued through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the rearming of Germany and Japan, the bloody repressions in the Middle East, and the new preparations for spreading the war in Asia.

The contrasting sincerity and directness of the Soviet proposals and efforts for peace were not lost upon the peoples of the world.* The colonial and dependent peoples especially witnessed evidences of the Soviet Union's steadfast defense of their interests. The USSR urged withdrawal of all foreign troops from Libya, to give its independence reality, and backed the resolution that the proposed Human Rights convention include an article on the right of peoples to self-determination, which was passed over U.S. opposition.

Soviet Peace Program. In sneering at the tremendous concessions offered by the Soviet Union in amending the atomic energy control proposals in its peace plan, the United States only made the more clear its own unwillingness to reach any agreement, and its determination to push forward its armament program and the stockpiling of ever deadlier atomic weapons.

For a long time the United States had objected to the Soviet proposals for simultaneous conventions on the prohi-

* For the main decisions at the previous meetings of the Sixth UN Assembly see NWR, December, 1951, page 3; January, 1952, page 3; February, 1952, page 56.

bition of atomic weapons and for international inspection on the basis that this would mean the banning of atomic weapons before inspection machinery could be put into effect. This objection was met by Vyshinsky's new proposal that the machinery of inspection should go into effect simultaneously with the decision on prohibition.

The U.S. bloc had also objected that the previous Soviet proposal for periodic inspection offered no guarantee against violations. The new Soviet proposals provided for continuous inspection but stipulated that the international control agency would not be entitled to "interfere in the domestic affairs of states."

While previously the United States had based its attack on the Soviet proposals on their failure to accept the full inspection provisions of the Baruch Plan, the ground was now shifted to criticism on the basis that they rejected the real core of the U.S. plan, the provision for the international ownership and control of all atomic resources and facilities. As long as the United States could count on complete control of the UN this of course was tantamount to creating a U.S. monopoly over all atomic production. Without such complete control, which obviously could not be counted upon as a permanent state of affairs, clearly the U.S. itself would not accept international ownership. Therefore, this objection cannot be taken seriously, any more than the argument that the Soviet condition regarding "interference in domestic affairs" makes their whole proposal suspect. The U.S. immediately raised the point that this meant that the USSR would be unwilling to have UN inspectors stationed permanently in its plants. The question naturally arises: would the United States agree to have an international inspection commission, including Soviet representatives, permanently stationed in U.S. atomic projects?

The main point the USSR had in mind in making this condition, in the light of their whole policy, would seem rather to indicate an unwillingness to accept any international control designed to

limit or prevent their application of atomic energy to peaceful construction.

The United States, despite widespread favorable reaction to the Soviet move, or perhaps because of it, and fearing the result of further discussion in the General Assembly, was able to put through a resolution referring the Soviet atomic control proposals to the Disarmament Commission, which Vyshinsky declared was tantamount to burying them.

Also referred to the Disarmament Commission were the Soviet proposals that the five great powers reduce their armaments and armed forces by one-third during the coming year; that all Governments should submit reports on their armaments and armed forces and military bases on foreign territory; and that a world disarmament conference be held not later than July 15.

The Soviet proposals provided that the conventions on banning and control of atomic weapons be completed for submission to the Security Council by June 1. Under the American plan no definite date is set for the Disarmament Commission to complete its work.

The Soviet proposal that membership in the aggressive Atlantic bloc and the creation of military bases on foreign soil be condemned as incompatible with UN membership was defeated, as well as the proposals for an immediate Korean armistice, with all armed forces to be withdrawn from the 38th Parallel within ten days and that all foreign troops leave Korea within three months after the conclusion of the armistice. A considerable number of delegations supported the USSR or abstained.

On the Soviet proposal for a Five-Power Peace Pact, the U.S. was able to muster only 31 negative votes with eleven in favor, eleven abstentions, and the remainder absent.

New Members. For the first time in UN history the Political Committee adopted a Soviet resolution over strong U.S. opposition when it voted 21 to 12 with 25 abstentions to call on the Security Council to reconsider applications for membership from 14 states.



—*Unations*

Early in the Assembly, the Political Committee agreed unanimously on closed Big Four meetings to seek greater agreement on Disarmament proposals. Left to right (front row): Philip Jessup, Selwyn Lloyd, Andrei Vyshinsky (Jacob Malik sits behind him), G. P. Jooste

U.S. opposition has so far banned UN membership for Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and the Mongolian People's Republic, all supported by the Soviet Union. The USSR has vetoed in the Security Council the U.S.-supported applications of Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Jordan, Italy, Nepal, Portugal and South Korea. However, the USSR has repeatedly offered to accept these states (with the exception of South Korea, on the ground that the Syngman Rhee regime fails to meet UN membership requirements) if the first five are also admitted.

In its latest resolution the USSR again proposed the admission of all these applicants, excepting South Korea, and with the addition of Libya, which has now acquired nominal independence. Soviet delegate Jacob Malik told the committee that if all fourteen nations were brought in, he would not oppose the Western candidates. While the USSR would naturally support the admission of the North Korean and Vietnam governments, the fact that neither of these governments were included in its resolution demonstrated the USSR's desire to reach agreement, since the situation in Korea and Indochina, where the West is backing the reactionary regimes, would have precluded any possibility of agreement at this time.

The principle of universality illustrated in the Soviet "package" resolution won wide support, and U.S. opposition wide resentment, especially in

view of the fact that bringing in nine countries backed by the West as against five backed by the USSR would in fact have increased the U.S. majority.

Voting with the Soviet Union in addition to the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, were Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, India, Israel, Argentina, Norway and most of the Arab and Asian nations. Among the abstentions were many of the Latin American nations as well as Canada, France and Great Britain.

The U.S. delegates immediately went to work in an all-out effort to prevent a Soviet victory in the final Assembly vote, where a two-thirds majority was required, and managed to pull some of the Latin American votes in line. Thus the resolution was lost in the final vote of 22 in favor, 21 against, and 16 abstentions. However, it is important to note that the United States was able to muster only one vote over the 33⅓ per cent necessary to defeat the proposition and had it not been for the extraordinary U.S. arm-twisting of unwilling delegates, the Soviet Union would have won the two-thirds majority required.

On Defining Aggression. The United States suffered a defeat on the question of defining aggression when the Assembly, overriding U.S. and British objections, passed a resolution declaring that a legal definition of aggression is both possible and necessary, and that the question should be taken

up by the next General Assembly. The vote against the U.S. position was 30 to 12, with 8 abstentions.

In a three weeks debate on this issue in the Legal Committee, Soviet delegate Morozov had offered detailed definitions of every type of aggression, under which a state being the first to make any kind of armed attack, with or without declaration of war, on the forces or territory of another nation, instituting a blockade, or supporting armed bands invading another state, would be considered an aggressor. The definition also precluded armed intervention in any state's domestic affairs. In its main principles the definition was the same as that offered by the Soviet Union in 1933 and then generally accepted. It is worth noting that in that period only Nazi Germany and fascist Japan insisted that aggression could not be defined.

The U.S. throughout the debate held to the position that no clear-cut definition is possible and that each case should be examined separately. General sentiment in the UN, however, was very strongly behind the Soviet proposals, which had the backing of the entire Asian-Arab bloc and many of the Latin American countries.

No doubt many had in mind the precedent of Korea where, contrary to Charter stipulations, the U.S. intervened before there was any formal UN finding that aggression had taken place, and the threat of similar actions today in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. unquestionably based its position on its own use of the subterfuge of "indirect aggression," to justify armed intervention in support of reactionary regimes, a principle written into the Japanese peace treaty and the North Atlantic Pact, and the \$100,000,000 appropriation in the Mutual Security Act to finance subversion and terrorism in the USSR and the People's Democracies. Involved too is the whole conception of preventive war supported by certain circles in Washington.

While the Soviet Union had pressed for immediate action on defining aggression, and was thus defeated in the

matter of timing, the acceptance of the principle that aggression can and should be defined constituted an important step forward.

The U.S. Backs Chiang Kai-shek

The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the government of the United States. Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed that result; nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it. It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not. A decision was arrived at within China, if only a decision by default.

United States Relations with China, 1944-49, U.S. State Department White Paper, p. xvi.

That was before the McCarthy-McArthur-McCarran views became determining factors in U.S. foreign policy.

One of the most disgraceful episodes in the Sixth UN Assembly session was the U.S.-engineered vote upholding the fantastic charges against the Soviet Union by the representative of Chiang Kai-shek whose continued presence in the United Nations is an insult to the 475,000,000 people of China and to decent people everywhere.

Chiang's representative was permitted to make the charge that the USSR had "violated" its 1945 treaty with Nationalist China and had helped the Chinese Communists gain control, although the whole world knows that the Soviet Union faithfully observed that treaty as long as the Chiang Kai-shek government had any semblance of legality, and until it was utterly repudiated by the Chinese people.

The words "failed to carry out" had to be substituted for "violated" in order to get the resolution through at all. The vote was 25 to 9, with 24 abstaining, which meant that considerably less than half of the UN membership voted affirmatively, while the majority were in fact opposed.

The voting highlighted the deep disensions in Western ranks. Voting against the resolution with the Soviet Union and its supporters were Burma, India, Indonesia and Israel. Great Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth nations, aside from India, abstained, as did France and other Western European countries. Voting with the U.S. and Chiang's delegate were sixteen Latin-American nations, Thailand, Turkey, Greece, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia and the Philippines.

The facts that came to light in the course of the debate were not helpful either to Chiang or his imperialist supporters.

Attempting to utilize the charges of "Communist aggression" in China to bolster their own current aggressive plans, the U.S., echoed by Britain and France, issued a warning against "further Communist aggression" in Southeast Asia.

Soviet delegate Malik exposed the hypocrisy of this warning in detailing a charge previously made in the Assembly by Foreign Minister Vyshinsky that the United States is itself promoting aggression against China by transporting Chiang Kai-shek's troops from Formosa to Burma and Thailand. He declared that these troops were officered by Americans and equipped with U.S. weapons, and charged that new plans for aggression in Southeast Asia had been completed at the Truman-Churchill meeting.

While the U.S. denied this, strong confirmation of the Vyshinsky-Malik charges came from Burma's delegate, U. Mynt Thein, who declared that thousands of Kuomintang stragglers had entered his country after the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek, and that despite several attempts by the Burmese army, his government has been unable to subdue or expel them. He said that the Nationalist troops "are killing our men, taking our food and raping our women." He said that these troops, under General Li Mi, and aided from outside, were being massed on the border of China for aggressive purposes, and declared that his government would ask

for UN action if the situation worsened.

Although Thein sought to minimize the role of Washington, his accusation against Chiang was by implication aimed at the U.S. which is giving Chiang military aid, since he declared that these forces in Burma were maintained by Formosa with "the help of nationals of some other states."

The Soviet charges that the U.S. is bringing additional Chiang Kai-shek troops from Formosa to use against South China were confirmed by the London *Observer* whose Rangoon correspondent reported on January 20:

One of Chiang Kai-shek's best battalions has recently reinforced Kuomintang General Li Mi's 93rd Division in Burma, according to indisputable sources here. The battalion, a platoon at a time, has crossed the Thai border into Kengtung province. Kuomintang officers are talking of a February offensive.

There is indisputable evidence that Americans are helping the 93rd Division. . . . Over Kengtung town Constellations are frequently seen. . . . Misdirected parachute drops have been found which include American small arms manufactured since the war. Surrendered Kuomintang men say they have been helped into Burma by an American organization in Bangkok. Gen. Li Mi flew to Bangkok at Christmas and has not yet returned. . . . there is quite sufficient evidence to show that an independent American agency is helping Kuomintang troops and material through Thailand to Burma.

On January 31 the *Chicago Daily News* published a report from Keyes Beech, its Rangoon correspondent that observers familiar with current operations against the Chinese Communists considered it likely "that there are American officers attached to the Burma-based nationalists."

Open talk in Washington of plans to bomb Chinese cities and blockade her coasts and to intervene in Indochina are additional ominous testimony as to the source of the aggression that threatens Southeast Asia.

Pritt on the Trachtenberg Case

On March 3 the trial opens in New York of Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg and sixteen co-defendants charged with violating the Smith Act by conspiring "to advocate and teach the principles of Marxism-Leninism," and to "publish and circulate . . . books, articles, magazines and newspapers" advocating these principles.

Alexander Trachtenberg has for 27 years been director of International Publishers, chief publisher in this country of the Marxist classics which are on the shelves of every reputable library in the world, and of works of universally recognized importance in the fields of history, philosophy, literature, economics and science.

Recognizing that if Mr. Trachtenberg can be prosecuted under the Smith Act, all publishing and circulating of books is threatened, a committee in defense of Mr. Trachtenberg is being formed by American writers, publishers, educators and others. Protest committees are being formed in England and other countries. We believe our readers will be especially interested in the following letter from the great British jurist, D. N. Pritt, a frequent contributor to *New World Review*:

BOTH as an author who has had a book issued by International Publishers and as one interested generally in freedom of publication, I have learned with anxiety and distress of the pending trial of Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg under the Smith Act. It seems fantastic that the United States authorities should claim that their policy of rearmament is aimed at defending "freedom" while at the same time they carry out such acts of persecution of thought and opinion.

In Britain those of us who advocate friendship based on knowledge of countries "behind the Iron Curtain" find there is a growing tendency to shut doors against the facts about these countries. Newspapers which used to operate on "liberal" principles and at least publish corrections of clear misstatements of fact now refuse to do so; publishers who used to "take a chance" on a Left Wing author will no longer publish his books; and the Press maintains a silence on the stupendous developments of civilization "behind the Iron Curtain" so that its silence becomes as serious a weapon against friendship and peace as its distortions of fact.

But we can still claim that our position is a little better than that of people who share our point of view in the United States. Lawyers are still allowed to appear in defense of Left Wingers without being in danger of being sent to prison; and publishers have not yet been prosecuted simply because they are publishers of Marxist classics. However, we must be warned by events in your country, for unless we protest against what is happening to you, we too will lose our remaining freedom.

I join my protest to yours, and trust that your efforts to arouse public opinion on this serious question may be successful. In this country the case of Mr. Trachtenberg has already been made public in *The New Statesman and Nation*, and the matter was put before a conference of authors held in London.

D. N. PRITT—London, England

A Paean to Life and Peace

A review by AMY SCHECHTER

PEACE WILL WIN, a Film Polski production, directed by Joris Ivens and Jerzy Szelubski, photographed by W. Forbert, S. Sprudin, K. Chodura, F. Srednicki, S. Kruszynski, M. Wiesiolek, music by Jerzy Gert, W. Szpilman. Released by Artkino Pictures.

IN ONE of his notebooks Alexander Pushkin wrote the heading: "About Everlasting Peace." Beneath he jotted down his ideas on peace and freedom, war and standing armies (which he hoped might disappear in a hundred years) and the threat they are to constitutional rights, and about the idiocy

Madam Pak Den Ai, Korean delegate,
speaking to the Peace Congress



of the military mind. He made clear he meant everlasting peace here in this world.

The 22-year-old future national poet of Russia who had lived through one war, whose Negro great-grandfather had been taken hostage as a child in war in Africa, wrote in 1821:

"It is impossible that as time goes on men shall not come to regard war as a ridiculous atrocity as they already regard slavery, monarchy, etc. They will come to see that men are born to eat, drink and be free."

And now a century and a quarter and several wars later the superb documentary *Peace Will Win* bears witness that at last "men," people, hundreds of millions of them, over half of all mankind, have in fact come forward to say exactly this, that they "regard war as a ridiculous atrocity," that there must be peace and men must be free.

The film based on the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw in late 1950—it is not at all dated but unfortunately its findings are much more urgent today than when the Congress took place—has the triumphant epic quality of its mighty theme, the age-old dream of poets and the people is coming to life. At the same time the film is down to earth, filled with human warmth and love.

It is *really* international: French, Polish, Italian, Soviet, Czechoslovak and German cameramen are responsible for the splendid photography. Dutch Joris Ivens (he made films on Belgian coalminers, the Spanish Civil War, China, Indonesia and refused to use his talents to put across colonialism for the Dutch government) and Polish Jerzy Szelubski directed it. The score uses themes



In the background, Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist, with Polish children who came to greet the Peace Congress

of many nations. And when Warsaw greets the weary delegates—many had been harassed, insulted, arrested in England trying to get to Sheffield where the Congress was first slated to meet—you hear the old revolutionary song of the Polish workers, the "Varshavyanka" sung, as POKOJ—PEACE thunders through the city streets. A pre-Congress peace parade of the French Union of Atomic Workers is accompanied by French songs; and in between sessions of the Warsaw Congress the camera picks America's Betty Sanders out of a large circle of delegates she is delighting with songs of the "other America."

The directors are said to have made the one and a half hour feature from material that runs some twelve hours. The result is richly harmonious and scene develops out of—or is dramatically opposed to—scene inevitably. A high degree of political as well as artistic discernment has gone into the selection and treatment of material. In one of the great moments of the film the camera, taking the delegates around the city between sessions, turns on the Warsaw ghetto. The sound track stops dead. The silent camera moves from the ruins of the ghetto to the faces of three African delegates confronting the wasteland, and back again. The strong face of one of the three men is unforgettable, lean and deeply grooved, the

burning eyes looking over at the ruins and beyond to his own country.

A very large variety of opinion naturally existed among the 2,000 delegates from 81 lands, of all races, colors and creeds, and many backgrounds. These scientists, trade unionists, artists, government officials, churchmen—of many faiths—farmers, students, engineers, physicians, lawyers, architects, M.P.'s, soldiers, merchants represented practically every shade of opinion except that of the warmakers. As the narrator puts it: "They came with every difference except one, the love of peace." And tall military-looking Pierre Cot, France's former Minister of Aviation is shown speaking from the rostrum saying: "The debate of our differences is our main reason for being here."

With admirable frankness the documentary highlights these differences, and just by this emphasizes the basic unity of the Congress and the unparalleled breadth of the peace movement. And shows also the realism and the force of the program of demands to the UN that is finally hammered out, and the tremendous strength, moral as well as numerical, behind the resolution taken that the permanent peace organization set up at the Congress "Demand that the five great powers meet together to avert the horrors of war . . . and preserve the beauties of peace."

The most widely different audiences

will understand the film's message; and be reassured by this open airing of differences, and the sight of figures like the Abbé Boulrier, or a slight Italian priest, or Pierre Cot, or the solid Dr. Christopher Woodward, British Conservative M.P., speaking from the same platform with Shostakovich, Pablo Neruda, Madame Pak Den Ai of Korea, the scholarly-looking Vice-Premier of the Chinese People's Republic, Kuo Mo Jo, who repeated his passionate warning over and over again that the actual threat of world war was hanging over the East and asserted again and again the Chinese people's will to peace.

The message of the film comes across with a powerful emotional impact. Warsaw is never employed merely as background, but figures as a major actor in the peace drama, living witness to the realities of war and of peace. As the camera explores the city that had been a pile of ruins six years earlier, and where one in six workers is engaged in construction today, the narrator hammers home that "war, ruins, death" go together, and "peace, building, life." And the immense joyful effort of the whole city to prepare for the delegates in a few days—to make a conference hall out of the printing plant under construction destined to be the largest in Europe, and do the job at incredible break-neck speed, with top architects, sculptors, artists, throwing everything aside to help in the work—becomes a sort of paean to life and peace.

One day Warsaw's school children pour into the Congress hall, singing and hands filled with flowers, and take over with the charming assurance of children well-loved and completely at home in their world. Many of them belong to the city's million and a half war orphans. Ilya Ehrenburg said: "Upon us lies the responsibility for all children, fair and dark, for the children of London and Moscow, Paris and Peking, for the children among the skyscrapers of New York and for those who now wander among the ruins of Korea." The delegates embrace the children joyfully and tenderly. Some of the "almost legendary heroes of peace" on the high

platform lean down and hoist up the smallest ones who clutch their Peace placards and sing lustily songs of peace while the whole Congress hall is in a happy turmoil.

The climax of the Congress comes when Madame Pak Den Ai speaks, a small woman in white, with great force and dignity. She tells about the great work of peace, the material and cultural advances made in North Korea in the short years since its liberation from Japanese rule, the 1,500 new schools, the colleges where none had been allowed to exist in this long-oppressed land, the libraries, hospitals, nurseries—all wiped out by napalm bombs.

Newsreels made on the spot are cut in to document her speech—the screech of bombs from a plane in the sky, clouds of billowing smoke, and the camera turning on one after the other of the victims in the moment of the attack. More terrible than the absolute destruction, the terribly wounded women and children, is the figure of a little girl of seven or eight standing alone under an empty sky. She has on a straight dress like anyone's little



daughter might wear and she stands waiting for death to come screaming from the sky again, and her body is shaken from head to foot by unending slow shuddering. No American who is not completely cynical can see this without shame.

As Madame Pak Den Ai comes to the end of what she has to say the whole packed hall surges towards her as if they might place sheltering arms about all Korea and its tortured children. Only in a big empty space at the end of the hall the Rogges hold down their seats, without pity, and quite alone.

Fact, Half-Truth, Jaundice

A review by EDWIN S. SMITH

NEGOTIATING WITH THE RUSSIANS, *A Symposium, published by the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass., 1951. 303 pp. \$3.50.*

THE PATTERN OF RESPONSIBILITY, *a selection from Dean Acheson's speeches, edited by McGeorge Bundy, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1951. 309 pp. \$4.00.*

A BOOK entitled "Negotiating With the Russians" is bound to raise, in these grim days, a hopeful anticipation. This volume issued by the World Peace Foundation, written by eleven individuals who have themselves participated in important negotiations with Soviet representatives in a variety of fields, does, in fact, convey an encouraging consensus of judgment that the process of negotiation is worthwhile.

In a foreword, Raymond Dennett, the Director of the World Peace Foundation, and Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, call attention to the "frequent conclusion" drawn by the authors that "even though little in the way of positive results can be expected, the free world should, nevertheless, be prepared to expend the time, money and effort in additional negotiation. . . ." This is really an understatement of the facts. Even those contributors who are least ready to accord to their Russian counterparts any real spirit of accommodation, do set forth in their narratives a record of negotiation which has led to agreements which have thereafter been observed.

Take, for instance, the article by Major General John R. Deane, which the editors have chosen for the first chapter. General Deane breathes animosity to the Russians in almost every paragraph. He accuses them of following in negotiation "a vigorous offensive with no regard for the truth" and of

pursuing a devious course which results in positions firmly maintained one day, only to be disregarded the next. So obviously disgruntled is the General with all things Russian he even finds that all their public buildings have "the same objectionable odor. It may be the detergents used or it may be the lack of them." Nevertheless, General Deane admits to a total of fourteen negotiations in which he participated, all of which resulted in agreements made and kept.

Thus, though General Deane proclaims on the basis of his own experience that the Russians are lacking in "morality, integrity or any other virtue," he is unable to conceal the obviously embarrassing fact that these monsters in human form actually reached agreement with their American conferees, not on one or two important matters, but on many.

With the next topic, "Negotiating Under Lend Lease," by Professor John N. Hazard, we move at once into an area of evaluation in which the Russians, if not saints, are certainly portrayed as very human beings, having no more foibles than we might, with equal likelihood, expect them to discover in us. About the most serious matter with which Hazard charges the Russians is the familiar American complaint, which has been leveled by our political representatives against most foreign nations, that they fail to express due gratitude for what we have done for them. When this particular lack was brought to the attention of the Russians with whom Mr. Hazard was dealing, he records, with some dismay, that they later prefaced "every meeting" with lengthy statements of appreciation!

Sidney S. Alderman who describes "Negotiating on War Crimes Prosecutions," states that "the discussions at all times were kept on a high plane" and that the Russians, besides being

"charming, courteous and friendly" are "skilled negotiators and can be extremely cooperative." Mr. Alderman attributes much of the success and friendliness of the negotiations in which he participated to the fact that all concerned had "unanimity as to ultimate aim." When such unanimity is lacking, it would seem that resultant difficulties are logically no more to be charged against one side than the other.

One gathers a total impression from this book that all the propaganda to which we have become accustomed about the Russians not living up to their agreements is sheer invention, that it is designed to keep our ship of state on the turbulent seas of arms and military alliances, instead of seeking a safe harbor in which all peoples can participate in a genuine attempt at living together in a war-free world. Even if the bitterest criticisms of Russian methods of negotiation made in this book were to be believed, they would not convince a rational person that such things are a real obstacle to peacefully solving international differences by sitting down at the conference table.

It is to be regretted that the editors, having created a bad taste in the mouth by ushering the reader into the general subject matter of the book through the medium of so jaundiced a commentator as General Deane, do a similar disservice by awarding the final chapter to Philip E. Moseley, Director of the Russian Institute of Columbia.

Mr. Moseley's manner of blueprinting his ideas of how to treat the Russians is on the level of the sales manager for a vacuum cleaner company instructing his agents on ways to break down the housewife's resistance and to lull her into submissiveness. This kind of thing, as applied to the grave questions which divide ourselves and the Soviet Union, is somehow even more tasteless, and pointless, than the diatribes of a General Deane. One is used to cholera and arrogance from the military and it is discounted accordingly. For a representative of the academic world to lecture the reader about the Russians on the premise that they have

to be "handled" in very special ways is to relegate the solution of world issues, on which our lives and future happiness depend, to the province of those who gather easy plaudits as "experts" by trading on the public's lack of background and its resultant gullibility.

The World Peace Foundation at least puts forward negotiations with the Soviet Union as a necessary aspect of our foreign policy. One looks in vain through the utterances of Dean Acheson for even a sidelong glance in the direction of sweet reasonableness. His thoughts have been increasingly cast in the monolithic pattern of the arms program, whose diplomatic corollary is to insist on the creation of "situations of strength" here and abroad.

Acheson became Secretary of State early in 1949 when Mr. Truman's and Big Business' plans for "containing communism" were about ready to shift into high gear. Mr. Acheson will be remembered in history as a corporation lawyer who was able to utilize a thin veneer of "culture" and the advocate's orderly habits of presentation of material, to persuade the unwary that a foreign policy designed to fatten the purses of the monopolies was actually devised and executed in the interests of the American people as a whole.

Acheson's speeches from the early part of 1950 on furnish the intellectual sauce with which it is hoped our military policy will be made palatable to the essentially peace-loving American people. The "task of defense against Soviet expansion," "building the free world as a bulwark against Soviet aggression," these are the typical phrases of Acheson's "total diplomacy." Total diplomacy is nothing more than a casting aside of the traditional weapons of diplomacy, for reliance on an unabashed and reiterated threat of force to gain our objectives.

Mr. Bundy, who edits this volume of Acheson's remarks has interlaced the quotations with a factual background which is by far the most interesting part of the book. By its aid Acheson's "Pattern of Responsibility," quite against the intention of Mr. Bundy, is

seen to be nothing other than a prompt acknowledgment on the political level of the obvious consequences of our economic policy—arming all sections of the world which will allow themselves to be so treated. This emerges very clearly in the sections of the book devoted to Germany.

The Economic Cooperation Act was launched in April of 1948. Exactly a year later, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, and by August, Acheson was explaining to a Senate committee the need for military appropriations for Europe on the ground that "economic measures alone are not enough" for "free nations" to achieve a "sense of security and faith in the future." What is required is "ability . . . to defend themselves against armed aggression."

Observe the fateful progression of the shift from so-called "economic aid" to "military aid" in the American plans for Western Germany. The London agreement of June, 1948, intended to bring Germany into the European Recovery program, created the International Authority for the Ruhr and thus laid the groundwork for revival of Ger-

many's military potential. In April, 1949, the new occupation statute paved the way for the creation of an independent German government which was actually set up at Bonn in June. This West German government was groomed and destined to be the chief link in the chain of armaments and armed forces which have now become Europe's heritage. In May of 1950, Mr. Schuman proposed his famous plan, which had and has the basic objective of unleashing the industrial might of the Ruhr's coal fields and steel mills for the major role in a contemplated all-out West European military production.

The political reflection in American high quarters of these ominous developments followed with unashamed speed. In June, 1950, Acheson, in the words of Mr. Bundy, "specifically and emphatically reiterated his opposition to German rearmament." By August, Acheson admitted to a Senate committee that German rearmament was in the "stage of discussion." The following December, at the Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Council, it was announced that there was "unanimous agreement regarding the part which Germany might assume in the common defense."

Like his opposition to German rearmament, Acheson's assurances that there would be no necessity of sending American troops to Europe became another casualty of the armaments juggernaut. By the same process, economic assistance to Formosa was transformed into military aid in a program of militarization of the Pacific area which already includes the rearming of Japan.

A political reversal in the direction of negotiation, progressive disarmament, the spread of East-West trade, the suppression of militarism in Germany and Japan, will never come to pass through the Achesons or other hand-tied spokesmen of the world's monopolists and munitions makers. Only the pressures of the common people, here and abroad, will create the "pattern of responsibility" on which rest the hopes of survival of millions of people and of a revived civilization.

NEW SOVIET FILMS

Current Releases

DREAM OF A COSSACK
(Cavalier of the Golden Star)

MUSSORGSKY
BOUNTIFUL SUMMER

Coming Soon
THE NEW CHINA
THE GREAT CONCERT
MEETING IN BERLIN

All in Spectacular Magicolor

EXTRA!

PEACE WILL WIN

Joris Ivens' inspiring film about the 2nd World Peace Congress in Warsaw. Produced by Film Polski

Now available in 16 mm. for clubs and organizations

ARTKINO PICTURES, Inc.
723 Seventh Avenue, New York 19
Telephone: Circle 5-6570

BOUND VOLUMES AND INDEX OF 1951 NWR SOON AVAILABLE

You need this handy reference, only \$4.00. Index alone, 25c
A few 1950 bound volumes of Soviet Russia Today still available, \$3.00

Order through NEW WORLD REVIEW

KANCO BLADES "save on perfect shaves"

YOU TEST THEM WITHOUT COST

Made of finest Swedish steel • Ground and leather honed
to perfection • Double-edged • Unconditionally guar-
anteed • Not on sale at stores • Order yours now

50 Blades for \$1—plus FREE 2 sample packets
of 5 blades each (specify thin or heavy blades)

order through
NEW WORLD REVIEW

Bargain Close-Out Sale

Important books to read and to own. Limited quantity.

A REPORT FROM RED CHINA Harrison Forman

Eye-witness account of the Chinese who fought
the Japanese despite Chiang's attempt to
prevent them from saving their country. 35¢

B FEAR, WAR AND THE BOMB P. M. S. Blackett

The book that exposed the military and politi-
cal consequences of atomic energy. 50¢

C JOSEPH STALIN A Political Biography

A biography of the Soviet leader from his
early years to the post-war years. 50¢

D THE RUSSIANS Albert Rhys Williams

A factual study of the USSR that answers the
questions you ask. 50¢

E HEROIC LENINGRAD Documents, Sketches and Stories

Written by leading Soviet writers, journalists
and publicists. 35¢

G THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA Sidney and Beatrice Webb

Also contains an essay on the Webbs by
Bernard Shaw. 65¢

H SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury

An eye-witness report of how the Soviet Union
rose again from wartime devastation. 50¢

I THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION Corliss Lamont

Fact-crammed description of the numerous
nationalities in the USSR. 50¢

K THE SECRET OF SOVIET STRENGTH Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury

A study of the developments in the USSR and
the sources of the country's economic and
political strength. 30¢

L THE SOVIET SPIRIT Harry F. Ward

Incentives behind Soviet victories in the last
war, both at the front, and at home. 35¢

Postage-Handling Charge: Add 8¢ for one book, 4¢ for each additional book ordered.

NEW WORLD REVIEW • 114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

Send me the books indicated by the letters circled below. I enclose \$.....

A B C D E G H I K L

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

THE Independent MIND

*"crystal
clear
thinking"*
on—*

International Relations
The Crisis in Civil Liberties
Issues of Peace or War
The Humanist Way of Life
Marriage
Concepts of God
American Myths About War
Life's Comic Aspects
A Philosopher's Mailbag
Etc., etc.

Essays of a Humanist Philosopher by CORLISS LAMONT

This controversial new book by the noted Humanist is as inspiring in spirit as it is scientific in method. His analysis of today's major problems shows how the current errors of mass thinking can be avoided.

* REV. CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER says:

"Crystal clear thinking by one of the few independent minds actually functioning today. . . . A Humanist who refuses to be fooled by authoritarians, dictators, and myth-makers. . . . Americans who still believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights will enjoy the sturdy liberal democracy of these Jeffersonian chapters."

PROF. J. H. RANDALL, JR., says:

"Corliss Lamont's mind is indeed independent. . . . He has a remarkable gift for stating ideas clearly and simply. . . . The chapters on international relations . . . bring some refreshing air into our heated atmosphere."

\$2.75 at bookstores, or direct from HORIZON PRESS

63 West 44th Street, Dept. NW, New York 18, N. Y.



Hammond Globemaster World Atlas

helps you understand and interpret history-making events . . . full color and minute detail with no sacrifice to clarity

(1) Attractive . . . colorful . . . plastic spiral binding . . . 48 pages of new three-dimensional maps of world, continents and countries . . .
... World Gazetteer of facts and latest census figures . . . 9 1/4 x 12 1/2.

WORLD ATLAS ONLY \$1

Hammond Wall Maps

(2) MAP OF WORLD . . . 50 x 33 . . . together with A-Z Index and a Guide Book of Unusual Facts, Maps and Statistics

(3) MAP OF EUROPE AND NEAR EAST . . . 44x33. (4) MAP OF ASIA . . . 44x32, in folder

(5) MAP OF UNITED STATES . . . 44 x 32 . . . together with booklet of vital statistics and road, airline, etc. maps and Gazetteer.

WALL MAPS ONLY \$1 EACH

NEW WORLD REVIEW • 114 East 32nd Street • New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me Hammond Map numbers encircled 1 2 3 4 5 Enclosed \$.....

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

FACTS FOR PEACE

AN AMERICAN CHURCHMAN IN THE SOVIET UNION

Rev. Louie D. Newton

Pres. Southern Baptist Convention

Introduction by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Includes a statement about religion in Russia by the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists of the USSR. 10c each; 6 for 50c

WHERE MINERS ARE HONORED

Report of a Scottish miners' delegation to the USSR on living and working conditions of Soviet miners. 5c

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SOVIET UNION

Elizabeth Moos

A compact factual description of the Soviet school system. 64 pages, illustrated. 25c

RUSSIA WITH OUR OWN EYES

Report of a British workers' delegation pack-full of the information you need to fight the lies in the daily press. 30c; 5 or more, only 20c each

CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR

Most recent edition, as amended through June, 1948. 20c

U.S. LABOR LOOKS AT EUROPE

Eleven American trade unionists report on their visit to France, Italy, Poland and the USSR. They tell you straight. They represent the AFL, CIO and independent unions from coast to coast. 5c

SOVIET AGGRESSION: Myth or Reality?

Corliss Lamont

An analysis of the common charges in the American press today. 3c

For single items add 3c postage and handling charges, 1c more for each additional item ordered.

available through

NEW WORLD REVIEW

114 East 32nd Street, New York 16

A STORY OF CRIME

BUT NO MYSTERY!

WE CHARGE GENOCIDE

A Petition to the UN on the crimes against the Negro people, published by the Civil Rights Congress.

240 pages

\$1.00

order today from

NEW WORLD REVIEW

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

by Victor Perlo

The facts, figures and ramifications of American imperialism, simply and interestingly told by a former New Deal economist . . . a book you will want to share with your friends. 256 pp., \$2.25

order through

NEW WORLD REVIEW

GARLIN AVAILABLE FOR TALKS

Sender Garlin, Associate Editor of New World Review, who recently completed a successful lecture tour on the West Coast, is available for talks on the subject "What Chance for Peace." For details write to New World Review.

THE NEW LIFE IN RUMANIA

by E. V. Tempest

Richly informative, you will want to read this 58-page, illustrated report of how this People's Democracy thrives. 35c

order through

NEW WORLD REVIEW

The Proof of the Pudding . . .

We knew it—although our chronic optimism is always tempered by the realities of life. We can report that our confidence has caught on. Proof? The response to our call for doubling **New World Review** circulation, from the looks of the mail, is certainly satisfactory. We hope soon to be able to report that it is **excellent**.

Help us reach thousands of potential readers of NWR. Tell them what they will miss if they don't read these vital articles:

In Coming Issues

REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE. Aaron Yugow, authority on Soviet economy, describes the drama of collective farm mergers in the USSR.

FREEDOM IS WHAT THEY WANT. The daily press to the contrary, there's nothing "mysterious" about what the masses seek in the colonial world. NWR will soon bring you revealing articles on Indo-China, Southeast Asia and other centers of world interest.

FRIENDS AND CO-WORKERS, OR "SATELLITES"? The fascinating (and much-lied-about) relationship between the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union is the theme of a forthcoming article by Andrew Rothstein, British political economist and authority on the USSR.

ALSO hard-hitting, timely editorials, exciting features, short stories, book reviews . . . and lots of eye-filling pictures!

FREE — Hammond's Wall Map of the World
with two gift subscriptions for one year each (your own one-year renewal may count as one of the subscriptions)

NEW WORLD REVIEW

\$2.00 for 12 months

\$3.50 for 24 months

\$1.00 for Special 6-month Introductory Subscription

(Canada and Foreign, \$3.00 a year)

NEW WORLD REVIEW • 114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

Please ☐ enter ☐ renew my subscription to New World Review for.....months, and also enter subscription(s) for the name(s) listed separately, for which please send me FREE Wall Map of the World. I enclose \$

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....