

NEW WORLD

OCTOBER

1952

Review

20¢



USSR • China • India • Rumania
Vito Marcantonio on "The Other Evil"



Salute Eslanda Robeson

Cedar Rapids, Iowa—I want you to know how much I appreciate and enjoy NEW WORLD REVIEW magazine. Eslanda Robeson's contribution in the August issue on Africa was well written, simply and truthfully told. I agreed with her statements emphatically.

I love you people for having the courage and conscience to tell the truth. Would that there were more like you. Despite the difficulties of reaching people in our neighborhood, which is far from liberal-minded, we will continue to speak for friendship and understanding with other peoples and nations. Thank you people with all our hearts. We love you dearly.—Mr. and Mrs. H. Heeren.

NWR Disappoints Them

Lenox, Mass.—We are deeply interested in the field of information with which you deal. That is the reason we subscribed to the magazine in the first place. We are not going to renew because we do not find the articles you print particularly informative. The format is poor also, which we realize may simply be lack of money. If we had plenty of money ourselves we might continue to subscribe, but we haven't much and prefer to spend it on the things which we regard as most significant.—J. and L. G.

Koje Island Crime

Redondo Beach, Cal.—The issue at hand is immensely important! That account of Kojima Island is horrible ("The Shame of Kojima," by Jessica Smith, NWR, July 1952). To what unspeakable depths have present expediencies and policies dragged our America down

Meanwhile, enclosed is a P.O. money
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NEW WORLD REVIEW

The USSR Plans for Peace

by JESSICA SMITH

NOTHING has more clearly revealed the utter senselessness of the gigantic preparations for war against the Soviet Union and its allies nor given greater strength to the world peace movement than the announcement of the convening of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which opens October 5th.

The draft documents that have been published outlining the changes in the Communist Party rules and the USSR's monumental Fifth Five-Year Plan, (1951-55) constitute a ringing answer to those who have terrorized the governments of the Western world into an acceptance of a staggering burden of armies, armaments and atomic weapons as necessary to face the alleged threat of "Soviet aggression."

ANTI-SOVIET propagandists have tried to picture the leadership of the Communist Party as fearing to hold a Congress because of supposed weaknesses and dissensions within its ranks. The truth is that regular all-Union Party Congresses were interrupted by the World War and the immense problems of rebuilding the vast and terrible ruins it left. Party Congresses have however been held regularly in all the Union Republics, each of which has had special problems of reconstruction and new building which have required the concentrated attention of their lead-

ers and the whole Party membership.

The draft Communist Party rules indicate that the Party has reached new levels of unity and strength. The transferring of the duties of the political bureau and the organizational bureau to the Central Committee, the call for the exercise of a greater degree of criticism and free discussion and for ever closer ties with the masses of the people indicates a determination for an expanded and more effective democracy, both within the Party and in the country as a whole. This is incompatible with any idea of weakness and disunity, and indicates the exact opposite of the supposed "tighter controls" the U.S. press clamors about.

THE DRAFT Five-Year Plan with its emphasis on greater production in every sphere shows a complete preoccupation with peace quite irreconcilable with preparations for aggressive war, or with the idea of the inevitability of war.

The same anti-Soviet propagandists have been busy explaining that the reason a new Five-Year Plan was not announced after the completion of the post-war Five-Year Plan, was because of economic difficulties and failures. The real reason, it seems clear, is that the great new Projects of Communism—the vast hydroelectric stations being built on the Volga, the Dnieper and the Amu

Darya, the Volga-Don Canal, and the Main Turkmen Canal across the Kara Kum desert—opened up new gigantic prospects exceeding earlier expectations, which meant that former plans had to be revised upward.

The emphasis in the draft of the Five-Year Plan is on the realization of the gradual transition of the USSR from socialism to communism.

Naturally the prospect of successful realization of communism in the USSR strikes new fears into the hearts of those whose whole policy is based on the destruction of communism. This policy has required the depiction of communism as something wholly evil, as something threatening the freedom and the well-being of people throughout the world.

A study of the Five-Year Plan reveals that this supposed terrible menace to humanity consists of increasing the productive forces of the Soviet Union to the point where there will be such an abundance of material goods and cultural facilities for all the people that every individual will be able, in return for his work for society, whether by hand or brain, to receive everything needed for the satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements.

The prospects for such abundance are indeed open to the people of the Soviet Union because the productive forces of the country are in their own hands, because no man exploits another, no one gains profit from another's labor.

So far the Five-Year Plan is in draft form. There will be discussion at the Congress, some amendment, and it will not go fully into effect until it has been ratified by the Supreme Soviet. But it must be understood that these Five-Year Plans under-

taken by the Soviet Union are based on real accomplishments and actual prospects. The results of the first year of the Plan and of the major part of the second year are already at hand. On these practical results, and on prospects based on them, the Plan as a whole is now presented. Reports and decisions will become available after the Nineteenth Party Congress. Meantime we shall point out only a few of the over-all goals.

IT SHOULD be kept in mind that, whereas the first postwar Five-Year Plan provided for a growth of 48 per cent over the pre-war (1940) level, the actual increase was 73 per cent, and that in 1951, the first year of the new Five-Year Plan, gross industrial production was already double that of pre-war.

The new Five-Year Plan envisages a further increase of 70 per cent in industrial output by 1955. Great stress, as in the past, is laid in the development of heavy industry, particularly machine-building, since this is the surest guarantee of a stable base for over-all industrial development and constant increase of consumers' goods. Output of the light and food industries, however, will increase at about the same rate. Aggregate capacity of power stations will be about doubled in the Five-Year Plan period, while that of the hydroelectric stations will be tripled. This period will see the completion of some of the great new power projects

Mechanization of the most arduous labor processes is scheduled for completion by 1955 and automatization will be widely introduced.

The yield of the basic agricultural crops, will be increased from 40 to 75 per cent during the five year period, while animal husbandry will

also increase considerably. This will be made possible by the further mechanization of agriculture, the new irrigation projects, the introduction of the grass-field rotation system, and the beginning of a drastic change in the climate through the afforestation and pond and reservoir system.

The growth in over-all production and the steady increase in labor productivity will result in an increase in national income by at least 60 per cent. Further price reductions, following the four that have already taken place since the end of the war, will mean an increase of real wages of approximately 35 per cent, while collective farmers incomes are to increase by 40 per cent.

Housing construction will be continued on a wide scale, with double the capital invested by the state under the previous Five-Year Plan. There will be at least a 50 per cent increase in the investments in extending the network of institutions for health protection, education, scientific and cultural establishments. Along with the material advances there will be a constant increase in the cultural facilities available to all the people, and in their opportunities for cultural expression and recreation.

THIS internal concentration on building for peace in the USSR is matched by a foreign policy directed toward the maintenance of peace.

In Europe the Soviet Government has sought consistently to avert the rebuilding of German military power as a new base for war in its series of notes urging a four-power conference to build a peaceful, united democratic Germany. This was continued up to the very eve of the signing of the Bonn agreements perpetuating

the splitting of Germany and opening the way for the revival of Nazi militarism. Now that the agreements have been signed—against the will of most of the people of Europe—the Soviet Union has still not given up, and once again has proposed a meeting to the Western powers to work out the basis for the establishment of a united, peaceful Germany.

In the East, it was the Soviet Union which proposed that armistice talks be held leading to peace in Korea. Now these talks are dragging into their second year, because the United States is unwilling to end this terrible war, bringing sorrow to so many thousands of American homes, and dreadful death and maiming by napalm bombs to the civilian population of North Korea.

The new agreements between the Soviet Union and China (to be reported fully in our next issue) show that the united efforts of these two great powers will be a mighty bulwark for peace in the Far East.

IN THE LIGHT of the shining demonstration the new Five-Year Plan gives of the concentration of the Soviet leaders and the whole Soviet people on problems of peace, how futile and evil are the plans of the warmakers of the capitalist countries which are wasting the substance of their lands on destructive weapons for a war that need never be, at the cost of the health and welfare, the cultural development and the living standards of their people!

The Eisenhower - Nixon - Dulles - McCarthy combination, representing the most outright reactionary forces, calls for a war to "liberate" the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Eastern European democracies and People's China. The Truman Administration and the candidate of the

Democratic Party demagogically attack this program which is in fact already their own. Congress has appropriated \$100,000,000 under the Mutual Security Act for the express purpose of carrying on espionage and subversion in the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. The whole cold war and containment program are directed to the same end purpose. President Truman's former ambassador to Russia, Admiral Alan Kirk, after serving as chairman of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, is now director of the Administration's Psychological Strategy Board.

These policies have already led to the fearful war for the "liberation" of the people of Korea by napalm bombs.

The horrified reaction of the American people to the outright call for the "liberation" of 800,000,000 of the world's people who have taken the road to socialism, has compelled the bi-partisan authors of this policy to retreat behind the pretense that their purposes can be accomplished by peaceful means. With just a little "encouragement" we are assured these people will themselves rise up against their governments and restore the capitalist way of life.

How likely they are to do this may be gauged by the latest report of the UN's *Economic Bulletin for Europe*. The Bulletin declares that the European economic situation presents a "gloomy picture," that there has been an increase in unemployment, that production has dwindled throughout Western Europe, and that the volume of consumption by the people has continued to fall. Predicting a general slump, the Bulletin states that "actual depression" already exists in some branches.

By contrast, the Bulletin reports that in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries industrial production "continued to expand rapidly."

This report emphasized how vain are the hopes that the people of Eastern Europe, by arms or any other means, can be persuaded to overthrow the regimes which for the first time in their history are bringing them increased production and well-being, and set up governments acceptable to the United States, and therefore subject to the same pressures which have brought Western Europe to its present decline. For such vain hopes, the war instigators would plunge the world into a new blood bath of unimaginable horror.

NOW, during the election campaign, the period when the voices of the people must be needed, is the time for the American people to make known their will for peace.

This can be done—as former Rep. Vito Marcantonio points out in his article elsewhere in this issue—by casting a vote for the Progressive Party, the only party which has a program for ending the war in Korea, the only party whose candidates stand on a platform of peace. It can be done by participation in the great nationwide referendum for peace, through which people of all parties are demanding an immediate end to the war in Korea. (See page 42)

Votes for the Progressive Party, votes for the peace referendum cast by millions of people, can stop the warmakers in their tracks and compel whatever administration is in power to inaugurate a new foreign policy based, not on force, but on peaceful negotiations and mutually beneficial trade among the nations.

The Germany the West Ignores

Vast changes in German Democratic Republic cannot be hidden by war-makers propaganda

by

GORDON SCHAFFER

IN THE new department store which had arisen out of the rubble of Alexanderplatz, since last I was in Berlin, I watched eager shoppers buying food and clothing, typewriters, sewing machines, cameras and many other items which they could only dream about a year or two ago.

Eastern Berlin is alive again. When I was there before, you could never escape the feeling that you were living amid universal devastation. Where houses, offices, shops, had been made habitable, they were no more than islands amid the acres of rubble.

Today, mainly as the result of the voluntary efforts of hundreds of thousands of ordinary people, the bomb sites have been cleared. Many of them have been converted into gardens, so that you feel yourself in a city of open spaces instead of a city of devastation.

Every evening, well-dressed crowds throng the restaurants. During the day the city pulses with life. Building goes on everywhere. In Stalin

Allee the greatest work of reconstruction since the war ended is going forward at a speed which has made everyone gasp. Before the year's end, there will be offices and flats, shops and cinemas creating a new city center, which will symbolize the determination of the people of the German Democratic Republic to rebuild their country.

As I walked through this new Berlin my mind went back to 1947, when I came back to the capital after nearly three months in what was then the Soviet Zone of Germany.

I tried at that time to tell the British and American officials in the Control Commission how in Eastern Germany the nationalization of industries owned by the war criminals and the division of the land of the Junkers had created the basis for recovery.

I tried to explain how the German anti-fascists, aided by the Russians had carried out real denazification, how they had removed those who actively aided the Hitler regime from all positions of responsibility; while providing the machinery to draw back into the task of democratic reconstruction the "little Nazis" who had acquiesced in Hitler's crimes.

They gave me patronizing smiles and explained more in sorrow than

GORDON SCHAFFER, assistant editor of the London "Reynolds News," organ of the British Cooperative movement with a circulation of 700,000, is a frequent contributor to NWR.



From the countryside they've come to visit Berlin, and contribute their time and effort in building the magnificent Stalin Allee

—Zentralbild

in anger that they had the *real* facts about the Soviet Zone and that I had been led up the garden by the Russians. Eastern Germany, they assured me, was a desert. The Russians had taken away the machinery from the mines and the factories for reparations, and had pulled up the railway lines for the steel. Soon the Western Powers would have to clear up the mess. Of course, they said knowingly, the West could always bring Eastern Germany to heel by refusing to supply coal and steel from the Ruhr.

There can be no doubt today who at that time was led up the garden and who was indulging in wishful thinking.

On my return to England, I wrote in my book *Russian Zone*:

"The fact is that Germany, despite war devastation, is still a highly industrialized country with a labor force and a technical level which, in a matter of years, could quickly enable her to resume a substantial position. . . .

"The Russians having made sure that war industries are eliminated, are helping the Germans to transform the Zone into a going concern.

How far they have already gone will be seen when the demands of the millions of refugees who so far have taken most of the supplies available in the Zone, have been satisfied. The goods produced in this area are going to be put on a world market, and if they are cut off from the West, they will go to the countries in the planned areas of Europe which are ready to absorb them. . . .

"Temporarily these simple economic truths are hidden by the food shortage and the fact that America has a virtual monopoly of available foodstuffs. The situation will not last. In the not distant future Russia, Poland, Rumania and other food producing lands in the area of planned economy will be able to supply foodstuffs and other goods in return for manufactured goods."

Perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that it has happened just that way. The German Democratic Republic today is one of the most advanced industrial areas in the world. It has already built up a considerable export market for precision instruments, chemicals and textiles.

Friendly relations with Poland have solved the coal problem. Steel

production within the Republic is mounting. Food is no longer a problem and after next harvest very little rationing will remain.

In the shops, goods from Russia, China and all the People's Democracies are on sale.

In the restaurants, meals of a size we do not see in Britain, can be had at prices within the means of workers. It is strange and a little sad to find in the menu wines from Rumania and Hungary instead of from the Rhine and the Moselle. But that is a headache for France and Italy who will have to compete with the German wines deprived of markets in their own country.

The harnessing of German scientific skill to a planned economy is going to surprise a lot of people. Already a range of new synthetic products is being turned out. In the world of "free enterprise," scientists often find their invention suppressed in order to prevent competition with existing products. In the G.D.R. every scientist and every inventor can be sure his work will be utilized.

The German Democratic Republic is supplying precision instruments,

machine tools of various sorts, optical equipment and a host of chemical products to the markets in the East which have always been traditionally German. In every new democracy these goods are being sold. They are helping in China's vast schemes of industrialization.

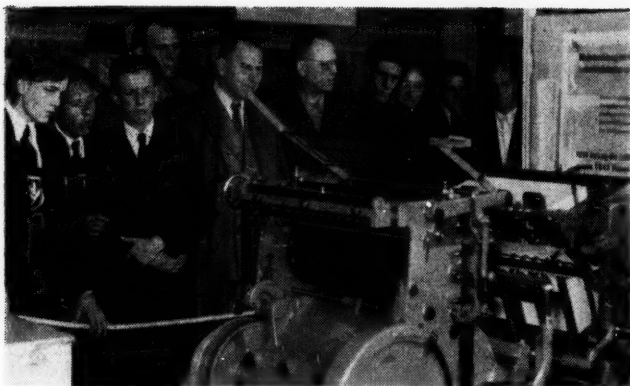
In return, foodstuffs, raw materials, are flowing into Eastern Germany. The standard of living has been rising rapidly during the last few months. There have been a series of price reductions, coupled with wage increases for workers in heavy industry and key technicians. The people can see that planned economy is delivering the goods. And with that realization has come a remarkable change in the attitude of the people.

They are now beginning to take pride in the work of reconstruction going on all round them. Professional men—architects, doctors, teachers, and so on—who two or three years ago readily repeated the propaganda from the West now speak with confidence about the opportunities opening out within the G.D.R. Architects called in to plan the gigantic task of

New housing has been a major activity in the German Democratic Republic. These new apartment houses are in the Weberwiese section of the capital.

—Zentralbild





Visitors to the Five-Year Plan exhibition held in Rostok examine a new printing press

—Zentralbild

re-creating shattered Dresden just as it was before the British and American bombers smashed it to rubble, cannot fail to be thrilled. Doctors who see health centers and medical services being developed far in advance of even the Weimar Republic, do not conceal their pride. Teachers know that the children and young people are being given a better deal than ever before in the history of Germany.

These changes like those that have gone before are completely ignored in the West. They will even deny in Western Berlin that any of them take place at all, but American propaganda cannot destroy facts in 1952 any more than it could in 1947.

The decision of the Socialist Unity Party Conference to go forward with the building of socialism both in industry and agriculture has been made possible because of this change in the attitude of the population. One can see in the German Democratic Republic today a growing of confidence, a quickening of enthusiasm which will intensify as the work of reconstruction proceeds.

With the prospect of concrete achievements in front of them, with the consumer goods pouring from the

factories and the tractors and combined harvesters providing the basis for co-operative advance in the countryside, the people will have no room for the negative propaganda from the West.

It is a pity that the Western Powers are busy again making themselves drunk with their own propaganda. Otherwise they would see that they are losing the battle for the soul of Germany. Today with goodwill on both sides and an abandonment of the mad plan to draw Germany into the Western Alliance, the unity of Germany can still be achieved.

But the path which the Western Powers are treading will inevitably lead to rearmament in Eastern Germany as a defense against the re-creation of Nazi armies in the West. This path will bring nearer the danger of civil war in Germany, leading to world war. As that danger grows the example of social progress in the Democratic Republic will more and more become a bastion for the forces of peace. Germans in East and West alike will understand that they are being asked to accept the destruction of their country in order to destroy social changes which Washington disapproves.

Why Belgians Resist NATO

by

FYKE FARMER

I LIVED in Belgium for eleven months and observed the situation in France, Germany, and Italy. I saw no evidence of any desire on the part of the people of these countries to be drawn into a war on the side of the United States against the Soviet Union. Nor was there any conviction that war is the way to peace. The people of Europe want peace, and Russia has convinced the majority of them that she stands for peace, while the U.S. bloc is committed to a war program. Unfortunately, with all our fan-fare and hub-bub about conscription, the building of far-flung bases, we have provided proof of the accusations that the Russians make against us.

Since my return from Belgium in June, I have read that the dissatisfaction with the lengthened conscription in that country has reached the point of mass resistance. This is no surprise. Belgian agriculture and industry are not mechanized. Parents need their children's labor. To take

boys away for two years works severe hardship.

A Supreme Court judge in Belgium told me that when World War II came to an end, Belgium raised an army of 50,000. "Why?" I asked. "How long could 50,000 men defend Belgium in case of another war?" His reply was that there was only one reason for any army at all: a bargaining position when the terms of the peace were agreed upon. That, of course, is a poor enough reason for continuing militarism in a little country like Belgium.

Last spring, when the debates in the Belgian Parliament over the Lisbon agreements of the North Atlantic Council were raging, Foreign Minister Van Zeeland tried hard to explain it. One question put to him was why Belgium had to have two years conscription and spend more than a third of its revenue for war preparations. "Simply because the Americans want it," Van Zeeland replied. The admission certainly fails to display the mellow temper and co-operation in the NATO scheme that the American public has been told prevails in Western Europe.

In Brussels, Mr. Jean F. Collin is an architect and builder of apartments. He told me how the new "defense" planning had injured his business. He was in the Resistance dur-

FYKE FARMER, a graduate of Yale Law School, was for many years a practicing attorney in Nashville, Tenn. He retired from active practice in 1946 to devote his time to the People's World Constituent Assembly to which he was elected delegate by the people of Tennessee at a general state election held in August, 1950.

ing the war against the Nazis. With the war's end he returned from France and re-established his business. He employed forty people in his office. When the NATO program got under way, he had to cut his staff to twelve. He had been busy building apartments and financing the sales through government loans. The government stopped all lending for this purpose because of the increased military spending. His subcontractors joined him in protesting to the Minister of Finance. The latter informed them that he was sorry. Nothing could be done about it. Huge sums were needed for war preparations.

This takes place while the war damage claims arising from the war only recently ended remain unsatisfied. One prominent person in Ghent, Edgar Gevaert, refused to pay any more taxes for "defense" until his claims for damages from World War II were satisfied. Mr. Gevaert is a director of an old and reputable textile factory near Oudenarde—a family business. They were just getting re-established with a prospect of paying dividends out of profits when the United States stockpiling program made its impact on the world wool market, following U.S. intervention in Korea. Then the operations had to be nearly suspended because of the scarcity of wool. Now plants manufacturing textiles in Belgium, I am informed, have become dependent on allotments from the supplies held in the U.S. The free market has been destroyed. This is an example of the effects of the extensive and aggressive war preparations on the "free enterprise" system.

This is only one side of the picture. Let us look at the other side.

Earlier, in the U.S., I had heard such terrible things said about the

Partisans of Peace that I wanted to yank my hat down over my eyes and pull up my overcoat collar around my ears whenever I passed a hall where they were meeting. Finally, however, I accepted an invitation to attend a meeting at Charleroi's City Hall. Mme. Blum, who had been re-elected to the Parliament from the constituency of Brussels six consecutive terms on the Socialist Party platform, was the principal speaker. In attendance were plain people, for the most part working men and women. A woman near whom I chanced to sit told me she lost two sons in World War II. If there was anything subversive about the speeches and the meeting, it was the subversion of war.

Later I went to another Partisan rally, this time in Brussels. About 300 were present. Unlike the gathering at Charleroi, the audience here consisted principally of professional people. I talked with Mr. Corman, the owner of a large book shop in Brus-



sels. It is a private profit enterprise in which he has achieved success by his individual initiative. I didn't ask him whether or not he was a Socialist, Communist, or Royalist. The vital fact is that he spared no words

denouncing the folly of those who thought turning Western Europe into an armed camp was the way to peace.

A man known throughout Europe and not without repute in Africa and the Far East is Baron Antoine



Allard of Brussels. He has made the slogan "Stop War" the principal weapon of his fight on militarism and imperialism. A banker and a devout Catholic, he nevertheless accepted membership on the Belgian Board of the Peace Partisans because he believed it was the most effective organization in the world for peace.

In February of this year, Mr. Allard had his faith in peace put to the acid test. The manager of a construction firm of which he was a director brought before the board a proposal for a bid for the construction of air bases for the Air Force. He suggested that in view of the

company's experience it might be asked to supervise the work on 400 aerodromes in Belgium, France and Spain.

Mr. Allard blocked the deal. He reminded his fellow-directors of his uncompromising position against war. What his company was being asked to do, he argued, did not differ from what the Krupps did for the Nazis and for which the leading Krupp directors were prosecuted before the Nuremberg Tribunal.

I quote from the closing paragraphs of the eloquent statement Baron Allard issued to the press:

Out of respect for those who died in the war and in the concentration camps, I ask you to assume your responsibilities. Do not collaborate with those who pretend that war is inevitable. It is the greatest crime against humanity. Do not help them prepare it. . . .

Every person to whom I have referred wants passionately to be friends of the American people. But each one feels that it is impossible to support the NATO program which the U.S. policy makers are ramming down the throat of the Belgian Government.

POLAND HONORS ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS, CHURCHMEN

TOP national decorations and prizes have been awarded by the Polish Government to outstanding workers in science, the arts, and industry. Among those who received decorations conferred by President Boleslaw Bierut were 39 Roman Catholic priests. Among the winners of the annual prizes in medicine were Prof. Tadeusz Urbanski for his work on synthetic and anti-tubercular preparations and other therapeutic compounds, and Prof. Jakub Wegierko for experimental and clinical research in diabetes. Dr. Damian Cembala won a prize for evolving a new method of studying blood circulation and Prof. Stefan Slopek for preparing a vaccine against typhoid fever.

THE OTHER EVIL

by

VITO MARCANTONIO

ONLY the politicians of the antediluvian era, those who disagreed with Christopher Columbus, those who persecuted Galileo, those who believed in inquisition, could consistently join with the representatives of big wealth in supporting the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket. The Chase National Bank and other big segments of big business and those who profit from war will conduct a streamlined, most expensive campaign to confuse and mislead the farmer, wage earner, Negro and small business man to vote for Eisenhower.

To continue to fight the Eisenhower candidacy is the duty of everyone who believes in peace, civil rights, rights of labor, and security. This the National Progressive Party and the American Labor Party of New York have been doing, and will continue to do.

The only way to wage an effective campaign against Eisenhower, Nixon, Winthrop Aldrich, Thomas E. Dewey, John Foster Dulles and

others who constitute this cabal of war and reaction is to support the Progressive Party candidates—Vincent Hallinan for President, Mrs. Charlotta Bass for Vice President. There is no other way. Some propose the so-called "lesser evil." We are called upon daily by some sincere, and other insincere, self-asserted liberals, to vote the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket as the "lesser evil."

Stevenson is not a lesser evil. Stevenson is the "other evil."

The same approach was offered in 1948. Then we were told that Truman was the lesser evil. Then Harry Truman, having stolen the Progressive Party program, came out for a strong FEPC with no ifs and buts. He pledged the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. He promised negotiations and offered to send Chief Justice Fred Vinson to see Stalin. What happened? We have had two Democratic Congresses since 1948, the 81st and the 82nd. Neither one of these two Congresses has either repealed the Taft-Hartley Law or enacted civil rights. Truman made no genuine fight on these issues, and his generals in the House and the Senate worked with the combination of Republicans and Southern Democrats who controlled Congress to prevent any action on them.

As for Truman's promises on

VITO MARCANTONIO, a member of Congress for 14 years, is State Chairman of the American Labor Party of New York. He consistently fought for and voted in the people's interests on labor, the rights of the Negro people and peace.

From the Progressive Party Platform:

END the War in Korea now.

CALL a Big Power Conference to settle outstanding differences among nations.

STOP the armaments race.

PROVIDE federal guarantees of full citizenship for the Negro people and other minorities, including a compulsory FEPC.

REPEAL the Taft-Hartley Law, reenact the Wagner Act, end the wage freeze and provide strict price and rent control.

OPEN the channels of world trade to provide vast markets and millions of jobs.

CONVERT America's resources from a war to a peace economy.

END thought control and return to the Bill of Rights.

peace, he gave us the Greek-Turkish Program, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, and the rearming of Western Germany and Japan. He did not send Vinson to Stalin. Instead by impeachable action without the consent of Congress or of the American people—he sent hundreds of thousands of Americans to Korea, resulting in over 117,000 combat casualties.

Truman also promised a defense of civil liberties, and instead we have a loyalty program, unscrupulous enforcement of the Smith Act, framing of Communists, and of labor leaders such as Harry Bridges, the lawless enforcement of a lawless law, the McCarran Act, and fear prevails in the land which was once hailed as the home of the free. The Democratic Party not only has failed to live up to the demagogic promises of Truman, but the events of the last four years demonstrate that it is organically incapable of performing on any promises, the past ones made by Truman and the present ones being made by Stevenson.

The records of the 81st and 82nd Congresses, both Democratic, have proven this, and the Democratic Party Convention of 1952 is double proof. This Convention

a) Marched up the hill insisting on the loyalty pledge and then back down and seated the Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana delegations despite their refusal to take the pledge even after the Convention had so watered the pledge that it became meaningless

b) Virginia, Louisiana and South Carolina were seated as a result of the change of the vote of the pro-Stevenson Illinois delegation to the Convention. The switch of the Stevenson Illinois delegation from its refusal to seat to leading the parade for the seating of these anti-civil rights elements clinched the Stevenson nomination

c) The nomination of Sparkman, arch foe of civil rights, as Stevenson's running mate.

All this proves that the Democratic Party cannot win without the electoral votes of the 11 states whose



Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party
Candidate for President of the U.S.

Democratic Party organizations are controlled by anti-civil rights elements. The Democratic Party, as well as Stevenson, had to pander to these elements to obtain Stevenson's nomination and both must continue to do so to win the election. A Democratic victory in 1952 will mean once again the same kind of Democratic Party governmental set-up that we have had since 1948, with the anti-civil rights elements in a position to call the tune and to prevent legislation for civil rights and peace and progress and labor. Stevenson cannot deliver on any promises that he has made.

Truman made outright promises; Stevenson has not even gone as far as Truman. Let us take issue for issue:

Peace: What is the difference between the so-called "liberation" policy of Eisenhower and the "contain-

ment" policy of Truman and Stevenson? Anybody who tries to draw a difference is merely setting up a phony issue. The test of a policy is not the words of generalization describing it, but the specifics and the application of the specifics.

Stevenson and Eisenhower stand together for: The Greek-Turkish Program; the Marshall Plan; the North Atlantic Pact; NATO; arming Western Germany and Japan. Where is the difference, except one of words which, in the face of these actions, mean nothing!

On the central and most important issue of today, that of Korea, what does Mr. Stevenson say? In his speech in San Francisco, reported September 10 in the *New York Times*, he says:

In Korea we took a long step toward building a security system in Asia. As an American I am proud that we had the courage to resist that ruthless, cynical aggression. . . .

I believe we may in time look back at Korea as a major turning point in history, a turning point which led not to another terrible war but to the first historic demonstration that an effective system of collective security is possible.

Need more be said on Korea!

In the same speech Stevenson calls for support of the British in Malaya, of the French in Indo-China, and asks for defensive steps in Formosa.

Add all this up, and what have you? What I described in Congress as defense of tyranny in Asia. On this most basic issue, not only is there no difference between Eisenhower and Stevenson, but for all practical purposes there is none between Stevenson and MacArthur.

Stevenson has said that he will travel anywhere for peace. So did

Eisenhower. So did Truman promise to send Vinson traveling. Stevenson speaks of negotiations. What kind? Negotiations based on armaments and the atom bomb policy. There is a test for Stevenson. Let him call on Harry Truman to cease fire now in Korea and negotiate afterwards. This is the test, the only test today for those who seek peace in Korea. Only the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party meet this test.

Civil Rights: Let us bear in mind that this year the Democratic platform does not use the words "filibuster," "anti-lynch," "anti-poll tax," or "FEPC." In their places we have generalities. Stevenson follows up these generalities by stating that he would support FEPC "when states fail to act and inequalities of treatment persist." This is a negation of FEPC; it is a devious way of asserting that he actually opposes federal FEPC. Inequality and discrimination is a national problem and requires national legislation. If the matter is left to the states and if, as Stevenson proposes, the government cannot step in where the states have acted, can you imagine what kind of FEPC we would have in such states as Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, etc.? Yet if these states set up any kind of FEPC, however ineffectual, Stevenson proposes that the federal government stay out.

Filibuster: Mr. Stevenson states that he supports the principle of majority rule. He said in the same speech, "the precise nature of the changes that should be made in the present Rules of Congress is, of course, a problem for the Congress itself." This is both a yes and no answer. Where does Mr. Stevenson specifically state that he will use his



Charlotta A. Bass, the Progressive Party Candidate for Vice-President

influence to abolish Rule 22, for which his running-mate, Sparkman, voted? Rule 22 protects filibuster in the Senate. Instead, he says:

I would urge in these fields and in many others that affect national policy that all of us resolve to take a fresh look. There has been too much freezing of positions, too much emotion, too many dogmatic statements of irrevocable attitudes.

This is the language of a glib tongue and a crooked intellect. The only honest attitude on discrimination is an irrevocable one. We of the Progressive Party and of the American Labor Party have an "irrevocable attitude." There must be compulsory fair employment practices legislation now, and the filibuster must be abolished.

Labor: Mr. Stevenson, back in February, said that he wanted merely

to modify the Taft-Hartley Law, he wanted to amend it. In Detroit, on Labor Day, he called for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, but at the same time he asked for the reenactment of its most vicious provisions under another name. In the same speech, Mr. Stevenson comes out against the injunction, but then he immediately adds:

We cannot, however, tolerate shut-downs which threaten our national safety, even that of the free world. The right to bargain collectively does not include a right to stop the national economy.

What does that mean? Simply that whenever the press and the employers whoop it up that a strike threatens the national safety, that such a strike cannot be tolerated. This covers strikes in all major industries. This means only one method, and that is strike-breaking by Presidential decree, something attempted by Truman in the 1946 railroad strike when he threatened to draft railroad strikers into the Army. Again I submit that this Stevenson approach is not a "lesser evil" than that of the Taft-Hartley injunctions; it is just as evil if not worse. Only the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party stand for Taft-Hartley repeal and full rights and economic security for labor.

Civil Liberties: Some people were impressed by Mr. Stevenson's speech before the American Legion. But Stevenson was not taking any chances. At Albuquerque he repeated as his own virtually what is the declaration of policy of the McCarran Act almost word for word. Then he made the following statement in which he embraces and accepts all of the legislation which destroys our

Bill of Rights and praises the activities of the Department of Justice and of the FBI:

We have tightened up our espionage and security legislation. We have instituted a Federal loyalty system—and we did so, I should add, in 1947—three long years before the Senator from Wisconsin made his shrill discovery of the Communist menace.

We have prosecuted the Communist leadership. Where the law has been violated the Justice Department has indicted and convicted the criminals. In all this effort we have had the faithful and resourceful work and national protection of the Federal Bureau of Investigation . . . so far as I can see, the FBI is doing and has done an excellent investigation job.

In fact, he even boasts of being ahead of McCarthy.

So that we find a Stevenson who says one thing to labor, but in the same speech gives assurances to keep the NAM boys happy: talks in generalities about FEPC to the Negro people but beats a retreat so fast and so far to the rear as to be considered safe, sound and secure by such people as Speaker Rayburn, Cox of Georgia, the Governor of Virginia, and even Governor Talmadge, who, while giving a pat on the back to Eisenhower at the same time asserts his loyalty to Stevenson.

He speaks of peace and supports all measures making for war. And he assures the Wall Street boys that he will continue our misadventure in Korea and in Asia. On civil liberties he utters generalities in N. Y. against smearing liberals, and at Albuquerque, N. M., assures the McCarrans that he is not going to let even a McCarthy get ahead of him in the destruction of the Constitutional rights of Communists today and other Americans tomorrow.

Add all this up and then add to it the record of Sparkman, and what kind of an evil have you in the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket?

A survey made by the NAACP reveals that Senator Sparkman has voted against civil rights issues affecting the Negro people sixteen times during his ten years in the House and Senate. Alongside his Jefferson Davis record on civil rights is Sparkman's record on labor and civil liberties. He voted for the Taft-Hartley Act (he voted to sustain the veto), for the Case anti-labor bill, for the infamous Smith-Connally law, for the Smith amendments destroying the Wagner Labor Act and against the Wages and Hours law. He voted for the Smith and McCarran Acts and consistently supported the Un-American Committee.

This is the man who will preside over the Senate and will become President in the event of Stevenson's death.

So here we have it. Not a "lesser evil" but the "other evil."

Only the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party stand squarely for the restoration of the Bill of Rights.

The vote for the Hallinan-Bass ticket is not a wasted vote. It is, first of all, a protest against the two evils, the Eisenhower-Stevenson evil of

war, discrimination, anti-labor government, inflation today and depression tomorrow. It is a vote as valuable as those cast for the Liberty Party in 1840 against slavery, and for the Free Soil Party in 1848 and 1852 against its extension. It is a vote similar to the one that made up the one million votes for Eugene V. Debs in 1920, which, in turn, led to the four million votes for LaFollette in 1924, and for victory for Roosevelt in 1932.

Great causes were never won by sacrificing a real fight and substituting for it the seeming "lesser evil." In Germany it was said "better Hindenburg than Hitler" and a real fight against both was sacrificed and the Germans got both, Hindenburg and Hitler; and to those who say, "better Stevenson than Eisenhower," I say to them that if you do get Stevenson, you will get Eisenhower, because the people who nominated Eisenhower at the Republican Convention are the same forces that controlled the Democratic Convention which nominated Stevenson. The program is the same, the candidates are the same. Their masters are the same.

Against both evils free men must struggle and fight, for only with struggle was America's freedom obtained, and only with struggle will it be preserved.

NO VOTE "WASTED," SAYS CANDIDATE HALLINAN

"THE Republican and Democratic parties are extravagant with expenditures for death, but stingy with anything for life, for happiness and for security. . . . Some people fear that a vote for me and Mrs. Bass may be wasted. . . . We can win if we get enough votes to instruct whatever party is elected that the American people want peace."

From a nationwide radio-television broadcast by Vincent Hallinan, candidate of the Progressive Party for President.

Which Way for India?

A noted authority analyzes the dilemma of the Nehru Government in face of the growing peoples' movements in the East

by

KUMAR GOSHAL

EVEN before the present Dominion of India came into formal existence, Prime Minister Nehru had visualized the role of India in world affairs as that of the leader of the freedom movement of all colonial peoples, the guide to the future development of the colonial countries. India would throw her weight on the side of peace rather than of war, would judge each world issue individually on its merit and decide upon a course of action based upon justice and equality for all.

Presenting the Objectives Resolution to the Indian Constituent Assembly on January 22, 1947, Nehru said:

"I trust that the Constitution itself will lead us to the real freedom we have clamored for and that real freedom in turn will bring food to our starving people, clothing for them, housing for them and all manner of opportunities of progress, that it will lead also to the freedom of the other

countries of Asia, because in a sense, we have become the leaders of the freedom movement of Asia . . . let us remember . . . this great responsibility we shoulder . . . the responsibility of the leadership of a large part of Asia . . . of being some kind of guide to vast numbers of people all over the world."

In the same speech—one of the best he ever made—Nehru declared that India was "on the eve of revolutionary changes, revolutionary in every sense of the word," emphasized that "when the spirit of a nation breaks its bonds, it functions in peculiar ways and it should function in strange ways," and warned the framers of the constitution to avoid binding the Indians with too many conditions because

"It may be that the Constitution this House may frame may not satisfy that free India. This House cannot bind down the next generation, or the people who will duly succeed us in this task."

Also, in the same speech, Nehru reiterated that "India must sever her connection with Great Britain, because that connection had become an emblem of British domination," opposed all power blocs, and de-

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The people of Bombay turn out at the railway station with flags, banners and slogans to greet members of a Chinese cultural delegation to India

clared India's support of the United Nations.

Much has happened since that speech was made. Seven months later, the Indian Empire was split into the two dominions of Pakistan and the Indian Union, or India for short. Last winter, the new Indian Constitution went into effect, and Indians for the first time went to the polls and elected, on the basis of universal adult suffrage, state legislatures and a central Parliament. In practice, both in foreign and in domestic affairs, the actions of the Indian Government have been extraordinarily contradictory.

For example, India brought the issue of Indonesian freedom to the United Nations, but let Australia assume the lead and sell, through U.S. mediator Frank P. Graham, an unsatisfactory solution to the Indonesians. Though Nehru supported the cause of Indonesian freedom, he still remains aloof from Indo-China's struggle for freedom, and allows the British government to recruit on Indian soil Gurkha mercenaries from

Nepal to fight against the Malayan liberation army. India's UN delegates made a strong effort to secure UN recognition for People's China—but voted to declare North Korea as an aggressor.

Contrary to the often repeated pledge of Nehru's own Congress Party—and the universal desire of the Indian people—India, under Nehru's persuasion, chose to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and despite Britain's colonial war in Malaya, and the Canadian, Australian and South African policy of discrimination against Indians and other colored peoples.

Disregarding the warning of Nehru not to burden the Constitution with petty details, the Indian Constituent Assembly saddled the Indians with a 251-page Constitution—the world's bulkiest—overloading it with clauses protecting property rights but restricting human and civil rights with modifying clauses. Nehru not only failed to protest but accepted the Constitution with

a vengeance, going so far as to demand more restricting amendments, such as the act to gag the press and the extension of the Preventive Detention Act, by which political dissenters are arrested and kept in jail without trial, under the guise of anti-communism.

In the economic sphere, contradictions also appear between theory and practice. Although freedom from foreign economic domination was one of the main reasons for India's struggle for independence, British vested interests remain uncontrolled, and American economic penetration has been facilitated by the concessions made by the Indian government to such concerns as the Standard Vacuum, Burma-Shell and Caltex oil companies, concessions which even the conservative *Hindustan Times* characterized as "far too generous."

Due to the popularity in India of the Soviet method of planned economic development, the Nehru government has publicized its own Five-Year Plan; apart from its other shortcomings, this Plan leans heavily on foreign capital aid and, even if it is put into effect, will merely restore India to the economic level to which she had sunk after 150 years of British rule!

The Indian Government accepts the principle of the abolition of landlordism, to which all major political parties are pledged; but, in its efforts to put it into effect, the government has bent over backward in favor of the landlords, not only offering them such fabulous sums as ten times the amount of annual rent paid by the tenant farmers but also huge extra amounts for the rehabilitation of the former landlords, all of this to be paid by the tenant farmer to whom the government

plans to sell the land which it buys from the landlords.

In all its affairs, the Nehru government, since its inception, has been pulled two ways. The government has been dominated and, although a strong progressive opposition emerged after the recent elections, continues to be dominated by the most conservative and reactionary elements in the country. These elements, knowing that the "revolutionary changes" to which Nehru referred in the speech quoted earlier, if allowed to take place, would mean the end of their domination no less than the end of all foreign domination of India, make every effort to align India with the Anglo-American bloc in order to protect their own interests. It was this knowledge, in fact, which prompted them in 1947 to accept the compromise British proposals. Against this, however, are a vast popular desire for complete freedom from foreign domination and rapid political, economic and social development on a planned basis, a genuine popular sympathy for the struggle for freedom of other colonial peoples, and a deep and widespread feeling of friendship for the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. It is popular pressure that holds the reactionary group in the government somewhat in check, that is primarily responsible for the government's attitude towards People's China—an attitude which helps the government to pose as progressive while it follows reactionary policies in other fields.

The Indian people have been deeply impressed by the accomplishments of the Soviet Union—which includes many Asians in its population—and the Chinese People's Republic. The Asian border of the Soviet Union is, in fact, within whis-

pering distance of the northern border of India, and for a long time Indians have heard of the remarkable achievements of Soviet Asians—who started with even less advantages than the Indians—within an incredibly short period of time. In a letter to his daughter written from prison on July 7, 1933, Nehru himself wrote:

"The Soviet solution of the minorities problem has interest for us, as we have to face a difficult minority problem ourselves. The Soviets' difficulties appear to have been far greater than ours. . . . Their solution of the problem has been very successful. . . . And the results achieved already have been remarkable. . . . The Central Asian republics have a special interest for us because of our age-old contact with Middle Asia . . . because of the remarkable progress they have made during the past few years. Under the Tsars they were very backward and superstitious countries with hardly any education and their women mostly behind the veil. Today they are ahead of India in many respects."

In recent years, there has been a good deal of cultural exchange between the USSR and India, and Soviet books, pamphlets and periodicals have had a wide circulation in India, impressing the people to the degree that the government, in fear, recently prohibited their sale in many book and railway station stalls. In April of this year, a delegation of 30 Indians, of whom 20 were businessmen and industrialists, attended the International Economic Conference in Moscow and returned with impressive reports of Soviet accomplishments and Soviet desire for peace and world trade. Typical of the reports made by conservative members of the delegation, was that of Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, President

of Gandhi's All-India Village Industries Assn., and formerly Chairman of the Congress Party's Agrarian Reforms Committee. Dr. Kumarappa, originally doubtful of the value of the conference and critical of some aspects of Soviet life, from his observations emphatically denied that the USSR wished to start a world war and said: "In my opinion the . . . Conference . . . is a definite contribution by the Soviet people to world peace."

Recent exchanges of cultural and goodwill missions between People's China and India have had a profound effect on Indian public opinion. "With

In rural India this woman and child bear the burden of rife landlordism

—United Nations Photo



the return of a number of Indian intellectuals from visits to Communist China," Robert Trumbull reported to the *New York Times* of Nov. 6, 1951, "the Indian public has . . . become extraordinarily conversant with life and thought in Red China, as reported by these professors, artists and others." Trumbull's dispatch about the report on China by the Indian goodwill mission mentions so many vital points that it would be worthwhile to look at it in some detail.

The mission was headed by Pandit Sunderlal, a renowned and devoted follower of Gandhi. It included, among others, Dr. Kumarappa, referred to above; Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, head of the Delhi School of Economics, conservative enough to have been selected as one of the two speakers at the India session of America's Town Meeting of the Air in 1949; the eminent historians, Professor Habib of Aligarh University, a Moslem, and Professor Tripurari Chakravarty of Calcutta University; Mrs. Hannah Sen, President of the All-India Women's Conference; novelist Mulk Raj Anand; K. A. Abbas, celebrated journalist, movie critic and movie producer and director; and G. P. Hutheesingh, an active member of the Indian Socialist Party.

According to Trumbull, the members of the goodwill mission reported that:

Although the Chinese people were bitterly opposed to the Truman war policy, they maintained their friendly feeling towards the American people.

Peking was desirous of peace in Korea and would respect whatever cease-fire arrangements were made; the Peking government "had no desire to fight the United States or any other power unless it felt that Chinese interests were threatened," in

which case Peking "won't retreat an inch," and the Chinese were not dismayed by the prospects of a long war.

"[North] Korean morale remained high, and . . . they were continuing their Government, industry and even a university settlement."

The United States had lost the confidence of the Asian through its support of the French in Indo-China as well as through its war in Korea.

"Russians had behaved with exemplary restraint in China. . . . Soviet technicians . . . did their jobs and silently departed . . . the Russians in China had not built up a 'foreign colony' . . . they lived in all respects as the Chinese did."

Dr. Rao declared that many Chinese professors "expressed the wish to correspond with their former associates in the United States . . . but felt restrained from doing so in fear that their United States friends would assume that any letters favorable to the Communist regime had been dictated."

Dr. Rao believed that the Chinese people "are willing to be friendly with the United States if they receive what they consider their national rights in Korea and elsewhere."

In an interview with the editor of India To-Day, Pandit Sunderlal said:

"We had taken care to see that none of our colleagues was a member of the Communist Party of India so that we may not be charged of harboring any preconceived views in favor of the new regime in China. And yet we have all come back inspired and enthused alike by what we saw in China."

In a series of two articles in *The Nation* last April, Dr. Rao paid glowing tribute to the popularity and accomplishments of the People's Government of China.

In a letter to the Chicago *Sun-*

Typical scene in Calcutta, where entire families live right on the city's sidewalks



Times of April 19, 1952, Rev. Loy Long, American Congregational Missionary to India, while primarily complaining about American failure to be represented at the Bombay world industrial exhibition, nevertheless revealed some important facts when he wrote:

"I have never seen an exhibition anywhere as good as this one. The machinery of the Russians, Chinese, Czechoslovakians, Hungarians and their other exhibits were by far superior to any displayed by any other group. . . . Over and over we could hear the amazed spectators, walking through the Russian exhibition, exclaim, 'Isn't it wonderful what they are doing?' . . . The Chinese exhibit was equally impressive with large electric motors, gas engines, heavy lathes, milling machines, sewing machines, tools, etc. One of the Tata company engineers asked in my hearing 'Do you men to tell me they have done all this in the last two years?' . . . There was absolutely no exhibit of American-made goods. . . . Well, I might mention that Coca-Cola was being sold in a number of places, from the little red boxes."

Popular feeling towards China was clearly and concisely expressed in an editorial in the liberal Indian weekly, *The Republic*, of Oct. 1, 1952:

"Whatever one may think of the methods adopted by the Chinese, the Indian people refuse to accept the theories sedulously imported from abroad that the method is exclusively that of the firing squad. They believe that in China inflation has been brought under control, corruption and beggary have disappeared, far-reaching land reforms have been introduced, women have been liberated from the tyranny of frightful social abuses, a vast movement has been set afoot to wipe out illiteracy, industries devastated by two decades of civil war and invasion have been rehabilitated and new industries started, the colonial pattern of foreign trade has been replaced by one linked with the internal economic growth and finally a military power built up that can legitimately give the people the assurance that their country will never again be the happy hunting ground for foreign imperialist powers. And what is perhaps the most important, there is vast enthusiasm to work and to create, national heroes being those

of labor . . . the politically conscious Indian is interested to know . . . whether one may not learn something from China which, starting from a far more difficult situation, has achieved results which are just as much encouraging as ours is discouraging . . . whether the difference in the results in China and India may not be connected with the difference between a good method and a bad one."

The latest Indian delegation to visit China was an official one, led by Prime Minister Nehru's sister, Mme. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, who left her ambassadorial post in Washington to run for the Indian Parliament on a pro-U.S. platform. Although the Indian government has refused to make the delegation's report public, Mme. Pandit has paid eloquent, though somewhat guarded tribute to the accomplishments of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Indian people are convinced that the Korean war started as a civil war, an entirely internal conflict between progressive and reactionary Korean forces, to be solved by the Korean people themselves. They oppose U.S. armed interference in Korean affairs, and there has been strong public criticism against the Indian U.N. delegation's support of intervention in Korea. The Nehru government is now trying desperately to recover its lost prestige by its attempt to promote a truce in Korea.

In India there has been universal condemnation of napalm bombing of Korean civilian populations, and the official Indian delegation to China found the germ warfare exhibits "impressive." The Indian Red Cross delegate to the Red Cross conference, held in Toronto, Canada, in fact considered the germ warfare exhibits

impressive enough to call for an impartial investigation.

To sum up: Internally, India's economy still remains primarily colonial, and foreign capitalists still find it not too difficult to gain concessions to exploit India's raw material resources and cheap man power. Externally, the tendency of the present Indian government, dominated as it is by reactionary Indians who fear a genuine "revolutionary change," is to side with the imperialist powers who, for their own interest, are anxious to preserve reactionary, feudal governments in as large a part of the world as possible. Due to rapidly developing political and social consciousness among the masses of the Indian people, the government has to put up a progressive front, supporting People's China, demanding a truce in Korea, refraining from overt opposition to the Soviet Union—while suppressing dissenting opinion within India, and avoiding in the United Nations, except in the case of China, all issues which might make its stand seem pro-Communist.

But the Indian government will find it increasingly difficult to carry on its present dual policy. For, in the last elections, the progressive forces scored an impressive victory against incredible odds. To the utter surprise of Nehru's Congress Party, the Communist Party emerged as the second largest political party in India, and Communist members of Parliament, together with their progressive colleagues, form a strong minority opposition in the government. Their constant criticism of government policy, their constructive program, and the rapidly growing political and social consciousness of the people will undoubtedly have an increasing influence in India's domestic as well as foreign policy.

6 Days on the Yangtse

Eye-witness account of how the people of New China are now eliminating the age-old menace of floods and drought

by

DR. JOHN ADAMS KINGSBURY

SHALL I tell you what I saw and heard and read in the New China in the late spring and early summer of this year? I can hope only to give impressions of the ancient and the new civilization in this distant land; of the remarkable people I saw and met, and of some of their outstanding achievements.

In my previous article, in last month's issue of *NEW WORLD REVIEW*, I presented a thumb-nail sketch of how a certain part of the Chinese landscape looks from the sky to one who has never seen it before; I have given a glimpse of the people in the villages. I cannot hope to give more than a passing glimpse of the closer view of the fascinating landscape of the Yangtse River, its banks dotted with little thatched roof houses, "Mutual Aid Groups" tilling its fertile fields with the aid of the water buf-

falo. This mighty river winding its ancient course through the plains of Central China becomes in turn the fructifying friend or the most devastating enemy of the millions of people who dwell in that vast low-lying land where fertile farms are inundated and enriched by periodic floods. On that meandering sluggish stream, heavy with silt washed from barren mountains by torrential tributaries, for six days I lived and traveled on a reconditioned river-boat, with all modern conveniences, a cuisine and service which would have done credit to the French Line. It was a steamboat that had been wrecked by the fleeing forces of Chiang Kai-shek. This was true also of the de luxe airplanes in which we traveled. They had been made of parts of planes wrecked by the Chiang or the American air force.

Such glorious sunrises and gorgeous sunsets as I gazed upon traveling for two days and nights up this historic stream, its wide marshes making it seem more like an inland sea than a river.

The marshes of the Yangtse sea, are ineffably beautiful, but they are fraught with danger and death, for the waters that flood them in July and August cannot be stayed nor held

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Stone masons working on the great project to prevent floods on the Huai. After centuries of destruction the river will be confined to its course

within their banks by natural barriers. For centuries they have periodically flooded millions of acres and forced millions of families from their houses, to suffer famine, disease and death. Dynasty after dynasty has undertaken to cope with these floods, mostly by temporizing as we have done on the Missouri-Mississippi. There have been well-considered engineering plans of the character of the Tennessee Authority but up to now the best laid plans of these micelike rulers of men have gone awry. Flood control on a comprehensive scale costs money, much money, more money than the rulers were willing to spend—and life was cheap; human life was expendable. Often when adequate funds for flood control were appropriated they were wasted by inefficient officials or used in a greedy and shortsighted way.

So century after century China traveled the vicious circle of flood, drought, disease, famine and death until at the end of 1949 the People's Liberation Army put out of action a total of eight million of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, and Chiang and his henchmen fled to the island of Taiwan (Formosa) the last territory of China which remains yet to be lib-

erated. Shortly after that the feudalism of centuries was uprooted by a system of land reform in which the tillers own the soil. Today, only two and a half years after the People's Republic of China was founded, this fundamental change in land ownership has taken place in areas containing a rural population of more than 310 million people. Concomitantly a comprehensive flood control project embracing the three great rivers of eastern China—the Huai, the Yangtse and the Yellow rivers—was developed in consultation with Soviet engineers. The greatest water control effort in Chinese history is now under way in the Valley of the Huai river which has a population of over 50 million peasants and covers one-seventh of all China's cultivated land. The Huai is one of the big rivers of China which flows into the Yellow Sea. What the Chinese people have suffered from failure to control this river can be gathered from historical records which show no less than 979 floods along its course between 246 B.C. and 1948 A.D. In other words, the Huai has produced a flood every two years for some 70 generations.

The Yangtse and the Yellow Rivers

Workers on the Huai River flood control project load railway dump trucks used to convey building materials to the various construction sites



have a similar history, and they have sometimes been joined together by the Huai to create a great inland sea flooding millions of acres. The Huai at times has wrecked the whole lake system which lies between its course and the Yangtse, creating a constant threat of flood to almost two million acres of rice fields along the Grand Canal.

In addition to the Huai and the Yellow river projects there are many similar projects in different parts of China that are being pushed to completion. The most notable one brought to our attention was the great flood control project on the upper Yangtse, known as the Ching river project. To see this project in operation was the purpose of our six-day voyage up the Yangtse in June. This river has caused many devastating floods. In 1931 over six million acres were inundated, and in 1949 more than three million acres were flooded.

The most treacherous section of the Yangtse is the bottleneck known locally as the Ching River on which the city of Shasi is situated. This is where our steamer docked after a voyage of two days and nights. This became our main point

of departure for trips of observation of the Ching River Project with 125 miles of dikes, the flood basin covering an area roughly 60 miles long, averaging 10 miles wide, or about six times the area of the Ashokan Reservoir, New York City's main water supply.

We lived on the steamer, although most of the delegates spent a memorable night in tents the day of the rugged 60-mile drive in army jeeps when they went to observe the upper sluice gates.

I regretfully decided to pass this trip up! Another aged delegate, a famous woman from Australia, agreed that we would learn as much about the people of New China by sitting comfortably on the deck of our steamer, fanning ourselves, while observing the life on the Yangtse and on its shores. At least that's the way we rationalized our decision. After all we had studied maps and large models of the project which show how when completed, a vast amount of the flood waters of the Yangtse will be diverted from the beginning of the Ching river bottleneck through canals to Tungling Lake. Thus the flow of the Yangtse

will be reduced by about 13,000 cubic meters per second.

After thorough study and preparation this project was approved by the Council, March 15, last. On April 5 construction commenced with the understanding that it must be completed within 90 days; that is, before the rainy season of late July set in. Seventy thousand army men and women, and 300,000 peasants, mostly volunteers, with many engineers and skilled workers have promised the government that they will complete the work in 80 days. This monumental task will straighten the southern embankment of the Ching River, which, with sluice gates, will prevent the dikes from breaking even if the flood crest reaches the 1949 record of 50,000 cubic meters per second, thus preventing the inundation of three million acres and endangering the existence of thousands of villages in this vast and fertile area where the rainfall is said to be the heaviest in the world.

This project is designed to protect the lives and property of a million people. Just as a score of villages had to be moved before the Esopus flooded the Ashokan Reservoir, so more than a hundred villages had to be moved from the low lands of the Ching river "Flood Detention Basin" which had a population of 240,000. Eighty thousand people had to be moved to new allotments outside the Detention Basin, while 160,000 who live in villages situated on elevated flats remain to cultivate the fertile lands in the interim between floods which occur on an average of once in four years. In flood years when the water level threatens the villages on the high-lands, the sluice gates will be opened and the water will be diverted through canals into the Tungling Lake whence it will gradually over-

flow into the lower Yangtse. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, a trained engineer, said he was overwhelmingly impressed by water gates a thousand meters long which lead the turbulent Yangtse waters in flood safely to a huge storage area till the danger peak is passed.

This is a perfect example of what New China is doing to minimize the destruction not only by flood, but also by drought. For these projects not only control floods. They conserve the water for irrigation. They provide water power for generating hundreds of millions of kilowatt hours of electricity which will furnish light, heat and power to the cities and villages of the upper Yangtse. Furthermore, they open channels for ships to travel from the inland provinces to the sea. Ships of ten tons will now be able to sail at all times of the year from Shasi on the Ching river to Shanghai on the sea, thus opening permanent channels of trade and greatly augmenting the incomes of people in the hinterland and raising the standard of living.

I regretted that I didn't feel up to the strenuous trip to the upper sluice-gates, but having studied the model from a background of some knowledge of water conservation and irrigation, I was content to hear the details of the trip from the younger delegates. Furthermore, I had spent the previous day in a four-wheel drive Willys jeep captured from Chiang by Mao! We had climbed the 45° slope of the Ching Basin near Shasi. I had seen 100,000 peasants with fiery enthusiasm working in competitive teams under their respective banners. I had seen them carrying mud and clay in dump-baskets on the ends of pliable bamboo poles, trotting back and forth from points of supply to places of demand, always singing as

they trot, never stopping in the 50-minute shifts between the 10-minute rest periods.

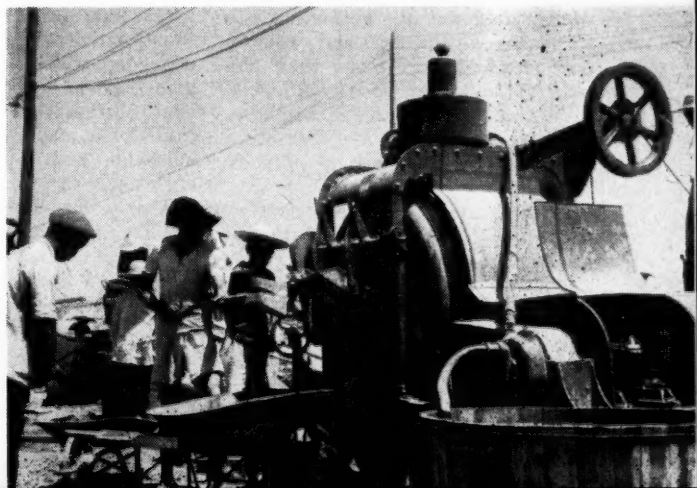
While resting they were provided with refreshments, and entertained with songs and dance by volunteers. One could see the dikes grow and other teams of eight to twelve tampers with rope attachments lifted 200 pound concrete blocks high into the air to a "heave-ho" song, then letting them drop, all their weight effectively tamping the dirt almost to the hardness of concrete. As far as one could see the dike was alive with workers. Each brigade had its own headquarters under the direction of women serving hot tea or cold drinks and snacks, pasting the latest news bulletins, or turning on the loudspeaker; each brigade had its own lavatory. Its shift finished, each team retired to its clean, well-ventilated, thatched-roof dormitory with walls of matting, each with its own cuisine. These dormitories were grouped about quadrangles with sports fields. There were clinics and hospitals and cooperative stores. There were entertainment halls with visiting troupes of professional entertainers, or for amateur performances. These dormitories and accessory buildings constituted a

large city on the outskirts of Shasi.

My Australian colleague, Miss Ada Brounham, and I were not permitted to sit long gazing at the sampans and counting the sails of the junks plying the river trade. Mr. Wang arrived with a jeep to take us to visit the shopping district of Shasi. We drove slowly, studying the highly diversified shops and observing the shoppers. At every stop crowds gathered clapping their hands and cheering and shouting "Peace." They wanted to shake hands or even to touch the hem of our garment! The street became so packed that the yellow-clad traffic officers had their hands full, especially when we decided to leave our jeep and walk down a long narrow side street leading into an arcade. I noticed that the officers, though firm, were never rough, and they were always gentle with the swarming children who wanted a good look at the white strangers. They were all consumed with curiosity when we began to inspect the shops and to make purchases.

The experiences of shopping in Shasi taught me a great deal about the people of New China, their courtesy and integrity. I had an unusual opportunity to make quite an inten-

A concrete mixer on the Huai River flood control construction



sive study of the minor achievements of the Chinese people.

From the deck of our steamer docked at Shasi during the several days inspection of the Ching River Project, I had an unusual opportunity to observe the family life of the people living on the docks in junks and in other steamers and on the river banks. I had, as it were, a ringside seat.

Being an early riser myself I watched the families come to life each morning. I saw the children bathe and make their toilets. I saw them roll up their bedding and set the rooms aright. I saw women, assisted by their daughters, preparing the simple morning meal. After the

workers had departed, I saw the grandmothers and the daughters preparing the food for the one big meal of the day, cleaning the fish fresh caught from the river, paring the vegetables and fruits and many other morsels of food unknown to me. It seemed like preparations for a real banquet and that is what the evening meal in China is. Family groups squatting about in circles around their bowls of food, course after course, eaten with chopsticks, is a sight not soon to be forgotten. After their bountiful evening meal they relax and talk and play their games just as people do anywhere else in the world. (In an early issue: Life in Chinese Cities.)

MURIEL DRAPER (1887-1952)

IN AN ARTICLE Muriel Draper wrote for us after a visit to the Soviet Union she expressed her gratitude to the Soviet people in these words:

Each hour I lived there I learned more of your part of a world that people everywhere are beginning to make—a world where women and children and men will live and work together in the happy security of peace.

Muriel Draper put all the love of her ardent heart, all the wit and wisdom of her fine mind, and more than the strength of her frail body into the warm human relationships and the hard day-to-day work and struggle that must go into the making of such a world.

She was a member of the executive committee of the Women's International Democratic Federation, dedicated to the establishment of world peace, and active in the women's movement for peace and progress in this country.

In recent years she gave her main efforts to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, as chairman of its Committee of Women.

A writer and poet, a lover of music and all the arts, author of *Music at Midnight*, she was not content merely to seek her own enjoyment in the things she loved. She chose instead to help create a new world in which everyone could know such enjoyment and find creative expression in work they loved. She faced courageously the attacks of the old world supporters, and never swerved from her course. She gave herself unstintingly to the driest organizational details as well as to the tasks of a leadership which was an inspiration and joy to all who worked with her.

The sparks from Muriel Draper's incandescent spirit have ignited fires that will keep on burning brightly as those who knew and love her carry on the struggle for peace, equality and human happiness to which she gave her life.

JESSICA SMITH



THEY COME OUR TROOPS, by Chang Yang Shih

ART FROM PEOPLE'S CHINA

The woodcuts and sketches reproduced here and on the following pages have been made available to New World Review through the kindness of Dr. John A. Kingsbury, who recently returned from China. Space permits us to present only a few examples of New

China's flourishing art. We thought it appropriate to open with the woodcut above, showing villagers greeting their army of liberation during the civil war that was fought against the feudal, reactionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek's regime.





CRITICIZING A SLACKER, by Cheng Wang



WORKING PEOPLE'S PALACE OF CULTURE, PEKING, by Ku Yuan





WORKERS GOING TO NIGHT SCHOOL, by Ku Yuan

MAKING A PRODUCTION PLAN, by Liu Chien-an





DIVIDING THE LAND, by Wen Niu

BURNING THE OLD TITLE DEEDS, by Chen Yin



Transformation in Rumania

by W. T. MAXWELL

EIGHT YEARS AGO the Red Army liberated Rumania from the yoke of the Hitlerite invaders. The anniversary of this occasion is celebrated each year as the major national holiday. It is the occasion for summing up the achievements of the Rumanian people since their liberation. For it was this event, on August 23, 1944, which opened the way for the working people of the country to win state power, and embark on the building of a society without exploitation of man by man.

The Rumanian people, enjoying real independence and national sovereignty for the first time in history, look back on the long road they have already traversed since the years when their country was kept in a semi-colonial position by foreign powers. They bitterly recall their sufferings under the Turkish yoke. They remember the years when the workers of the country lived in poverty and misery, while the foreign trusts and native capitalists exploited the riches of the country for their own profit.

Vickers of England controlled the biggest metallurgical plants of the country. Royal Dutch Shell owned a third of the capital invested in the entire oil industry. In ten years, Astra Romana, property of the Brit-

ish trusts, increased its capital by 50 per cent out of profits, and its investments rose 153 per cent—also out of profits. Their irrational operational methods brought no benefit to the country. By the device of drilling diagonal wells leading from the surface of its own land under neighboring state oil fields, Astra Romana managed to steal enormous quantities of oil and natural gas from Rumania. Standard Oil, in bitter competition with the English trusts, fired an oil field at Moroeni, destroying millions of tons of crude oil. The "Hermann Goering" and other armament trusts drained the country of its mineral wealth.

Today the picture is totally different. The working class, allied with the working peasantry, are building up the productive resources of the country for the benefit of the Rumanian people, and for peaceful purposes only. In the four years since nationalization went into effect, socialist industry has almost tripled its output.

Corroboration of the immense advances made by the Rumanian people in recent years comes from many foreign visitors who, unhampered by travel restrictions such as are imposed by the U.S. State Department, have traveled in Rumania and seen for themselves.

D. N. Pritt, the distinguished British lawyer, who visited Rumania this spring, declared:

I was sharply struck by the extremely rapid development that I observed after only three years of the existence of the Rumanian People's Republic. That which I have seen gave evidence both of the strength of the socialist economy and of the unlimited faculty of simple people for learning and obtaining results which would be impossible in capitalist countries.

The breadth of the peaceful constructions, both national and local, which have been undertaken in the RPR, as well as the expenditures which are made to raise the material and cultural living standards of the people, are incompatible with preparations for war.

The regime of people's democracy has created a powerful heavy industry base for the development of the whole national economy. It has established whole new branches of industry that did not exist before. Its machine building industry is turning out numerous types of machines that formerly had to be imported from abroad: tractors, lathes, oil equip-

ment, coal mining machinery, machinery for the construction industry, for light industry. A huge electrification program which will guarantee 2,600,000 kilowatts of power capacity, three and a half times as much as had been built in 60 years in the past, is under way. Work on the great Danube-Black Sea Canal is steadily progressing. The immense new printing and publishing center, Scanteia House, started partial operation last year. Describing Scanteia as "the largest and noblest printing complex in the world" with its modern equipment, spacious interiors and all amenities for the workers, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, after a visit there last winter, said:

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 raw materials and equipment imported from the Soviet Union, together with substantial technical aid, have been an important factor in the transformation of the Rumanian People's Republic from a backward

Apartments for workers in a new residential section of the industrial town of Stalin, formerly Brashov, where most Rumanian tractors are made.





Farmers of the Saliste Commune, in Sibiu Region, buying books at a bookstand arranged in connection with the annual Rumanian-Soviet Friendship Month

agrarian country into an industrial nation with an advanced agricultural economy.

The agrarian reform of 1945, which gave some 2,750,000 acres of land to the peasants, ended forever the power of the big landed proprietors who had exploited the countryside for centuries and kept it in a state of medieval backwardness.

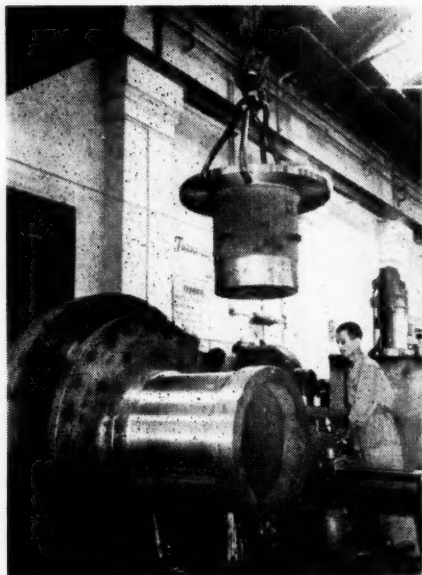
With the establishment of 200 machine and tractor stations, numerous state farms, 1400 collective farms and the application of advanced scientific methods, the foundation is being laid for a highly mechanized large scale socialist agriculture. Writing in NWR for September 1951, Ralph Parker described the wholly voluntary methods by which the collectivization program is being accomplished. No compulsion whatever is permitted—only the example of those farms which have taken the path of collectivization and demonstrated in actual practice that it means higher

crop yields and a better life for the farmers.

The increase in industrial production and in labor productivity, together with the monetary reform and the reduction in prices, have resulted in increased real wages, and in a higher standard of living for the working people. Funds allotted by the State for social and cultural activities for the people amounted to 17.5 per cent of the 1952 budget, an increase of 9.4 per cent over the previous year.

In 1941, there were 3,500,000 illiterate people in Rumania. By 1951, the number had been reduced to 1,000,000. It is expected that by 1955, with the completion of the country's five-year plan, illiteracy will be completely wiped out. In 1951, there were four times as many high-school pupils and twice as many students in institutions of higher learning as on the eve of World War II.

Clubs have been opened in all large



Lathe operator machining a huge part at the Vulcan Factory in Bucharest

industrial plants, and there are 5,000 trade union libraries. In the countryside there are 12,000 Houses of Culture and reading rooms, institutions formerly almost unknown.

The draft Constitution of the Rumanian People's Republic now before the people for mass discussion, guarantees to the citizens rights and liberties of which they were unable even to dream in the past.

The draft Constitution assures the right to work. That means that each citizen can find work and that his work is paid according to the quantity and quality of the work. This right is guaranteed in fact since the principal means of production are the property of the State, of all the people. During the past few years of planned economy, the number of workers has increased by more than 200,000.

The draft of the new Constitution

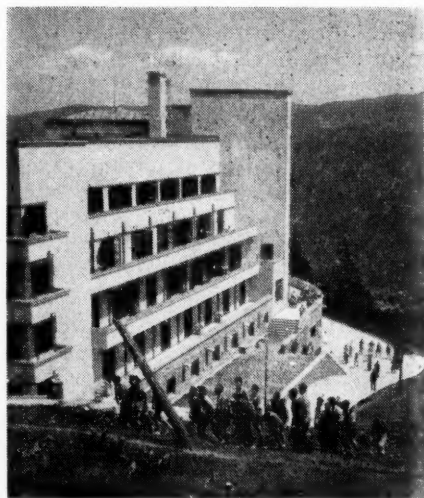
guarantees to the workers of the RPR the right to rest. The work-day is established at eight hours; for hundreds of trades in which the conditions of work are hard it is shorter, with no reduction in pay. Workers and white collar workers enjoy annual paid vacations, in health resorts in the mountains and by the seaside.

According to the draft of the new Constitution, all the workers of the Rumanian People's Republic, without regard to nationality, race or sex, enjoy full equality in all domains of economic, political and cultural life.

The draft Constitution establishes complete equality of rights for the national minorities, and provides punishment for all manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism or racism.

In the RPR, there are today more than 3,500 elementary and secondary schools, as well as many institutions of higher learning which are taught in the languages of the national minorities. Six State theaters and a State Hungarian opera have been cre-

Workers resort at Jinaia run by the Confederation of Labor of Rumania



Tractor driver on a Rumanian collective farm. She works for a machine and tractor station that serves farms in Galata area



ated for the national minorities. The publishing houses publish millions of books in the languages of these national groups. Newspapers appear in their languages.

The draft Constitution provides the right of administrative-territorial autonomy to the regions with a predominantly Hungarian population.

That these are no mere paper guarantees was confirmed by the British journalist, Lawrence Kirwan who made a survey of the newspapers of Rumania over a period of six weeks,

and came to the conclusion that "The evidence of a virile and critical democracy is overwhelming."

The draft Constitution of the new People's Rumania is called "The Constitution of Peace and Socialism." That it is correctly so called is evidenced by the 22,000 Fight-for-Peace committees active throughout the country, by the 11 million signatures to the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact, by the enthusiastic work of the Rumanian people for the construction of a new socialist life.

PEACE IS USSR WATCHWORD, SAYS QUAKER

"MY RECENT visit to the Soviet Union has deeply impressed me. The peoples of the Soviet Union are achieving great things, especially in their work of construction and development. . . . They also express their deep desire for peace between the nations; not only because they know peace to be right, but that without peace their future plans for development will not be realized. . . .

"All the religious leaders with whom one talked stressed the fact that they experience no difficulties with the Soviet Government. . . . It was a deeply moving experience to take some part in a service at the Baptist Church in Moscow."

Hugh Faulkner, British Quaker, Organizing Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and member of the British peace delegation which visited the USSR last July.

People's Plebiscite for Peace

**Campaign off to flying start to win
5,000,000 votes to end war in Korea**

A FORMER CONGRESSMAN from Minnesota and a staunch fighter for peace, in agreeing to sponsor the National Referendum for Peace initiated by the American Peace Crusade, issued this challenge:

"The time has definitely come when we can no longer afford the luxury of remaining idle while the forces of evil, war and fascism, work feverishly to enslave and destroy mankind. Let us have the courage to stand up and be counted on the side of peace and the brotherhood of man."

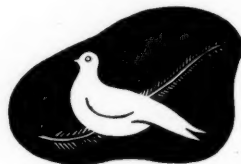
These were the words of John T. Bernard. They reflect the convictions of thousands who are enthusiastically laying the groundwork for obtaining—before Election Day—the votes of 5,000,000 Americans to end the war in Korea. They are being asked to vote Yes or No on this concrete, urgent issue: "I want a 'cease fire' in Korea now with all remaining questions to be settled at an immediate peace conference."

Bernard was among a large number of outstanding Americans active in various peace activities who joined together last month to call for the widest possible participation in this Peace Referendum. They include Rev. Joseph P. Fletcher, Prof. Philip Morrison, Rev. Joseph M. Evans, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Rev. Frederick K. Stamm, Michael Alper, Dr. Mark Dawber, Dr. Theodore Rosebury, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Hugh Bryson, and many others.

The plan to poll the American people on the issue of ending the war has

caught the imagination of thousands of peace workers in this country. That sentiment for peace in Korea now is overwhelming is shown by numerous opinion polls. The Referendum, however, aims to put on record the stand of five million Americans—a collective voice that the Washington policy-makers will find it hard to ignore.

Ballots (reproduced on next page) are being issued by the American Peace Crusade, and requests for these in tens of thousands have already come in to its office, 125 West 72nd St., New York City, from many parts of the country,



including New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles. In San Francisco, the Northern California Peace Council has announced a first run of 50,000 ballots.

Conferences launching the Referendum have already taken place in New York, Illinois and Southern California. The movement in Michigan was begun at a state-wide peace picnic August 23.

Aware of the crucial role of mothers, wives and sweethearts in the fight for



Reproduction of the ballot issued for the National Referendum for Peace

peace, the American Women for Peace have asked for 10,000 ballots and is moving into action without delay. The American Youth Crusade has pledged to produce 500,000 votes—10 per cent of the total of 5,000,000—by Election Day.

A prominent Protestant minister is bringing the peace ballot to the attention of a conference in Ocean Grove, N. J., representing a membership of more than 600,000. A group of clergymen have prepared a folder urging immediate peace in Korea to be distributed in Protestant churches throughout the nation.

Inspired by the news of the peace ballot, Mrs. Lucille Olson, Bergen, North Dakota farm leader, sent this message: "The A.P.C. is doing a grand job and we heartily agree with the plan." A pledge to enlist thousands of North Dakota farm families in the Peace Referendum came with the message. In the same mail that brought the letter from North Dakota came this message from Rev. Harper S. Will of South

Bend, Indiana: "Blessings upon you in your efforts"; while an active peace worker in Chicago demanded: "Let's initiate a campaign not to buy those infamous NATO postage stamps."

The setting for the current Peace Referendum campaign is one of practical day-to-day work, a direct approach to the people on the one burning issue of the times: the war in Korea and the need for its immediate termination.

This is graphically illustrated by a letter from a peace worker in the mid-west who writes:

"We believe that one of the most important steps to take locally is to approach other groups and organizations with concrete proposals: 1.) to take a straw vote for peace; 2.) to hear this or that speaker on some subject of direct concern to the group; 3.) make effort to join in collective activities with various groups, whether it be community meeting, panel discussion, party or picnic. In this way we can get together for some good purpose which is directly or indirectly connected with the work for peace."

Can there be any doubt how the American people feel about ending a war that has brought millions of casualties, civilian and military, including more than 120,000 of our soldiers and countless innocent Korean men, women and children?

The stand of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union on this issue, without doubt, finds an echo in the hearts and minds of tens of thousands of trade unionists in other organizations. At its recent convention in New York this union went on record for "a sincere appeal to all countries" to work for peace and for a conference of the major powers to confer and settle all outstanding differences.

The Peace Referendum affords Americans an opportunity to make their stand known. The initial response to the present ballot drive gives every hope for a campaign that will make Washington aware that the American people are determined to end the war in Korea now!

FELIX EBOUE

The End of an Era

by

ESLANDA ROBESON

WHEN the Negro, Felix Eboué, was appointed Governor of the Province of Tchad in Central Africa, and later Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, the appointments marked the end of the old era of colonialism, and emphasized the beginning of the new.

In colonial Africa the Governor is the local lord in every sense of the word; the Governor-General is even more so: he has the power of life and death in his area, and can, and does, rule by decree. Since the beginning of colonialism, Governor-Generals, Governors, and all top officials of the colonial administration, military, and police, and of the medical, educational and religious systems have been white. White supremacy was an all-important part of colonial philosophy, law and economy.

Therefore when Felix Eboué, Negro from French Guiana, and very dark indeed, was appointed Chief of a Department, then Governor of a Province, and finally Governor-Gen-

eral of the Colony of F.E.A., a revolution took place in colonial thinking.

It could no longer be said that the Negro was not able nor "ready" to govern himself. Was not Eboué governing the African people?

It could no longer be said that white men would not serve under black men, or that black men would not accept government by black men. Did not white Frenchmen serving under Eboué obey, respect and revere him, and did not the African chiefs and African people obey, respect, love and trust him?

It has often been said by colonial "experts" that the darker peoples of the earth are not yet "ready" nor able to govern themselves. This is said despite the records of history which show that the darker peoples not only governed themselves efficiently, but also developed superior civilizations, while white men still lived in caves, almost on a level with the animals.

Well, the magnificent and shining example of Felix Eboué is a direct and overwhelming contradiction to all this. For Eboué's leadership, in peace and in war, over a period of 24 years, is acknowledged proudly by the African and Negro people, gratefully by the French Government and the French people, and sometimes grudging-

MRS. ESLANDA ROBESON, distinguished anthropologist and author, is now associated with New World Review as Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions. This article is the third of a series on Africa.



Felix Eboué

ingly by white officials everywhere in the colonial world. What is more, his leadership flowered during the most trying and dangerous time in recent history, when many "superior" white men, world leaders, became confused, hesitant, frightened and cowardly.

Syvestre Adolphe Felix Eboué was born at Cayenne, French Guiana in 1884. He was educated in the schools of Cayenne, and in France at Bordeaux and Paris. He took his degree in law at the Paris Law School, and earned his title of Colonial Administrator at the French Colonial Institute.

Eboué was a big man, physically and intellectually. He was a star rugby-football player, and won the 100 meter track championship at Bordeaux. He and his wife were ethnologists and fine musicians, and together made a study of the dialects

and the drum language of Ubangi. He wrote and published several volumes on the subject, among them a grammar which has become a standard work.

Eboué was a philosopher, knew law and theology, was recognized as an authority on Negro art in the Congo; he could talk of painting and literature, discuss details of colonial policy, economic and military problems with equal ease. He spoke three African languages, and French, English and Spanish. He never gave an opinion without full knowledge of the facts, and in discussion tried to understand his opponent's point of view, because he knew that his color and his ideas often created stubborn and unreasonable antagonism. His wide knowledge in many fields brought him membership in the important learned societies of France.

Unlike white colonial Administrators, Eboué came to know the African people intimately. He traveled deep into the interior, lived with the people, learned their languages, their customs, their needs, their hopes. He went from village to village, talking directly with and listening to them, winning their confidence and respect. They especially appreciated the fact that he did not use, nor need, an interpreter.

The appointment of Felix Eboué in 1941 to the highest office in French Africa did not just happen because of war pressures. He was the best man, by far, for the job.

During his 24 years in colonial service he was first an Administrator, then Chief of a Department, then Secretary-General of Martinique (1931-1935), Governor of French Sudan (1935), Governor of Guadeloupe (1936-1938), Governor of Tchad Province (1938-1941), and finally Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa.

torial Africa (1941 until his death in 1944).

Eboué's aim, in his Administration, was a program of economic, social and political reforms which would bring self-government and emancipation for the African people, and improve their standard of living. In carrying out this program he tried to preserve the best of African institutions, and develop them progressively.

He was realistic and practical and pioneering. As a young Administrator in Ubangi, he introduced cotton-growing (by African farmers, not by the vicious plantation system) into that area, over the heads of un-interested and even antagonistic local officials. His idea proved enormously successful, and cotton is now one of the chief sources of the colony's wealth.

He stepped up the fight against tropical diseases, set up clinics, increased the number of doctors from 200 to nearly 4,000, improved the educational system, undertook extensive public works in sanitation and the purification of water supply.

Eboué believed that the resources of Africa should be developed for the African people, not for the handful of exploiters who took everything, gave nothing, and in the war emergency proved to be cowards and traitors to France.

In France's darkest hour, in 1940, when corrupt leaders at Vichy shamefully surrendered to Hitler, leaders in the French Colonies—Syria, Algeria, West Africa—also surrendered to the enemy, or to the heavy pressure from Vichy.

De Gaulle made his first call by radio from London on June 18, 1940. And on June 20, Eboué made his first call back to de Gaulle from Fort Lamy, his station in the heart of

French Africa, offering Tchad Province as a base from which to conduct the Resistance to Hitler. When I was at Fort Lamy in 1946, Madame Jamet, a lovely, courageous and fascinating Frenchwoman, president of the Free French in Tchad and long-time resident in Africa, told me some of the story:

It was very hard. We are cut off from families, friends in France. Vichy says we are not French, we are lost children, we are nothing. But we have great spirit because of our leader, Eboué. And we know we are French because of Eboué. Eboué was French in the best classic tradition. . . .

Vichy exerted pressure against him. Eboué's three children were in France, and it was hinted that something might happen to them if Eboué did not receive the Vichy Commission. Eboué answered that he had taken his stand for the sake of his children, and for all children, and that if the Vichy Commission came to his Colony he would throw them into jail as traitors.

From June 20 to August 26, Eboué worked very hard under great pressure to build a force for de Gaulle. He stumped the length and breadth of the country; he was known and loved wherever he went, and all were glad to follow his leadership. Those who were for Vichy he sent out of the Colony—kindly. They were not many. Then, on August 26th came the Three Glorious Days. Algiers said yes, Madagascar said yes, Brazzaville said yes, Dakar said yes. And so began our Free French Movement. . . .

When de Gaulle appointed him Governor-General of the Colony, Eboué went immediately to Brazzaville, the capital, and with the help of René Plevin, Commissioner of Colonies, Secretary-General Henri Laurentie, and others, put the Colony on a war footing.

From Brazzaville came the Radio Voice of Free France, that found so warm a place in the hearts of Frenchmen everywhere.

For the first time in colonial history, a Colony took over from the Mother country and became the leader—morally, legally, militarily, economically and practically.

Simultaneously with putting the Colony on a war footing, Governor-General Eboué instituted radical reforms in the Administration. He had the very strong conviction that if the democracy the Western World was fighting for was to be of any use to the African people, the time to apply it was *now*—not after the war, not at some indefinite later date, but *now*.

Eboué therefore issued an official Memorandum in which he defined his attitude toward the various crucial problems of the moment. This Memorandum has become a classic,

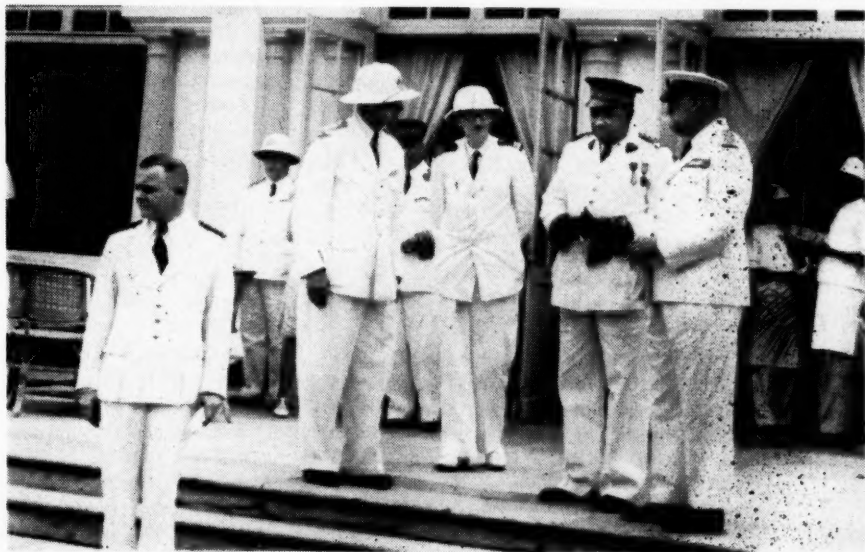
and even then was immediately recognized by Africans and Europeans alike as the statement of a wise, courageous and resourceful leader.

General Charles de Gaulle and René Pleven called a Conference of Colonial Administrators at Brazzaville in February, 1944 "to examine and overhaul" colonial policy, and to plan the future of France's colonies. At this Conference it was Felix Eboué who, out of his wide knowledge and successful experience, gave the new orientation to French colonial thinking. The Colonies were given direct representation in the National Assembly in Paris, and Africans were made citizens and given the vote.

When I was in Congo many colleagues, friends and admirers of Eboué told me revealing stories about him. They told me he was revered and beloved by Africans, including chiefs jealous of their power,

Felix Eboué with other French dignitaries who arrived in Brazzaville in February, 1944 to attend an African Conference to examine colonial policy

—Photos courtesy Mrs. Robeson



and Europeans alike. White Frenchmen who at first resented subordination to a Negro, soon came to respect his quiet yet powerful personality and his stupendous achievements.

At luncheon at Government House in Brazzaville a young white Frenchman who had served under Eboué told me this story:

Eboué always had great concern for the well-being of his staff, and one day, as chief of his department, went to the railroad station, as a gesture of courtesy and welcome, to greet one of his young white administrators newly come out to Africa. The young man got down from the train, looked around, saw Eboué (who was not in uniform) and said: "Here, porter, take my luggage."

Eboué, amused, and embarrassed for the young man, smiled and said nothing while his white staff stood by helplessly. Whereupon the young man (who had been told that he must be very superior and autocratic with the blacks) told Eboué with great authority to pick up his bags—or else.

Eboué calmly picked up the luggage, placed it in a taxi, and motioned to one of his staff to go with the new arrival, after which he, together with the rest of his staff, got into the official car and drove to Government House.

Later when the young man formally presented his credentials, he was shocked and frightened to learn that the "porter" was his chief. When he

apologized with great humility, Eboué said kindly: "You have not been properly taught. It would be well to treat all men, black and white, with respect wherever you find them; then you will never make a mistake."

When Felix Eboué died in Cairo, May 17, 1944 from strain of overwork, French newspapers printed a special black bordered edition of mourning. His body lay in state, and Africans, Frenchmen and colonial officials from all over Africa paid tribute to him.

Alphaeus Hunton, writing of Eboué's death in the *New Masses* Sept. 12, 1944, entitled his article: "Eboué: A Man To Remember":

In mourning the death of Felix Eboué, the Negro Governor-General of F.E.A., fighters for democracy everywhere paid tribute to a man whose life and work were dedicated to the advancement and liberation of the people of Africa. . . . F.E.A., through Eboué's decisive stand against Vichy capitulation, became the center for the organization of Free French Resistance. . . . The same initiative and democratic instincts which led Eboué to take his stand, unhesitatingly and courageously, with the Free French, characterized his Administration as a colonial official. . . ."

Eboué was indeed a Man to Remember.

ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST

SOONER or later, and we hope sooner than later, Congress and American public opinion generally must accept the fact that an exchange of goods between Western areas and the Soviet bloc is not necessarily nefarious, if held within limits, but a virtual necessity. Unless, that is, the American taxpayer is willing to share a considerably larger burden than he is already carrying in terms of foreign aid.

Editorial, Journal of Commerce, Sept. 10, 1952

Drama Without "Conflict"?

**Widespread discussion illustrates
how criticism insures the growth
and development of Soviet society**

by

ANDREW VOYNOW

Self-criticism must be one of the most important forces promoting our development.

—J. V. Stalin

ONE OF THE MOST interesting and most important aspects of Soviet society, one generally overlooked or deeply distorted in this country, is found in the vigorous and profound criticism of every facet of their own life, their work, their achievements, their methods, their very thinking.

Occasionally we in America hear the echo. It rings through an irresponsible press and radio and from the lecture platform, but like all echoes it rings hollow, it is ghostly and distorted and unhuman, it is confusing and substanceless.

To understand it—and therefore to understand a vigorous motivating force in Soviet society—you must understand the whys and wherefores.

The criticism so common and free in the Soviet Union has one purpose: to eliminate shortcomings and mistakes, not in order to pillory an individual or organization, but to correct and improve—for the common good. It is basic to the Soviet way of life because the Soviet man and woman—yes, and child, too—feel

completely integrated in their society where relationships are built on ideological community, on unity of interests and aspirations.

The instrument of criticism, therefore, is constantly at work, examining, appraising, advising and rectifying and thereby assuring that Soviet society develops, grows and advances.

An excellent recent example of this method of the Soviet people in righting wrongs is seen in a nationwide discussion that has been going on for several months with regard to Soviet dramaturgy.

It started with public anxiety over the small number of plays on contemporary Soviet themes that were being presented, and because in many of the cases the plays that were produced were wanting in quality. This was sharply revealed when the Stalin prize awards for 1951 were announced—not one play merited either first or second prizes, and only two were awarded third prizes.

Something was wrong. And as so often happens in such cases, the Soviet people began to ask not only what, but how, and why, and who, and most important, what can be done about it?

Leading newspapers and magazines

threw open their columns to the discussion. Meetings were held, attended not only by the theater people and by writers and critics, but by Party officials, by officials of the government's Committee on Arts, by officers of the Union of Soviet Writers and by the public at large.

A careless reading of the discussions might lead one to think that all contemporary Soviet plays are poor. That is incorrect, and the participants made this very clear. But they were aroused to action, not to glorify the triumphs of their drama, but to understand and correct the weaknesses.

In probing the problem no one was spared — playwright, critic, theater management, the Union of Soviet Writers, the Committee on Arts, the press—all were submitted to searching study. And if unkind words were spoken, the stakes were high—a field of culture was lagging, and in the Soviet Union culture, belonging to the people, is of vital interest to them.

What was determined by this aroused Soviet public? Quite a few of the Soviet plays dealing with contemporary themes—themes of interest and importance—were sketchy in plot, vague in characterization, and unable to stir the theatergoer and enable him to gain a better understanding of the life around him. The chief reason, it was found, lay in a new spurious theory of a "conflictless" drama.

The origin of this theory stemmed from befuddled thinking. Some playwrights, critics and others, recognizing the vast changes in the Soviet Union, arrived at basically wrong conclusions. Relationships in their country, they argued quite correctly, had undergone complete transformation. There were no antagonistic classes, there was a totally new atti-

tude toward work, toward social property, a new relationship between men and women, management and labor, farm and city, mental and manual worker, there was a common aspiration and a working together toward the goal of Communism in their country.

In such a situation, these writers and critics decided, there is, as the playwright Nikolai Virta wrote, "no longer any visible, vivid conflict, any clash of forces, ideas and concepts in life" and he proposed that instead of long dramatic clashes a play be built up on the "misunderstanding in views." (During the discussions it was pointed out that in his own plays Virta did not follow this theory, and in the discussions he, himself, recognized that this theory was contrary to the very laws of life.)

Then there were those critics and some of those who select the repertoires who argued somewhat as follows: Given the great changes in Soviet society, the new relationships, the common aspirations and interests, a negative character in drama would be false, it would not be typical of our society.

Commenting on this, the newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta* declared that "many critics have established a close, restrictive framework for the playwrights. Their dogmatic demands often resulted in the fact that the portrayal of negative phenomena in our life should 'not be permitted.' 'That doesn't happen,' 'This is not typical,' 'This is a distortion of life,' they say when they see in a play a figure that is morally alien to us."

The results of this were manifold. Some writers were befuddled; others, with insufficient integrity, began to knuckle under, writing not what they observed in life but what they thought would please the critics



A meeting of prominent Soviet cinema directors. Through constructive self-criticism at such meetings they are able to advance their work. Left to right they are Alexandrov, Chiaureli, Dovzhenko, Kozlovsky and Pyriev

or be acceptable to the repertory committees.

And what happened? Instead of conflict between bad and good, they came up with "misunderstanding" between "good" and "excellent." Having started out on the wrong foot, the entire play suffered: characters were two-dimensional, all sharp corners were rounded off, everything was smoothed down and made of silk and sugar. The plays were unconvincing, unstimulating and did not give the spectators that inspiration and direction that is the role of every good piece of art.

This too had a direct effect on the number of plays that were written. Many playwrights—unable to break through the false standards set up by the agencies in charge of the repertories—became silent, failing in their

duty as Soviet citizens and as writers to fight against such erroneous thinking.

It all came out in the discussions.

The Party newspaper, *Pravda*, in a remarkably clear and forthright editorial, declared that the chief reason for the lag in dramaturgy "is the playwrights' and critics' misreading of certain questions of the theory and practice of socialist realism, particularly the question of conflict as the basis of drama." Socialist realism, the paper declared, "demands thorough and complete artistic portrayal of life in all its complexity, and, above all, man's spiritual wealth."

Declaring that many playwrights evade the conflicts of life and that some critics demand that only ideal types be presented, *Pravda* said: "This approach is wrong. To behave

thus is to show cowardice, and to sin against truth."

The Party newspaper said that "the breath of life is lacking" in plays written according to the no-conflict theory. Despite the political-moral unity of the Soviet people, "this by no means signifies that the playwright can portray the life of the people in serenely idyllic, saccharine tones. Such sentimental cant is utterly unbecoming the Soviet dramatist," the editorial stated.

Truthful reflection of life in its revolutionary development is the first commandment of the art of socialist realism, the paper, said, and then quoted Stalin as follows:

As soon as life changes and is in movement, every phenomenon of life bears two tendencies, a positive and a negative one; and we must defend the former and reject the latter.

Soviet dramatists, the newspaper said, "must disclose the all-conquering strength of the new, must champion it, must defend and support what is advanced, to make it an example to millions of people, to give active

encouragement to develop in them the best traits of builders of Communism.

"Our dramatists must expose and mercilessly scourge the survivals of capitalism, manifestations of political unconcern, bureaucracy, stagnation, servility, vainglory, arrogance, conceit, graft, unconscientious approach to duties, heedless attitude to socialist property; they must expose all that is vulgar and backward and hinders the progress of Soviet society."

But in portraying such shortcomings and contradictions in Soviet life, the playwright must, said *Pravda*, "affirm the positive basis of our socialist reality, must help the new to triumph."

The newspaper pointed out the harmful effects of the theory of no-conflict on characterization:

"It is impossible to show a man's character deeply and comprehensively without artistic embodiment of the conflicts of life. In most plays the characters are not individualized; they are so like one another that frequently it is hard to distinguish

The Soviet Writers Union of the Latvian Republic meets in Congress. At these meetings they exchange opinions on the problems of their craft



them. Deep individualization of characters is one of the basic requirements of the esthetics of socialist realism. Indifference to the human being and efforts to depersonalize people and make them uniform are alien to the spirit of the Soviet system."

On this point the newspaper again quoted Stalin:

Socialism cannot turn away from the individual's interests. Only Socialist society can give the fullest satisfaction to these interests. What is more, the socialist society represents the only reliable guarantee of protection of the interests of the individual.

Writing in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, A. Surkov, Acting General Secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers, said that socialist realism requires the artist to picture reality truthfully, in a manner that discerns and brings out its main determining features.

"It is impossible to show the truth of life," he said, "when circumventing the real conflicts generated by the implacable fight of the new against the old."

Surkov declared that the place and relative importance of the negative personages in drama is vital. Warning against a mechanistic approach to this problem and to the points that the general discussion had brought out, he wrote: "Even now one can hear philistine questions in literary circles: 'Writing a play? But have you enough negative characters in it?'"

And he pointed out that "in the question of conflict as such, the only true criterion is the criterion of truth to life—the criterion of the line-up of forces which exist in reality."

On the same subject, an editorial

in *Sovietskoye Iskusstvo* declares: "The arithmetical number of negative characters must not be the measure of the depth and acuteness of the conflict in a work. It is the power of exposure of the lagging and stagnant, the boldness of the artist's thought which must be taken as the measure."

The discussion spread, to other cities and other fields. Cinema writers and the Ministry of Cinematography came in for some of the criticism, for it was pointed out that the same weakness in drama was naturally found in the cinema.

And so an ill is aired in the Soviet Union. The Plenary Session of the Union of Soviet Writers will devote its attention to the problem of stage and film dramaturgy. The theaters and other agencies of the arts will refresh their thinking. The public will be on the lookout for the sort of plays that portray Soviet reality in its full and true dimensions.

As an editorial in *Sovietskoye Iskusstvo* points out, "It would be naive to suppose that successes will automatically come. It is not sufficient to abandon the 'no-conflict' theory; it is necessary to solve many artistic problems, to equip one's self with deeper knowledge of life, to master the lofty art of 'engineers of human souls.'"

But they are soundly on the right track. And as in many instances in Soviet life before, it has been done by criticism, which *Pravda* calls "a decisive requirement for raising the ideological and artistic level of art—an important weapon to fight hack work and prevent mistakes in creative writing."

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100-page November issue. See back page.

"A LIVING BOND BETWEEN ALL RACES AND PEOPLES"

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

SEPTEMBER 9th, 1944, which marked the liberation of the Bulgarian people from monarchofascism and the inauguration of a People's Democratic Republic, was also a turning point in the life of Bulgarian culture. As in economic and political life, so in cultural life the formation of a People's Democracy, and its entrance on the path to socialism, meant that for the first time it was possible to explore and nurture the great creative resources that had always existed among the people.

Music, like all the arts, has flourished. A truly Bulgarian musical life has come of age. In eight years one can say that more has been done than in the entire previous century. Before 1944, there had been but one symphony orchestra (hardly worthy of the name) called first the Guards Orchestra and then the Royal Military Symphony. There was but one opera, the Sofia Opera. Concerts were given to half-empty houses. Amateur music existed sporadically. No atten-

tion was paid to the country's folk music. The provinces heard practically no professional music. The livelihood of musicians was insecure, and in their work they were cut off from their own people. The musical stages on which reputations were won were those of Vienna, Paris, Berlin, London. A handful of composers and performing artists did try to create a Bulgarian national music, but their work was hindered by constant obstacles.

During the fascist oppression of the years immediately preceding 1944, conditions became worse. Performances were forbidden of the Russian musical classics that had been particularly inspiring to the composers seeking a base for their own Bulgarian art; of Jewish composers such as Mendelssohn; of the foremost Bulgarian composer, Vladigerov.

Today, in this country of seven million population, there are nine symphony orchestras, playing full, year-round seasons. Seven of them are in cities that had never had an orchestra. These provincial symphony orchestras had started as semi-professional groups. Under the devoted care of the National Committee for Science, Art and Culture, they have flowered into full-fledged

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN has written extensively on art, literature and music. His books include "Art and Society," and "Jazz: A People's Music." Material in this article is based on the English language "Bulgarian Cultural News."



A scene from Gliere's "Red Poppy," performed by the Bulgarian National Opera

professional organizations, and there are now many other independent symphony groups in the midst of a similar process of sprouting, assisted by their local Town People's Councils.

Today the Sofia National Opera is a front-rank organization. It has given birth to an Annex, which has become in its own right a center of musical culture and education. Three other cities now have permanent opera companies, with a fourth promised soon. There is also a State Musical Theater which devotes itself to operetta, performing the world classics of the past and fostering new Bulgarian works. In the concert world there are no such things as partly-empty houses or unemployment for musicians. The demand for musicians far exceeds the numbers coming from the Academy of Music.

Music schools are growing in numbers, including schools for especially gifted children.

A truly national and democratic musical revolution has taken place. The great world heritage, the masterpieces of symphony, opera, chamber music and song, is being brought to the Bulgarian people.

Along with this there is a sprouting Bulgarian musical composition, which uses the riches both of Bulgarian folk music and of present-day people's song as its most prized material. At every symphony concert some work by a Bulgarian composer is performed. Bulgarian operas have become part of the repertoire of the opera companies. New composer names are rising, such as Karastoyanov, Pipkov, Stoyanov, Kutev, Ikonov, composers of operas, symphonies, chamber works and mass

songs. Bulgarian composers find that they are needed, sought for, and prized by the people. They do not have to beg for performances of their work. Their works are tested in terms of living performances, in terms of their impact on audiences, and the inspiration and musical education they bring to the people.

So swift a growth, transforming the national musical life in so short a time, could not, of course, have taken place spontaneously. From the very start of the Bulgarian People's Democracy a constantly increasing budget was allotted to the fostering of music, the building of theaters, music halls and schools, the encouragement of musical organizations.

Under the Committee for Science, Art and Culture there is a Directorate of Music Creation and Performance, which organizes and builds the concert life of the country, helping the fruition of talents and bringing musical life to people who in the past had no access to it.

There are periodic National Reviews of musical organizations, such as symphony orchestras, opera, and amateur groups. Since 1944, for example, there have been two such National Reviews of the state symphony orchestras. These Reviews take the form of a series of concerts, accompanied by discussions, in which the orchestras display their achievements in mastery of their art, both in works by the classic masters and in new Bulgarian works. These Reviews are an evaluation of past achievement and a stimulus to further growth.

Almost every year nationwide festivals of music are held, and contests for singers and instrumentalists. Prizes are awarded for outstanding achievement, and the honor most eagerly sought by composers

and performers is that of Laureate of the Dimitrov Prize.

The Committee for Science, Art and Culture arranges contracts with composers for the writing of operas, symphonic works, cantatas and mass songs. Their livelihood is secured while working at their composition. These works are included in the concert repertoire and printed by the Science and Art publishing house.

The most close, fraternal relations exist between Bulgarian musical life and that of the Soviet Union. Soviet compositions are performed and discussed, and there are constant visits of outstanding artists from the Soviet Union. Bulgarian works are welcomed and discussed by the Soviet concert world. Many young Bulgarian musicians study with the famous masters at Soviet academies.

Bulgarian musical life has not only reconquered the lost ground, erased the backwardness caused by a century of hangovers of feudalism followed by monarcho-fascism, but has moved into new, democratic and socialist paths.

Music is not solely a professional skill. It is part of the life and rounded development of all people. Everywhere there flourish amateur groups of instrumentalists and singers, orchestras and choruses. There is hardly a factory or village which does not have its musical society.

Needless to say, the Bulgarian composers, to whom the people show so great a sense of responsibility, feel in turn a responsibility to the people. They see their musical creation as a powerful arm of the struggle for peace against war, for the freedom and well-being of working mankind, for the conquest of nature. They seek to make their music "a living bond between all races and peoples."

Mines, Not Men, Are Exploited

by

WILLIAM PEARSON

The following is excerpted from an article which appeared in Soviet Weekly (London), on the occasion of Miner's Day, celebrated each year in the USSR. The author, William Pearson, is general secretary of the Scottish mine workers' organization, affiliated with the National Union of Mine Workers of Great Britain. He last visited the USSR in 1949 in connection with Miner's Day.

I WAS amazed at the technical progress made in Soviet mines, and this demonstrated to me that the Soviet Government is using science to increase production and, at the same time, ease the burden of the miners.

Over one hundred new types of machines have been created since 1947. They include cutting machines, coal and rock loading machines, underground electric engines and drills, automatic and remote control equipment, etc.

Last year witnessed another great advance. For the first time in the history of coal mining a combine machine has been created, and is now operating, completely mechanizing coal mining in sharply inclined thin seams.

The main features of this machine

are its small size, light weight, easiness to operate and dependability in operation. It should be noted that the machine has a pneumatic drive and is therefore explosion proof.

It is important to note that this new machine not only does away with the hard work and improves working conditions, but it reduces coal dust at the face and thus safeguards the health of the Soviet miners. . . .

I spent a very interesting day in the scientific institute for the Donets Region, and I was deeply impressed with all I saw there.

This institute employed over 500 men and women on research and scientific work for the mining industry. Their work is not confined to an office, it is applied in the pits and the work of the institute is well known among the miners. I saw some amazing experiments connected with coal dust explosions, and the results are a tribute to Soviet scientists. . . .

As a result of all this activity, the accident rate in Soviet mines is very low.

At the Rumyantsev Pit, in the Donbas, there is a hospital and dispensary with a personnel of ten doctors. In this way the health of the Soviet miner is protected free of charge.



An instructor shows graduates of the Donbas Mining Institute around the surface structures of a coal mine

The progress of the mining industry in the Soviet Union, as far as output is concerned, is shown by the following figures:

In 1920 output was 7,600,000 metric tons.

In 1950 output was 264,000,000 metric tons.

The Government not only pays great attention to machinery but also pays attention to the welfare of the miners.

The Soviet miner has good wages and receives a pension at fifty years of age after having given twenty years' service to the industry. He is also supplied with a house rent free for the rest of his life.

He receives one month's holiday with pay and can go to the finest

holiday homes provided for this purpose.

I had the pleasure of staying in one at Mariupol and it was good to see Soviet miners and their wives enjoying themselves at this famous seaside resort. . . .

The Soviet miner has free tools, light and working clothes and he is also provided with a dress uniform. He has a splendid medical service at the pit and at home free of charge.

At every pit provision is made for an office and trade union officials to look after the interests of the members. The trade union pays out the benefits of the national insurance funds such as sickness, accidents, old age, etc. They also control the rest homes, sanatoria, Pioneer camps and many other aspects of a miner's life. *Never did I see trade unions have such power in improving conditions of work and leisure as in the Soviet Union. . . .*

Sport has been developed in a big way in the Soviet Union, and it gave me great pleasure to attend many sporting events. I was struck not only with the high standard of football, racing, etc., but with the mass character of the sports. More and more young people are being encouraged to take an active part in all kinds of sport. The splendid performance of Soviet sportsmen and women at Helsinki is proof of their excellence.

All this provides proof that the Soviet Government places great importance on the material and cultural development of the miners.

The Soviet miners, like the miners of this country, are peace-loving people. They have no desire for war nor do they wish for anyone else's territory. They want only this: to live in peace and to help to build their great country.

A Concert for the People



Galina Ulanova in a scene from Prokofiev's "Romeo and Juliet," from the Soviet film "The Grand Concert"

THE GRAND CONCERT, directed by Vera Stroyeva and produced at the Mosfilm Studios, Moscow. Released by Artkino Pictures.

"THE GRAND CONCERT" is the equivalent of a two hour trip to Moscow, packed with star performances by the opera and ballet companies of the famous Bolshoy Theater. It has won praise even from local newspaper critics who find themselves irritated, as they say, by the "supposed joys of a collective farm," but here can forget their troubles in "the beauties of one of the most magnificent voices in the world in an aria by Glinka." I must report however that there is a message permeating the movie, which, if not noticed by the critics, will be gathered by the audiences, which recognize a people's culture when they see it.

I remember some efforts here and

in England to offer the movie public something of the glamour of opera and concert. There were Hollywood productions which presented a conglomeration of the most high-priced singing and concert stars, "the best that money could buy," but proceeded on the assumption that the audience's attention must not be strained by any musical work that would last more than four minutes. And there was the English "Tales of Hoffman," which put together a fine Sadlers Wells Ballet, a puppet show, and Sir Thomas Beecham, but ignored the task of making the show comprehensible to the audience, as a result of which what was happening on the stage at any moment remained a deep mystery.

The special qualities of Soviet Union culture are seen first in the plot that unites the opera and ballet scenes. A collective farm and the Bolshoy Theater have had a long and close relationship, in which the theater has given cultural guidance to the farm. One day a group from the farm visit the theater and after the performance

is over they mount the stage to congratulate the company and invite the artists to visit the collective farm, which will be celebrating its twentieth anniversary. So they do, and are entertained in turn by the dancing and singing of the kolkhoz amateurs. A young girl with a promising voice is invited to come to the Moscow Conservatory, where the leading Bolshoy singers are instructors. It is a simple plot, and yet it reveals what has become a matter of fact in the Soviet Union, a mutual affection between the fine artists and the workers on the land, each proud of the other's achievement, each feeling that the other belongs to it.

Then there are the performances. We see an hour-long selection of scenes from Borodin's "Prince Igor," with Pirogov in the title role. It is of course one of the most famous Bolshoy productions, in the splendor of its staging. But even more striking is the care taken to see that Borodin's music is presented in its full breadth and stature, and that the realistic and dramatic presentation of history by the opera is made clear.

Among the shorter operatic scenes are Kozlovsky's rendition of Lenski's touching aria from Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin," sung just before his duel, and the closing scene from Glinka's "Ivan Susanin," where the peasant hero, forced to act as a guide for the enemy, misleads them and knows that he will soon be killed. This scene is given a magnificent performance by Mark Reizen.

But over and above the great quality of the individual voices, there emerges a special quality, a style of Soviet performances, as characteristic of the country as its socialist economy. There is no showiness, no affectation, no flamboyance, and on the other hand, none of the coldness which sometimes passes for the "classic style." The aim of every singer is to make the music, the words and the action unite in a credible, moving portrayal of a living human being.

Equally remarkable is the ballet. We see scenes from the second and fourth

acts of Tchaikovsky's "Swan Lake." And we see three scenes from Prokofiev's "Romeo and Juliet"; the ball scene, with its satiric dances followed by the love duet of Romeo and Juliet; the duel; and the last parting of the two lovers. These two ballets are landmarks of Russian musical history. "Swan Lake" was the masterpiece with which Tchaikovsky transformed ballet into great art, giving it a tragic quality, a new human dimension, a touching portrayal of the poignance of young love, along with some of the loveliest melodies ever written.

In "Romeo and Juliet" Prokofiev achieved a new feat of ballet, setting Shakespeare's drama with full justice to its greatness. It reflected the great love of the Soviet people for Shakespeare, and was one of his first masterpieces written on his return to the Soviet Union, after many years spent abroad in which his talent was drying up.

Soviet ballet performances are of course legendary, but what we see are more than brilliant pyrotechnical feats and airy and effortless motion. We see human beings. There are few things more moving in stage experiences than Ulanova's tragic recognition that the man who has removed his mask, and with whom she has fallen in love, is her family's enemy. And wholly unforgettable is Sergei Koren's Mercutio, carrying out in his body and twinkling feet the elfish humor of Shakespeare's words.

And so, in this great color-movie spectacle, we are seeing more than a "grand concert." We are seeing something that is as much a Soviet Union creation as its educational system, and in fact, is part of its educational system, raising the cultural level of the people. We are seeing the kind of culture sponsored and supported by the working people who have also transformed the land into one of the most productive in the world. And the message that permeates the movie is that with such a people the rest of the world can—and must—live in peace.

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

Products of Lurid Imaginations

THE YENAN WAY, by *Eudocio Ravines*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1951. 319 pp. \$3.00.

THE CHINA STORY, by *Freda Utley*, Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1951. 274 pp. \$3.50.

THERE IS an ancient proverb in China that states: "A dog sees only as high as his master's knees." This explains the nature of *The Yen-an Way* and *The China Story*.

The desperate spot the pro-war forces are in makes their spokesmen ever wilder and more vicious in their use of preposterous untruths to back their untenable positions. The desire for peace is the most widespread topic in the world today. Millions of people, many of them illiterate a year or two ago, sign their names to calls for the five powers to work out their differences around the council table.

To most of us it would seem incredible that two books, one purporting to describe the political methods used in China and the other claiming to give a history of China's "downfall," could be written without mention of the Chinese people themselves. But it is not so incredible when one finds that one of the purposes of the first book is to discredit the Chinese people's revolution through a picture of Eudocio Ravine's "personal experience" with Mao Tse-tung; and that the second book, by Miss Utley, is designed to set up as our model character in government none other than Joseph McCarthy!

Eudocio Ravines makes a fantastic claim of memory. Conversations he held 20 years ago are recorded with every "and" "if" and "but," even to the lifting of an eyebrow. There are so many falsifications and deliberate twistings of fact, that one needs only to deal with the title of the book to show the character of the whole. Despite the well-known

and documented fact that Mao Tse-tung had never visited the USSR until the signing of the Chinese-Soviet Pact for Peace and Friendship in 1950, Ravines conveniently places Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh in Moscow at the end of 1934. As Ravines would have it, Mao instructed him in great detail on how to carry out his "underground" work in South America according to "Yenan tactics." Yet it was at this same time, in 1934, that the historic Long March of the Chinese Communists started and that Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh were vital leaders of this march and themselves walked most of the 6,000 miles with the troops. Need more be said?

Another thing that Ravines overlooked is the remarkable clairvoyance of the Chinese leaders who could speak of the "Yenan way" in 1934 despite the fact that they did not get to Yen-an until December, 1936! Ravines' contempt for people is no less than his contempt for facts. His references to "slant eyes" and to the Negro and Italian peoples of South America (who, he claims, hate the white man because they resent the fact they themselves are not descended from Pizarro) set a new depth for chauvinism. This is a venomous book born of a warped imagination.

Freda Utley has been one of the most openly rabid defenders of Chiang Kai-shek and his most Nazi-like policies for many years. Like Ravines, she considers that back-room politics make history and she has as little regard for facts as he. She claims that the Chinese Communists were "sitting out" the war with Japan, but does not explain how they found themselves in Manchuria taking Japanese prisoners before Chiang's troops could get there by U.S. planes. She makes the brazen confession that Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Kuomintang mouthpiece at the U.N., begged

for American soldiers to be placed in actual command of Kuomintang troops "under the pretense of acting as advisers" in order to save Chiang from the wrath of his own people.

Miss Utley's concept of an ideal China is the establishment of a "Western-style democracy" which would require "all the energies, talents, and patriotism of the few Chinese who enjoyed a Western education." But she claims that because of the U.S. wartime policy of "identifying progress with willingness to collaborate with the Communists" . . . that "the 'Westernizers,' or truly liberal reformers, in China" lost out.

She praises Chiang for his munificence in October 1950 when "he recognized the need for drastic land reform." Miss Utley neglects to mention that several million people in China were already enjoying the blessings of land reform as a result of their nearly completed task of having thrown Chiang out of the country he had so desecrated.

Miss Utley is no less an admirer of Joseph McCarthy than she is of Chiang, and we will be surprised to hear that Mr. McCarthy is one of the most slandered of Americans. She approvingly quotes a text of Mr. McCarthy's in which he ridicules "Lattimore's unique knowledge of people such as Uighurs and Uzbeks, whose names his audience cannot even pronounce and of whose existence they have never heard. . . ." It is no doubt a great tribulation to the Uighurs and Uzbeks that McCarthy finds it difficult to pronounce their names and does not even know of them, but perhaps the fact that their arable land has been increased by 25 per cent and their crop yields by 34 per cent in three years, will compensate for this sad state of affairs.

These books do not concern themselves with the well-being of the people in the countries with which they deal. They are concerned with pushing the people back into the darkest of times.

R.S.T.

The Threat to Our Liberties

A review by NATHAN WITT

RED TAPE AND BARBED WIRE:

Close-Up of the McCarran Law In Action, *by Sender Garlin. With an Introduction by William L. Patterson. Civil Rights Congress, New York. 48 pp., 25 cents.*

WHEN I STUDIED constitutional law, a few basic principles relating to the American concept of freedom were taken for granted. One was that in protecting free thought and its manifestations in free speech and a free press the First Amendment to the Constitution warns the government that it has no power to dictate to the American people what opinions they may or may not hold.

A second principle we took for granted was that under our system of constitutional law, guilt is personal and that an individual could not be held

responsible for the acts or the opinions of others. This was eloquently and simply stated by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes:

"It is of the essence of the institutions of liberty that it be recognized that guilt is personal and cannot be attributed to the holding of opinion or to mere intent in the absence of overt acts. . . ."

A third fundamental of constitutional law we took for granted was that a person could only be punished for his acts. This principle is vital to the whole concept of due process of law and is the most elementary assumption upon which Anglo-Saxon lawyers and judges have acted since the birth of the common law.

The adoption and extension of the doctrine of "guilt by association" in the field of politics and opinion is perhaps the single most menacing legal devel-

opment in the current "cold war" hysteria. This doctrine would completely undermine the three basic principles I have summarized. It seeks to punish people not for their acts but for what they believe, or rather for what others (usually paid informers) say they may believe because they have been associated with certain persons or organizations.

The McCarran Law, with its definitions of "Communist-action organization" and "Communist-front organization" and with its procedures for registration of such organizations, is the most far-reaching single example of the adoption of the doctrine of guilt by association in this country. If the Soviet Union urges the Korean War be ended, then Americans who believe the Korean War be ended are advancing the objectives of the "world Communist movement," to paraphrase the law. If an American organization which takes this position also opposes racial discrimination, then others who also oppose racial discrimination are also "giving aid and support" to the "world Communist movement," to paraphrase again. And so on—until a tenant who is unwilling to accept a rent increase and fights it through his tenant organization can find himself similarly enmeshed by this law.

The first proceeding which has been instituted under the McCarran Law, that against the Communist Party, sufficiently illustrates these dangers and the difficulties of disentanglement. The hearings against the Communist Party before the Subversive Activities Control Board under the McCarran Law took 14 months, the record in the case runs to 15,000 pages, and 569 documentary exhibits covering the 100 years since the *Communist Manifesto* first appeared, were introduced.

I therefore would not have believed it possible that anyone could have done as thorough and effective a job in telling the story so dramatically and in so few pages as Sender Garlin has done. He has not only summarized the basic provisions of the McCarran Law

in clear and simple (yet technically accurate) language; he has performed what to me as a lawyer is the exceedingly difficult task of selecting and highlighting the significant aspects of this lengthy and complicated case. He has shown how sinister is the McCarran Law in practice; its pervasive effect, how it already has been used to spread the black curtain of fear of intellectual and spiritual intimidation, into the homes, the churches, the colleges, the fraternal lodges, the labor unions of the land.

Mr. Garlin's long experience in exposing anti-democratic forces in America has prepared him to do this most important writing job. And not the least virtue is that he has been able to show that McCarranism is the issue, not Communism. This small pamphlet is therefore truly a big weapon in the desperate struggle being waged to preserve American democracy and the Bill of Rights.

The Inspiring Story Of a People's Fight

THE REIGN OF WITCHES: The Struggle Against the Alien and Sedition Laws, by *Elizabeth Lawson*. Civil Rights Congress, New York City. 64 pp., 35 cents.

WHEN President Truman, in response to questions from newsmen about "spy" trials and loyalty probes, characterized these activities as "hysteria" he was asked whether he could give some words of counsel. Yes, he could, said Mr. Truman. And, according to the *New York Times*, the President "suggested that the reporters read the history of the Alien and Sedition Acts of the 1790's, under almost exactly the same situation. They would be surprised at how almost exactly parallel the cases are when they read how they came out."

Sage, though paradoxical advice, from the man who signed the Executive Order instituting a reign of terror among

federal employees; who is the leading exponent of a bi-partisan war policy that has given birth to the thought-control Smith Act, the McCarran Act and other contemporary counterparts to the Alien and Sedition laws of the 1790's.

All Americans, including the reporters at the White House press conference can now read the history of the Alien and Sedition laws in *The Reign of Witches*. In this spirited crusading pamphlet, Elizabeth Lawson has traced the history of the notorious repressive laws enacted by the Federalists in their desperate effort to beat back the democratic movements of the time led by Thomas Jefferson. With the same

dramatic skill and sure historical knowledge with which she has described the conspiracy of the McCarranites of the 1790's, Miss Lawson portrays the inspiring, triumphant movement for wiping these hateful laws from the statute books.

This is not "archive history" that Elizabeth Lawson has written. Indeed the lessons of an earlier era strike a startlingly contemporary note. As William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, notes in his introduction: "With this pamphlet, the past is linked to the present with clarity and vision. From the arsenals of yesterday, we may still requisition weapons for today."

Documented!

Dramatic!

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(Continued from page 2)

order for \$1.20. The dollar is for ten copies of the special issue with the Koje Island story, the twenty cents for two copies of "I Accuse!" by Dr. James G. Endicott.—Mrs. C. Hilton Turvey.

Katyn Forest

La Jolla, Cal.—I'm very grateful for the article on the Katyn Forest affair ("Resurrecting Goebbels' Big Lie," by Sender Garlin, NWR, Aug. 1952). It is, I think, almost conclusive—and most timely.—Victor S. Yarros.

Hails Article by Mrs. Bass

Provo, Utah—I have just read Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass's article "We Can Have a Peaceful World" (NWR, July, 1952). This article I regard as a classic, an historical document. What a mind has Mrs. Bass! What scope, what breadth and depth she has of the world.

May more and still more people read Mrs. Bass's article and may more and more understand her message. May she enjoy health and life for long years to come and a rousing vote in this year's crucial election.

And congratulations to the staff of NWR for the excellent work you are doing, for your informative, clean, inspiring magazine.—E. A. Mitchell.

From the South

Overton, Texas.—Truth cannot be squashed forever or crushed to earth. It is bound to rise again and be stronger than ever before, and a publication like yours is what it takes. I only wish I had a fortune to spend in helping you with the expense of this high-class and enlightening magazine, which the world needs so greatly at this time. More power to you —Mrs. Alice Koone.

IN OUR September issue we carried a letter from a Bostonian who had seen NWR in the public library. He was so impressed with the articles he read that he entered his subscription.

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