

NEW WORLD

DECEMBER
1952

Review

20¢



Before
the bells shake
to speed the parting
year, let Peace and Friendship
among all nations be born—*Sean O'Casey*



In re Critical Letters

Friend, Nebr.—To you people who publish NWR I would suggest that in the Letters Column the unrighteous criticism should not be published. They are untrue, wrong and a pain in the neck for good people to read. Truth, righteousness and peace must win.—

Stephan Advody.

Honest, Factual

Ashby, Minn.—We thought "No Need To Go Hungry," by Lem Harris, in a recent issue very good indeed. We find all the articles honest and factual.

—Eva Jones.

Katyn Forest

Hamburg, Germany—My sincerest thanks for the August, 1952, issue. I was especially interested in the timely article, "Resurrecting Goebbels' Big Lie." I am sure that future investigations will bring to light more proofs concerning the reliability of the article.

—Name Withheld.

Saw NWR In Library

From California—I read an issue of NEW WORLD REVIEW in our local public library and found it extremely interesting. Would like to subscribe for one year and am enclosing \$2. Would you kindly date this back to the October issue? Thank you.

—P. J.

Sorry!

New York—The NWR failed to arrive. Please rush my copy, for without it I am like a man in a new library without his glasses.

—John Dudzic.

For A Good Cause

Denver—Ella Bojinoff, one of Denver's faithful workers for world peace and understanding, called me to her bedside a few weeks before her death.

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OUR COVER is a drawing by the Soviet artist N. Zbukov

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Land of Love and Happiness

PAUL ROBESON

by



I SPEAK tonight with a heart filled with love and happiness, and with sorrow and anger, and above all with a firm resolve.

Yes, we are here tonight to pay tribute to that land of love and happiness of which the great Chilean people's poet, Pablo Neruda, has sung:

... wide regions of man,
a geography of children and women,
of factories,
love and songs, of schools
which gleam like violets in the
forest . . .

They said 'comrade' to the world.
They made the carpenter king.
No camel shall pass through this
needle's eye.

They cleansed the villages.

Divided the land.

Elevated the serf.

Eliminated the beggar.

Annihilated the cruel.

Brought light into the deep night.

So I am here to say: Happy Birthday, Land of Socialism! I send you my love. I return in full measure your love for me and my people. I remember your warmth and friendship, the shining eyes of your child-

ren, the clasp of their little hands, their sun-lit voices telling me: "Give our love, Paul Robeson, to the Negro children and all children of America, and our best wishes to them for peace and freedom."

O happy land — where Man can walk the earth so proud and free! Here people of the many nations and races—the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Georgians, together with the Uzbeks, the Buryat-Mongolians, colored peoples and all the others, live in brotherhood and equality.

And tonight, too, there is love and happiness in my heart to see, marching arm in arm with Land of Socialism, the free people of New China, and the free nations of Europe's New Democracies. And *they* rejoice, for now their way is lighted by the rosy

Under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, an enthusiastic meeting as held in New York, Nov. 13, to mark the 35th Anniversary of the USSR and the 19th Anniversary of American-Soviet relations. Among the inspiring speeches on the occasion was that of Paul Robeson which we are publishing here.

glow that dawned 35 years ago in the great October Revolution.

A rosy glow, it was, back in 1917, and through the years it has grown brighter, through the smoke and flame of war against the cruel invaders, though the white-hot steel of Stalingrad, brighter and brighter, and now 800 million people walk in the dazzling light of freedom. And hundreds of millions more, in every part of the world, can see the blazing beacon.

But there is sorrow and anger in my heart when I look around at the rest of the world and see — the blasting and burning of Korea, the march of imperial troops into Kenya, the blackened villages of Malaya, the crack of the lash in South Africa. And here at home — the trampling of the Bill of Rights, the shadows of terror, the frame-ups, the lynchings, the war-cries.

Africa! You read what's going on. Every day the papers report the new atrocities — jail for those who want freedom; bullets for those who want bread. And if you read the financial pages, you can see behind it all the Almighty Dollar — 4 billions invested since 1950 in support of the British, French and Belgian projects in Africa and the West Indies . . . Kennecott Copper, Standard-Vacuum Oil, Ford, General Motors, and all of the other vultures of Wall Street.

Look at the United Nations — there, as ever, the spokesmen of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies arise in defense of the oppressed colonial masses, expose and indict the Malan fascists and the imperialist powers who masquerade as the "Free West." So the Africans, the Malaysians, the Viet-Nameese, the Koreans, the Indians, the Burmese — all of the colored peoples of the world — know that the Soviet Union

is their proven friend. Many of their leaders have declared *they will never join the wolf-pack that bays at the borders of the Soviet Union!*

It is unthinkable — as I said at Paris, and I repeat it now — that the colored peoples of the world will serve their oppressors in such a war.

We Americans, both Negro and white, have a great responsibility. There must be on our part no fearful isolation from the great world-wide movement for peace that is led by the World Peace Council.

Peace—that is the highest patriotism.

Peace — the common people of our land want an end *now* to the bloodshed in Korea; and they *thought*, so many of them, that they were voting for *peace* on Election Day.

Peace — yes, the promises must be fulfilled.

We call to all peace-loving Americans: send delegates, hundreds of delegates from all walks of life, from all political and religious beliefs, to the great World Peace Congress in Vienna on December 12th. There you will meet the representatives of that truly free world — the 800 millions — and delegates from every land. And you will realize, in Vienna, that our nation can live in peaceful co-existence with all other nations; that we can trade with them to our mutual benefit; that we can lighten the burden of armament; that our nation can share fully in a free exchange of science and culture.

Yes, tonight my heart is filled with that firm resolve. Never to cease in the struggle for peace. Never to cease in the struggle for freedom.

I have been, I am, and I shall always remain, a strong, unbending friend of the Soviet people, their wise leaders and the Land of Socialism, Equality and Peace!

Culture: No Private Preserve

**Education, art high on agenda of 19th
Communist Party Congress in USSR**

by RALPH PARKER

THERE are a number of reasons why the subject of culture figured prominently in the work of the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

First, because in a socialist society culture and labor have joined hands. A Congress so deeply involved in the remaking of nature, in planning the advance of a society to communism by the conscious, creative endeavor of millions of working people, could not fail to pay the closest attention to the problem of remaking of man, which is the problem of art, of culture.

In their onward move, the Soviet people look to their writers and artists for works that will quicken their feelings, set their minds searching and urge their will to action. "A tremendous responsibility in the great struggle to rear the new and the lofty, and to eradicate that which is obsolescent and moribund in social life, rests upon our workers in literature and art," declared G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

Second, this was the first Congress to be held since universal literacy was established in the Soviet Union, and since complete elementary education (seven classes) had become the rule throughout the land. Coupled

with this is the remarkable advance in the number of those who have received higher education and the success of the Labor Reserve organization which has put more than a million young technicians into industry in the Ukraine alone during the past few years. These measures have greatly extended the public for literature and the arts.

Another factor contributing to this expansion is the rapid improvement in living and working conditions which so many speakers at the Congress were able to report. The mechanization of so many forms of arduous labor has incalculably eased the lot of millions of workers, and if as yet this has not led to a reduction in working hours, it has certainly placed working people in a better condition to make fuller use of their leisure. More plentiful food, labor-saving devices in the home, an easing in the housing situation and other aspects of an improved living standard have also contributed to the rise in cultural standards.

A third reason for the prominence

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given to the subject of culture is the emergence of an entirely new intelligentsia in the non-Russian republics, especially in Soviet Asia.

It is only in the past ten years or so that most of these lands established their own Academies of Sciences, their own research institutes and universities. These rest on the basis of the broad network of elementary and secondary schools built during the 1930's—nearly two-thirds of the 90,000 new schools erected since the Revolution are in the non-Russian republics. Today, these lands are modern socialist nations in charge of their own, including cultural, affairs.

The Congress heard a Turkmenian delegate tell them how in his country, where the literacy rate was 0.7 per cent before the Revolution, there is now a university and an Academy of Sciences.

An Azerbaidzhanian delegate spoke of the 36,000 specialists with higher education now in his republic, compared with 12,000 at the time of the Eighteenth Congress.

It was a Tadzhik delegate who was most critical of the work of the Union of Soviet Writers, complaining of their lack of well-informed interest in Tadzhik literature. Before the Revolution only one Tadzhik in 200 could read or write; now Soviet Tadzhikistan has its Academy of Sciences and 17 other scientific research institutions.

One of the last to speak in the discussion in the Kremlin was a delegate from Yakutia, the autonomous republic which lies in the extreme northeast of the Union and is inhabited mostly by people who had no written language 30 years ago. Today, he told the Congress, one-fifth of the population is studying in secondary or higher educational insti-

tutions, and instead of the four candidates of science which Yakutia had in 1939, there are today 70 doctors and candidates, some of them decorated with the highest awards of the State.

Perhaps the most revealing thing he had to say about this part of the Soviet Union—considered by the tsarist authorities as being useful for but two purposes, the exile of political undesirables and the slaughter of seals—was to suggest that the school children of Yakutia who are learning a foreign language, as well as Russian and their native language, might start it at fifteen instead of at twelve years of age!

Finally, the cultural question was to the forefront in the Congress because, as Malenkov said, there remain "big defects in the development of our literature and art," and because this was a Congress that made it its aim to eradicate shortcomings wherever they might be found.

What are these shortcomings and why should they exist in a society which has so many great successes in other spheres to its credit? To some extent, they proceed from these successes in the material field. The ideological and cultural level of the Soviet man has risen immeasurably partly as the result of the free and happy life he leads as the master of the instruments of production, partly as the result of Soviet society's enlightened attitude toward all that is best in world culture, including the classical culture of Russia. The Russian language has become the one in which the most progressive writers of the world find a tribune. The Soviet reader today has his choice of the best literature of China, America, France, Britain and the countries of the People's Democracies. He can read the classical lit-



—From the magazine *Soviet Union*

For both young and old in the Soviet Union a new book is an exciting experience

erature of all the world, and does so.

In the words of the English critic Christopher Caudwell, Soviet society has dragged the past into the present and is forcing the realization of the future. In this way the Soviet reader has been helped to improve

his tastes by having at his disposal the best works of literature and art, and as a result does not tolerate dull, empty and false works.

No society has every made such demands on its writers and artists. It demands that literature and art "boldly portray the contradictions in

life; they must learn to use the weapon of criticism as an effective means of education. The vitality and importance of realistic art lies in that it can, and must, discover and bring to light the lofty spiritual qualities and typical positive features in the character of the ordinary man and woman, and create vivid artistic images of them, images that will be an example to others." (Malenkov)

The Nineteenth Congress provided many glimpses of what Malenkov called the "seething and diversified life" of Soviet society. How, indeed, could it have done otherwise?

For among the 1,400 delegates were men and women from all walks of life and from all parts of the Union—the delegate from the textile workers of Ivanovo, fittingly a woman, since in that region 12 of the directors of the largest mills are women; an envoy from the workers in the vast forests that line the banks of the Kama; the Azerbaidzhanian oil man who thrilled the Congress with tales of the artificial islands built to float miles off shore in the Caspian Sea; the Stalingrad Party secretary whose shoulders have borne so much of the burden of reconstruction there; the Tatar and the Turkmen; the delegates who have carried through collectivization in West Ukraine.

As they came to the rostrum they added their strokes to the vast canvas in which the Soviet man held central place, man at grips with nature, struggling for a happy, free life of plenty. Here was the stuff for literature and the arts.

Let the writers and artists look a little deeper into the life of Soviet society, Malenkov advised, and create significant works of art worthy of a great people. But he added a note of warning. In creating their artistic

images, Soviet artists and writers should not fall into the trap of thinking that what is typical of Soviet society is that which is most often met there:

"In the Marxist-Leninist conception of the term, typical does not mean the statistical average. Typicalness corresponds to the essence of the given social-historical phenomenon and is not simply what is most widespread, often met with, the ordinary. A deliberately magnified image, brought out in salient relief, does not exclude typicalness, it reveals the typical more fully and emphasizes. Typicalness is the main sphere of the manifestations of partisanship in realistic art. The problem of typicalness is always a political problem."

In other words, the Communist Party is asking for a literature and art which is close to the life now dawning for Soviet society.

In his own family circle, among his friends and acquaintances, in his workaday life, the Soviet man has no difficulty in recognizing that which is new and progressive and that which is obsolescent and foreign to a socialist society on the road to communism. He asks that writers and artists see the distinction no less clearly and formulate it with their command of the beauty of word and image.

In the broadest sense of the word, culture figured in many of the contributions to the discussion on the reports before Congress. Speaker after speaker linked material successes and plans for the future with measures for raising the cultural level of the working people. They spoke with pride of the high proportion of graduates in their enterprises or districts, of the facilities that are provided for workers to



In the university library in Petrozavodsk, in the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic. Before the Revolution 87 per cent of the population was illiterate. Today 5,000 students attend higher educational institutions

receive higher education without interrupting their work, and of the rapid growth of a new national intelligentsia in lands that had no written languages of their own two or three decades ago.

It was a remarkable experience to hear these shrewd, practical men of action speaking with such profound respect for culture and outlining their plans not only for the development of the northern forests and the rivers of Siberia, the shale deposits of the Baltic littoral and the ores of the Caucasus, but also for ensuring "such a cultural advancement of society as will secure for all members of society the all-round development of their physical and mental abili-

ties, so that they will be in a position to receive an education sufficient to enable them to be active agents of social development, and in a position freely to choose their occupations and not be tied all their lives, owing to the existing division of labor, to some one occupation." (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*)

Man, with his constantly rising cultural requirements, was always in the center of things at the Nineteenth Congress; man, who produces not for production's sake but to satisfy his needs; man, without whose conscious creative effort, the planners cannot hope to build communism.

MORE MOVIE HOUSES, MORE PATRONS IN HUNGARY

IN 1935 there were only 410 movie houses in Hungary. By the end of June, 1952 the number had risen to 3,220. Since 1935 the number of movie house in villages rose from 242 to 2,075. From 1935 to 1951, moviegoers increased from 18 million to 62 million.

Training Educated Miners

**Czechoslovak schools
make mining honorable,
well-paid profession**

by

HILDA LASS

IF YOU don't study you'll go into the mines! This was the way many mothers admonished their sons in pre-war days. At that time every miner's ambition was that his sons did not follow in his footsteps. Whether boys went into mining or into other jobs, they went as unskilled workers, with advancement depending on the slow process of picking up skill and bits of knowledge by watching older workers. What this meant can be seen from the fact that in 1934 more than 80 per cent of all workers under 18 earned only 180 crowns a month compared with the average wage of 800 crowns of an adult worker.

Today every young person in

Czechoslovakia has the right to a job at an adult wage in the field of his choice, and to training to equip him for that job. Since 1948, each industry has given special care to the training of apprentices. Many have set up special schools, generally lasting two years, at which young people study, live, work, and play together, and finally enter the industry with a good general knowledge of the industrial process as well as a specialized skill.

These schools, originally established by individual industries and run by the separate factories or mines, are now gradually being taken over by the Ministry of Manpower, and new ones will be established in industries where they do not exist. This centralized direction will insure uniform practices and high educational standards in all industries.

First training centers to be affected by the new plan were in mining and foundry work, as the need for a permanent manpower supply in these industries is essential to the success of Czechoslovakia's industrialization program. Two important government decisions last year embodied specific measures to step up production in these vital branches. They included in mining, among other things, a definite schedule for the mechanization and electrification of the mines, the introduction of new working methods and the securing of 20,500 additional permanent workers. Therefore the training of

HILDA LASS and her husband have been living in Czechoslovakia for some time. Both Americans, he was a social worker and then director of CARE in Czechoslovakia but resigned that post in protest against the warlike trend of foreign policy of the U.S.

young miners has assumed a new importance.

The new era for miners really began in 1949 at Lany, the President's summer home, when President Gottwald launched the famous annual Lany campaign to recruit secondary school graduates for the mining profession. It was not an easy task at that time to overcome the prejudices against mining inherited from the old days, to convince young men and their parents that mining is now not only an honorable and well-paid occupation but a safe and interesting profession with a future. Yet in 1949-50 more than 11,600 boys volunteered for training; in 1951 the number rose to 12,263, and in 1952 again more than 10,000 youngsters between 15 and 18 have begun their mining education.

Training schools for miners are established in connection with the chief mining centers of Czechoslovakia. These centers combine three aspects of education: a home where the boys create their own community life; a school where they receive technical training and continue their general education; a pit where they actually apply their training under the guidance of expert instructors.

In most cases these homes are newly-built, with all the comforts of a modern apartment house (central heating, showers, ample wardrobe space), spotless kitchen and dining room, and complete facilities for sport and recreation. The Julius Fucik home in Ostrava, for example, has its own cinema, special rooms for individual interest groups, a library, complete gym, a smoking room, buffet and barber shop.

When a student enters one of these schools (in recognition of their new status these trainees are no longer called apprentices but simply stu-

dents) he is issued a free, complete outfit worth 11,000 crowns. This includes a dress uniform, four shirts, work clothes, overalls, overcoat, work coat, gloves, cap, gym outfit, dress shoes, work shoes, gym shoes, tennis shoes, rubber boots, socks, handkerchiefs, pajamas and tie. Cost of training each apprentice is 100,000 crowns. In 1950-51 the State paid over 2,000 million crowns for the establishment and equipment of these training centers and for clothing for trainees. One 800,000 crowns item was for ice hockey equipment for Ostrava centers.

Boys spend approximately 24 hours a week in classroom study and 24 hours in practical work. Subjects in the classroom curriculum include Czech, Russian, social sciences, mathematics, chemistry, engineering, technical drawing, specialized technology and geology. Metal-working, brick-laying, practical electricity, study of soil composition, how to defeat gas, discussion of new working methods are all part of the course.

These Czech future miners are studying at a former nobleman's castle



Below ground three or four students work as a team with one instructor. This is productive work, not just practice, and the work of the pit is planned so that each team has a job to do. Gradually they learn the whole coal face job including propping, packing, rail-laying, installing coal chutes and conveyor belts and the operation and servicing of modern machinery: pneumatic hammers, coal-cutters and combines which cut and load the coal mechanically.

Emphasis is placed on work according to what is described as "graph of work cycles," which are being instituted in all mines as part of the government decision on coal production mentioned previously. This may sound complicated but it simply means that all work on a given coal face—mining, propping, packing and turning-over rails—is completed in one day. There are no odds and ends left over for the next shift to finish before it starts cutting.

With the growing mechanization of mining, the miner's job is less and less one of exhausting physical labor and more one of brain work. The industry needs new workers who can cope with the new techniques and the training of future miners tends towards specialization. Graduates are experts in operating certain types of machines and may qualify for still more advanced schools.

Students are paid for their work in the mines at the regular rate for the type of work they do. This money usually goes into a savings account against a future motorcycle, for the youngsters have no expenses at school and receive pocket-money into the bargain.

Graduates are guaranteed work at an adult wage and agree to remain in the industry for at least three



The students learn many skills. This one receives instruction in welding

years. While the new manpower is allocated by the Ministry of Manpower, the trade unions are charged with responsibility for these young miners when they go to work and for seeing that they are assigned to the jobs for which they were trained and not to less-skilled positions. They must also insure that their education continues, that they are suitably billeted and that if they marry, apartments are found for them.

The best advertisement for the mining profession are the satisfied parents of boys who have elected to go into the mines. Not many mothers can boast, like Mrs. Zdenka Kumhalova of Nova Ves, that their fourth son has just followed his brothers into training for the mines. But tens of thousands of parents have watched skimpy 15-year-olds grow into healthy, muscular 18-year-olds, fully qualified, proud of their work and sure of their future.

Mothers today warn their sons: "You'll have to study if you want to go into the mines."

The New Great Walls of China

**An American visitor's impressions
of Shanghai; scene in a People's
Court; Visit with Mme. Sun Yat-sen**

by

DR. JOHN ADAMS KINGSBURY

IN MY last article I wrote of my memorable six days on the Yangtse River, and of the unforgettable sight of a hundred thousand men and women volunteer workers swarming over the dykes and dams and sluice gates they were determined to build in a period of eighty days to hold back the floods that otherwise would have come with the rainy season of late July.

On the morning of June 14 our boat headed down the river for Hankow. With the aid of the powerful current of the Yangtse we reached our destination in 24 hours, or half the time it took to force our way upstream. At Hankow, or rather at Wuchang, the name of the greater city which includes Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang, the three cities situated at the confluence of the Han and the Yangtse rivers, we took to the air again for a swift flight to Shanghai, a distance of about 600 miles, requiring four hours for the flight.

The landscape from Wuchang to Shanghai was in sharp contrast to what we had seen on our flight from Peking. As we rose into the sky from the airport there was water, water everywhere. It was easy to see that even a slight rise of the Yangtse would inundate the whole

area in the neighborhood of Wuchang, to say nothing of what would happen to the upper region of the Yangtse. Therefore the need for speed to complete the Ching River Project.

Half an hour's flight, however, brought in view quite a different landscape, the hilly terrain with terraced cultivation. Another half hour and we were flying at an elevation of 12,000 feet over high mountains and I had my first sight of Chinese landscape without cultivation and also largely without forest. From these mountains flow many rivers toward the sea and again cultivation came in view with the consequent dense population. But villages were not packed so close together as between Peking and Hankow.

Approaching Shanghai one sees the landscape flooded with rice paddy.

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY, recently returned from a year abroad, is a Fellow of the American Public Health Association. He was the organizer of the Milbank Memorial Fund and its Secretary and Managing Director for 15 years. He is a former Commissioner of Public Charities of New York City and the author of several books. He is Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

dies and villages connected by canals. The landscape here suggests a rural Venice, evidently very fertile. Near Shanghai one begins to see the vegetable gardens necessary to the life of a great city. For the first time in China we sighted skyscrapers and the smokestacks of factories belching black clouds, showing that the factories were very busy. We were approaching one of the great cities of Asia, a city with a population now estimated at nearly seven millions.

Landing at the airport again we were greeted by a Welcoming Committee, including the ever-present children with bouquets of flowers for each delegate.

In this great city we were comfortably entertained in the Cathay Hotel, convenient to the theater where we witnessed exciting performances of operas, plays and cinemas every night during our stay. We visited health centers, workers' palaces of culture, nurseries and kindergartens and factories, notably a large factory for bleaching, dyeing and printing.

This factory is known as "State Dyeing and Printing Factory No. 1," and is situated in the suburbs of Shanghai. It is a community of six or seven thousand people whose livelihood is centered in this factory of 1,000 employees, 600 men and 400 women, with no child labor, but many apprentices in their late teens, especially in the art department. It was fascinating to observe the designing of patterns and the etching on copper rollers, the mixing of colors and the printing. We watched the whole elaborate process from the spinning and weaving of the cotton, to the packing of the finished product. The well-clad workers of many skills looked healthy and seemed happy in

their perfectly lighted, sanitary factory, with modern machinery fully equipped with safety devices.

The workers were well-housed. There were nursery schools and kindergartens, elementary schools, houses of culture, theaters, cinemas and sport fields. This was indeed a model industrial community.

We saw others like it—notably the hemp-bag factory in Hangchow, with 3,500 workers, modern housing and hospitals, and new construction under way which will double the capacity of this factory. We were informed that many such communities have been completed since liberation, and many others planned or under construction.

The most interesting institution to me was the People's Municipal Court in Shanghai where I spent an afternoon observing and listening to interpretation of the court procedure, presided over by a Chief Justice, a young man of 32, and two women who sat with him on the bench, one of them representing the Democratic Women's Federation of China.

A unique feature of the Chinese judicial system is the participation of the audience. Anyone in the audience who has any testimony of significance to contribute may address the judge and request the opportunity to be heard, or the Judge may ask if anyone in the court wishes to testify. Such persons are listened to with respect and the Judge weighs their remarks or testimony along with that of other witnesses.

I was greatly impressed by the character and demeanor of the Judge and his associates, their extreme courtesy to both plaintiff and defendant and to witnesses, their concentration on the case and the decorum of the court.

The case I witnessed was a tri-

Children shake hands with Dr. Kingsbury as he ends his visit to their school in Lu Chuan Tuan village not far from Peking

—Photos for this article courtesy Dr. Kingsbury



angle divorce suit. The plaintiff was a wholesome looking young woman with five children, spaced barely a year apart, the youngest a nursing babe. They were in court in the care of the mother and friends. There were two defendants: the husband, a middle-aged man in private business, and his first wife whom he married in 1931 and divorced in 1940, a middle-aged mother of five children in their teens. Between the man and his divorced wife a friendly relationship evidently still existed, as well as a common conspiracy to exploit wife Number 2.

The suit involved a three-pronged complaint: divorce, alimony, and the

recovery of a sewing machine filched from wife No. 2 by wife No. 1 in collusion with the defendant-husband, thus depriving wife No. 2 of her main means for supporting her children.

Neither plaintiff nor defendants employed counsel, to which they were entitled. The chief Judge conducted the cross-questioning, but seldom interrupted testimony or pleas. I think I never heard more forthright accusations or more eloquent pleadings than those of the plaintiff.

Between pleas the young mother sat calmly on a front bench and nursed her babe. Several members of the Democratic Women's Federa-

tion and volunteers from the audience testified on behalf of the young mother. A woman from the audience offered to lend a sewing machine until the plaintiff recovered hers.

The weight of the evidence was on the side of the plaintiff in all three charges. The old kow-towing father of the defendant-husband, and a brother, obviously a prosperous business man, testified that the defendant could not afford to pay the alimony demanded. The court adjourned without verdict. I talked later with the Judge who told me he had adjourned the case pending investigation into the resources of the defendant. He said he had consulted with his associates, with the result that the divorce would be granted, and the sewing machine returned. The decision, however, would not be handed down until the amount of alimony could be fixed.

The most memorable feature of our visit to Shanghai was the reception given to the delegation by Soong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen). She is a very busy woman. She is not only a Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; she is a

moving spirit in the welfare work and the peace movement in China.

Soong Ching-ling received us most graciously, serving tea in her home and consenting to pose with the delegates for a group picture in her garden. She requested me as the only American representative present to convey her greetings to her many friends and supporters in America, mentioning several of them by name, notably Ida Pruitt and Maud Russell. She was delighted to know that we visited the nursery which she had established in 1949 after liberation and was eager for my criticism as a social worker on the nursery and kindergarten program and activities.

From Shanghai we made a round trip in a private train provided for the delegates to Hangchow, center of the silk district and also formerly one of the great spring and autumn resorts for rich merchants who had their homes on the border of West Lake. These former palaces of rich merchants are now, for the most part, rest homes and sanatoria for workers.

In the city of Hangchow we visited workers' rest homes, a silk factory



The triangle divorce case witnessed by Dr. Kingsbury in a Shanghai People's Court

where many of us for the first time saw how beautiful patterns of silk are woven. We saw how the beautiful former homes of the rich on West Lake are preserved as museums. We drove around the countryside, visited a great hemp factory and spent an afternoon on the lake. We visited temples where gods were guarded by dragons at the gates. We visited the Magic Fountains and the Magic Islands, surrounded by lotus with lilies in bloom and gold fish of many species swimming about under the archways of the dikes.

As usual, our visit was concluded by a banquet held in the evening before our return to Shanghai—a night trip which took us into the city again at midnight and whence we were to depart by airplane for Peking at dawn.

Leaving Peking at sunrise the 26th of June, a crystal clear morning, I made a memorable flight to Moscow. Rising swiftly from the airport, I can never forget the unique experience of looking down upon the diminishing, enchanting Summer Palace on the outskirts of Peking, its lovely lake and lotus lilies—once the exclusive resort of Chinese Emperors, now a matchless museum and palatial playground for the Chinese people. Soaring over the encircling mountains toward the Gobi Desert what, indeed, could leave a more indelible impression on the memory than the historic Great Wall of China, seen again, illuminated by the rosy-fingered dawn, meandering along mountain ridges into the far distance.

The flight to Moscow was a succession of thrills. Six hundred miles over the Gobi Desert with stops at oases where one could mingle with friendly Mongolians, watch camels nibbling scanty bunches of grass,

or fill one's pockets with a variety of strange stones for geological study. Then thousands of miles across Siberia, its mighty mountains, its beautiful Lake Baikal and lesser lakes; its great meandering rivers—the Yenisei, the Ob and their tributaries; its vast plains and prairies dotted with state and collective farms; its villages and its great industrial centers—Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Sverdlovsk—invariably bustling with activity of truly free men and women building a New Civilization.

Leaving Peking after a month's visit to New China one needs hours for meditation, and this flight gave them to me. I felt that I had indeed been visiting a new world. Flying over Siberia, China rose before me like a dream, so dramatic is the contrast. So different the landscape, so different the life, yet each so strangely fascinating, these neighboring lands and friendly people.

Etched on the table of my memory the vivid image of one of the "Seven Wonders of the World"—the Great Wall built more than 2,000 years ago by slaves laboring for decades, to protect the Chinese and their country from devastation by the barbarians—it was natural, flying over Siberia, I should muse upon the new "Great Walls" of China being built today by free men and women.

Under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, these dauntless people are building barriers against flood, drought, hunger and disease—monumental projects of flood control, dykes and dams and sluice gates, some already completed in less than three years since liberation. These are Great Walls of peaceful construction, holding back and conserving the flood waters of the Huai, the Yangtse and the Yellow Rivers, util-

izing them for hydro-electric power, for irrigation and for improvement and extension of cheap transport.

There is a new Great Wall of trees now being planted by millions (from seedlings grown on state farm lands) at the head waters of these great rivers, as well as along the banks of the rivers and streams all over the country, a great wall of prevention, a barrier against a great natural enemy of mankind—erosion and denudation.

New China's tremendous program of afforestation is not confined to the headwaters of the Huai, the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers, to water conservation and flood elimination. The program includes hundreds of miles of tree planting comparable to the afforestation program of the USSR, and calculated to change the climate and thus the whole aspect of China. The most extensive single project is the Northwest Shelter Belt 680 miles long and 190 across at its widest point.

In my flight over Asia there were other Great Walls that I could still see in my mind's eye: the Great Wall of Liberation requiring a quarter of a century to complete as a barrier against enemies from within and from without; the Great Wall of Land Reform built on a firm foundation of equitable distribution of "Land to the Tillers," its ramparts now rapidly approaching completion. This wall is the key to freedom and democracy of New China; following repeated struggles against feudalism begun as early as the construction of the first Great Wall, now at long last these liberated people seem to have suddenly broken out of feudalism as a butterfly breaks out of a cocoon.

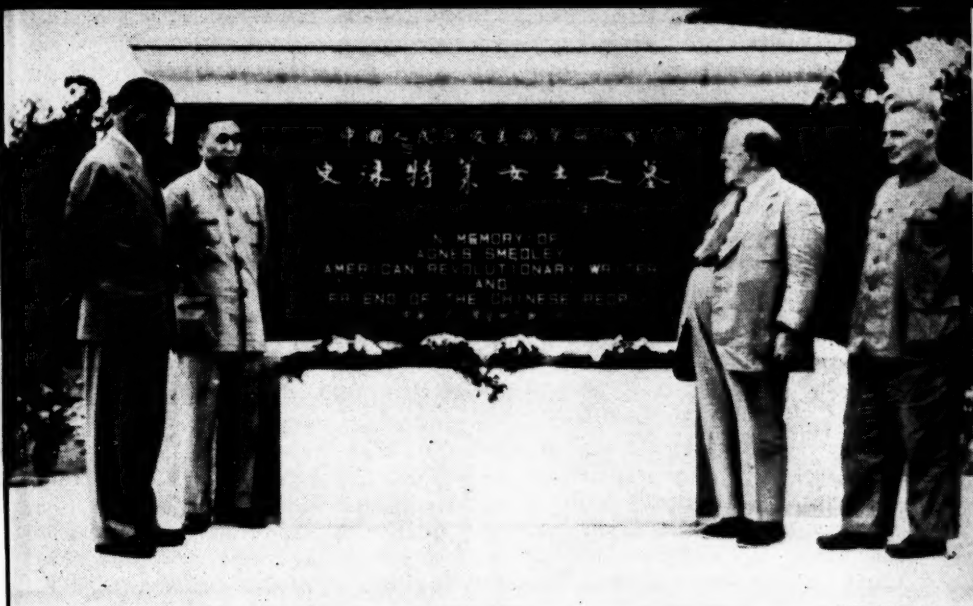
But for this key to the secret of the apparently sudden flight of the

people of China from a state of feudalism into a dawning era of freedom and democracy, one could not comprehend other Great Walls which are being erected against enemies in human nature: prejudice and intolerance. Even the former landlord receives his land allotment and is treated with consideration if his record is not one of extreme cruelty. "San fan" ("against three") and "wu-fan" ("against five") call for a correction of human faults inculcated by the life and customs of Imperial China, the century of foreign "concessions," and carried over into, and intensified by, imperialism, aiding and abetting the corrupt and cruel Kuomintang regime under Chiang Kai-shek.

The "san fan" program of regeneration called for elimination throughout the land of three ancient major moral enemies threatening New China—corruption, waste and bureaucracy. This program involved an intensive educational campaign which began January 1 and was completed June 30, 1952. The method was self-analysis and self-criticism beginning at the top, with the government ministers, and going all the way down from level to level of political and social life until it reached the lowest rungs.

The "wu fan," program, still in progress, is aimed primarily at businessmen and business life, and directed against five insidious influences—bribery, stealing or sequestering public property, violation of contract specifications, revealing secret government information for speculation, and tax evasion.

These are some of the modern type Great Walls that New China has constructed and is building for its protection against human and natural enemies from without and from



Memorial to the American writer Agnes Smedley. Left to right: Prof. D.D. Kosamby, head of the Indian delegation to the Preparatory Peace Conference in Peking; Li Teh-chuan, of the Chinese Peace Committee; Dr. John A. Kingsbury, and Rewi Alley, poet and educator of New Zealand

within, enemies which may endanger the success of The Common Program and the Organic Law adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference on September 29, 1949 in Peking, and ratified by all parties and groups forming the "United Front."

It is an indispensable condition to peace that the whole world should know that "The Chinese People's Consultative Conference unanimously agrees that New Democracy, or People's Democracy, shall be the political foundation for the national construction of the People's Republic of China."

In the words of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people "have from now on stood up. . . . Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up."

In the interest of mutual understanding and sympathy between the

United States and New China, founded on knowledge, I have tried to tell a true story of what I have heard and seen in the East to my fellow countrymen in the West. I intend to reiterate it and amplify it in faithful detail in the hope that I may contribute something to a clearer understanding of the prevailing peaceful construction both in China and in the Soviet Union, and the evident firmness of the friendship of these two great nations.

To that end I am telling my fellow Americans the profound impression the Preparatory Conference for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference made upon me: because of its democratic organization; its broadly representative character in terms of nationality, vocation, religious faith and political persuasion; and because of the high intellectual quality and the sincerity of the peaceful pur-

poses of the 47 delegates from all the 20 nations represented. To that end I propose to keep on telling the people of the West, and especially the American people what I saw and heard and felt during my month in China where I had the privilege of traveling thousands of miles, visiting cities and villages and farms and factories, mingling and talking with thousands of men and women and children under all sorts of circumstances and conditions of life.

It is not going to be easy to raze the Great Wall of prejudice and intolerance so successfully built up by Western propaganda which had its inception in Winston Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri, soon after the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The greatest wall of all is yet to be built—the Wall of International Good Will. To raze that wall of prejudice, and to erect in its stead the Wall of International Good Will,

it is necessary to create mutual understanding and friendship founded on knowledge.

Let America begin to create mutual understanding with China by a popular demand that our government promptly recognize the People's Republic of China. Every American should realize that the Chinese people revere the name of Sun Yat-sen, the great pioneer of China's Revolution of 1911, as the American people revere the name of George Washington; that they revere Mao Tse-tung as their liberator from Chiang Kai-shek and his accomplices, as we revere the name of Jefferson as the founder of our democracy.

It is my purpose to do everything in my power to help to create American-Soviet and American-Chinese understanding based on accurate knowledge.

Without such understanding I see no future.

CHUNGKING PALACE OF CULTURE OPENED

A NEW working people's palace of culture was opened in Chungking recently with 12,000 people celebrating the occasion. The construction of the palace began in July, 1951. The spacious building contains a library, club rooms, exhibition halls and ballrooms. For open air activities a park, zoo and sportfields have been provided. Special play areas have been set aside for children. Similar recreation centers have been opened in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Hankow and many other large cities and industrial centers.

NOSTALGIA FOR THE NAZI DAYS

"I HOPE and pray that the moment will soon come when either I or some other American commander will turn this fine Air Base over to some German Wing Commander with the beginning of Germany's new Luftwaffe."

—Col. Robert Scott, U.S. Army Air Force, Commanding Officer of Fuerstenfeldbruck Air Base in West Germany, addressing German newspapermen, Oct. 9, 1952. (From German Democratic Report, Berlin.)

A Frontier of Peace

Friendship and peaceful reconstruction mark relations between the people of Poland and German Democratic Republic

by GORDON SCHAFFER

A LONG the line of the Oder-Neisse rivers separating the German Democratic Republic and Poland there is friendship and peaceful reconstruction. Germans and Poles are trading with each other, sharing each other's culture and now are building socialism together.

If the whole of Germany were in the hands of the militarists and politicians who talk in Bonn of regaining Germany's lost territories, this frontier would by now have become the flash point of World War III. Instead, it has become a frontier of peace.

It was not an easy task for two countries, both devastated by war, to tackle the problems involved in the transfer of territories and populations agreed by all the war-time allies at Yalta and Potsdam.

I saw some of the problems at first hand in 1947 and now—on a recent tour—I have seen the transformation both in Poland's Western Territories and in the German Democratic Republic.

The Western world has been kept in ignorance of these changes because those who control sources of news and propaganda are anxious to foster the campaign for frontier revision among their new Nazi allies in the Federal Republic.

But the peoples of the West ought to understand that the threats to change these frontiers, openly voiced by the Bonn politicians from Adenauer downwards and by the Hitler Generals who are being called in to re-arm Western Germany, is the blueprint for world war.

I talked to scores of Poles in these Western territories, to members of the administration, to miners, factory workers, peasants. I have seen the work of reconstruction in the former German towns and villages, most of them sadistically destroyed by the retreating Nazi armies. In the countryside, I have seen peasants tilling the land which used to belong to the German Junkers—some of them still on individual farms, others already proudly joining in cooperative farms.

If there is one certain fact about Europe today it is this: the Poles will never allow these lands to be taken back. If the folly of West German rearmament ever leads to an attempt to change them by force the

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Poles will fight and the Soviet Union is bound by treaty to give full military aid to Poland.

The British people ought to realize that these are the issues at stake. They must ask themselves whether they are prepared to take part in world war, with their island already scheduled U.S. atom base No. 1, in order to change frontiers, which Churchill and Roosevelt as well as Stalin agreed were fair and just.

In Western Germany the demand for a revision of the Oder-Neisse line has been deliberately fostered by the German administration and by the Western occupation authorities. The German-speaking people who (again by agreement of all the allies) were sent to the Western zones from the new Polish territories, were held in camps for months at a time and were refused full citizen's rights. They were encouraged to believe that they would soon go back to their old homes behind the "liberating" Western armies.

Sometimes the propaganda was changed and they were told that the Russians would do a deal with Germany and hand the territories back—a suggestion utterly devoid of any vestige of truth.

German nationalism in the West is being encouraged to demand frontier revision. In the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich the same propaganda was used against the Polish Corridor and Sudetenland—territories taken from Germany after the Kaiser's war as part of the re-creation of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The German Democratic Republic had to face just the same problems as Western Germany. When the German-speaking populations were transferred from the Polish territories an even greater proportion were dumped in Eastern Germany. There

were the same hopes of a return to their old homes among the refugees. The native population eyed the newcomers with the same suspicion.

The difference was that in Eastern Germany the refugees were at once welcomed as fellow citizens. They were given full civil rights. Many received land when the great estates were divided. All were quickly absorbed either in industry or ag-



riculture. The problem of housing so large an influx of population was a desperate one, but it was tackled at once and today the majority of the newcomers have homes.

Right from the beginning, the people were told the truth that these territorial changes were permanent. It was not a popular policy but gradually the majority of the population began to understand.

When I visited Dresden during my recent tour I was asked to say a few words at a meeting called by the Peace Committee. I told of the work of reconstruction I had seen in Poland and said quite bluntly that the Oder-Neisse line was a permanent frontier and that recognition of this fact by the German Democratic Republic was a major contribution to peace.

When I was asked to answer questions, the first was a challenge to this statement. Immediately the meeting was in an uproar. One woman shouted over the tumult, "If you want another war, fight it yourself,

we want peace." And the whole audience burst into cheers.

When I was in Eastern Germany in 1947, feeling was still so strong that spokesmen of the Socialist Unity Party who were the first to explain the facts about the new frontiers were in danger of being mobbed. The change in the public attitude is a tribute to the statesmanship of the leaders of the German Democratic Republic and to the various political parties—the Liberals and Christian Democrats as well as the Socialist Unity Party—who have joined in telling the people the truth.

As the economic ties between Poland and the German Democratic Republic become closer, friendship will grow. Already the people see that though the Silesian mines are now Polish, Eastern Germany receives all the Silesian coal she needs. Polish foodstuffs are in all the shops. In

Poland, you can see machinery, surgical appliances, chemical apparatus and a host of other industrial products from East Germany.

If there were unemployment in the German Democratic Republic the propagandists could make capital of the loss of former German assets, but there is no unemployment and living standards are steadily rising on both side of the Oder-Neisse.

To those who realize these facts—and their number is increasing in both East and West Germany, however much they may be hidden from the public of Britain and America—the Soviet insistence on acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line is an obvious necessity. Mr. Eden carefully evaded the frontier issue when he opened debate in the House of Commons on the ratification of the Bonn contract. But copying the ostrich does not alter facts.

BRITISH UNIONS BACK PEACE FIGHT

THIRTEEN influential British organizations have gone on record in favor of disarmament. Ten of these have come out in favor of a Five-Power Peace Pact. They include the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, Electrical Trades Union, Foundry Workers, Plumbers, Tobacco Workers, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, Fire Brigades Union, Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers, National Association of Operative Plasterers. Half a dozen have declared against weapons of mass destruction like the atom bomb.

CHINA'S CHRISTIANS SUPPORT DEAN OF CANTERBURY

CHINA'S Christian churches have sprung to the support of Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, in his courageous exposure of the truth of American germ warfare against the Korean and Chinese people, for which he is now being attacked by the reactionary press.

Thirty Christian societies in Chungking have issued statements of protest against this persecution of Dr. Johnson. They include the Church of England Mission, the Lutheran Mission, the Y.M.C.A., and the Catholic community. Similar statements of support for the Dean have been published by Christian communities in Peking, Shanghai and Shenyang (Mukden). A joint message of support has been sent to Dr. Johnson by 20 Christian bodies in Wuhan and Hupeh province.

—From *People's China*

Which Way for Africa?

by

ESLANDA ROBESON

WILL the people of Africa, as they become free and self-governing, turn to the peoples of the West, led by the USA, for friendship, understanding, sympathy and guidance—or will they turn to the peoples of the East, led by the Soviet Union?

President Truman, in a definitive foreign policy speech at San Francisco some time ago, said that the peoples of Asia and Africa must join with the "Free Nations" who want them as equal partners in the "Free World." The West is putting all kinds of pressures on these peoples to choose up sides in the divided world they have created, and the West insists that only the "Free Nations" can bring them liberation and peace.

Well, the peoples of Asia and Africa are watching the liberation of Korea, the liberation of Indo-China, the liberation of Malaya, and they feel very sure they don't want that kind of liberation or that kind of peace.

The people of Africa are even now working and fighting to get out from under the colonial domination of the "Free Nations," who have never shown in any way whatsoever that they could or would deal with them

as equal partners, but by their policies over the years have insisted upon white Western supremacy as the guiding principle in all relationships.

The African people, as I know them, will not only turn to, join with, but will eagerly embrace those peoples who will treat them with respect as human beings.

If you were African, would you choose the West, the "Free Nations"?

The West is very busy making it impossible for the African people to choose their side:

The West is supporting Malan against the African people in South Africa, supporting the French against the North African people in Tunisia and Morocco. By their behavior and their votes in the United Nations the West shows clearly it is not on the side of the African people, so how can the African people come over to their side?

At every point the West makes it

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—Courtesy Council on African Affairs

These patriots have just been released from jail in Durban, South Africa, where they served terms for defying the vicious Malan segregation laws

clear that it means to hold on to the resources, the raw materials of Africa, while it rejects the African people.

The vast majority of the white people in Africa belong to the West, and have already long since turned very, very far to the right. But these white people add up to a very small minority of the population of Africa. It may be that this small white minority, which represents the colonial powers, still feels, with typical white colonial arrogance, that they can continue to maintain their white supremacy by force of arms.

They couldn't be more wrong. They can't have read and digested the handwriting on the walls, in the sands, in the mud: *Africa for the Africans! Foreigners Go Home!* They can't have heard the cry, the drum-beat echoing in the bush, in the hills, in the remote villages, in

the towns and cities, in every African heart: *Freedom! Freedom! Freedom! Self-Government Now!*

Which way Africa goes is enormously important to the future of the world because Africa is very rich in resources, especially in the raw materials vital to the atomic age.

For example, *U.S. News and World Report* for September 12, 1952, writes of how the vital resources of "long neglected Africa" are suddenly drawing world attention, with everybody bidding for her riches. The heart of this once unknown continent, this journal declares, is waking to the atomic age, because "Africa is turning out to be a major storehouse of strategic materials vital to atomic power, jet propulsion, the newest developments of science."

U.S. News and World Report admits that the boom in Africa is a

white man's monopoly, that while the whites in Africa have prospered, in some areas having "standards of living higher . . . than in any other country outside the United States . . . millions of Africans still live in abysmal poverty with no political rights at all under the law of white supremacy."

But this reactionary journal accepts this "law" of white supremacy as a matter of course. With typical white supremacy arrogance, it declares that the defense of the great storehouse of strategic materials is *a major problem for the West*. It goes on to reveal that military leaders of eight countries "with big stakes in Negro Africa" met recently in British Kenya. There these outsiders agreed on the danger "that native rebellions or native refusal to fight could open the riches of Africa to Russia in a world war. . . ."

If you were an African, would you want to open your riches to the white colonial West, which denies you freedom and self-government, for a new world war against the Soviet Union, which has never done you any harm in any way, but which indeed has defended your interests? Or would you want first of all to have the use of them yourselves as *their rightful owners*, and the right to dispose of them in peaceful trade with all countries that would bring you the good things of life you have been so long denied?

Let us pretend that you are African, watching with profound understanding and deep concern the segregation, discrimination and violence carried out against the Negro people, officially and unofficially by the Government and Courts of Law in the United States. Would you want

to open your riches exclusively to the United States?

Let us pretend that you are African, watching with great anxiety, sympathy and understanding, your brothers in South Africa waging their campaign of passive resistance against the Malan regime's unjust laws. Would you support Malan?

Let us pretend that you are African, watching with clear and bitter understanding the activities and the voting of members in the United Nations, especially in the Trusteeship Council, where the "Free Nations" combine to prevent you from appearing before them to present your grievances; pigeonhole your petitions; gloss over, misrepresent or conceal pertinent facts in their reports on their administrations in Africa; and always vote as a bloc against moves to improve your political, economic and social position.

Would you regard the West as your "liberators"? Or would you choose friendship with the Soviet Union, whose delegates always ask the revealing questions about Trusteeship Commission reports, expose the misrepresentations and important omissions, and always vote not only for moves to improve your political, economic and social position, but also for your freedom and self-government?

It might be useful to refer to a column in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of July 12, 1952 by Horace Cayton, special correspondent, in which he describes a typical Trusteeship Council debate, this one of the Report of the Mission to Tanganyika, former German East African colony now administered by Britain:

The Tragedy: Russia is the spokesman for Complete Freedom for Africans. [Tragedy? I'll bet the Afri-

cans don't think it's a tragedy!—E. R.]

... The New Zealand delegate commended the report as "excellent" ... The Australian said progress of the territory appeared to be "very satisfactory." ...

The American delegate urged review of that part of the program relating to post primary education. ... The Chinese delegate [Chiang China—E.R.] congratulated the Mission for its "excellent" report whose recommendations he fully endorsed. The French delegate suggested that it would be desirable to await the decision of Britain on the matter of constitutional development. ... The Belgian delegate was also wary....

When it came to the Russian delegate it was altogether a different matter. A. A. Soldatov of the USSR assailed the Administering Authority—England—for not fulfilling its obligations under the UN Charter and its Trusteeship Agreement with the UN ... to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territory and their development toward self-government and independence. Instead, he said, the United Kingdom was continuing a policy of strengthening the colonial system with the purpose of exploiting the material and human resources of the territory. ...

The point is that most if not all of the other delegates were unwilling to face the fact that England was exploiting the territory and maintaining white domination of the Africans. When will the members of the "Free Nations" have the courage and foresight to fight for the freedom of people?

Let us look for a moment at what happened to a delegate from a "free nation" who *did* speak up in a Trusteeship Council debate, on a Report by the UN Mission to Italian Somaliland, as reported by Leon Edel in the *N. Y. Compass*, July 1, 1952:

On June 9, V. E. Carpio, a Philippine member of the UN Advisory Council in the Trust Territory of Somaliland, made a strong speech in the Trusteeship Council, condemning the Italian administration of the Territory.

The next day the Philippine delegation substituted a new delegate to be in the Advisory Council. ...

It is small wonder that Nehru of India has called upon all Asian and African nations to remain neutral in any war between the United States and the Soviet Union, and has advised them not to allow their territory to be used (and destroyed) as battle areas. Nehru declares that the Asian and African nations may be forced to the tragic decision that they will be better off outside the structure of the UN, if it continues to be used as an instrument to support colonialism and war, instead of the instrument for freedom and self-government and peace it was set up to be.

If you were African which would you choose—freedom and self-government or a continuation under imperialism?

The Western colonial powers, conscious of their continuing colonialism which just cannot be disguised, are making very widespread propaganda about what they call the "new Soviet imperialism." They are clever enough to get a Negro woman, one Edith Sampson, U.S. delegate to the UN, to carry the ball for them in this matter:

"I believe," said Mrs. Sampson, "we must be careful lest in our eagerness to speed up the movement toward freedom and self-government for subject peoples, we take steps to deliver them from the threshold of a new freedom to the back door of a new colonialism." She warned that grant-



All the 60 nations and national groups in the Soviet Union enjoy equal rights and opportunities, including the right to participate in government. These deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Parliament) are from the Kirghiz Republic

ing full freedom to dependent nations "before they are prepared to use it in their own interests, might result in their subjection to the 'new colonialism of the Soviet Union'."

(*N. Y. Times*, Oct. 16, 1950).

If you were African, don't you think you would know much better than Mrs. Edith Sampson and your former masters exactly what would be "in your own best interests"?

Fortunately another Negro evaluates the new imperialism of the United States in very clear terms. Horace Cayton writes in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of September 20, 1952, as follows:

When you begin to dig into the facts, President Truman's Point 4, and even the UN Technical Aid Assistance Program, look more and more like a new form of imperialism rather than help for the backward areas of the world. . . .

The facts are rather well established that the United States has joined the direct beneficiaries of imperialism. Not only that, but our imperialism is connected with uranium, a mineral which we need desperately if we are going to keep up with our atomic stock-piling and research.

Our State Department has been

pleased to call this "technical aid for an undeveloped area." By no stretch of the imagination could our holdings in Belgian Congo be thought of as anything but foreign exploitation of the resources of the area.

It is hard to imagine how this will help in the least the Africans, and lead them any closer to self-government. As a matter of fact, there is every indication that it will lead to the reverse. . . .

What interests the African people most of all about the Soviet Union is the Soviet Government's *performance* in relation to its "backward peoples." When the Soviet Government assumed control in Russia, there were many tribes and groups of peoples in various stages of undevelopment, including wandering herds-men who carried their felt tents with them, and who had no written languages.

The Soviet Government stated flatly that all people are equal, that there was no such thing as a "backward people," only people who have been kept back, and addressed itself immediately and vigorously to the project of bringing all these peoples forward as quickly as possible. The

Soviet Government has succeeded brilliantly with this project, and all the once "backward peoples" are now participating easily, naturally and fully in the modern life of the Soviet Union.

If you were African, and had been called "backward" and kept back for generations by the Western colonial powers, would you choose them for your partners, or would you turn to the Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist world?

More than one-half the population of the world lives in Asia, and these peoples are all colored. The population of the Soviet Union is made up partly of Asian peoples. The Constitution of the Soviet Union has a basic law, *which is rigorously enforced*, making discrimination against any human being because of color, race, religion, sex, or background a criminal offense.

WELL, the world do move and times have changed, with it has finally come to pass that the white colonial

powers can no longer hold the countries and peoples of Asia and Africa as their private estates and personal servants, and use them for their private purposes.

Slowly, reluctantly, and very painfully, the "Free Nations" are being forced to take note that Asia and Africa are inhabited by Asian and African people; and these peoples, like all inhabitants of all continents, will never settle down, will never cooperate, until they can control their own land and the fruits thereof, their own lives, their own destinies.

This ambition, this desire to control their own land and lives, is so universal, so human, so normal, that when it is achieved—and it will be achieved everywhere—this present frightening and very dangerous abnormality of strained human relations, strained international relations, and war will be ended, and people everywhere will happily turn to the peaceful constructive existence for which they were created.

POLAND'S HUGE WATER POWER PROJECTS

EXTENSIVE plans are proceeding in Poland for river construction which, in a few years, is expected to alter the geography of the country considerably.

One of the major aims involves flood prevention for an area of more than 1,700,000 acres. The plan, not in its blueprint stages but in process of work, calls for the building of hydroelectric power stations with an annual output of two billion kilowatt-hours, irrigation and drainage systems and a modern network of waterways to link the busiest centers of the country.

The interrelated river works, according to a conservative estimate, will bring economic benefits amounting to more than \$125,000,000 yearly in addition to manifold advantages from improved communication, further electrification of cities and villages, and the establishment of new raw material bases.

Less than half of Poland's 3,000 miles of navigable rivers and canals are at present open to shipping. The chief feature of the new plans is that they will permit multiple and interrelated utilization of water resources for various branches of the Polish economy at a low cost.

A Defeat for Thought Control

***Jeffersonian ideals triumph over
reactionary scheme to bar NWR,
other reading from Boston library***

by **SUSAN STAPLEFORD**

IN THIS dark hour of farflung assault upon the Bill of Rights and the accompanying cult of ignorance and those who "bear false witness," freedom of inquiry—the "illimitable freedom of the human mind" to which Thomas Jefferson was eternally dedicated and America owes its greatness—has been abruptly and acrimoniously catapulted into the open arena of thought-control in Boston. This has long been creeping insidiously into many phases of the city's life. Progressive organizations have been hounded out of existence, enlightening and beautiful films have been entirely barred from commercial movie houses, and tireless indoctrination of the general public with demonstrably erroneous concepts of life among the 800,000,000 people of New China, the Soviet Union, and the Eastern European Democracies has frustrated the efforts of those who could furnish the factual information about the world today so direly needed if catastrophe is to be averted.

These are to be sure nationwide phenomena. It has remained for Boston to meet specific attack upon free-

dom of the mind. The target has been the renowned Boston Public Library, one of the two such municipal institutions in the entire country that is a "library of record" that offers rich treasure in its magnificent collections and endless files of documents, newspapers of world capitals and other essential data for research scholars. Indeed, such collections as the works of Emerson, Thoreau and others in that "golden age" of New England's writers are so contemporaneous today that they might well be the next groups to be "caged" by the frightened thought-controllers if their reckless assault continues.

The project of a municipal public library which would join Europeans in international interchange of books and publications—ironically enough in the light of today's fear of knowledge of the ways of life of other peoples—the first such institution in America, was launched a century ago. An illustrious scholar, statesman and broad-visioned citizen, Edward Everett, headed the Board of Trustees, seconded by the eminent George Ticknor whose deepest desire was to spread knowledge and opportunity to all the people with the freest access to books in the library and the widest circulation in their homes.

Such was the tradition which the present majority of three on the

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Board of Trustees, supported by groups of citizen, have now upheld in the face of as bold and unscrupulous an attack upon freedom of inquiry as has appeared openly. And all because a *Boston Post* reporter spotted a copy of **NEW WORLD REVIEW** at the Boston Public Library: the September issue with the subversively charming cover picture of the fourth-grade girl in a Soviet public school, a symbol of the excellent free education system and health care program of the Soviet Union. The new owner of the *Post* seized upon it to launch a crusade to ban all such "poisonous," "Red propaganda" publications from the municipally-supported library. It was a "plot to flood libraries" the *Post* declared, and in an article beneath a reproduction of the cover-picture, concocted a description of the staff members spiced with fictional tidbits. One result was 44 requests for NWR in September's few remaining days against only seven in the preceding 10 months!

The new owner of the *Post* devoted at least two page-long, two-column editorials to the expression of his views, one of them including high praise for "one of our greatest Americans," Joseph McCarthy, whose book he is proudly serializing in the paper. In their course, the *Post* owner described what the new world system does to its peoples, some of which "God, in His infinite mercy, may forgive," such as the "rape and prostitution of its women" (read *Sin and Science* by Dyson Carter for

light on the elimination of prostitution in the early efforts establishing the high place woman occupies in the Soviet Union, and the example it set to the other countries).

But, the *Post* editorial continues, recounting what "The Thing" known as "Communism" will also bring to America, "for the seizing of minds of our little children and the moulding of those pure minds into their own evil image, they may not be forgiven and for this they must be destroyed."

After reading this it is easy to understand that **NEW WORLD REVIEW** with its documented and first-hand reports from the countries alleged to be in the grip of these terrors must at all costs be withheld from readers under the thought-control regime upheld by the *Post*. Not only NWR, however, stirred the many columns of vituperation that followed. It was the realization that Russian newspapers, the works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and others were on the library shelves.

The immediate response of the Director of the library, Milton E. Lord, printed in the *Boston Herald*, with praise for his courage and principle in refusing to remove **NEW WORLD REVIEW** from the shelves, was that "it is essential that information on all aspects of political, international and other questions be available in order that the citizens of Boston may be informed about the friends and enemies of their coun-

Fair, Cool

ROBINSON AND ALLEN
1-10-1952 and 2-10-1952
A. M. 1-10-1952 and 2-10-1952
A. M. 1-10-1952 and 2-10-1952

THE BOSTON HERALD

Cunningham
141 New Yorkers
Gentry of Red Baseball
PAGE 5

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Library Heads Reject Censorship Role

try." Said the *Herald*, "When we lose confidence in the average American's ability to separate bad ideas from good by his own unaided efforts . . . we shall have lost our faith in democracy itself."

Further interchange brought from the *Herald* another long editorial, with some red-baiting, but on the whole of some real stature. It included Jefferson's immortal words in his "First Inaugural" on the "safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated if reason is left free to combat it."

Of the five Trustees on the Board, the most strongly opposed to retention of any literature that smacked of information revealing facts about the new world was Patrick F. McDonald, a steel merchant, president of the Archdiocesan Council of the National Catholic Laymen's League. The other dissenter from the Trustees' resolution was Judge Frank J. Donahue of the Superior Court. The three who upheld the policy of the library included the chairman, Lee Friedman, a Boston attorney and member of the Harvard Library Board; Frank W. Buxton, former editor of the *Boston Herald*, and Msgr. Robert H. Lord, priest and pastor of St. Paul's Church, Wellesley, former Harvard professor of government. Mr. Friedman recited to the City Council, in defense of his stand sections of the Bill of Rights of the Council of the American Library Association:

. . . there should be the fullest practicable provision of material, presenting all the points of view concerning the problems and issues of our times — international, national, and local . . . books and other reading matter of sound factual authority should not be proscribed or removed from library shelves because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval.

The final vote of the Trustees was announced on October 4th with the 3 to 2 decision on the resolution which stipulated that library authorities "have no right to exercise censorship that their individual or collective points of view shall prescribe what the public shall read or what shall be banned."

"The public," continued the resolution, "must be afforded an opportunity in a great library to learn both sides of any controversial question of importance to the end that an enlightened public opinion may, in our great democracy, arrive at wise decisions for the welfare of the people and of the nation."

The Back Bay Conference of Protestant ministers had supported the resolution's point of view in a statement which had their unanimous endorsement. The Librarian of Congress, Dr. Luther Harris Evans, congratulated the Trustees on their stand and warned against oversimplification of what he described as "the propagandist problem" and against limiting the freedom of people to read. "Freedom of our Bill of Rights," he said, "means that the people have the right to read anything," whatever its political or religious nature.

Two other sources of support for the Trustees' resolution were a "shocked" telegram from the informer, Herbert Philbrick, who urged fervently that all such material be available to aid in "the fight against communism." And a statement in the Roman Catholic weekly paper, *The Pilot*. Twenty-four prominent citizens of Greater Boston, of various creeds and interests, also issued a joint statement "upholding the library's important role in supplying data on all aspects of our domestic and world problems."



Peace is their keynote. They have gathered to speed their delegates to the Berlin Third World Festival of Youths and Students for Peace

The New Rumania

It was only in 1945 that the Rumanians were liberated from the fascists by the Soviet Army and thus enabled to oust their own reactionaries and take the road to socialism. In these few years the achievements of the Rumanian People's Republic—economically, socially and culturally—have been notable. Industry and agriculture are booming, living standards are rising, cultural amenities are widespread, and both young and old look confidently to the future.

They go to a summer camp in the Carpathians that is run by the Textile, Leather and Garment Workers' Union



Rumanian collective farmers stand up for peace. Here they are signing the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact





A youth brigade on a construction job takes time out for some music

They never had a chance before. Now they're learning to read and write

Practice hour in the workshop of a Rumanian technical secondary school



Lesson in physics in the lab of a boys' school in the Rumanian capital





Youngsters examine diplomas issued for outstanding school work

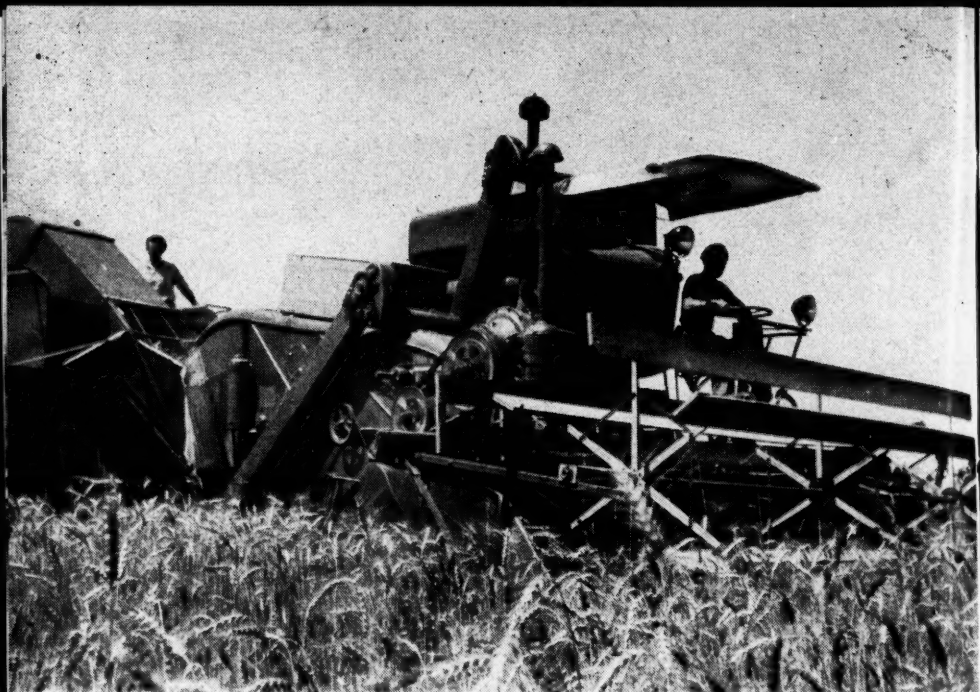
The women have taken their places as skilled workers in Rumanian industry

A student's painting is discussed in the Fine Arts Institute in Bucharest

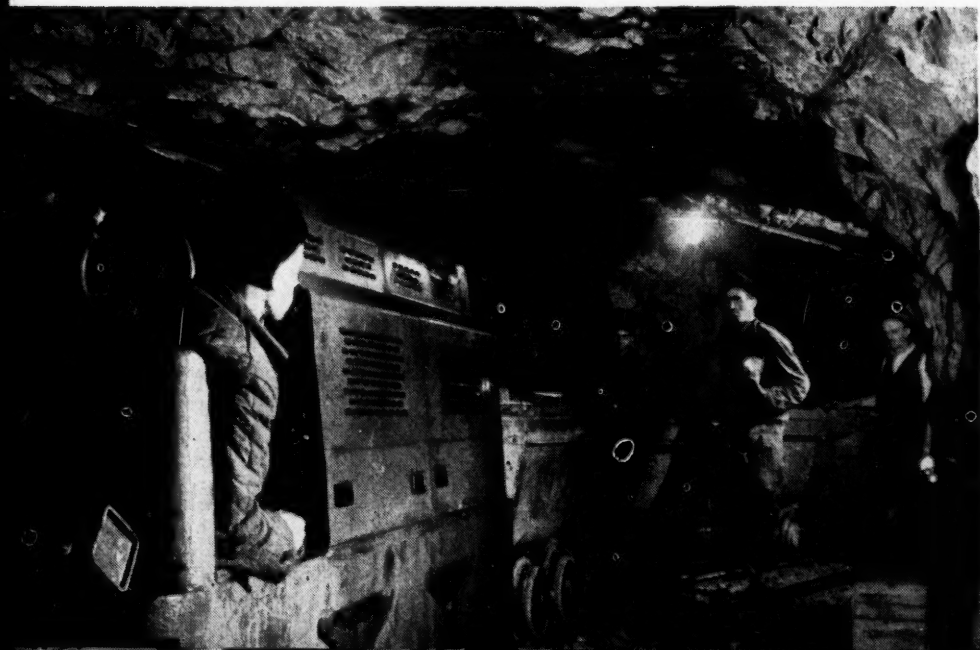


On vacation. Workers on the veranda of a resort run by the trade unions





Mechanization of both industry and agriculture has gone far to lighten the burden of work and simultaneously increase the well-being of the Rumanian people. Up-to-date farming equipment (above) harvests the fields, while down in the mines (below) electricity helps speed up transportation



FIRM FRIENDSHIP OF PEOPLES

Report by Lavrenti Beria shows how USSR nationalities policy has brought immense economic, cultural advances

THE STRIKING economic and cultural advances of the Soviet national republics was emphasized at the recent 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the speech by Lavrenti Beria, a Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Because of its vital importance to the world, we are publishing this section of his speech, slightly condensed, below:

MORE than 60 nations, national groups and nationalities live and work in the Soviet multi-national state. Under these conditions the implementation of a correct national policy acquires exceptional importance for the success of our common cause—the strengthening of the might of the USSR and the building of a communist society.

The actual inequality in economic and cultural development between the peoples of central Russia, who were advanced, and the peoples in the outlying regions, who lagged behind them in the past—the legacy inherited from tsarism—has been eliminated in our country as a result of the consistent implementation of the Lenin-Stalin national policy. Today there are no longer any backward peoples in our country. The new, socialist nations in our country have radically changed their aspect and have developed into advanced modern nations during the years of socialist construction.

Proceeding from the classical defi-

nition of a nation given by Comrade Stalin, his teaching about the new, socialist nations, and proceeding from the historic experience of our Soviet multi-national state, it can be said that the main features inherent in an advanced socialist nation are as follows:

Firstly, existence of a social and state system, the most advanced in the world, in which there are no exploiting classes and all power belongs to the people.

Secondly, the existence of a highly developed socialist industry and large-scale socialist agriculture.

Thirdly, universal literacy of the population, compulsory school education for children, a developed system of higher education ensuring the training of national cadres of specialists for all spheres of economy and culture; the flowering of science and art.

Fourthly, steady improvement in the living standards of the entire population by ensuring the growth of real wages for factory and office

workers and incomes of peasants, through the development of trade, development and improvement of towns, improved housing conditions; the existence of an extensive network of medical institutions ensuring health protection for the people.

Fifthly, the triumph of the ideology of the equality of all races and nations, the ideology of friendship of the peoples.

Do our Soviet republics possess these features of an advanced socialist nation? Yes, they do. . . .

The Republics of Soviet Central Asia have increased electric power enormously since the Revolution. This hydroelectric station was built by a collective farm in the Uzbek Republic.



Under the Soviet system all peoples of our country have acquired and developed their statehood. The outlying national regions of tsarist Russia have been transformed under Soviet power from colonies and semi-colonies into really independent states—Soviet republics with their own territory, national autonomy, their own Constitution, their own legislation. In the organs of power, in the economic bodies and administrative organs, in the judicial organs of the Union and Autonomous Republics, national regions, areas, districts and villages, men and women elected by the people and who know the mode of life, customs and psychology of the local population administer state affairs in the native language spoken by the entire population. . . .

The Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, consistently implementing the Lenin-Stalin national policy, have ensured, parallel with a high level of development of the entire national economy of the USSR, a still more rapid development of the economically backward national republics. . . .

During the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans new metallurgical, oil and chemical industries were created in the Soviet republics; big power stations, agricultural machinery, tractor and automobile works, cement plants, big textile mills and food factories and many other industrial establishments were built.

That industry in the national republics and especially large-scale industry, developed faster than in the USSR as a whole can be seen from the example of the Soviet republics in the East—the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian and Tadzhik republics. The output of large-scale industry in these republics increased 22

Students learn how to operate a self-propelled harvester combine at the Leninabad power-farming school in the Tadzhik Republic



times from 1928 to 1951, while for the USSR as a whole it rose 16 times during the same period.

It is known that in the recent past the outlying eastern regions of tsarist Russia hardly differed in their industrial development from such of their neighbors as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. In Soviet times our Central Asian republics swiftly outstripped in industrial development the eastern countries bordering on the USSR and advanced far ahead.

If the above named Soviet republics are compared with a number of eastern countries as regards such an important index of industrial development as electric power, we find that these five Soviet republics—Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian and Tadzhik—which have a population of about 17 million people—generate three times as much electric power as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq Syria and Afghanistan taken together, with their combined population of 156 million.

And if we compare as regards generation of electric power, one Soviet republic, Azerbaidzhan, for example, with Turkey, it turns out that Soviet

Azerbaidzhan with a population almost one-seventh that of Turkey, produces four times as much electric power as Turkey which has put its head into the noose of American "aid."

Our Soviet republics have greatly outstripped in their development the old industrial countries of Western Europe as well. Let us compare, for example, one Soviet republic—the Ukrainian—with two large European bourgeois states—France and Italy.

Soviet Ukraine, which twice in its lifetime had to be raised from ruins and ashes after invasion by foreign aggressors, now produces much more pig iron than France and Italy combined; it produces more steel and rolled metal than France, and over three times as much as Italy; it mines one and a half times as much coal as France and Italy together; in terms of horse-power, Soviet Ukraine manufactures almost three times as many tractors as France and Italy combined; it produces much more grain, potatoes, sugar-beet and sugar than France and Italy combined.

As a result of the advance in socialist industry and collective farm

agriculture the Ukrainian people live a well-to-do life, enjoying all the blessings of culture, of which the toiling masses of France and Italy are deprived.

No less indicative is the rapid economic development of the Soviet Baltic republics after they had established the Soviet system. . . .

By the beginning of 1952, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic had surpassed the prewar level of industrial production 2.4 times; the Latvian Republic had surpassed it 3.6 times and the Estonian Republic 4.1 times, whereas by the same date Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium had only slightly exceeded the prewar level of industrial production, though the Soviet republics had emerged from the war with a much more devastated economy.

It is worth mentioning that in the old, capitalist Latvia, even according to the whitewashed data of the then rulers, industrial output increased in the 26 years—1913-39—one and a half times, whereas in the new, Soviet Latvia it has risen—despite the damage caused by the war and enemy occupation—in the 11 years—1940-51—3.6 times. . . .

The victory of the collective farm system in the USSR put the agriculture of the Soviet republics on a steady upgrade. The collective farm system is one of the greatest achievements of Soviet power, because it drew the peasant masses into building socialism, opened up new, unprecedented opportunities for development in all branches of agricultural production and gave rise to conditions making for the constant improvement of the material and cultural standards of millions of peasants.

Consequently, in all the Soviet re-

publics we now have large-scale socialist agriculture producing abundantly for the market, widely applying the latest achievements of agronomy and better equipped with up-to-date machinery than agriculture in any other country.

This can be seen in every republic of the Soviet Union. I shall, however, again dwell on the Soviet republics of the East where prior to the establishment of Soviet rule, as everyone knows, agriculture was most backward of all and there was not a trace of agricultural machinery of any kind, not even the simplest.

Now, on the fields of the collective farms and state farms of the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian and Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republics there are 121,000 tractors in terms of 15 horsepower units, 23,000 harvester combines, 102,000 machines for sowing, cultivating and picking cotton and hundreds of thousands of other agricultural machines and implements. The Soviet republics of the East are much better equipped with agricultural machinery than the most developed capitalist countries of Europe.

Take, for instance, the supply of tractors. Soviet Uzbekistan has 14 tractors per every 1,000 hectares [1 hectare equals 2.47 acres] under crops, while for the same area France has 7 and Italy 4 much lower-powered tractors. It goes without saying that there is an altogether insignificant number of tractors in the foreign countries of the East. Whereas the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic has one tractor per 70 hectares under crops, Pakistan has one tractor per 9,000 hectares, India—one per 13,000 and Iran—one per 18,000 hectares.

The equipment of socialist agriculture with a large number of machines

has radically lightened the labor of the peasants and, combined with modern scientific farming and the extensive development of irrigation, has ensured abundant harvests.

Take cotton, for instance—one of the leading industrial crops of the developed diversified agriculture of the Soviet republics of the East. In 1951, the yield of raw cotton in those republics averaged 21 centners [1 centner equals 220 pounds] per hectare.

No cotton-producing country in the world can boast of the yield attained by Soviet cotton growers. In the same year, 1951, the yield of cotton in Egypt was 11.5 centners per hectare, in the United States—8.3 centners, in India—3.4 centners, in Pakistan, 5.2 centners, in Turkey—7.2 centners, in Iran—4.5 centners per hectare.

It should be taken into account that big cotton crops in the Soviet eastern republics are grown on large areas, as is evidenced by the fact that the above-mentioned Soviet republics produce as much cotton as India, Egypt, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan combined. . . .

As a result of the application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy the peoples of the Soviet Union have brought about a real cultural revolution.

At present more than 2,000,000 engineering and technical personnel are working in industry, construction and on transport in the Soviet republics, about 400,000 agronomists, zootechnicians, afforestation and other specialists are engaged in agriculture; almost 2,000,000 teachers and instructors are working in schools, technicians and higher educational establishments; almost 300,000 physicians and 900,000 doctors' assistants,

nurses and other intermediary medical personnel comprise the staff of urban and rural health institutions. Each Soviet republic has tens of thousands of specialists with a higher education.

A large network of higher educational establishments and technicums has been set up in the Soviet republics to train cadres of Soviet intelligentsia from among the indigenous nationalities. When Soviet power was established there were 96 higher educational establishments in our country which, with the exception of a few, were located in the major centers of Russia. These educational establishments had a student body of 117,000.

The USSR now has 887 higher educational establishments with a student enrollment of 1,400,000. There are 216,000 students in the Ukraine, 104,000 in the Soviet republics of Central Asia, 80,000 in the Transcaucasian republics, 35,000 in Byelorussia and 37,000 students in the Baltic Soviet republics.

In development of higher education the Soviet republics have greatly surpassed not only foreign eastern countries but also the countries of Western Europe.

For instance, in the Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic there are 58 students in higher educational establishments per 10,000 of the population, in Turkmenia—60, Kirghizia—64, Uzbekistan—71, Azerbaidzhan—93. At the same time in Iran 3 out of every 10,000 of the population study in higher educational establishments, in India—9, Egypt and Turkey—12, Sweden—21, Italy—32, Denmark—34, France—36.

During the time Soviet rule has been in existence 48 nationalities have created their own written lan-



Students at the Samarkand Medical Institute, Uzbekistan. That republic now has one physician for every 895 persons—France has only one per 1,000

guage, and textbooks, books and newspapers are printed in their native tongues. In the past thirty years some 90,000 well-appointed and well-equipped schools have been built in the republics of the Soviet Union, almost two-thirds of them in the national union and autonomous republics.

Parallel with the advance of socialist economy, the well-being of the people of the Soviet Union grows year by year. Real earnings of wage and salaried workers and the income of the peasants have gone up substantially in all Soviet republics. Between 1940 and 1951 the combined income of wage and salaried workers and of peasants increased 78 per cent. . . .

Before the establishment of Soviet rule Uzbekistan had one physician per 31,000 of population, which is approximately the case now in Pakistan. At the present time the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic has one physician for every 895 persons. The Uzbek Republic is in an incomparably better position as regards the number of physicians than Egypt for

instance, which has one physician for every 4,350 persons, and in a better position than such countries of Western Europe as France, where there is one physician per 1,000 of population, or Holland, which has one for every 1,160.

The Azerbaidzhan Soviet Socialist Republic has one physician per 490 people. Thus, with respect to medical service the population of Soviet Azerbaidzhan is eight and a half times better off than the population of Turkey and 23 times better off than the population of Iran. As regards the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has one physician for every 373 persons and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, where there is one physician per 483 persons, the population of those republics is much better provided with medical service than the population of any country in the world. . . .

To fill in the picture it must be borne in mind that in the Soviet Union every kind of medical service is furnished the population free of charge, and that millions of working people go to excellent sanatoria

and rest homes every year, whereas in bourgeois countries medical service has, in the main, to be paid for, and costs quite a good deal too.

The development of the socialist nations under the Soviet social and state systems, the elimination of actual economic and cultural inequality between the nations, the long-continuing cooperation of the nations both in defending the Soviet state from foreign enemies and in building socialism have resulted in the firm establishment and complete triumph

in our country of the ideology of the equality of nations, the ideology of the friendship of peoples. . . .

Now with the gradual transition from socialism to communism in the USSR, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is enriched in its development with a new content. The high standard of economy and culture attained by the Soviet republics has opened opportunities for their still more active participation in solving major problems of national significance.

LOOK EXPOSES A DELIBERATE PLOT

NEW YORK—Cyril Ray, Moscow correspondent of a leading London newspaper, asserted today that any talk that Russia's people are discontented is "not only misleading but downright dangerous." The Russians, he said, "never had it so good."

Writing in the new issue of *Look* magazine, out Tuesday, November 18, Mr. Ray reported that:

1—"During the 18 months I was in Moscow, I saw nylon stockings, ball-point pens, wristwatches, refrigerators and washing machines, motor bicycles and radio sets. . . . There are 10,000 television sets in Moscow alone. . . . For the first time in history virtually every woman in Russia can afford perfume and cosmetics."

2—"The Soviet regime has provided the Russians "with luxuries their fathers never knew." For this the Russians have a great sense of loyalty to their country and gratitude to the regime.

3—"The one commodity that is . . . plentiful by any standards at

all—by Western standards as well as Russian—is food. Moscow, its outskirts and smaller country towns bulge with beefsteaks and pork chops, sausages . . . butter and cheese and bacon, and delectable mountains of caviar that would make a Western millionaire's eyes pop."

4—"Many Western economists have proved to their own satisfaction that . . . food is too dear for the Soviet worker. They translate rubles into dollars at the phony Soviet official rate of exchange to show that steak is prohibitive in price—but the rate is phony and bears no relation to the true purchasing power of the ruble."

This emphasis on a higher standard of living is "all part of a deliberate policy to make the Soviet people contented with their lot, proud of their country, grateful to their regime and self-respecting among the nations. Any notion in the West that this policy is a failure is not only naive—it is dangerous."

—From press release issued by *Look* magazine, Nov. 17, 1952.

IT MAKES THEM FEEL GOOD

***Extensive social insurance in Hungary,
directed by trade unions, free to millions***

What do you think of this kind of social insurance?

- Not a cent comes out of your own pay envelope at the end of the week.
- Health insurance coverage even if you are only temporarily employed, with dependents also getting benefits.
- Free medical treatment, including hospital and sanatorium care, as well as fares when traveling for treatment. Hospital care up to one year, two years in tubercular cases.
- Sick benefits begin from the first day of illness and can continue for a full year.
- Nursing mothers can obtain sick benefits until child is one year old.
- Sick benefit payments are equivalent to 65 per cent of the wage earned.
- Social insurance administration is in the hands of the trade unions, but no demands are made either on union funds or members.

SINCE control of social insurance passed into the hands of the Hungarian trade unions in 1950, its scope and quality have been widely extended. It is planned to make 6,700,000 people, of Hungary's 9,300,000 population, eligible for insurance by the end of the Five-Year Plan in 1954.

The whole cost of social insurance is borne by the State and no deductions are made from wages.

National control of social insurance rests in the hands of the Hungarian Trade Union Council. Local control is the responsibility of the County Committees and Factory Councils, both elected by the workers. The Committees and Councils control the social insurance administration and adjudicate on claims.

Factories with over 100 workers handle their own social insurance administration. Local offices deal with other cases.

Although social insurance is administered by the trade unions, it makes no demands on their funds, and its services are available for all insured people, regardless of whether they are trade union members or not.

All employed people are entitled to health insurance benefit, even if employed temporarily, or for a trial period, or if they work in their own homes for an employer. Their dependents are also entitled to benefit.

All university, high school students, and boarding pupils of general and secondary school are covered by health insurance. Recipients of pensions, allowances, annuities and other



Helping is educational—and fun, too. The youngsters in the foreground are on "kitchen duty" in their summer nursery located near Budapest. All large factories in Hungary have nurseries operated by the trade unions

benefits, ministers of religion, employees and pensioners of religious bodies are also covered.

Insured persons are entitled to receive medical treatment, medicine, hydrotherapy, artificial teeth, hospital and sanatorium treatment, sickness benefit, and fares incurred when traveling for treatment.

Hospital treatment can be received for a period of up to one year, and for two years in the case of tuberculosis. Dependents of an insured person are entitled to 60 days hospitalization a year, 180 days in cases of tuberculosis, and 270 days in the event of infantile paralysis. Apart from sick benefit and treatment at spas, dependents get similar treatment to insured persons.

Every insured person who becomes ill and is classified by his doctor as

unfit for work, receives sick benefit. Insured persons who are placed in isolation hospitals for public health reasons, and mothers unable to continue work because they are needed to care for their children, also receive sick benefit.

Sick benefit payments begin from the first day of illness, and can continue for one year. Persons placed in isolation hospitals receive payment for as long as they are detained. Nursing mothers can obtain benefit until the child is one year old.

Benefits are equivalent to 65 per cent of the wages earned. Those employed between five and ten years are entitled to 85 per cent of their wages; more than ten years, 100 per cent of their wages.

Insured persons sent to hospital, sanatorium or spa are entitled to half

their sick benefit. If they have dependent on them a child, grandchild, sister, brother or husband or wife over 60 years of age or unfit to work; parent, foster-parent, mother-in-law or father-in-law, the insured person receives 80 per cent of the cash sick benefit.

Dependents of old-age pensioners are entitled to health insurance benefits, but are only entitled to 30 days of hospitalization, except in the case of infantile paralysis, when they can have 270 days in the hospital.

Under a recent law, all insured persons are entitled to pensions, and pensions and allowances are available for dependents.

All insured persons are entitled to receive old age pensions, disability pension and accident allowances, if they are unfit for work owing to age, sickness, accident or occupational disease. Members of the worker's family are also entitled to receive pensions. To qualify, the insured person has to have spent a period of time, varying from three to ten years, in paid employment.

Time spent on military service is taken into consideration, and workers can still qualify for pensions if they have been away from work for less than five years.

There is no fixed rate for pensions, but the amount is fixed on the basis of the average monthly earnings dur-

ing the year preceding retirement. Alternatively, the average income of the worker at the age of 55 or 60 may be taken as a basis, if it is more beneficial and if the worker has not voluntarily interrupted his employment during the five years previous to retirement.

Men are entitled to the old age pension at the age of 60 and women at the age of 55, if they have been employed for the previous ten years. The pension consists of two parts—the basic pension, which is 15 per cent of the average wage, and a supplementary pension for every extra year spent at work.

This means that by retiring five years later, insured persons get a pension equal to 30 per cent of their salary. All pensions are tax free.

Workers employed underground, or in conditions detrimental to health, or who work for a minimum of 15 years in high atmospheric pressure, are entitled to larger pensions.

Those insured persons who have spent a minimum of 10 years in mining or in heavy industries obtain a one per cent supplementary pension for each year spent in these occupations since 1945.

A worker incapacitated for more than a year receives a disability pension providing he has been employed for a period of three years or more. Workers disabled as a result



The corridor in a new Hospital in Budapest. All medical treatment in Hungary is free

of an industrial accident or occupational disease, need no working period for pension qualification.

The disabled are classified into three groups. Firstly, those incapable of earning their living, and in need of care. Secondly come those who are unable to work, but do not need care. In group three come those who are unfit for regular work in their old occupation.

The disability pension is also divided into two parts—a basic pension plus a percentage of average earnings. Those disabled as a result of industrial accident or occupational illness receive 75 per cent of their average monthly earnings, while other categories receive between 30 and 60 per cent.

Old age pensions and those with disability pensions receive in addition an allowance for the education of their dependent children, and an allowance for wives or husbands of over 60 years of age.

The disability pension only applies to workers with over 67 per cent disability. But workers disabled between 15 and 67 per cent are entitled to receive payments which vary according to the disability.

Under certain conditions the wife of an insured person or an old age pensioner is entitled to receive a pension. Every widow is entitled to a widow's pension for one year after the death of her husband. She can receive a permanent pension if she is 55 or more years of age, if she was taking care of two children entitled to orphans' allowance at the time of her husband's death, or if her husband was killed accidentally while working underground.

Women who lived with a deceased insured worker for at least a year before his death, and gave birth to a child as a result, are entitled to

receive a widow's pension on the same conditions as a legal wife. A disabled widower is entitled to receive a pension if the deceased wife looked after him and supported him mainly from her own earnings for a minimum of one year.

Widows' pensions cease on remarriage. In this event widows receiving a permanent pension obtain a final settlement equal to one year's pension. The pension is based in ordinary cases on 15 per cent of the husband's earnings, and in cases of industrial accident or occupational illness, on 30 per cent. A supplementary pension is added, as in the case of old age pensions.

Orphans, foster-children and adopted children of insured persons are entitled to an allowance, providing the deceased was employed for the same period as needed to claim a disability pension. Provisions are also made for children brought up in the deceased's household, including sisters, brothers and grandchildren, providing they have no relatives who can support them. As is usual, in the event of death from industrial accident or occupational disease, no qualifying period of work is needed.

Children are entitled to the orphans' allowance up to the age of 16 or, if still at school, up to 18. If the child at this age is mentally or physically incapable of work, the allowance continues indefinitely.

The orphans' allowance is equal to 50 per cent of the widows' pension. Children who have lost both their parents are entitled to the full pension.

Parents or grandparents who have been supported for at least a year by their children or grandchildren are entitled to receive a pension under the same regulations as cover cases of widows' pensions.

FINLAND, USSR—GOOD NEIGHBORS

In view of all the dire predictions that "poor little Finland" would never be able to pay off its reparations to the Soviet Union and survive, this statement by Finnish Premier V. Kekkonen, on the occasion of the completion of the payments on September 23, is highly enlightening.

It should be remembered that these reparations were agreed upon in connection with the 1944 peace treaty with Finland signed by England and Canada as well as the USSR. They were to cover in part the immense losses sustained by the Soviet Union during the three years of World War II when Finland invaded and depredated the USSR as Hitler's partner. In 1945, the Soviet Union extended the term of deliveries from six to eight years, and in 1948 cut the remaining payments due by 50 per cent.

Soviet Foreign Trade Minister P. N. Kумыкин was a guest at the festivities in Helsinki on the completion of the deliveries. He expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to extend still further the present beneficial trade relations between the two countries, and its warm desire for the further consolidation of Soviet-Finnish friendship.

Address by Finnish Premier V. KEKKONEN

IN ARRANGING the present celebrations in connection with the completion of the reparations period, the Government of Finland has acted not from a smug desire to emphasize the importance of this particular achievement, but for the purpose of expressing its sincere thanks for the work, so important for our country, which has been put in by those responsible for the reparations deliveries and all others who have taken part in this achievement.

At the same time we wanted to express to the Government of the USSR our thanks for the exceptionally valuable relief which it has accorded us in the last few years in relation to our reparations obligations, and to the representatives of the Soviet Union who have carried out the checking and accepting of the reparations deliveries—our special gratitude for their collaboration.

But there is a third reason for our celebration, more important than those already mentioned. It is to take a look

ahead into the future of our economic life and to survey it in the light of the prospects which have been opened up as a result of the completion of our obligations for indemnifying war losses and the freeing of our industry working on reparations from the tasks with which it was connected and for which, in the main, it was created.

At a much earlier period, long before we had fulfilled our reparations deliveries, the question was raised in Finland of how we were going to use this industry after its fundamental task had been completed. In connection with reparations deliveries our metal industry attained such dimensions that its productive capacity exceeded the requirements of our country.

If we were not able to obtain new markets, we should have to close down industrial enterprises which had absorbed large capital investments and to transfer to other work tens of thousands of highly qualified workers. This problem interested not only industry

and the leaders of our economic life, but also very large groups of rank-and-file workers in the reparations industry. True, we knew that the Soviet Union had said that its markets would still be open to our industry after the completion of the reparations deliveries. But no actual agreement on this matter had been realized.

In the spring of 1950, during the discussions in Moscow about the trade agreement for that year, the Soviet Union expressed the opinion that the time had come for the making of a long-term agreement. This led to the settlement which we wanted of the question of the further utilization of the industry which had been created for the fulfillment of reparations deliveries, and also to the solution of the problem of employment for the whole of our metal industry.

The five-year agreement concluded in Moscow on June 13, 1950, provided that our metal industry, as it frees itself from reparations deliveries, can send its products to the Soviet market. This agreement has been operating two-and-a-half years already and we can see from the record that Finland sold to the Soviet Union in 1951-52 products of the metal industry to the value of 14 billion marks under this agreement, and nearly 90 per cent of this sum came from production which was also included in reparations deliveries.

The production of the timber industry was also included in reparations deliveries. In the course of 1951-52 we sold to the Soviet Union under the terms of the five-year agreement lumber, cardboard, standard houses, cardboard articles—to the value of 23 billion marks in all. Thus, an important market for these articles as well was opened in the Soviet Union.

The five-year agreement on this scale which was signed in the spring of 1950 was seen as only a minimum program for commodity exchange between our two countries, and on both sides the desire was expressed from the first to bring about a further extension of

trade. This was duly achieved. With great satisfaction we are able to announce that, as a result of trade discussions held in Moscow this autumn, there has been signed today at Helsinki a very important supplementary agreement providing for the export to the Soviet Union and corresponding import therefrom of goods to the value of more than 4 billion marks.

At this time when the general export situation is very poor, this supplementary agreement meets with particular approval in Finland, and all the more because in exchange for exports, which include not only the products of our metal industry, we are to receive from the Soviet Union commodities of primary necessity which we could obtain from other countries only with great difficulty owing to our lack of foreign exchange.

If we call to mind also the trade agreement with China which we signed in the last few days, closely connected with our striving to extend the market for our exports, we can be quite pleased with these achievements.

The talks recently concluded in Moscow were very important also in that they provided the opportunity to discuss certain important additions to the deliveries to be made in the years which remain before the end of the five-year agreement. Our striving to achieve an extension in the commodity exchange between the two countries thus attained a practical form. Of course, Finland is ready to increase its trade in the future to the full extent of the capacity of our industry, which we hope to enhance through extending its raw material base. In this excellent fashion, the utilization of our productive apparatus and the employment of our population are guaranteed.

The completion of such a huge task as the reparations deliveries is an event which, obviously, affords certain circles the occasion for casting horoscopes about how Finland's policy will be affected. It is the time to declare that this event, the completion of the reparations deliveries, will, of course,

not affect the course of Finland's foreign policy in any way.

The conditions which our country requires for its life demand—and this is the opinion generally held among our people—unconditional carrying out of a policy of friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union along the lines laid down in the peace treaty, the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual aid and the five-year trade agreement.

In declaring this, we recall with satisfaction the words of Generalissimo Stalin in his speech of April 7, 1948, in connection with the signing of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual aid between Finland and the Soviet Union. This treaty, said Generalissimo Stalin, is concluded on the basis of complete equality of the parties. He expressed the opinion, too, that this treaty has the aim of bringing about a great change in the relations between our two countries in the direction of trust and friendship, and of creating a new basis for the relations between our two peoples.

The years which have elapsed since then are the evidence of the realization of these words. Finland, for its part, has striven up to the present and will go on striving in the future to act in the spirit of our treaties, in the spirit of the development of mutual understanding and collaboration between our two peoples.

We do not regard the completion of our reparations deliveries as a specially heroic achievement. True, it is the result of a great effort, but from

our point of view this is only natural, since we undertook this obligation in order to achieve peace.

We announce with satisfaction that this task is now completed. But I say at the same time that the completion of reparations deliveries is greeted with satisfaction also in the Soviet Union. I am convinced that relations between the two neighboring countries can only be improved now, when the economic obligations inherited from the war period have been happily wound up, and the whole of our attention can now be given to the regulation of those positive factors on which the existing and ever strengthening collaboration between our two countries is based.

In your visit to our country, which we appreciate very much, Mr. Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR, we see proof that the Soviet Union acknowledges Finland's sincere desire to maintain and develop relations with her great neighbor which are based upon great confidence.

Esteemed citizens! All the days in the year are suitable for emphasizing the importance of peaceful collaboration between peoples of the world. But this day is especially appropriate for this purpose, being the day when the final settlement is made of an account which arose as a result of war, a day when former foes freely and equally go forward to build the future on a normal foundation. Securing peace, the fundamental prerequisite for a safe and happy life for the people. Finnish-Soviet policy corresponds to the deepest hopes of our people.

OH HEAVENS!

Be thankful that the Universe
Is flung so wide and high
Our strategists can't figure how
To contain it bye and bye.
If they could, I have no doubt
They'd tax us to defray
The astronomical cost of an astral poet
To shove Red stars off the milky way.

LAWRENCE GELLERT

Will Eisenhower Bring Peace?

by JESSICA SMITH

THE people's own mandate for peace now becomes a mandate to the people themselves never to rest until the words of peace that swept reaction to victory in the elections are converted into deeds.

While both parties had hoped to keep the Korean war out of the campaign, the pressure of the people forced it to the forefront, and, as is universally agreed, made it the decisive issue.

The American people turned against the present Administration because it offered no program for ending the hated war in Korea, for easing the threat of new world war, or the burdens and repressions of a war economy. Committed as he was to continuing these policies, all Stevenson's fine rhetoric was of no avail.

General Eisenhower had the advantage because through demagogic attacks on the Administration he could lead the people to believe he might have something better to offer, though in fact the Republicans were jointly responsible for its bipartisan policies.

In seizing upon the slogan "I will go to Korea," General Eisenhower succeeded in arousing the false hope that he really intended to do something to end the war in Korea.

The gallant campaign of Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass and local Progressive Party candidates, performed a great service in helping to center the attention of the people on the main issue of peace abroad and a peace economy at home.

The people have shown their power in compelling attention to their will for peace as the main issue of the elections. There must be no diminishing of the expression of this will.

A report from Eisenhower's vacation spot in Georgia a week after election day said the burden of the thousands of messages he was receiving was "that what's most expected of Ike is ending the war in Korea" and that, as a Chicago mother put it, "If you don't, how disappointed and betrayed we will feel."

But hardly had the polls closed than the betrayal of the people was under way.

It is widely reported in the press that when Eisenhower visits Korea, both Far Eastern Commander General Mark Clark and Eighth Army Commander General James van Fleet will urge upon him not the ending of the war but its extension by the bombing of Manchuria, the bringing in of Chiang's troops from Formosa and a blockade of the Chinese mainland. These plans are said to have the approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, whose chairman is General Eisenhower's colleague, General Omar Bradley.

Ray Cromley, Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*, on November 17, after talking with "key Republicans of all shades," gave a picture of what the new administration's foreign policy will be, and summed it up as follows:

They're agreed on John Foster Dulles' theory of an aggressive for-

eign policy—the theory that the best defense is a cold war offense. They don't want to depend on defensive containment of Russia. . . .

Cromley reported that these Dullesites want to subsidize secret subversive groups in countries friendly to the USSR, and “provide arms and ammunition to anti-Red guerrilla groups in Communist China, and free the Formosan Chinese to make hit-and-run raids on the Chinese mainland.”

So here again is the war of “libera-

tion” we heard of from Eisenhower during the campaign, which caused such horrified reactions that he had to pretend, with an assist from Stevenson, that he didn't really mean it.

These are the plans that are afoot in which the old administration and the new are in league. The problem now is to make sure that this betrayal of the hopes of the people shall not lead to pessimism and defeatism, but shall rather be met by a greater mobilization for peace than has yet been seen in this country.

Organizing for Peace

In such a mobilization the American people will find they have mighty allies in the hundreds of millions of people who are united in the world peace movement. It includes not only the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and of the Chinese People's Republic, but many millions of others from every land on earth. These people differ in their ideas as to the main source of the war danger. Among them are supporters of capitalism as well as Socialists and Communists; among them are Catholics, Protestants, Mohammedans, Jews — people of varying faiths and political beliefs, of all races and colors, prepared to sink all other differences in the overriding necessity for peace. Never in history have so many people been united in a single cause.

On December 12, a great World Congress of the Peoples for Peace will open in Vienna. There people from more than 80 lands will gather together to find ways for peaceful settlement of international tensions through negotiations, trade and cultural interchange, to bring the war

in Korea and the other wars in Asia to an end, to save world peace.

The organization of a U.S. sponsoring Committee for Representation at this Congress, with Dr. Willard Uphaus as executive director, is a heartening sign of the growing determination of Americans to be a part of this great world movement. The Committee has issued a call from its headquarters (66 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven Connecticut) signed by distinguished American leaders, Negro and white, in many fields, for American participation. The Call says:

Let us bring this World Appeal for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to all of our people on the farms, in the villages and cities of our country. Let us, in churches, synagogues, trade unions, Negro and youth organizations, women's and civic groups, discuss the issues American people would like to have considered in Vienna. Let us be sure that the varying viewpoints of all sincere seekers for peace in our land be fully represented by a strong delegation at Vienna. We who want to save all nations, including our own, from a new

Part of the distinguished USSR delegation at the current UN General Assembly session. Left to right: Valerian Zorin, permanent Soviet representative; Andrei Gromyko, Ambassador to Great Britain, and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky, who heads the delegation.



and more terrible war, must make our voices heard at Vienna.

Despite the obstacles which the State Department is putting in the way of international travel by patriotic Americans who understand that the best defense of our country is peace, it is to be hoped that our country may have a large representation at this historic gathering.

Since the elections, calls have been sent out by the American Peace Crusade, the American Women for Peace, and many trade union, church and other groups, urging all Americans, no matter how they voted, to send wires to President Truman and President-elect Eisenhower urging an immediate cease fire in Korea.

This is the immediate and compelling duty of all Americans as groups and as individuals. This is the first step needed to fight the war plans and the war hysteria, under which hundreds of peace loving peo-

ple are being hounded, jailed, deported, yes—and driven to their death, on the perjured testimony of stool pigeons. It should now be clear to all that the persecution of Communists means the persecution of all who love democracy and peace. However difficult the struggle against these things, the united action of millions can stop them, and rob reaction of its victory.

The report that it was a hydrogen bomb that was exploded on November 1st, blasting a whole island from the face of the earth as whole cities and their people could be blasted, gives a new and terrible urgency to our work for peace. For peace itself is the only guarantee that those who have already used the atom bomb, who kill millions of civilians with napalm bombs, who refuse to give up bacteriological weapons, will hesitate to use the greatest killer weapon of all. It is our responsibility to insure that it shall never be used.

Korea and the United Nations

JUST AS KOREA was the key question in the American elections, so is it taking precedence over all others at the current session of

the General Assembly, which opened October 12. And just as it was made clear in the course of the elections that the U.S. Government is con-

tinuing the war in Korea against the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country, so have the Assembly proceedings made clear that most members of the United Nations, in whose name the war is being carried on, want it ended.

The increasing resistance to U.S. policies within the UN became clear as soon as the sessions opened. It had been announced that Secretary Acheson would take the floor at once to demand of America's allies support for a more aggressive Korean policy. But repeated postponement of his appearance indicated that the desired support was lacking. When the U.S. delegation sought to defer the whole discussion of Korea until after elections, the Soviet delegation insisted that it be placed first on the agenda. The United States was forced to go along with the universal desire to give it top precedence.

Acheson's speech on October 16, while described by the press as "very moderate," was wholly negative in character, and offered no new proposals for peaceful settlement in Korea.

Reviewing the situation in Korea since 1945, he sought to place entire blame for the war on the Soviet Union, North Korea and People's China. Rejecting any possibility of concession on the prisoner of war question, the only remaining point at issue, he introduced a resolution calling upon the Assembly to ask People's China and the North Korea Government to agree to an armistice on the United States terms of "voluntary repatriation," contrary to the Geneva convention signed by the United States, which provides for the repatriation of all prisoners of war.

On October 17, Polish Foreign Minister Stanislaw Skrzesezewski

presented a plan for peace in Korea on behalf of his delegation, urging the General Assembly to recommend the following four points:

- 1) An immediate complete cease fire on land, sea and in the air.
- 2) The return of all prisoners of war to their homeland, in accordance with established international stipulations.
- 3) Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, including the Chinese volunteer units, within a period of three months.
- 4) Peaceful settlement of the Korean question in the spirit of the unification of Korea to be carried out by the Koreans themselves, under the supervision of a commission in which the parties immediately concerned and other states including those which did not take part in the Korean war, will participate.

In major speeches on October 18 and 29, Mr. Vyshinsky gave wholehearted support to the Polish proposals as offering a means of settling the Korean question and strengthening international peace.

He declared that the road for settlement was open since the Panmunjom negotiators had already agreed to 62 out of 63 articles of the projected truce agreement, leaving the prisoner of war issue as the sole hurdle. He charged that the United States was using this issue as a mere subterfuge to drag on the negotiations and prevent settlement. He called attention to the violence of the American methods of screening prisoners, in contravention of the Geneva Convention, and forcing from them statements that they did not wish to go home, and the shooting down of unarmed prisoners continuing to this day on Koje Island and other camps.

Mr. Vyshinsky pointed to the fact

that the North Korean and Chinese representatives on October 8 had advanced a wholly reasonable proposal accepting some of the American's own terms, for the settlement of the final point at issue, which the American delegation had refused even to discuss, instead abruptly cutting off negotiations indefinitely. This proposal had called for bringing all prisoners of war to agreed exchange points in a demilitarized zone, where after they had been received by their respective sides, joint Red Cross teams would visit them, and after classification according to nationality and residence "repatriation may be accomplished under the supervision of control teams by neutral nations."

Commenting on proposals made by Mexico and Peru, Mr. Vyshinsky said they were unacceptable because they still permitted the forcible retention of prisoners of war in violation of international agreements. But he emphasized that he welcomed statements made by both emphasizing the necessity for humane settlement.

To further facilitate the carrying

out of the peace program offered by Poland, Mr. Vyshinsky introduced a resolution for the establishment of a new UN Commission to supervise the proposed measures for a peaceful settlement in Korea on lines of the unification of Korea, carried out by the Koreans themselves. He suggested the following members for this Commission: The United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, North Korea and South Korea.

In their proposal that the North Korean Government, as well as the South Koreans, be invited to attend the discussions on Korea, the Soviet Union and its allies were supported in the Political and Security Committee by Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia, Iran, Yemen and Afghanistan. The only Asian nations supporting the negative vote of the U.S. were Thailand and the Philippines. Among those who abstained rather than support the U.S. position were Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala and Bolivia. Thus the United States was able to muster less support for

"The Seventh Session of the General Assembly begins its work in conditions which on the order of the day are important and complex issues affecting the vital interests of millions and millions of people," declared Andrei Vyshinsky in his opening speech of October 18



its position than on similar questions in previous assemblies. This underlined the fact that more and more often the Latin American nations are breaking away from United States control as well as the Asian-Arab nations.

When Y. T. Pyun, foreign minister of Syngman Rhee' terrorist South Korean Government, spoke on November 3, he caused considerable embarrassment to the United States Government by admitting that the Rhee Government had been intending, before the fighting began, to "recover" North Korea, "by all means including war" and made clear that his government would never give up these intentions and, in fact, opposed an armistice on any terms.

On November 17, India formally introduced into the Assembly a new proposal. While upholding in principle the position that release and repatriation should be effected in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention, it in fact supported the U.S. position of "voluntary" repatriation, which is tantamount to forcible retention. Under the Indian plan, the task of repatriation should be entrusted to a

Repatriation Commission consisting of representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland, with an umpire to be named by the General Assembly in case of deadlock. The disposition of any prisoners refusing to go back would be decided at a special conference or, barring that, would leave final responsibility in the hands of the UN. Since it is the UN which is carrying on the war against the North Koreans and the Chinese volunteers, it is hardly likely that they would accept this solution.

With the debate on the various resolutions beginning as we go to press, the outcome is still unclear. It should be noted, however, that of all the proposals before the Assembly, only the Soviet and Polish resolutions conform with the provisions of the Geneva Convention for repatriation.

As we go to press, Vyshinsky, after pointing out that the Indian and other resolutions failed to provide for immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea, offered an addendum to the Soviet resolution. It called for an immediate and complete cease-fire, referring the issue of POW repatriation to the 11-nation commission previously proposed by the USSR.

The Soviet Union and World Peace

WITH THE FULL TEXTS of Stalin's new work on the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* now available in English (*International Publishers*) as well as many of the reports and speeches made at the Nineteenth Party of the Communist Congress in Moscow, it becomes clearer than ever that the mighty advances made by the Soviet Union offer the people of the world the main hope of peace. The Soviet people are sweeping forward along

a path of continuously rising living standards, continuously expanding peaceful and cultural development, with a strength and confidence that shows the utter bankruptcy of all plans to make war against them and the absurdity of schemes to overthrow the regime "from within."

Yet, futile and ridiculous as these plans are, they hold great dangers for humanity, and do indeed increase the threat of war, although not necessarily the kind of war that is

being planned. As Stalin points out in his new work, the greatest war danger arises not from the antagonism between the capitalist and socialist states, but from the conflicts between the aims of American imperialism and the other imperialist powers in seeking control of the shrinking areas and markets still left open to them for exploitation. In his final speech at the Congress, Stalin declared "As to the Soviet Union, its interests are altogether inseparable from the cause of world peace."

Since it is impossible to point to a single statement at the Nineteenth Party Congress to back up the alleged threat of war on the part of the Soviet Union which is used as the pretext for the military alliances and war plans fostered by the United States, the opinion makers of the war camp are now engaged in trying to show that Stalin's analysis of the present situation means that the Soviet Union has embarked on a policy of promoting conflicts among the imperialist states.

In the distinguished British journal, *Labour Monthly* for November, its editor, Palme Dutt, points out that Stalin simply describes facts, and that "rarely indeed has there been so signal an example of Marxist analysis being immediately confirmed by the facts." He illustrates with a series of current examples including:

On October 2, Stalin's analysis was published to the world. On October 8, the French Premier Pinay performed the unprecedented act of returning a United States note to the Ambassador as an intolerable interference in French internal affairs. . . . On the same day, October 8, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Gruber, delivered a public speech denouncing "the frequently impatient and unjustified interference of su-

bordinate United States organs in Austrian affairs."

On the same day the West German Prime Minister of Hesse was raising a public complaint against the American financing, and arming of secret terrorist and murder groups in West Germany with lists of names of left representatives to be assassinated in the event of war.

And on the same day the British Foreign Office was raising no small clamor over the American exclusion of Britain from the Pacific Pact. . . . On the same day as the publication of the Stalin statement the British atom bomb test on Monte Bello was excluding American observers, in retaliation for the exclusion of Britain from the American would-be atomic monopoly. . . .

Every day the American press yields similar examples.

Far from trying to stir up further inter-imperialist conflicts, the Soviet Union continues to offer to help solve them through a policy of co-existence and mutual trade relations which would ease many of the present market difficulties of the imperialist nations.

At the 35th Anniversary meeting on November 6, M. G. Pervukhin, deputy premier of the Soviet Union, after dealing with internal successes in peaceful construction, again reiterated the determination of the Soviet Union to continue its struggle for world peace, declaring:

The peaceful Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Government proceeds from the assumption that peaceful co-existence and cooperation of capitalism and communism are quite possible. What is needed is a mutual desire to cooperate, a readiness to fulfill exactly obligations undertaken and to observe the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

They Made History in China

by ALICE PALMER

RED DUST: Autobiographies of Chinese Communists. As told to Nym Wales, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1952. 238 pp. \$5.00.

THOSE who were fortunate enough to have a copy of Nym Wales' *Song of Ariran* have been a thousand times thankful to the author for helping to give an early account of the Korean people's struggles for independence. Now there has been another piece of rich historical background unfolded for us by Miss Wales in her book concerning Chinese revolutionary figures. Here in this book speak a remarkable group of men and women who tell us how they lived and how they helped to make history for China.

In 1937, Miss Wales spent five months in Yenan interviewing individuals from the military, political, medical, cultural and educational fields. Most of these men and women had come to Yenan on the Long March. All had come to participate in the great revolutionary movement through tremendous personal hardship and suffering. Some of the twenty-four people interviewed are well known figures (Tung Pi-wu, Lin Piao, etc.), others are not. But through all their stories runs the thread of certainty, confidence in the correctness of their program as reflecting the will of the Chinese people, and optimism for the future.

As each person tells the story of his own role in the great struggles of the 20's and 30's his account becomes inevitably entwined with the great events of the times—the organization of peasants, miners, industrial workers and students; the struggle within the Kuomintang; the heroism of the ordinary people and the love and trust these people have for each other. There are many accounts of how peasants, who had only to know that the person seek-

ing refuge was from the Red Army, would hide and care for him at a risk to life and all possessions. There is a wonderfully detailed and exciting account of the Long March by Hsu Meng-ch'iu. A woman editor tells of the establishment and heroic defense of one of the early local councils, at Hailufeng.

These are autobiographies of people from various economic and educational backgrounds—some whose parents were so poor they had to sell or give away their child in order to secure for him the food necessary to keep him alive. Others are from families of scholars, impoverished officials, miners, and poor peasants. Some came to their lives of revolutionary struggle through intellectual attraction; others through the degradation and personal sufferings inflicted upon them by the semi-feudal landlord society.

Strangely enough, the introduction to this book by Robert Carver North (of the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution and Peace), seeks to deny the essence of the book itself. It is as though the publishers of the book are apologizing for publishing such potent facts that are bound to bring understanding and sympathy for what has happened in China recently. The introduction is mainly a review of Chinese revolutionary history as seen through the eyes of the power politician.

It is the fashion among cynical and power-politics historians to interpret history through plush conference rooms and glittering military camps. The people, they say, are nothing but pawns. Usually dollars and/or guns are the bargaining weapons, and whoever wields these in the most astute and aggressive way, is considered the strongest and the shaping factor in history. The weird dramas enacted in Washington from time to time around the question of "who made the mistakes in

China" inevitably boil down to "we didn't put enough money or guns behind Chiang Kai-shek." And those in or around the government who in the past suggested in the most timid ways that perhaps the people of China should be taken into account are branded as raving radicals involved in sinister plots.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that the greatest mistake the U.S. Government has made in China was to try (and to keep on trying today) to subvert the historical will of the Chinese people by keeping alive through dollar and arms transfusions the fading myth of Chiang Kai-shek. For Chiang has been a man without a country for more than these past several years. He was defeated by the Chinese people more than 15 years ago when despite all the efforts of the many countries that backed him and his own desperate efforts, he could not halt the Long March of the Chinese Communists, and New China was born in the liberated areas.

His final defeat was postponed by the Chinese people because they felt they should give him every chance possible to participate in the primary task of defeating the Japanese. But even in this opportunity for self-redemption he

betrayed his country and people, both through his policy of using the weapons at his disposal against his own countrymen and through actual collaboration with the enemy.

The facts of how thorough was Chiang's defeat as far back as 1937, and of how positive the peoples' victories were to be, are the greatest impressions carried from a reading of Nym Wales' collection of Chinese Communist autobiographies. This is history as it is really made, by the people.

The reader would do well to take Miss Wales' advice when she suggests in her foreword that we approach the autobiographical series in her book as standing quite alone from the rest of the book. We hope that if there are further editions of this book there will be written a more worthy introduction, perhaps by the author herself whose years of experience in the Far East, and whose solid contributions to the understanding of the Far East among Americans, eminently qualify her to prepare such a study.

Besides being a rich reading experience the book itself is handsomely prepared both in type and profuse photographic illustration.

Roosevelt, USSR and Yalta

ROOSEVELT AND THE RUSSIANS: the Yalta Conference, *by Edward Stettinius Jr., Doubleday and Co., 1949. 366 pages. \$4.00.*

IT IS worth while returning to this record of the Yalta Conference written by the late Edward Stettinius, then Secretary of State, who was a participant. Superficial as the book is in many respects, to the extent that it records what actually took place at Yalta, it completely refutes all the allegations that vital interests of the United States were there sacrificed to "appeasement" of the Soviet Union, allegations which have been so assidu-

ously circulated to justify our government's subsequent repudiation of international agreements there entered into. Summing up the record of the conference, Stettinius writes:

The record of the Conference shows clearly that the Soviet Union made greater concessions at Yalta to the United States and Great Britain than were made to the Soviets.

The former Secretary of State emphasizes throughout the book the conciliatory attitude of Premier Stalin and Deputy Premier Molotov, and particularly notes the following among the main Russian concessions made at

Yalta to the Americans and British:

On the question of voting in the Security Council he declares: "It is absolutely incorrect to state that the permanent members were granted the veto power on most questions only because of Russian insistence," and shows that it was the American formula that was finally accepted and incorporated into the UN Charter. The American delegation had from the beginning favored the big-power veto on matters involving economic and military sanctions knowing that Congress would ratify no agreement in which U.S. forces could be used without its consent.

The Soviet Union agreed to the American definition of the countries that should be invited to attend the San Francisco Conference, thus making it possible for a number of the Latin American nations particularly to attend.

At President Roosevelt's request Marshal Stalin agreed that there should be real coordination of Russian and Western military activities, that Soviet air bases be made available for use by the U.S. Air Corps, and gave a full and detailed statement on future Soviet plans for offensive operations. Here Stettinius implies that earlier lack of such coordination was due to the Soviet attitude, but he fails to mention that the Soviet Union had never been invited to participate in the joint U.S.-British staff organization that functioned throughout the war in Washington.

The former Secretary of State refutes the charge that President Roosevelt agreed at Yalta that American troops should not capture Berlin ahead of the Red Army, quoting General Eisenhower to the effect that this decision was taken in March, 1945, solely on military grounds.

Despite the magnitude of the losses suffered by the USSR as a result of the German invasion and its strong feeling about the extent of reparations required for these losses, the Soviet representatives were willing to accept

a formula on reparations that did not commit the Allies to an exact figure.

On Poland, the most controversial question considered, the Soviet Union made very substantial concessions. On the question that the Eastern boundary of Poland should be the Curzon Line with slight modifications in favor of Poland, there was complete agreement. There was also agreement on the principle that Poland should receive compensation by the addition of former Polish territories in the West.

The most difficult problem was with relation to the new government of Poland. The Soviet Union had already recognized the Lublin Government set up by the Polish people themselves within Poland, and it was quite natural that they should take the position that this government should be the basis of any new government in liberated Poland under whose auspices democratic elections would be held, rather than reactionary emigre elements who were supporting anti-Soviet elements in Poland. Churchill however, favored the return of the pro-fascist London Government-in-Exile, and Roosevelt, under pressure from reactionary Polish elements in the United States, looked with disfavor on the Lublin Government. A formula was finally reached under which so-called "democratic" elements from abroad and inside Poland should be added to the Lublin Government, after consultations with Allied representatives in Moscow. To this Stalin agreed for the sake of maintaining Allied unity although undoubtedly foreseeing the difficulties that any attempt to impose some of the personalities considered "democratic" by the West on the Polish people would entail.

Premier Stalin accepted fully the American draft for the "Declaration on Liberated Europe" providing for the establishment of order in Europe and economic reconstruction "by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice." Premier Stalin suggested an



At the Yalta Conference of the Three Great Powers. Sitting around the table, left to right, starting extreme left: Vyshinsky, Molotov, Stalin, Maisky, Gromyko, Leahy, Stettinius, Roosevelt, Bohlen, Byrnes, Churchill

additional sentence to the effect that "In this connection support will be given to the political leaders of those countries who have taken an active part in the struggle against the German invaders."

This proposal, withdrawn by Stalin when it did not meet with approval, was vigorously opposed by Churchill and by Stettinius himself on the ground that it appeared "like too much interference in the affairs of liberated countries." (Contrast this to the position taken by Britain and the United States on Poland. It was the Russians who insisted that the Poles themselves must make the decision regarding the composition of their government and not receive outside dictation as to who should be added. The British and Americans did not consider their concern for adding to the Polish government elements who had taken no part in the struggle against the German invaders as interference in this case.)

Finally, and most important, it was at Yalta that Stalin made the firm commitment, later faithfully adhered to, that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan "in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated." Despite all attempts since made to belittle the importance of the entry of the USSR into the war in the

Pacific, this was at the time considered a matter of the most vital urgency by the U.S. military, and the guarantee given in return with regard to Sakhalin Island, the Kuriles and certain other essential Soviet interests in the Far East was not considered excessive in any way by Roosevelt and Churchill.

While the Conference, as Stettinius noted, marked the "high tide of Allied unity," the book contains many interesting sidelights on the failure of the Western nations even during the war to take the steps that would have helped guarantee the continuance of Allied unity in the post war period. Mr. Stettinius refers to the justifiable Russian disappointment over the delay in the opening of the Second Front.

Mr. Stettinius reported that the question of postwar credits to the Soviet Union to help in reconstruction came up at the conference, and that the Soviet representatives were given to understand that the matter would receive favorable consideration. He quoted a letter sent by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau to President Roosevelt on January 1, 1945, on the question of credits to the USSR, in which the former said:

I am convinced that if we were to come forward now and present to the Russians a concrete plan to aid them in the reconstruction period it

would contribute a great deal toward ironing out many of the difficulties we have been having with respect to their problems and policies.

As is known, no such loan was ever granted, and when the Russians, with whom in preliminary discussions the sum of six billion dollars had been mentioned, raised the question of a one billion dollar loan after the war for reconstruction purposes, the communication was conveniently "lost" somewhere in the State Department for many months.

Throughout the book, Mr. Stettinius stresses the interest shown by Premier

Stalin in the continuance of Big Three unity after the war and in the success of the world organization, and his manifest determination to do everything possible to this end. The following paragraph is worth quoting in conclusion:

Throughout the discussions on the world organization at Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and San Francisco it was constantly emphasized by the representatives of the three major nations that—regardless of the voting formula—unanimity of the major powers was in the final analysis vital for the functioning of the organization.

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