

NEW WORLD

JANUARY

1953

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Review

✓ SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓

1953

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Peace
Must Conquer
War!

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LETTERS

Facts vs. Lies

La Jolla, Cal.—Heartiest congratulations on the November Anniversary issue! It is, or should be, an antidote to the falsehoods, half-truths and malicious inventions of the plutocratic and commercial press. Particularly enjoyed Bernal, Pritt and Lamont. Are big, persistent lies ever overtaken and refuted, or have conditions changed so radically that the truth no longer has a really good chance of establishing itself? I confess I don't know the answer.—Victor S. Yarros.

Praise for Dr. Du Bois

Escondido, Cal.—The November NWR is a most worthy work in supplying a great need. I want especially to commend Dr. Du Bois for his article "America and World Peace." He made the contrast startlingly clear, and he did not withhold the punch that should be driven home. Enclosed is a money order for \$6—\$3 for extra copies of the anniversary issue and the balance for your sustaining fund. Thanks again for the commendable work you are doing.—Everett H. Lea.

Good Suggestion

Covington, Ky.—It seems to me NWR readers, on receiving circulars about book offers and similar material, ought to post it on a wall or public place, or mail it to someone, signed or unsigned as they choose. I make this suggestion on the theory that it is your objective to spread sound ideas rather than to sell literature as a business.—H. M.

'Packed With Joy of Life'

From New England.—You deserve more than passing praise for the thrilling November issue of NWR. I should say that you went to new heights in telling the story of an evolving world
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NEW WORLD *Review*

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THE NEW YEAR

FOR TOO MANY the words Happy New Year have an ironic ring, as we enter 1953. Therefore we wish our readers a brave New Year, a year that will bring happiness and peace.

This New Year does not mean happiness for those Americans who face death on the Korean front or for their families. It does not mean happiness for the slaughtered and bereft in the ruined land of North Korea.

It does not mean happiness for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg facing electrocution unless the million-tongue protest here and throughout the world saves them, or for the two children they will leave behind if this cruel and inhuman act born of war hysteria goes through.

It does not mean happiness for the working class leaders and other Smith Act victims or the families of those jailed or facing jail for advocacy of ideas born of a deep desire for a world of peace and abundance for all.

It does not mean happiness for the thousands of Americans, Negro and white, being driven out of their jobs, their professions, yes—even their homes, or for the foreign born being driven from our shores in the frenzied persecutions that are part of the war insanity.

Instead of peace resulting from General Eisenhower's trip to Korea, we hear of plans for extending the war, bombing Manchuria, aiding Chiang Kai-shek in his mad dream of imposing a military dictatorship on People's China, expanding NATO to crush the freedom struggle of the people of Indo-China.

All these things we must face as we enter 1953; not with despair, but with new courage and determination to change them. For fraught with danger as these plans are for the people of the world, the peace forces have more allies in resisting them than the warmakers can find to carry them out.

There is sharp division within the war camp itself. NATO powers have cut in half the arms program the United States demands. Ratification of the Bonn agreements restoring the Nazi army is meeting strong opposition inside and outside of Germany. And the very plans for extending the Korean war require forces jeopardizing the rest of the program for military intervention wherever a people's liberation movement appears.

And the peace forces of America have as powerful allies the great and growing world peace movement, in which the United Peoples of the world are taking into their own hands and holding high the banner of peace which the United Nations is now impotently trailing in the dust.

The mighty Vienna Congress of the Peoples for Peace has joined people of many political and religious convictions in a program for peace. This world peace movement is forging unbreakable ties among the peoples of many lands who will never agree to raise against one another the hands now clasped in friendship.

The people of the world look to us for greater efforts. The first compelling urgency for 1953 is to raise to new heights and unity every aspect of our work for peace. Only so can we hope to halt the repressions that are part of the war policy, and restore our precious American heritage of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Above all we must labor unceasingly for an end to the killing in Korea by a cease-fire now and negotiations later, for an end to the drive for armaments and war, for the establishment of beneficial diplomatic and trade relations on the basis of a Five-Power Pact of Peace open to all nations.

Then we can make a brave New Year the threshold of a brave new world.

OUR EYES DID NOT DECEIVE US

Canadian couple reports on visit to Soviet Union—what they saw gave the lie to press and radio

by

CONSTANCE and JAMES LEECH

WHAT are the feelings of a person about to enter the most talked-about country in the world? What are the people going to be like? Do they know what is said about them and their country in the big press of North America? Would we find the Soviet Union a place where people lived normal, productive lives, or a drab community, wretched with poverty, as we so often hear? Through the offices of the Canadian Soviet Friendship Society, we seven Canadians were at last going to see and hear the truth for ourselves.

From our arrival in Moscow onward, we were met everywhere with complete friendliness, just as our hosts, the representatives of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, met us that August day. We experienced no hostility towards us as Canadians. Even personal questions that we asked people in their homes, were always willingly answered.

The answers held a number of surprises. For instance, the Soviet worker does not have to put money aside for medical expenses—all treatment is free for everyone in the family. Extensive facilities are avail-

able for preventive medicine, such as checking common colds which are likely to develop into more serious ailments.

The Soviet worker is guaranteed his pension at a given age, to which he does not contribute a ruble; and he receives it even if he continues working. He does not have to pay taxes on his home. Free education is provided for his children in public and junior high school and vocational high school, and if they wish to go to university, they receive a government allowance.

A worker receives a long-service bonus after three years in an industry, based on a percentage of his wages. As an encouragement to remain in one industry, the amount of the bonus is increased by 2 per cent every year. By questioning many workers, we found that the eight-

CONSTANCE LEECH and her husband were among a group of seven Canadians who recently visited the USSR. Mrs. Leech is an assembler in an electrical plant and an active unionist. Her husband, James, is Secretary of the Toronto branch of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society.

A stroll on Moscow's streets. Mr. and Mrs. Leech see the sights of the Soviet capital with another Canadian, Thomas Applegarth



—Photos for this article courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Leech

hour day is general in the Soviet Union, although a few difficult jobs are on a six or seven-hour basis.

Possibly the greatest single saving that a Canadian or American notices in the USSR is in rents. We found many home owners there, and although a worker may get a 10,000-ruble interest-free loan to build his home, a great many people live in apartments.

The amount of rent is based on the amount of space each family has. But—all that considered, no one can pay more than 7 per cent of his income in rent. And it may be much lower. This percentage is based only on the pay of the highest wage-earner in the family, no matter how many in the family are working!

During our visit, we spent considerable time with a young bachelor, Boris Averganov, who works in a Moscow office. He holds quite a responsible job and receives 1,320 rubles a month. Being unmarried, he has one room, with a kitchenette and a bathroom. He has a gas water-heater in the bathroom and a gar-

bage disposal unit in the kitchen. He pays 22 rubles and 91 kopeks a month rent. For gas and electricity He pays 2 rubles and 91 kopeks a month. Total for the month is about 28 rubles.

When we were in Odessa on the Black Sea, we went to the apartment of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Uditsky. Mr. Uditsky, a dock worker, earns 1,500 rubles a month including his long-service bonus. The rent, based on his pay is 39 rubles a month for two rooms, and a kitchen and bathroom. This price also includes water and electricity. Mrs. Uditsky works too and earns 675 rubles a month, but her salary is not taken into account when figuring the rent.

After our talk with the Uditskys, during which we sampled pears and apples their daughter had brought from the market, we were invited to the apartment of another dock worker, Dimitry Zhiltsov, an ex-serviceman, aged 45. In ten years he will receive his old-age pension because of long service. Otherwise he would get it at 60.

"Are you free to travel?" we asked.

"Yes, I have been to Moscow, Leningrad and to the Caucasus," he told us, and on one of the trips he had had his family with him. We asked him about entertainment and found he was both an opera and a soccer fan.

"Every Sunday when I am not working," he told us, "I go to the opera." As Mrs. Zhiltsov is a housewife, we wondered if they could manage on one pay. But with her husband earning 1,600 rubles a month, and rent only 32 rubles a month, they live quiet comfortably.

IT IS the law in the Soviet Union that every worker must get at least two weeks vacation with pay. In some industries such as mining, smelting, and lumbering they get a month.

Scattered over the country are rest homes (a kind of summer resort) and sanatoriums (for rest and treatment to keep health at a high level). Numerous workers choose these spots for their vacations. When we spoke to the dock worker, Mr. Uditsky, he told us he had stayed at Sanatorium Number 5 in Odessa for 28 days for about one week's pay.

Most of these "sans" and rest homes are run by the trade unions—some by the state. Workers go to them free of charge or at 30 per cent of the actual cost. They are also paid for traveling time to and from the place if they are going there for treatment.

We met Siberians and Kazakhs in Yalta; a pretty, young Ukrainian school teacher who had spent her holiday at a rest home in Riga; we also met a Siberian railway worker and his wife holidaying in Moscow—and we finally came to the conclusion that Soviet citizens do every

bit as much traveling as we do here—and at much less expense.

In addition to responsibility for the institutions just mentioned, the Soviet trade unions have the task of negotiating contracts dealing with questions of wages and working conditions. They also have direct responsibility for administration of the social insurance, which includes looking after old-age pensions and all the many aspects of Soviet social insurance. Passes for rest homes (free or at 30 per cent of cost) and passes for children's camps are also paid out of this social insurance fund.

Another interesting example is this: If a worker is injured on the job or if he suffers from a disability such as a heart disorder, he may receive a disability pension up to 100 per cent. An accident in the place of work is *always* considered the fault of the administration.

CONCERNING job security, Soviet men do not have to worry about women competing with them for jobs; they know their wage rates will not be lowered. It is a matter of law, we found, that women receive equal pay with men.

"Why shouldn't I? Don't I do the same work?" asked a young woman in the Dynamo Electrical Plant in Moscow.

What is more, a woman cannot be refused a job she can do, unless a doctor advises that it is too heavy. The gratifying result of these rights of women is that they can do the kind of work they feel attracted to, whether it be directing traffic or driving a streetcar, directing a factory or clinic, or operating a hydroelectric station. We also met several housewives who preferred to remain at home.

ONE OF THE outstanding institutions we saw in the Soviet Union was the provision that is made for mothers and children.

In the Skorokhod Shoe Factory in Leningrad, we spoke to a young expectant mother named Valerie. She told us what she and her husband could expect in the way of assistance now that they were to be parents. If the mother is working, she receives from 70 to 90 days off work with full pay, starting 35 days before the birth. All medical expenses are paid by the socialized medical system.

Then when the mother is well enough to go back to work, Valerie told us, she may take her child to a nursery, in or near the factory. (In the newer apartment buildings, nurseries are in the building.) The young shoe worker told us she would receive time off from work every two or three hours to nurse her baby, or if a formula were required, it would be prepared by trained personnel in the nursery—enough to take home at night at well!

We visited one of the kindergartens

near the agricultural implement plant in Rostov-on-Don, and found all the occupants (age three to seven) having their afternoon nap.

If a child shows aptitude for art, music, or creativeness of any kind, this is encouraged. All the children are taught to cooperate with each other. They receive planned meals, regular medical check-ups, and are taught cleanliness and orderliness in their clothing, toys and personal habits. They have regular rest periods and in the summer have outdoor sports.

THERE has been no unemployment in the Soviet Union since the early '30's. There have been five price reductions since the war. This means that people can afford to buy more and more goods, which results in more and more jobs. Because of the advancement of industry during the present Five-Year Plan, there will be still further price reductions and thousands of new stores will have to be built to handle the goods that will be purchased.

Members of the Canadian delegation on a visit to a children's camp near Leningrad. The children welcomed them with songs, dances and flowers



The Five-Year Plan also provides for an immense construction program, including thousands and thousands of modern apartment buildings for working people, at the usual low rental rates. We visited some in construction in Rostov and found them spacious, with hardwood floors and elevators. We also looked through some attractive new four-family dwellings which are heated from a central plant in the area.

The Plan includes schools and sanatoriums such as the gigantic 37-story Moscow University, which we visited in its final stages of construction. It also includes colossal power and irrigation developments such as the Volga-Don Canal in the Tsimlianskaya area.

Going from Rostov to Odessa, we asked permission to fly over the new man-made Tsimlianskaya Sea. The airline made special arrangements for the plane to leave its regular route and circle several times over the sea for our benefit. A huge body of water, its sides are sealed with concrete embankments and its hundreds of miles of irrigation canals stretch out into the thirsty countryside.

Later we saw them blasting out the Crimea Canal system which will double the crop yield in that semi-tropical section. One of us visited the Molotov Collective Farm with four other delegates. Here, the Canadians found immense enthusiasm for the new irrigation work. These farmers who had returned with the army to drive out the Nazis had found their families dead and dying. The farm's chairman, a Jew, lost six brothers—26 relations in all. We had the horrifying experience of trying to talk with a woman who had had her tongue cut out by the Nazis.

The farmers impressed upon us:

they could never have brought their land and installations to recovery had they not united their seven small collective farms, and worked together on one large one. Today, every family owns its own livestock (cattle, sheep, pigs, chickens) and shares generously in the collective crop. They wanted to be sure of just one thing more—peace.

Completion of the new Plan, which even western papers acknowledged will be fulfilled, will see a 40 per cent boost for farmers. It will also mean a 35 per cent increase in wages for industrial workers.

And, the swing is to consumer goods. For example, television is popular in the Soviet Union. Several cities have their own stations. But sets are sold out within hours after they arrive in the stores. There is money to buy things—now they are going after the goods.

It is no wonder the Soviet Union is so concerned about peace. All manpower is needed to produce civilian goods. Further, the Soviet Union wants trade with the world and it could not trade with countries with which it is at war. Factory directors told us this. All Soviet citizens we spoke to appear convinced that they can have an abundant future—if only they are left in peace.

When we met with members of the Rostov Regional Peace Committee, they told us that although their government stands for peace, they carry on campaigns for signatures just as it happens in our own country. They collected signatures from every adult in that area on the petition for a five-power peace pact, circulated by the World Peace Congress.

We wondered why they needed such a campaign here. They had shown us their city whose electric, gas, water and sewage systems had been dyna-

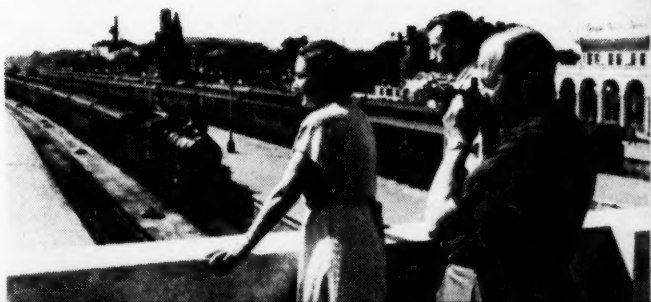


Canadians visit the Dynamo Electrical Plant in Moscow. Constance Leech, herself an electrical worker, asks the interpreter a question concerning one of the machines.



At a Rostov clothing factory James Leech tries on a suit, with Bruce Magnuson, delegation chairman (left) and Thomas Applegarth watching.

Bruce Magnuson takes photos while Mr. and Mrs. Leech look on at Odessa railway station just completed in July



mitted by the Nazis fleeing before the Red Army. They had shown us their Palace of Soviets and once-beautiful theater, still hollow shells. They showed us the avenues of new and reconstructed buildings. Had these people to be convinced of the need for peace? So we asked the question.

"The task of the peace committee," they said, "is to show that the Soviet people are not silent, but openly declare themselves for peace. Our task is not to convince the people of the Soviet Union that war is not necessary but to gather their strength in the fight for peace."

In the main ours was a happy trip. Only what was left over from the war or from much earlier days was saddening. We could express only joy for the things that the Soviet people, with the support of their government, are doing to make their own lives as full and rich as possible.

We were awe-stricken at the way they are conquering nature and bringing mechanization to bear to eliminate arduous human labor once and for all. We were thrilled with a new experience when we saw the beauty of their public buildings, parks, theaters, underground railways, children's recreation halls, their beautiful railway and river stations, and the palatial ship on which we sailed from Odessa to Yalta.

Gerald Filion, Editor of *Le Devoir*, a leading Montreal daily newspaper who laughingly calls himself a "dirty capitalist," recently visited the Soviet Union too. In describing Moscow's underground system, he said: "It's not a subway; it's a cathedral." And one is struck with amazement of the

same variety when one walks into the Odessa railway station, or the electrical workers' sanatorium in Yalta. Everywhere they seem to be building in permanence and for all of society to share.

What the Soviet people are creating in their country does not strike one with fear or sorrow, but with satisfaction and enthusiasm.

There were evenings when we could have willingly fallen into bed, but the Soviet citizen is every bit as concerned with his cultural life as with his work. And we saw the opera, the ballet, concerts, puppet shows, a circus, movies (including a three-dimensional one in color). No Soviet person would stand for interference in his choice of entertainment or for the banning of a good work of art. They take such things too seriously for that.

We cannot say we saw the Soviet Union in our month's stay. But we saw the heart of it. And we saw the people of it—men, women and its children. We spoke to thousands of them in groups and individually, both through interpreters and in English—for 60 per cent of the school children are learning English. And—we believe that we caught the spirit of the Soviet Union.

In Yalta we met Dr. T. Bazanova, 54-year-old chief doctor and director of a 200-patient sanatorium. Hers was one of the many messages of good wishes we were asked to bring back to our own people. She offered greetings to the people of this country "for the happiness of their families and children." And she said: "I wish you a happy life, such as we are living here."

Present output of Soviet large-scale industry every nine days equals Russia's annual production on the eve of the Revolution.

A NOTED POET'S VIEW OF MOSCOW

One of the last articles from Paul Elouard's pen was a tribute "to the reconstruction of World and Man in the spirit of Peace"

by
PAUL ELOUARD

WHEN I admire a picture, I try not to let myself be carried away by enchantment of the first impression, in order the better to understand the reasons for the pleasure it affords me and to analyze its harmony into the thousand details of which it is composed. In the same way the USSR which I first saw in 1950, aroused the desire to understand better the elements of which its enchantment is composed. But I did not realize then, that on returning to this country I should have to adapt myself anew to its ever new contours, I did not realize that life

moves so quickly in the country where all is consecrated to life and the incessant march of progress.

In 1950 I came to Moscow in the springtime, and now I see it in its garment of snow and furs; but even more bustling with life than memory told me. The severe frost is no obstacle to either the surprisingly increased flow of new automobiles or the construction of huge houses which seem to spring up so easily that they might even escape the inattentive eye.

It was my wish to acquaint myself with the aspects of Soviet life, the "details" of this giant fresco most interesting and instructive to me personally. So I let my companions receive their classical introduction to the USSR, from factory to Palace of Pioneers and Park of Culture, while I gave myself up to an analysis of the mass of impressions with which I had been overwhelmed two years before.

In Moscow, for example, during the observation of the anniversaries of Nikolai Gogol and Victor Hugo, I arrived at a better understanding of the great importance of the child in the Soviet Union. Nowhere else is the child so adored, nowhere else is so much done to give him every opportunity to develop his mind, body and spirit. The thirst for knowledge is without parallel. Teacher and pupil burn with the same ardor. The strongest and most beautiful instrument of peace the Soviet Union com-

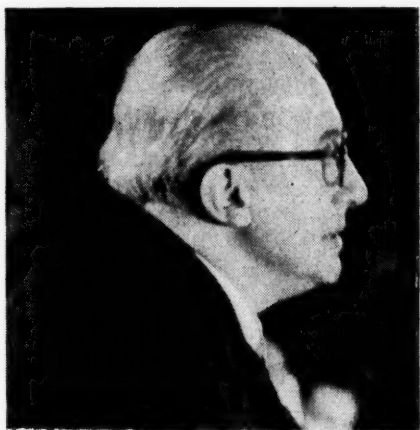
PAUL ELOUARD, distinguished French poet, died recently in Paris at the age of 56. He was the author of more than 30 books, including several volumes of verse. Elouard was a contributor to a number of Resistance newspapers during the war against the Nazis.

mands is precisely this keen striving for knowledge, this passionate desire to compensate for centuries of backwardness, to take everything the present and future have to give.

I have just been told about the letter of a French radio listener who was rather surprised and skeptical about the ease with which the pupils of a Moscow school I visited with Jean Hugo expressed themselves in French, the recording of this friendly meeting having been broadcast to France over the Moscow radio. I must confess that we two were also very surprised to find it so. The children could not only recite long poems like Hugo's *Les Pauvres Gens* in an intelligent manner, but also engaged in cordial conversation with us. Their questions spoke of the great interest they have in our country, its culture and politics. And to see a direct descendant of Victor Hugo in their classroom was obviously an event of paramount importance to them.

To be sure, we had attended the grand ceremonies of the Academy of Sciences and the Union of Soviet Writers, had listened to speeches by delegates from all the republics of the Soviet Union and by the writers of the People's Democracies, expressing their admiration and gratitude to Victor Hugo for his message of freedom; we had seen the touching homage the workers of the Hammer and Sickle Plant paid to the author of *Chatiments*; we had attended several performances of *Les Misérables* and *Ruy Blas* in Moscow theaters. But it was while listening to the children reciting Hugo's poems, poems that had moved us so deeply in our own childhood, that we had most felt the heart of the Soviet Union beating in unison with ours.

On departing, Jean Hugo had ex-



The late Paul Elouard, French poet, as he addressed a meeting dedicated to the 150th anniversary of Victor Hugo held in Moscow in March, 1952

pressed a wish to take with him Soviet editions of his great-grandfather's works. But as Hugo has been translated here in 44 languages, and the number of his published works is so abundant, it was physically impossible to satisfy this wish.

Naturally, everything the Soviet Union is doing for Victor Hugo, it also does for its own great writers.

The centenary of the death of Nikolai Gogol was observed throughout the length and breadth of the country with extraordinary fervor. Every Soviet citizen knows how deeply indebted he is to the writers of that gloomy period in Russian history. Gogol, like Pushkin, came of the awakening of Russian patriotism, of the popular realization of Russia's boundless potentialities. His realism and revolt were embedded in the venerable traditions of his country. He had a prophetic vision that its dark night would end and its people be called upon to play a leading role. The gratitude to Gogol expressed by the wide masses with such

feeling and unanimity point to the degree to which, in the Soviet Union, its cultural heritage has been placed in the hands of the entire people.

And not only the national cultural heritage, but also the world cultural heritage. . . . At the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, where I lost myself for whole days, I saw with what love and care priceless treasures of art are preserved and exhibited. New halls have been opened during the past two years, and others are being opened all the time, notably a wonderful hall of the French impressionists enhanced by four Monet canvases of extraordinary freshness. In the restoration shops I saw a terribly damaged Gauguin and an al-

most destroyed portrait by the Russian artist Antropov being resurrected.

Last night I dined with Ilya Ehrenburg at the home of the painter Konchalovsky. From its windows, we looked out on the nocturnal panorama of Moscow, a capital of seven million inhabitants. The contrast between the few wooden houses which are soon to see their last days and the brilliantly illuminated tall buildings which crowd upon them are the last picture I take away with me. It is a picture of a country and people in movement, a picture of the reconstruction of a world and of man in the spirit of Peace, Progress and Happiness.

THE PRAGUE TREASON TRIAL

WORLD-WIDE attention has been focussed on the recent Prague treason trial. As soon as the complete transcript of the proceeding becomes available in English *New World Review* will publish a detailed report.

This trial can only be viewed against the background of the plots carried on against the Soviet Union from its inception and now extended to all the countries of socialism in the frenzied attempts of reaction to turn back the wheels of history. Many who were at first unable to believe in the reality of these plots and the genuineness of the traitors' confessions were later convinced by the incontrovertible record of the trials and the course of events themselves. Today it is official United States policy, under the infamous Project X and the Mutual Security Act of 1951, to foment counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, and a fund of \$100,000,000 was voted by Congress for this specific purpose.

The fantastic efforts to present the trial in which the majority found guilty of high treason were Jews, as evidence of anti-Semitism, supposedly backed by the Soviet Union in order to "woo the Arabs," have been answered by the Chief Rabbi of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Gustav Sichl. In an interview on November 29 in Prague, Dr. Sichl declared:

"I want to make it clear that there is no such thing as oppression of the Jewish religion in Czechoslovakia. There is not a single question in this connection about which I have the slightest complaint. . . . For the first time in our history there is a law in Czechoslovakia making anti-Semitism a crime. . . . As far as the trial is concerned, I would point out that criminals can be of Jewish origin as well as non-Jews."

Rabbi Sichl, 72, fled from Nazi persecution in 1938 and went to Israel where he remained until 1947, when he returned to Prague to become Chief Rabbi.

Why India's Korea Proposal Is Not a Plan for Peace

by KUMAR GOSHAL

THE MAIN POINTS of the Indian draft resolution on the prisoner-of-war issue in Korea, submitted by Prime Minister Nehru's personal representative, Mr. Krishna Menon, and amended and passed by a majority vote in the United Nations, were: the establishment of a repatriation commission composed of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland (or of four other countries not participating in the Korean war but excluding the permanent members of the Security Council) and an umpire, to which all POWs would be released; the commission would repatriate all POWs willing to return home but should not use force to prevent or effect the repatriation of any prisoner; 90 days after the signing of the armistice agreement, unrepatriated POWs would become the responsibility of the political conference provided for in the draft armistice agreement; after another 30 days, the care and subsequent disposition of unrepatriated POWs would be transferred to the United Nations; the President of the General Assembly would communicate these proposals to the "North Korean Authorities" and the government of the Chinese People's Republic "as forming a just and reasonable

basis for an agreement so that an immediate cease-fire would result and be effected."

Mr. Menon distributed his draft resolution to UN members several days before presenting it officially. After strong objections from the U. S. delegation and conferences with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, Mr. Menon—before formal submission to the UN—amended in favor of the U. S. He accepted more amendments to his resolution during debate from the allies of the U. S.

To place the Indian proposals in proper perspective, it is necessary to review recent events. The United States entered the Korean war unilaterally, and, with the assistance of UN Secretary General Trygve Lie, stampeded the UN into branding North Korea an aggressor and endorsing the accomplished fact of its military intervention. Simultaneously, the U. S. government declared a

KUMAR GOSHAL, journalist and lecturer, was born and reared in Calcutta, India. He is now an American citizen. Author of "People of India" and "People in Colonies," Mr. Goshal is a board member of the Council on African Affairs and the National Guardian's UN correspondent.



—*Unations*

Soviet Foreign Minister Vyshinsky (right) appeals to the UN for a cease-fire in Korea. To his right are Eden and Acheson. Behind him is Soviet Ambassador to Britain Gromyko. In the back, left, is Sir Gladwyn Jebb

virtual protectorate over the Chinese territory of Formosa and promised more arms for the French in Indo-China—aggressive acts for which the U. S. never has had UN sanction.

Later, in the course of the war, General MacArthur's forces crossed the 38th parallel and presented the UN with a *fait accompli*. Despite the Indian government's solemn warning that any threat to the Chinese border would result in Chinese intervention, MacArthur's forces continued their march to the Yalu River border and made air attacks beyond the Yalu. In January, 1951, under terrific pressure by the U. S.—as the *Wall Street Journal* admitted at the time—the UN declared China an aggressor in Korea, over the opposition of most of the Asians and the USSR and the

People's Democracies representing two-thirds of the world's population. The UN rejected an Asian-Arab proposal to meet with China for peace in Korea, despite Peking's assurance of "a cease-fire at the first meeting of the proposed conference," and a warning from Indian delegate Sir Benegal Rau that condemnation of China would "finally extinguish all hope of such a settlement."

To all this should be added the refusal of the U. S. to allow the rightful government of China to take its proper place among the permanent members of the UN Security Council; the innumerable provocative violations of both the Chinese and the Soviet borders; the continued recognition of Chiang Kai-shek and encouragement of his dreams of returning to the mainland

as conqueror; and many other hostile and inhuman acts by the U. S. forces in Korean and Chinese territory.

With this background of events in mind, the shortcomings of the Indian resolution should have been obvious from the beginning. Though he described his original resolution as composed of "bits and pieces" taken from the ideas of both sides, Mr. Menon, while accepting the U. S. position on the POW issue, made no concession to the North Koreans and the Chinese. At the first breath of criticism from the U. S. side, he voluntarily modified his proposals to conform still more to the U.S. position. At one point during the debate, he said he was aware of Chinese objections to the draft resolution, yet in the course of two lengthy speeches he never mentioned what the objections were, how he or his government met these objections, nor did he make the slightest modification of his proposals in favor of the North Koreans and the Chinese. While accepting other amendments favorable to the U.S. position, he rejected Soviet amendments calling for an immediate cease-fire and the settlement of all outstanding issues by an eleven-power commission. At the last minute he inserted a cease-fire clause in his resolution—the cease-fire, however, to go into effect after agreement has been reached by both sides on the repatriation issue. Since the Indian proposals were put forward primarily to solve the POW issue, Mr. Menon's long and tortuous attempts to find some excuse for not repatriating thousands of North Koreans and Chinese POWs was in reality an attempt to find justification for the stand on this issue taken by the U. S.

As Mr. Menon was trying to justify the U. S. position on the POWs,

thoughtful people were increasingly becoming aware of the untenable position of the U. S. In a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* of Nov. 19, 1952, Frederick Hoadley, president of the Newark Provident & Loan Association wrote that "any so-called principle . . . is immoral if its necessary consequence is to bar and preclude effective negotiations for peace. . . . And that, it seems to me, is the inevitable result of our obstinate rejection of an unconditional exchange of prisoners." Describing the U. S. position as a breach of the Geneva Convention, William Mathews, publisher of the *Arizona Star* wrote to the *New York Times* on Nov. 20 1952: "If what we now demand had been in effect in 1945, German, Italian and Japanese prisoners that were brought to the U. S. could have, by objecting to repatriation, remained in our country forever as political refugees and without any authority from Congress."

Reminding its readers that "A handful of British soldiers committed . . . crimes in the service of the Germans and the Japanese, and no one claimed that it was inhuman to repatriate them forcibly and to punish them after they had been courtmartialed," the London *New Statesman & Nation* of Nov. 15, 1952, remarked: "Why then, as Mr. Vyshinsky asks, should Western powers object to the return of all Chinese prisoners even if a minority of them are liable to severe punishment when they get home? . . . The force of his argument . . . cannot be denied. Humanity is not all on one side in this controversy."

Two weeks later, the same journal commented that, on the basis of the stand taken by both Britain and the U. S. at the Geneva conference in 1949, Mr. Vyshinsky "was able to

argue very powerfully, first, that the Americans are demanding that an exception should be made to rules to which they agreed only three years ago and, secondly, that the Indian compromise plan was a complex and cumbersome procedure, designed merely to ensure that only those prisoners who so opt should be returned."

The shortcomings of the Indian resolution were due to the fact that it did not take into consideration, among other things, the following essential points: the Korean war was a civil war, in which no one had a right to interfere; the POW issue did not come up at the beginning of the negotiations, but was injected later on to create confusion; considering the manner in which the U. S. and many of its allies are interpreting the same contractual

agreements and human principles differently in the United Nations to suit their interests of the moment, it would be dangerous to let them twist the principles of the Geneva Convention to suit their interests in Korea. Above all else, the Indian resolution did not take into consideration that, 1) as Walter Lippmann pointed out on Aug. 29, 1950, "Korea is to China what Florida is to the United States. . . . We have an interest in Korea, but it is a vicarious interest . . . on Korea . . . China and Russia have had a common interest against Japan or against any other power on the ocean which was allied with Japan;" and 2) there can be no lasting solution to the Korean problem without the establishment of a popular, democratic Korean government not unfriendly to China and the Soviet Union.

STALIN PEACE PRIZE RECIPIENTS

PAUL ROBESON and six other world figures in the struggle for peace have been awarded Stalin Peace Prizes. The awards, selected by an international committee, are announced each year on Stalin's birthday, Dec. 21, and are bestowed "on citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding service in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace." (From the Soviet decree of Dec. 20, 1949, establishing the prizes)

In addition to Paul Robeson, the awards for 1952 have gone to the following:

Ilya Ehrenburg, eminent Soviet writer, publicist and speaker (this is the first time a Soviet citizen has received the prize).

Dr. James G. Endicott, for many years a missionary in China and now Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress.

Eliza Branco, a textile worker and member of the Federation of Brazilian Women.

Saifuddin Kichlew, Chairman of the Indian Council for Peace.

Johannes Becher, poet of the German Democratic Republic.

Yves Farge, French newspaperman and head of the French Peace Fighters Movement.

NAPALM!

What is it? How is it used? Who are its victims? Now you can read the full horrifying story as told by British scientists

AMONG the destructive agents used in war are missiles, explosives, poisons, bacteria and fire. The last two have the overriding advantage that under suitable conditions they are self-perpetuating. The vast areas of London and other cities still derelict ten years after the incendiary raids bear witness to this power of fire. The conflagrations were started by the localized intense heat of burning magnesium. The chance of such an incendiary bomb starting a fire depends, however, upon it falling on or within a few feet of inflammable material.

It is obvious that more certain results could be achieved by increasing the effective area, and the use of oil and petrol (gasoline) bombs in the last war was an attempt in this direction. On violent impact, however, the incendiary material was liable to be spread too thinly and these bombs were comparatively ineffective. Burning took place too rapidly and only very inflammable materials were ignited.

American scientists have since solved the problem of the too rapid dissipation of petrol. Their answer is to make the petrol sticky. They convert it into a sticky emulsion,

"napalm," which is rather more fluid than a starch paste. The method employed is a secret, but it probably is achieved by adding a small amount of an emulsifier to the petrol with a little water. The burst of a napalm bomb produces a black cloud of burning petrol which expands to a diameter of 50 to 100 yards (depending on the amount of jellied petrol) engulfing and penetrating buildings. A sticky mass of jellied petrol, compared with an incendiary magnesium bomb, pound for pound, spreads fire over many times the area; yet the petrol mass is sufficiently localized to create, in the few seconds it burns, temperatures sufficiently high to soften steel. It is reported to produce temperatures of over a thousand degrees Centigrade.

Napalm is thus not merely a minor advance in the use of fire as an agent of war; it represents an enormous increase in the ability to start fires, and almost instantaneously to sear and char organic material, whether that be vegetable, animal, or human.

How Napalm Is Used

PUBLIC ATTENTION has been directed to napalm, not by virtue of

CAN AMERICANS REMAIN SILENT?

DESPITE sworn testimony by participants and statements by eminent personalities who gathered evidence on the scene, many Americans are still unable to bring themselves to believe that our government has been using bacterial weapons in the Korean war.

Yet every day the press carries reports of large scale napalm bombing of North Korea which has already brought flaming death and horrible maiming to millions of defenseless civilians. Seventy-eight cities marked for destruction are being systematically laid waste. While U.S. generals have called this a "humane" method of fighting, the mass burning of women and children, the aged and the sick, can hardly be considered less barbaric than germ warfare itself.

In January, 1952, a group of leading British scientists formed the organization "Science for Peace." Its purpose: "To unite scientists in actions directed toward removing the danger of a third world war and insuring that science can be fully

used for constructive purposes."

Chairman of the organization is professor F. G. Gregory, Fellow of the Royal Society; Vice Chairman, N. W. Pirie, FRS; Hon. Secretary, Dr. A. H. Gordon. There is a national committee of 22 members, numerous local branches.

This group has published the results of their findings to arouse the British people to a sense of responsibility about the insensate cruelty of this weapon.

How much greater should be the sense of responsibility of the American people, for to our shame this is an American invented and manufactured weapon, used mainly by the U.S. air force. No such weapon is being used by the North Koreans and the Chinese.

We publish the text of the scientists' document in full so that the American people may know the full extent of the horrors being inflicted in their name, and the nature of the war in which their sons are needlessly dying.

the ingenuity of the scientists who conceived the idea of making petrol sticky, but by the press accounts of the results of American napalm bombing in Korea. This use is described in the following paragraphs.

Napalm lends itself to use both on a localized scale, and on a large scale covering great areas. It is highly effective in the field against supplies and against troops in foxholes. Troops in deeper bunkers are apparently less effectively attacked by napalm than by high explosive. As an example of small scale use, on a single village, the *Manchester Guardian* of May 15, 1952 quotes a special correspondent of the *New York Times*:

A napalm raid hit the village three or four days ago when the Chinese were holding up the advance, and nowhere in the village have they buried the dead because there is nobody left to do so . . . The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures that they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page torn from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue.

The consequence, close to the center of the burst, is thus almost instantaneous death by incineration of every man, woman, and child. The cumulative effect of such treatment

on village after village, must be considered if the character of napalm bombing is to be appreciated. Mr. René Cutforth, the B.B.C. correspondent in Korea, summarizes the overall effect in his book *Korean Reporter*:

I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen, and realized the sort of casualty-list which must be mounting up along the Korean front.

One other point deserves mention, although detailed information is not available. It seems from a number of press reports (for instance, the *Manchester Guardian*, March 10, 1952) that one village may be wiped out, not by an attack of several bombs, or several planes, but by one single bomb alone. This was true previously of only the largest caliber explosive bombs, such as ordinarily would not be used in a "tactical" manner. The napalm bomb is therefore not only more efficient in its incendiary capacity, or for the indiscriminate slaughter of human beings, but extends the amount of destruction of property and person that may result from the release of a single bomb.

But napalm is not merely a small tactical weapon of immense power of destruction; it is also adapted to larger scale "strategic" purposes. An instance of this is given by the American bombing of a "center" on March 11, 1952. On this occasion, according to *The Times*, 33,000 gallons of napalm were dropped on an area of four square miles. Naturally this would not be evenly spread, and from the information published it is not possible to calculate the area that could be burned out. Nevertheless, the fact that such a volume of napalm would completely cover, to

a depth of about one-twentieth of an inch, an area roughly a hundred yards wide and half a mile long, shows how extensive would be the damage.

Casualties Napalm Inflicts

THE EFFECT on the human body of being drenched in petrol and then ignited has been demonstrated before the advent of napalm, but never before on such a scale. Instantaneous charring to death is almost inevitable. Details of the medical effects of napalm attack have not been systematically described, but much can be inferred from our existing knowledge of the effect of flame-throwers, large scale fire raids, and petrol burns. Close to the heart of the burst, complete charring occurs, though the immediate cause of death may be asphyxia. Where very large fires are ignited the inrush of air itself causes casualties. But it is self-evident that for every area of total destruction there will be a surrounding area of partial destruction. What happens to persons caught in this fringe, who escape immediate death? A description of one such person is given by the B.B.C. correspondent, René Cutforth:

I met the doctor striding impatiently over the snow to meet me. He grabbed my arm.

"Look, we must have some publicity about this. Perhaps the press can make these people wake up to a sense of their responsibilities. Look at this, I want to show you this . . ."

In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straggled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and his whole body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman



A victim of a napalm raid on Kaesong in May, 1951. Insert shows her mutilated face. The enormous scar on her back is raised a quarter inch from the surrounding flesh. The napalm burned to the bone on her face, hands, back, feet and deep into the flesh of the buttocks. A year later the scars still itched and burned. She can sleep only half hour at a time, is then awakened by pain.

—Courtesy, *National Guardian*

by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said, "He has to stand, sir, cannot sit or lie." He had to stand because he was no longer covered with skin, but with a crust like crackling which broke easily.

Blinded, and a ready prey for bacterial infection on any part of his body surface, such a person cannot hope to live long. But while life lasts it could not be more cruel.

An important characteristic of napalm is that it is sticky. The burns that it causes therefore resemble those due to phosphorus—the burning material cannot be brushed off, and efforts to do so will spread it over other parts of the body. The intense heat also produces superficial burns

that are most marked on the face and extremities. One of the commonest types of disfigurement from napalm appears to be the permanent inability to close the eyes, due to scarring and destruction of the eyelids. In children, the hands and back of the neck are likely to suffer since these are exposed to the flash and splash effects in the act of self-protection. Another "case" is described by a correspondent in North Korea. A Korean woman was cooking a meal when a napalm bomb struck near the kitchen door, spraying her. Superficial tissues down to the bone were burned off the face, back, hands and feet, and deep into the flesh of the buttocks. A year later her burns

itched and burned continuously. Her face was twisted and slashed, her ears partly destroyed, her hands stiffened with scar tissue. On her back an enormous purple scar one foot long by nine inches wide was raised almost a quarter of an inch above the surrounding flesh.

These effects of napalm burns differ from those of other deep and extensive burns in one respect. They have an unusual tendency to produce keloids. These are thickened areas of the scar tissue, which apart from being unsightly produce contractures with reduced function of the part. Moreover they tend to recur if they are removed surgically. Keloid formation involves a particularly hideous development in burns that are already extensive and deep.

From such descriptions the typical result of a slight exposure to napalm can be reconstructed as follows. The subject is hairless, due to loss of scalp. His face is a uniform scar, with running and infected eyes which he can never close. He is probably blind. His hands, if exposed, are reduced to contracted claws. Ears, nostrils, lips and fingertips are likely to have been lost. Painful scars will also occur on any part of the body reached by the burning material.

In the next twenty years there will be some thousands of permanent cripples bearing these marks throughout Korea.

Extent of Napalm Bombing

EVEN A CURSORY examination of press reports reveals that under the conditions of warfare in Korea, napalm is causing immense and lasting suffering. Napalm is particularly prone to produce indiscriminate damage to property and persons owing

to the characteristic spraying and spreading qualities. One cannot avoid the conclusion that under conditions where the majority of inhabitants of villages are women and children these rather than men are likely to be the chief sufferers. This appears ominously true in the *New York Times* report already quoted. No mention is made of any army personnel being

He sleeps with his eyes open. Napalmed in Kaesong in November, 1950, Kim Chol Yun, 10, has not been able to shut his eyes since. He can sleep, with difficulty, only in a darkened room. He is hideously scarred, his scalp bald and pitted with ugly red and blue marks. He is shown here with his widowed mother.

—Courtesy, *National Guardian*



involved in the destruction of the village.

In the Korean war, the chief characteristic of which is indiscriminate destruction, napalm is being used on a large scale. This is clearly apparent in the writing of Reginald Thompson, *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Korea:

Slowly, day by day, the tragedy unfolded as death and destruction inexorably consumed Korea and its people. . . . The shouts of the doomed came from the rice paddies and the shattered ruins of the few concrete buildings, and brought down upon themselves and all the inhabitants the appalling horror of jellied petrol bombs and the devastation of rockets and heavy artillery.

Slowly the American troops advanced through the smoking rubble, pausing until the opposition was crushed under the air strikes and the bombardment. Civilians died in hundreds, and presently in thousands, and the enemy, mostly unrecognizable and un-uniformed, was rounded up and stripped. (*Cry Korea*, p. 39)*

It is inescapable that the terrible fate of the South Korean capital and many villages is the outcome of a new technique of machine warfare. (*Cry Korea*, p. 39)*

The slightest resistance brought down a deluge of destruction, blotting out the area. Dive bombers, tanks and artillery blasted strong points, large and small, in town and hamlet, while the troops waited at the roadside as spectators until the way was clear for them. Few people can have suffered so terrible a liberation.—(*ibid.*, p. 94.)

I have described this in some detail

* *Cry Korea* by Reginald Thompson. Macdonald (London, 1952).

because it was typical of the whole advance and the whole method. Every enemy shot released a deluge of destruction. Every village and township in the path of war was blotted out. Civilians died in the rubble and ashes of their homes. Soldiers usually escaped.—(*ibid.*, p. 143.)

It is in the light of such accounts that one glimpses the meaning behind the facts reported by Mr. Kingsley, United Nations Agent-General for Reconstruction. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, August 17, 1951, Mr. Kingsley stated that in North Korea alone one million had died, roughly one-ninth of the population. The destruction of property in both north and south has been enormous. In Seoul, to mention only one city, 85 per cent of the industry has been destroyed, and 60 per cent of all living space. The indiscriminate massacre of civilians by any means is a violation of the accepted usages of war, and of international law. This was confirmed by the trials of the Nazi war criminals. In 1948, the Seventeenth Conference of the International Red Cross adopted a resolution of its legal committee favoring action to forbid the use, among other things, of "arms which cannot be aimed with precision, or which devastate large areas indiscriminately."

Our Responsibility

THE BARBARITY of modern war, of which napalm is only one example, raises an issue which we must all face. This issue confronts both the citizen, who may be ordered to use such weapons, and the scientist who may be expected to develop them.

Many responsible scientists have expressed the view that the problem of world order can be solved by plac-

ing the control of weapons of destruction in the hands of such bodies as the United Nations, thereby insuring that they should be used only in "police actions" designed to defend world order, and presumably conducted with the same regard for the innocent as is displayed by normal law-enforcing agencies.

This hope has been rudely shattered by events. We now witness a reputedly law-enforcing agency, dedicated by its charter to the defence of human rights, employing methods at least as barbarous and indiscriminate as those used in any previous, national war, and persistently doing so despite widespread protest from many sections of public opinion.

The revelation of the means of "collective security" in action must profoundly modify our thinking about the whole problem of war, and quicken our sense of responsibility for insuring the maintenance of civilized behavior.

Science has already, within this generation, been brought face to face with the need to reaffirm its ethical sanction, by the systematic abuse of its techniques by Nazi Germany for political ends. The use of science in war presents a closely parallel case. Those of us who expressed contempt for German scientists for failing to withdraw from Nazi-sponsored projects, and applauded their punishment, bear an equal responsibility in the face of such issues as the military use of atomic energy, bacteriological and chemical warfare, and the development of weapons of mass destruction such as napalm.

The organization of "Science for Peace" was formed to direct the attention of scientists to these issues. Scientists are faced with the danger of being regarded by the public as

agents of destruction and their silence and indecision in the face of grave issues raised by the present events would lend countenance to such a view.

The public conscience has already been aroused over napalm. On July 3, 1952, the Archbishop of York publicly appealed to the Churches to call for the international prohibition of the napalm bomb "which causes exceptionally horrible and indiscriminate suffering." In a letter to *The Times* on July 8, 1952, a widely representative group, including Lord Boyd-Orr, Earl Russell, Professor F. G. Gregory and Professor W. C. W. Nixon called for an organized protest to the United Nations. "More serious than the barbarity of the weapon," they said, "is the abundant evidence from non-communist sources that it (napalm) has been and is being indiscriminately used against inhabited places with appalling results. . . . We do not accept the argument that because a Power has been declared an aggressor its civilian subjects thereby become legitimate targets for unrestricted warfare."

Such statements express the widespread disquiet felt by the public, and not the least by scientists, whose responsibility is in many ways the most direct.

Napalm is a product of deliberate research; it has no peaceful application and no theoretical interest. Its only purpose is the annihilation of human beings and the destruction of property. It is being employed in Korea in our name, and it is an unavoidable issue of conscience whether we shall condone such a policy, or protest as vigorously as possible in the name of humanity, and the good repute of science.

Lifting the Fog on POW Issue

Korea killing can stop today under Vyshinsky proposal for cease-fire now, negotiations on prisoners of war later

HOW MANY of our readers know that on November 24 Soviet Foreign Minister Vyshinsky proposed in the UN General Assembly an immediate cease-fire in Korea, with the prisoner-of-war question to be settled later?

This news was almost completely suppressed by press and radio.

Thus the Soviet Union made clear its deep concern that an end to the killing in Korea must be the first step, with negotiations to follow, a position already taken by millions of Americans.

The USSR proposal, submitted as an addendum to its previous draft resolution (see December NWR) and later as an amendment to the Indian resolution, was turned down by the General Assembly.

Mr. Kumar Goshal, in his article on page 14, shows that while the Indian resolution was represented as a compromise between the viewpoints of both sides in the Korean war, it was in fact no compromise, but an acceptance of the American position which can only mean the forcible detention of prisoners-of-war.

Soviet charges that United States actions are in violation of the Geneva Convention on prisoners-of-war received backing when on December 16 the International Red Cross made public correspondence in which it said that the events at Koje Island last spring resulting in the killing of prisoners, and other punitive measures employed, appeared to be in violation of this convention.

The continued use of violence against

the prisoners-of-war was brought home anew in the most flagrant form by the attack December 15 by U.S. forces on the unarmed prisoners of the Pongam Island Camp, which killed 84 prisoners and wounded 118.

As usual, this violence was attributed to the "fanaticism" of the prisoners of war, who were said to have "hypnotized themselves." What were they doing? They were marching with locked arms and singing. What was the proof of their fanaticism? That "they continued to sing while lying wounded on the ground," where they fell "under the withering machine gun and small arms fire" of the U.S. and South Korean military prison guards. (Statement of the camp commander, Lieut. Col. George P. Miller, who ordered the shooting, *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 17).

The same day that this outrage occurred the UN made public the communication of Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Government, stating why the Indian proposal, which violated international conventions in the name of "voluntary repatriation" while accepting the principle of forcible detention, was unacceptable, and could have no legality since no Chinese or North Korean representatives participated in the discussion.

The Chinese note appealed for a resumption of truce negotiations and a cease-fire on the basis of the 62 draft armistice articles already signed. The following day the Truman Administration summarily refused to resume negotiations at Panmunjom.

In view of the complete failure of the press to inform Americans fully on the actual Soviet position on this matter which is of such life-and-death concern to us all, we are publishing herewith a condensation of the section of a speech made in the UN on November 10 by Mr. Vyshinsky, setting forth in detail the position of his government on the prisoner-of-war issue.

While this speech was a direct answer to the original U.S. resolution (known as the 21-nation resolution) and its supporters, which called for a complete acceptance of the U.S. position on prisoners-of-war, its argumentation applies equally to the Indian resolution which as finally amended is only a repetition of the original U.S. proposals in thinly disguised form.

Mr. Vyshinsky's Statement

THE MAIN question requiring solution is exchange of war prisoners. The authors and co-authors of the American draft resolution are trying to prove that a solution of this question can be found which unconditionally supports the American command's position, despite the fact that it is a direct contradiction to generally recognized principles of international law and international conventions based on them, specifically the Geneva Convention of 1949.

Seeking at all cost to find justification for a position which obviously distorts the contents and meaning of the Geneva Convention, the British representative Mr. Lloyd resorted to real verbal equilibristics, stating that the sentence of Article 118: "Prisoners of war shall be *released* and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities" must be understood to mean that the war prisoner should not be turned over to the other side without his consent, since that allegedly

would mean not release of the war prisoner but further detention and handing him over to an armed guard.

Mr. Lloyd pretends not to notice that Article 118 speaks of *release from captivity*, not release in general and that the release of the war prisoner connected with the procedure of handing him over to the other side requires under all conditions a certain period during which he will inevitably be kept under armed guard. The worthlessness of Lloyd's argumentation is especially striking if one examines the above sentence of Article 118 in association with the whole text of that article, which contains a precise formulation of the principle of unconditional repatriation of all war prisoners. Irrespective of both the consent of the war prisoner and even the existence of an agreement on repatriation concluded between the sides concerned, Article 118 demands that each of the detaining powers shall itself establish and execute without delay a "plan of repatriation in conformity with the principle laid down in the foregoing paragraph."

Similarly unsuccessful has been Mr. Lloyd's attempt to give a distorted interpretation of the quite important Article 7 of the Geneva Convention.

In this case Mr. Lloyd, as well as other representatives from the North Atlantic bloc, preferred melodramatic declamations to legal logic . . . [stating] that the soldiers of the United Nations are not prepared to drive war prisoners back with bayonets.

Now, Mr. Lloyd, you know very well that it is the American command which in reality is savagely employing bayonets and machine-guns against war prisoners on Kojé Island and elsewhere, killing daily

Korean and Chinese patriots who are protesting and fighting against the atrocities of the American military command which is trying by force and terror to wrest from war prisoners a renunciation of repatriation.

Mr. Lloyd cannot deny the great importance of Article 7 which declares that "prisoners of war may in no circumstances renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured to them by the present convention, and by the special agreements referred to in the foregoing article, if such there be. . . ." Mr. Lloyd ought to have admitted that this provision was included in the convention to defend the war prisoners themselves from attempts to obtain from them, by pressure, a renunciation of repatriation.

Ignoring the fact that it is exactly such pressure that the American command is exerting on Korean and Chinese war prisoners, moreover, employing savage repressions up to shooting, Mr. Lloyd and people of like mind, present matters as though application of this article allegedly means the obligation to hand over war prisoners for political persecution and in some way to restrict the right of asylum for political reasons. Therefore, he simply urged to ignore this article or, as he put it, to disregard its verbal formulations and be guided by its spirit which is more important. . . . The formulation of Article 7 is precisely in the spirit of the convention, to prevent a situation when war prisoners are forced by coercion and other pressure to renounce their country!

Some say, in support of their arguments disavowing Article 7, that its application would prejudice the interests of the war prisoner by allegedly violating the principle of free



Andrei Y. Vyshinsky
Foreign Minister of the USSR

expression of will. It turns out that the return of the war prisoner to his country, to his family, to peaceful labor, is not in his interests, that the task of the detaining power consists not in ensuring his repatriation but in preventing such repatriation under the pretext of some kind of "fears" of the war prisoner as to his fate, not stopping at the most barbarous methods of extortion and direct coercion. . . .

The so-called joint command, in reality the American command, tries to present these "screenings" in an innocuous light. In order to camouflage somehow the criminal nature of

this outrageous procedure the American command refers to the fact that the questions put during the screening were allegedly drawn up in a way to persuade a maximum number of war prisoners to return home and not to oppose repatriation. This assertion, however, is directly contradicted by the provocative character of these questions, such as: Do you confirm that you will resist repatriation by force? or: what will you do if contrary to your decision the United Nations command repatriates you?

In legal practice such questions are rightly considered "leading" ones and therefore impermissible, while answers to such questions are not valid as evidence.

That these questions had the directly opposite aim is also shown by the fact that Korean and Chinese war prisoners had been warned 24 hours in advance that they would be questioned to establish whether or not they would resist repatriation by force. By serving such a warning the American command indicated the importance of the decision they had to take and that it was to be final. It also warned the war prisoners that for their own safety they must not discuss this question with others or make known their decision before the individual questioning. After such warnings the American command could expect that some of the war prisoners would give the answers the American command desired. . . .

In this connection it is necessary to recall that according to figures published in the American manual *Facts on File* about 200 Korean and Chinese patriots have been killed and about 1,000 wounded since these "screenings" were started in American camps.

During 8 months no less than 27-28 cases have been registered of sanguinary suppression by American and South Korean troops of war prisoners' protests against "screening". On October 30, several war prisoners who tried to escape from the Kwanju camp were killed and wounded, a real battle being fought in the camp for almost an hour. On October 31, it was officially reported that mass demonstrations of war prisoners on Koje and Cheju Islands were fired upon, with several killed and 178 wounded. Shootings are continuing. According to the latest data, the other day war prisoners were again fired upon and many wounded. Here is where bayonets and machine-guns are really used against unarmed war prisoners.

In the light of such facts, when the American command systematically employs weapons against Korean and Chinese war prisoners, not stopping at murdering them, finding fault even with the fact that the war prisoners conduct usual physical culture, drill exercises directly permitted by Article 38 of the Geneva Convention, there is no need to prove that Messrs. Acheson, Lloyd and others of like mind do not shrink before flagrant violation of international conventions. . . .

International agreements, however, are international law and observance of this law is obligatory for all who affix their signature.

One can only be amazed at the cynicism of the attorneys of those who butcher almost daily Korean and Chinese war prisoners who protest against "screenings," when they allege that the American command strives to reach agreement giving the war prisoners free choice to decide whether they prefer to go North or South. "Free choice" after the war

prisoner had been preliminarily subjected to the procedure of "screening" accompanied, as is known, by intimidation, tattooing and similar "humane" measures leaving on the body of the war prisoners the eternal brand of disgrace, measures deciding the fate of war prisoners doomed to eternal captivity in the camp of the enemies!

We have declared and declare that such "screenings" are incompatible with generally recognized principles and standards that demand of the detaining power humane treatment of war prisoners. This is demanded by all international conventions on war prisoners, beginning with the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 and ending with the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949. . . .

As proved by numerous facts, the

regime in American camps for Korean and Chinese war prisoners is devoid even of the slightest observance by the American command of the order for such camps based on generally recognized principles of international law. This regime cannot be described otherwise than as a regime of utterly undisguised, unbridled terror designed to undermine the moral fortitude of the Korean and Chinese war prisoners, to set them against their own governments and to extort from them a refusal to be repatriated. This proved to be a convenient means for the American command in disrupting the armistice negotiations and dragging out the war.

While systematically subjecting war prisoners to barbarous treatment and persecuting them in every

Before a meeting of the UN General Assembly, left to right: Stanislaw Skrzyszewski, Polish Foreign Minister; Gertrude Sekaninova-Cakrtova, Czechoslovakian Deputy Foreign Minister; A. M. Baranovsky, Ukrainian Foreign Minister; Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to Britain; Jerzy Michalowski, Polish Ambassador to Britain, and Kusma B. Kiselev, Byelorussian Foreign Minister.

—Unations



possible way, the American command, official representatives of the United States and certain other countries supporting the United States, keep on shouting of their "humaneness," covering up their crimes by hypocritical allegations that they defend the rights and interests of the war prisoners. . . .

The Peruvian delegate among others stated, for example, that repatriation cannot be obligatory if there is proof that the will of the war prisoner is opposed to repatriation. He asserted that a decision to return a war prisoner home can be taken only by the prisoner himself and effected only provided there is no unwillingness on his part. This, however, is an utterly arbitrary assertion for which no ground can be found. The principle dominating in international law and conventions is that of obligatory and unconditional repatriation of all war prisoners except those not subject to repatriation due to grave illness or the commission of a crime, or because they serve a sentence upon a court verdict.

But even if one admits for a minute the correctness of the viewpoint of those who regard the war prisoners' consent as the keystone in settling the question of repatriation, even such a stand is far away from the disgraceful situation that has arisen now in Korea. The underlying reason for this disgraceful situation is the measures carried out by the American command in the form of forcible "screenings" which are arousing the protests of the Korean and Chinese war prisoners. The supporters of the American draft resolution . . . indulge in abstract arguments proceeding from the premise that the free will of the war prisoner is the last instance that decides the question, maintaining that repatria-

tion is not the right of a state but the right of an individual. From this they draw the conclusion that if the right of repatriation is the inalienable right of the war prisoner to return home then such a presumption allows a reverse interpretation, namely, that repatriation becomes impossible if the will of the war prisoner is against it. In doing so, of course, they fully ignore the point that in conditions of captivity there are not and cannot be any conditions for a really free expression of will by the war prisoner.

And so, the whole question is reduced to the free will of the repatriated person, which allegedly takes precedence over obligations assumed by a state on the strength of international obligations it signed.

It is impossible to agree that the possibility to carry out international obligations assumed as regards repatriation of war prisoners should be made dependent upon the desires of individuals subject to repatriation. One must not forget that war prisoners are not merely a crowd of people who by accident happen to be beyond the bounds of their country. War prisoners are servicemen discharging the sacred duty of each citizen to defend his country. The special position of war prisoners as servicemen is also provided for by the respective articles of international conventions on war prisoners and specifically the 1949 Geneva Convention. From the standpoint of international law war prisoners do not cease to be servicemen bound by military oath and their military duty to the state. . . .

Certain philosophers who spoke in the First Committee speak of the freedom of war prisoner but keep silent about the fact that in captivity this freedom is restricted to the utmost, even if no pressure is exerted

on the war prisoner and no coercion and violence used. They also keep silent about the fact that on the other hand, in certain cases, envisaged by international law, the will of the war prisoners is restricted and one might say, is made fully dependent upon the governments of the states with whom the war prisoners come into relations of one kind or another.

It is known, for example, that war prisoners of any belligerent country who escape from captivity can take refuge on neutral territory and come under the protection of a neutral power. This conforms to the generally recognized principle of international law. If, however, it turns out that the fugitives intend to remain on neutral territory in order subsequently to rejoin their forces, the neutral state, also in accordance with generally recognized principles of international law, must take measures to prevent this, as its position of impartiality obliges it to do. . . .

It should thus be clear that in such cases the will of a war prisoner cannot be counterpoised to the obligations of a neutral state.

Inventing various arguments to justify their measures for forcible detention of war prisoners on their territory, the authors and co-authors of the American draft resolution are trying to class war prisoners, if they refuse to be repatriated, with political emigrants. . . .

Indeed in the examination of the question of political emigrants priority should be given to the motives impelling them to emigrate from their country or to refuse to go back. . . .

Nor can we ignore the fact that no constitution of any capitalist state contains provisions concerning the right of asylum. They establish the right of asylum by internal legisla-

tion or international agreements on deportation of criminals. The common feature of all such agreements is the generally recognized principle that the right of asylum in a foreign country must be proved by facts and not only by bald statements of the person concerned.

The French constitution of 1793 formulated this right as the right of asylum granted to foreigners who had left their country because of their struggle for freedom. In practice, however, under conditions of the capitalist West, the right of asylum has been used for directly opposite purposes and is a means of achieving political ends of reactionary governments. As an example we can point to the practice of using against the Soviet state Russian whiteguards in Germany, Japan and certain other countries with a fascist or semi-fascist regime, the utilization by imperialist Japan of emigrants who fled from China after the 1912 revolution, and so on.

The right of asylum has become a privilege of reactionary governments who systematically deny this right to progressive democrats, which is reflected in the recent international agreements and laws, for example, in the American law of May 1, 1917, and also in the practice of extraditing progressives to fascist governments of certain states. . . .

The Constitution of the Soviet Union establishes as a basic law as stated in Article 129, the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for scientific activities, or for struggling for national liberation. The right of asylum in our Soviet interpretation is an institute of great political importance. It is one of the means of supporting the progressive democratic

movement against reaction and aggression, for peace and democracy.

This alone shows that the attempt to class with emigrants who claim the right of asylum for political motives, people whose activity was not of a political nature and who are guided by motives which have nothing to do with political aims, should be rejected as utterly groundless. . . .

These facts permit the following conclusions:

1. The 1949 Geneva Convention as well as the 1929 Convention, demands unconditional repatriation of all war prisoners.

2. This demand is so imperative that in accordance with Article 118 such repatriation must be effected even in the absence of provisions on repatriation provided for in special agreements concluded by the belligerents and even in the absence of such agreements in general. In accordance with Article 118 the captor power itself must draw up and immediately carry into effect a repatriation plan in conformity with the above-stated principle.

3. The Geneva Convention contains no reservations or exceptions to the principle stating that the war prisoners are released and repatriated immediately after the termination of hostilities.

4. The Geneva Convention contains no provisions that would permit the captor power to delay repatriation of any war prisoners on the excuse that they allegedly do not want to be repatriated and threaten to resist.

5. The policy of the American command in Korea and of the governments supporting it is in glaring contradiction to the 1949 Geneva Convention and the generally recognized principles of international law on repatriation of war prisoners.

6. The talk about the refusal of

some section of the war prisoners to be repatriated has no legal value and is the result of such measures taken by the American command in the camps for Korean and Chinese war prisoners as "compulsory screening" which, as has been established, are accompanied by violence with the use of weapons against war prisoners who resist the violence of the American command. . . .

The question raised by the supporters of the American draft resolution on exchange of war prisoners and so-called "forcible repatriation" is explained by the general line of American foreign policy which makes no scruples about using such means as financing subversive, espionage and terroristic activity against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the European People's Democracies, envisaged by the notorious American Act of October 10, 1951.

People are needed to carry these measures into effect. An attempt can be made to recruit such people from among war prisoners in the same way as they are recruited from among the so-called displaced persons. . . .

There can be no doubt, of course, that, given an honest attitude toward the Geneva Convention and the obligations assumed under it, every signatory government cannot fail to find the means for fulfilling its requirements regarding repatriation of all war prisoners without any arbitrary "screening. . . ." It goes without saying that entire responsibility for the excesses which result from such measures as the "screening" used by the American command against the Korean and Chinese war prisoners rests completely with the government of the country in whose hands war prisoners are.

A REPORT TO OUR READERS

—And an Urgent Appeal

Dear Reader:

You know that we have at all times been completely candid with you, letting you know our difficulties, our progress, and our plans for making **NEW WORLD REVIEW** more interesting, more effective.

That is why we are compelled to open the New Year by placing before you an emergency situation which we know concerns you deeply as well as ourselves.

General Eisenhower's cabinet appointments give top policy making power to representatives of the big monopolies who handle the majority of government orders for arms.

This means that the American people, under the new administration elected because of its demagogic promises of peace in Korea, are now faced with heightened danger of the extension of war to keep the arms orders flowing.

In this situation there is the most compelling urgency that every effort, every voice for peace be multiplied and magnified.

We know that you will agree that our magazine plays an essential role in arming the people with the facts that show the utter falsity of the charges that the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and People's China offer any threat to our country. Our magazine shows that, on the contrary, these nations want peace, and that the possibility for peaceful coexistence and trade with them exists.

This message must reach more people.

But instead, we are faced with the grim situation—as indicated by replies to our questionnaire—that many readers, whose subscriptions

have expired, are unable to renew for financial reasons. It is significant that an overwhelming majority of the replies indicated a deep interest in the magazine and a recognition of the importance of its role.

We therefore had to find a way to make it possible for them, and other readers as well, to receive the magazine, at the same time bringing new readers to NWR. In this we must have the help of every one of you.

We ask you, therefore, to please read our proposal on the next two pages carefully and act upon it in your own interest, in our interest and above all in the interest of peace.

We on our part are making every effort for the continued improvement of the magazine. We are corresponding with people in all parts of the world to arrange for a greater coverage of exciting events that you will want to hear about at first hand, of the vital questions that have a direct bearing on the lives of all of us and our children.

This help we seek from you is absolutely essential not only to spread our message more widely, but to make it possible for us to continue publication.

So please add to your list of New Year's resolutions this one more—the resolution to bring new readers to NWR—and by acting upon your good intentions, help pave the road to peace.



JESSICA SMITH, Editor

Help Yourself! —

Prices high? We've got a plan to help YOU lower them!

Have you been holding back on that good book, or that electric heater for your thin budget? Our plan may bring such items within your reach.

It is very simple. But you play a big role in it. It's not a new role, however, you enclosing subscriptions that you have obtained from your friends and acquaintances.

But many more thousands of subs *can* and *must* be obtained. We must bring the Union, the New China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe to more.

To stimulate this campaign for more readers, we present the following plan to help YOU directly . . . as well as NWR. Here's how it works:

For every 12-month \$2 sub to NWR you obtain, we will give you a 50¢ credit (or 25¢ for each \$1 six-month sub) . . . toward the purchase of nearly any book or household item you want.

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Meet

DANA ZATOPKOVA

Champ!

by
ELEANOR WHEELER

ONCE UPON A TIME a little Moravian girl ran away from Sunday dishes to play ball. She grew up to make good at the Olympic games and threw the javelin 50.47 meters (165 feet, 7.5 inches), smashing the Olympic record.

"When my sister-in-law teased my mother for having nagged me about the ball-playing, mother just said, 'How was I to know anything would come of it?'" laughed Dana Zátopková as we chatted in the editorial offices of *Ruch*, the Prague sports magazine.

Mrs. Zátopková is herself outstanding in the sports world, in addition to being the wife of the spectacularly great runner, Emil Zátopek, who returned from the Olympic games this summer with three gold medals. Four gold medals in the family from one year's Olympics! Although she leads a full life divided between home and office, with training in between, she says that javelin throwing is no longer just a hobby: "When you have hit one mark and win a medal it seems a duty to go on to the next stage. I am dreaming of the 53-meter mark

now." Her golden hazel eyes did look dreamy and again it seemed no wonder the sports writers kept referring to her as the "lovely Dana."

I asked how she trains for this 53-meter goal. The world's record, by the way is 53.34, held by USSR's N. Smirnitskaya. She not only trains in the open air, she said, running, throwing balls and two-pound rods as well as the javelin, but also exercises on the stall-bars and rope which have been installed in the Zátopeks' modern flat in Prague.

"One of the best things for strengthening the hands is chopping wood, but I don't have a chance to do that here in the city. Back in Ůherské Hradiste, Moravia, I go at it with a bang." Her home town she describes as "sort of a country town," where children play ball on the green and geese waddle through the streets, and where women like Mrs. Ingrová, Dana's mother, wear the traditional Moravian costume with full skirt, richly embroidered apron and elaborate headdress.

Mrs. Ingrová is a "folk artist"—well known in her district for her

original designs over windows and doorways, elaborate patterns for embroidering and decoration of ceramics. This is a form of art which is particularly well developed in Moravia.

Dana inherited this talent from her mother and also embroiders, using her own designs, decorates pottery and paints as a hobby. "The other household arts my mother made me learn, but I cook now mainly on Sunday as the other days are too full for anything very elaborate. I like to do a laundry and it's no trouble with an electric washer in the apartment building, but I'm grateful for the improvements in the laundry services here which take that work off my hands. Even though the other people in the office are very understanding if I have to take time off for training, it cuts into the time I have for housework."

Dana Zátopková's graceful movements and slender lithe form betray the fact that she started out as a teacher of rhythmic dancing. From that she broadened her interests to include gymnastics in general and tried a little of everything, high and broad jump, running — always above the average in each field even when she first took it up. Tennis she loved, but had to abandon as being too expensive for a young high school girl in a country town in the first Republic (now it is being taught to workers in factory clubs!) Her high school

volley-ball team was young people's champion of the Republic in 1938. Her sports activities were by necessity curtailed a great deal during the Nazi occupation when the Sokol and other sports organizations were banned. She kept returning to her favorite sport of handball. In 1950, she was women's handball champion of the country. Although she did not know it, this interest in various sports was preparing her to be a champion javelin thrower, because it gave her that extremely important overall body balance and control.

Not until 1946, when she was studying physical training, did she start to throw the javelin. Then she made the headlines with a throw of 35.40 meters. The record for the Republic six years ago was only 36.90, and the papers proclaimed that Dana Ingrová's throw was a miracle for a beginner.

One of the many coincidences in the Zátopeks' lives was the fact that just below Dana's banner headlines in the same paper were somewhat smaller streamers announcing Emil Zátopek's record for the three-kilometer distance. (Another coincidence is that they were born on the same day of the same month of the same year—they have just celebrated their joint 30th birthday.)

It was also in 1946 that Zátopek startled the occupation forces in Berlin with a fabulous performance in the Army Olympics. Although Dana did not know her future husband at the time, she has heard from him how the G.I. holding the Czechoslovakia banner, waiting for "those Czechoslovaks" to take it over, said disappointedly, "Oh, only *you*?" at the sight of the lone Emil Zátopek.

We were in Berlin then and remember how sorry we felt for the little country of Czechoslovakia with the

ELEANOR WHEELER joined her husband George when he worked in military government in Berlin after he had been in Government service in Washington. In 1947 they, with their children, settled in Czechoslovakia. Mrs. Wheeler formerly worked for Religious News Service.

WORLD SPORTSMAN NO. 1

EMIL ZATOPEK, husband of Dana Zatopkova and Czechoslovakia's triple Olympic champion at Helsinki last summer, was named World Sportsman No. 1 in a poll sponsored by World Sports, official magazine of the British Olympic Association.

rather inconspicuous-looking single contestant carrying its banner. He was wearing, before the race began, the Czech *tepláky* or "warmers" which athletes (and almost everyone else) wear for informal moments. They are a very comfortable, loose and practical garment like sweat-pants which conceal any grace the individual possesses. We therefore cast an expert eye over Czechoslovakia's entrant and realized immediately that he would never make it.

When he had lapped every other runner at least once in the huge stadium for the 5000-meter race we were fresh out of pity for him and felt sorry only for those who tried to pace him for a few meters. We also pitied the befuddled tabulators who were trying to reckon whom Zátopek had lapped once and whom twice.

Not until 1948 did the Zátopek's meet, and this was also the year when javelin-throwing began to be Dana's line. She qualified for the Fourteenth Olympics in London by throwing a little over 40 meters. It was when they were training for these Olympic games that they met and as she said, "I think that in English you call it love at first sight." Strolling around Piccadilly they made their plans more definite, bought a ring in London and were married in Prague in October, after some tours in Europe made by Zátopek. Incidentally,

Dana threw the javelin 39.60 meters to take seventh place in London.

That same year she threw the javelin 41 meters in Vienna, and she calls her wedding year her first successful year all around. She bettered her distance with javelin throwing each year until she hit the 50.47 mark in Helsinki last summer to make a new Olympic record.

In addition to well-rounded physical training, Dana Zátopková leads a balanced and busy general life. She works during the day as editorial secretary in the office of *Ruch* (the name of the sports magazine means "bustle" or "excitement" in Czech), trains in the afternoon and over weekends, takes care of the house, participates in public life, appears in films, writes for young people. With such a full schedule she is fortunate in having a co-operative husband. Many European men are afraid of being called effeminate if they are seen in the kitchen, but the great Czech army major who leaves his racing opponents gasping at the wayside has no such fears and gives Dana a hand so that she will have more time to train or to step out with her husband.

"One day, in fact, when he had the day off he told me just to go to the office and he would see to things at home. About eleven I got curious and slipped home to see how he was making out—our apartment is near my office. Well . . . he had bought six and a half pounds of spinach just to start with. . . ."

She found the world's greatest runner by tracking his muddy footprints and discovered him in the middle of the kitchen, spinach in and on everything but the ceiling . . . puddles . . . discarded leaves . . . kettles of the processed product. The "Iron Man" of Prague looked up and declared de-

They won four gold medals. The Zátopeks, who took Helsinki by storm during the Olympic Games. Dana, in the javelin throw, and her husband, Emil, the only one in athletic history to win all three of the Olympic distance races.

jectedly: "Women's work will certainly have to be modernized."

It is heartwarming to talk with Dana Zátopková about the gay companionship of their marriage, the strong patriotic feelings they both have, pride in their country's art, culture and achievements, their fervent belief that their participation in international sports events is one way to serve peace.

Anyone who has this opportunity of meeting the Zátopeks feels only pity and contempt for the pettiness of those who dangle "tours" and dollar opportunities at them, hoping to lure away a star for the "western way of life." The Zátopeks know that the individual is valued for himself here, and not just as long as his muscular legs will carry him out in front. Although they have met and like the good sportsmen in the West, they have also met people there who consider sport a sensation, like the decadent Romans with their gladiators. There was, for example, the gushing American army wife who exclaimed, "Oh, Mr. Zátopek, I love horse racing, but no horse ever gave me the thrill you did!"



The second time we saw Emil Zátopek was at the Prague "Annex" to the 1949 Paris Peace Congress. He attended all the sessions, took detailed notes and when he delivered his speech he was perspiring with earnestness and urgency. Again he was at the Berlin Youth Festival, was scheduled to attend the Vienna Congress of Peoples for Peace. For the Zátopeks sports are not just a sensation or a way to "make a fast buck." It is a symbol of the teamwork which could mean peace throughout the world. Said Dana, "If everyone could get together the way we did at Helsinki there would be no problem in preserving peace."

Old and New Merge in China

**Land reform transforms lives of millions,
makes traditional griefs only a memory**

by

JULIAN SCHUMAN

The author of this close-up of life in the New China of today is an American journalist who speaks Chinese and has lived in China since 1947. During a recent two-months period he traveled nearly 5,000 miles in that country from the industrial Northeast down to Canton, observing the growth and development of a number of China's largest cities, life in the villages and the Huai River flood control project. Mr. Schuman has written for the *Denver Post* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and for a year prior to the victory of the Chinese People's Republic, also served the American Broadcasting Company. He is at present associate editor of *China Monthly Review*, an American-owned magazine published in Shanghai.

SEEING is believing, but to this must be added "hearing is believing" if one wants to understand new China. The physical aspects of the new life of China's millions are here for the eye to see, yet, at the same time, in the spoken word of past grief and present change for the better are to be found the true feelings of the people. China is an ancient nation grown young and new, and to talk with her men and women is to learn and feel what liberation has meant.

Land reform has reached to the farthestmost points in China. From the Northeast to the deep south the land is now in the hands of those who work it. And whether it is a cooperative farm outside of Mukden, where land reform came early, or a tiny village near Canton some 2,000 miles to the south, where mutual-aid teams

are beginning to better the lives of those who have just gotten land, the story—in the sharp Mandarin dialect of the Northeast peasant and in the song-like tones of his brother in the south—is a simple yet vivid picture of the new life which has been won—against the background of down-trodden and bitter days under the Kuo-mintang.

In Northeast China, where large-scale land reform was first carried out, the pattern of land reform, then the mutual-aid team followed by the cooperative farm, is well developed. The collective farm comes later.

The village of Kao Gan is a typical cooperative farm which has grown out of the mutual-aid stage. A few miles from industrial Mukden, it is made up of 167 families comprising 720 people. Before liberation 61 per cent of the population were poor pea-

THREE FORMS OF AGRICULTURE IN CHINA

FOLLOWING the land reform in China, the peasants joined in small *mutual-aid teams* or groups—a form of voluntary labor based on individual ownership of land. Labor and equipment is pooled, but each peasant keeps his own land. Payment is based on the amount of work each does on his neighbors' plots. Mutual-aid teams teach cooperation, develop community life, make possible proper plowing and timely harvesting. As the team develops, the members generally pool some of their animals and even buy equipment in common. Eventually maximum productivity and gain is reached by the mutual-aid system—for one of the basic obstacles to better farming is the comparatively small, individual land areas to be worked.

The next stage, then, is the *agricultural producers' cooperative*. Here there is unified management based on collective labor and private ownership of land—but the members invest their land in the common enterprise and are credited with a corresponding number of shares. This system eliminates the idle land used for boundaries and barriers and facilitates use of farm machinery that requires large areas to operate efficiently. The system, through efficient, scientific farming,

increases crop yields, raises productivity of labor, increases the peasants' incomes not only through larger crops but from subsidiary occupations that more rational use of labor permits, and develops a stronger community spirit.

The peasants now approach the highest stage of community farming—the *collective farm*, in which there is unified management and collective labor based on socially owned land, that is, land owned by the collective farm in common.

Each stage, of course, is not as simplified or rigid as these descriptions would imply. A mutual-aid team at first might simply be neighbors joining together to help each other. In time, the proven advantages of collaboration would give rise to greater and more organized cooperation.

In 1952, more than 40 per cent of China's total peasantry were organized in mutual-aid teams. In areas that were among the first to be liberated, these teams comprised from 70 to 80 per cent of the peasantry.

There were also, in 1952, more than 4,000 agricultural producers' cooperatives, and there were 10 collective farms organized as pilot projects.

sants or tenant farmers, 30 per cent were middle peasants, and 9 per cent were landlords and rich peasants. The landlords and rich peasants owned 90.7 per cent of the land.

To understand new China is to know about old China and in Kao Gan, just as all over the country, the totally disproportionate ownership of land and the high rents (usually more than half a peasant's crop) made for the chief cause of peasant grief. For

example, here in Kao Gan, before liberation Han Yuming, a tenant farmer leased 20 mou (a mou is one-sixth of an acre) of land and averaged 27 piculs (a picul is about 133 pounds) of grain a year. He paid 13 piculs to the landlord for rent, six went for land tax and Han used up the equivalent of one picul a year to give his landlord gifts come festival time. The result was that he and his family of four were forced to

borrow at high interest rates, and were left with about five piculs of grain after a year's toil.

This fertile area, where kaoliang, corn, soyabeans, millet, wheat and rice are all raised, was liberated in autumn 1948 and land reform in Kao Gan gave each peasant land amounting to 2.75 mou per family member, landlords included. The poorest peasants received farm implements which had been confiscated from the landlords. Today, out of 2,500 cultivatable mou, 2,200 is worked by the cooperative.

A walk through this prosperous village led first to the land being plowed for wheat. A modern thresher arrived from Czechoslovakia and used by five different villages turns out 45,000 pounds a day in Kao Gan.

Jao Kuo-shun, a hired hand without any land before liberation, is now the director of the cooperative farm. His wife is the leader of the production department of the cooperative. Their six-year-old girl is in the village kindergarten and when she reaches seven she will attend the new village primary school. Both Jao and his wife for the first time in their lives are learning to read and write by going to night school. On the plot of land in front of their newly-built cottage they have more than 30 chickens which supply the family with far more eggs than they can eat. Recently, they bought three oxen, some pigs and ducks.

Looking about Kao Gan one is immediately struck by the cooperative store. From the stock on hand, the purchasing power of the peasant is clearly seen, and it is immeasurably higher than any ordinary peasant's dream in the days of Chiang Kai-shek. There is a wide range of goods from shoes to shirts, notebooks to beer, and cooking oil to gaily colored

cotton cloth. Eggs sell for less than 3 cents each, and as we passed the stacks of large round beancakes which are now sold for fertilizer Jao smiled wryly and remarked that before liberation people ate them when they had the price.

The spurt in buying power is apparent at the cloth counter where a steady rise in demand for multi-colored cloth has been replacing orders for single colors such as blue. The clerk said that if four people were able to afford colored cloth right after liberation then 50 can today. Purchases of cloth with designs during 1952 quadrupled those of 1951, he told me.

The cooperative farm at Kao Gan is a growing concern. Going from house to house, many of them newly built, all had glass windows and some were double glazed. This was unheard of before when paper was used to keep out the bitter cold of a Northeast winter. Jao had to go off on some business and I went into different peasants' homes at random and all showed a newly-found prosperity; light and heavy clothing for all seasons had replaced the traditional tattered rags of the past and neatly-piled new bedding revealed the end of former poverty. Evidence of the nation-wide health campaign was everywhere, not just on the main street but inside and around the houses as well. Public lavatories, unheard of in a pre-liberation village, have been built and are kept clean. Signs throughout Kao Gan stressed the need for proper sanitation.

Things which the Chinese peasants must have dreamed of for so long are here: a tractor and a threshing machine at work in the fields. For their children there is the new primary school which was built by all the people of the village in their

spare time after the government advanced funds and material. Now there are 115 children in the school and the new nursery for children whose mothers are at work in the fields is in a newly-painted and renovated building which a landlord once used to store grain collected from the peasants.

Before liberation most youngsters worked for the landlords to help the family and there was little chance for schooling. Of the 105 who were of primary school age in those days only 35 went to school in another village. Today, of the 22 Kao Gan children in a nearby school 19 come from former poor peasant or tenant farmer families.

Jaao rejoined me and we sat in the

afternoon sun outside his tiled-roof cottage munching peanuts, steamed sweet potatoes and hard boiled eggs. He was wearing his everyday work clothes, black jacket and trousers but I noticed there were no patches, the traditional sign of any peasant in the old days.

In swift flowing language he told me many things: production in Kao Gan has gone up and peasants are buying more carts and horses and life has improved all around. Food is plentiful and rice and flour are no longer a rarity on the table. Then shaking his head significantly he said that of the 101 families who had been poor peasants or tenant farmers before liberation over 50 now were equivalent to the former middle-

This mutual-aid team in China has learned the advantages of such methods of work. Here they are threshing their grain with a thresher from the USSR.

—China Reconstructs





—Pictorial China

Chinese farmers spray their rice crop with insecticides, a method of insuring high crops undreamed of in the past. New tools, selected seed, scientific farming are becoming the rule in the Chinese countryside.

peasants while six of the former middle-peasants were richer than before.

Jao turned toward the fields in front of us and talked of how out of land reform, mutual-aid teams and now the cooperative have come new ways of doing things. Experiments have been made with different kinds of fertilizers, 36 new wells with mechanical pumps have been dug and the cooperative added 29 cultivatable mou of land to the village. In 1952, 42 per cent of the land was cultivated

with new tools and during the past summer large quantities of insecticides were bought.

All of this, Jao noted, was impossible for a single farmer and was unheard of before. As he talked, the trend toward more and more group work in the future became evident. The production cooperative farm is the logical development out of the mutual-aid team, and full collectivization will be the logical outcome of the cooperative. Men like Jao had shared bitterness in the past and now they and their families are sharing rich harvest out of the labor they themselves put into their own land.

CANTON and its surrounding countryside is about 2,000 miles from the Northeast. While the first icy blasts of winter sweep the fields outside of Mukden the peasants here are watching their rich crops being nurtured by a warm sun. The lush green fields, with growing rice and the long slender stalks of sugar cane, have been returned, like the golden wheat fields of the Northeast, to those who plow them.

Yu An is a small village southwest of Canton, about an hour's trip by motor launch. The village is part of Si Lung hamlet which contains nine villages with a total population of 2,600. Yu An itself has 45 families, and like everywhere over the vast China countryside, most of them were poor peasants or hired hands without land before liberation. Of the total area of 3,000 mou of land in the hamlet, 18 landlords held 1,600 mou.

Li Ming, chairman of the peasants' association, is tall, thin with close-cropped hair on top of a year-round sunburned face. His white undershirt against his brown skin contrasts with his black trousers and unbuttoned peasant jacket as he tells of how

the landlords not only exploited the peasants by high rents and usurious loans but also physically mistreated many. There was never enough to eat and wild vegetables were a steady diet. The rich fields were often flooded and nothing was done.

Since liberation repairs on dikes and irrigation systems have helped raise production. For example, Li pointed out, although this area is fertile rice land, before liberation the average yield was a little more than two piculs a mou. Now, peasants are harvesting as much as seven and eight piculs a mou. Land reform here has meant 1.2 mou of land per person, including the former landlords who did not run away to nearby Hongkong.

No matter where one went among China's peasants, the old days meant ignorance and illiteracy; it was part and parcel of the old order. Before liberation, in all of Si Lung hamlet only 100 children were able to go to school. Now nearly 1,000 are attending, including adults who never had a chance before.

In Yu An I walked up the main dirt road running through the village. As far as the eye could see were rice paddies and here and there were patches of sugar ready to be harvested. From the Northeast to the south of China I had walked through many fields and seen many different crops, and I also had talked to many peasants. Now I went into one of the small but compact brick homes here in Yu An to talk to someone who had lived here and had seen the old replaced by the new.

Ke Yung is a 51-year-old peasant woman who never married. Her life was the bitter struggle of a woman who for many years worked as a farm laborer with her young niece on whatever landlord's land she could find

work. It was a hard life and it is written in her wrinkled face and caloused hands.

She tells something of life before when she went without enough to eat so many times though she toiled long and hard hours every year. Even when there was food it was insufficient and to eat rice on rare occasions was a thing to be remembered, this despite the fact that the whole area was heavy with a rich rice crop. Sweet potatoes were the staple food.

During the Japanese occupation Ke Yung ate whatever she could: melons, wild grass, "anything I could get my hands on," she said recalling days of actual starvation.

It is a simple matter to ask a peasant how he or she lives today. And in quiet words Ke Yung replies: "Ten times better than before," and goes on to say that now she and her 19-year-old niece have their own three mou of land and are raising 28 piculs of rice a year, they have many chickens and the new five family mutual-aid team they belong to is constantly helping produce more and increase everyone's wordly goods.

And now Ke Yung and her niece, both of whom never saw the inside of a school before, are studying in the new village night school, learning to read and write. And, Ke Yung adds wryly, times are different now and her niece will not go through life unmarried as she was.

Watching the chickens in front of her newly repaired house, Ke Yung spoke of how she had tried to raise chickens before but gave up because the landlord would take as many as he wanted if he felt so inclined. And in retrospect, looking out into the rice paddies and sugar cane fields, she turned and said: "Today we all eat rice at every meal."

WHAT ARE POLISH WOMEN LIKE?

***Their country ravaged by war, they are
co-creators of a new socialist society***

by

MARGARET SCHLAUCH

IF I ADDRESS this article to women, and undertake to tell about the matters of immediate concern to them in the daily life of a people's democracy, don't let any male readers assume that what I say is of negligible importance. It has its meaning even for the grey-beards who write weighty tomes on Statistical Surveys and Economic Trends. There is an old saying in Latin: From his foot you can recognize Hercules (*Ex pede Herculem*). From cosmetics and shopping bags you can tell much about the state of a national economy, as any housewife knows. And women often have a down-to-earth common sense in evaluating situations, partly because the realities they face keep them from the institutional awe felt by men for such imposing abstractions as banking and finance, national budgets, foreign trade, and so on.

I write, then, about daily life, not exceptional events like births, graduations, holidays and family illnesses, which call for discussion on a separate occasion.

Let me begin by giving a heartfelt tribute to the Polish women. I think they are wonderful. Almost any

one of them you talk to has a story of past anguish and loss to tell about, yet as a whole they have applied themselves briskly and without self-pity to the task of rebuilding life and carrying it forward to higher levels than were dreamed of before.

Practically every woman I know has a job of some sort, full time or part time. Those with any skill and training at all have been rapidly advanced since the present regime lifted the barriers due to sex, and so you will find women presiding as judges and pleading cases in courts, practicing medicine and dentistry, occupying professional chairs, acting as editors, translators, teachers, research assistants, executives—in short, following any career they are fitted for.

Those women without training find chances to get it while they work at unskilled jobs. This requires time and energy, to be sure—two very precious commodities in this hard-

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Peace is their keyword. Chairman of an agricultural cooperative, Marta Gatsparskaya attends a peace congress held in the Polish capital.

working country—but the full evening classes in the schools testify to the eagerness to learn prevailing among them. They are becoming bookkeepers, machinists, conductors, bus and tractor drivers; and there is an endless need for them, too, in all sorts of offices and production enterprises.

For readers who do want statistics, here are a few concrete facts and figures: There are today a million and a half women organized in trade unions alone, whereas before the war 45 per cent of all women holding jobs were in domestic service (unorganized of course). Before the war, women's wages were 25 to 30 per cent lower than men's; today the principle of equal pay for equal work

is everywhere enforced, and in addition women are made the subject of special care in the form of health regulations, maternity leaves, facilities for the care of pre-school children, nurseries at the place of work, all adding up to more leisure.

Women are increasingly active in cooperatives: there are 45,000 in the Peasants' Self-Aid Society, for instance. In the past two years, 6,129 have received special state awards for distinguished work in professional and social work.

The steady increase in the employment of women in general is reflected in these figures: for the socialized sector of the national economy (excluding agriculture) there were 1,388,000 (or 29.6 per cent of all employed) in 1950; 1,529,000 (30.4 per cent of the total) in 1951; and 1,748,000 (32 per cent) are the figures expected for the end of 1952. The political activity of women is reflected in the fact that 15,000 of them are members of the local National Councils (*Rady Narodowe*), about one-tenth of them holding executive positions such as chairmen and members of presidia. Educational work and practical experience are being directed towards an increase in these numbers, especially of women in positions of management, leadership and responsibility.

And now for impressions on the more personal level.

Between 7:30 and 9:00 in the morning it is a pleasure to be in the streets of any town or city and watch the tide of attractive femininity, young and old, on its way to work.

The favored costume is a tailored suit worn with a soft, even fluffy blouse or a hand-knitted sweater. The wise girl chooses material of the superior domestic tweeds and home-spuns and gets herself an outfit that

will last for years and still look natty: the kind of thing one enjoys living in, even if acquiring it means careful budgeting and saving in the first place. The same is true of the winter coats. The popular style in these is a warm sport model, loose-swinging from the shoulders, often lined with fur or fleece against the penetrating winter winds.

The manner of producing these suits and coats, and the blouses and summer dresses as well, throws an interesting sidelight on Polish transitional economy—a typical partial carry-over of old ways during the beginning stages of socialism. Formerly, of course, the world of fashion was limited to the tiny group of women belonging to the bourgeoisie, and they obtained their apparel under conditions of small handicraft production which hadn't changed much since the eighteenth century. That meant that a well-dressed woman (who was usually a social parasite) spent her whole time running to tailors, dressmakers, milliners, shoemakers, to have everything she owned made to order. When she wasn't hav-

ing fittings she was apparently having alterations and adjustments; your fashionable bourgeoisie prided herself on being fussy, and the oftener she went back to demand minuscule changes, the more she convinced her little world that she was a woman of taste and discrimination.

Older women—now hard at work, bless them—have confessed to me that to this day they haven't learned how to darn a stocking or change the hem of a dress. They still have to call in a seamstress periodically to do these things for them. And there are still a certain number of these hired women who work privately; there are still the private tailors, dressmakers, shoemakers, and so on. But the transition is occurring. More and more of these workers are going into cooperatives, in which greater productivity is obtained by a combination of handicraft skill with the machine, aided by the efficiency of organized numbers. Through them, made-to-order suits and coats can be obtained with far less delay and loss of time by the customer.

Moreover, mass-production is be-

Polish women enter whatever trade attracts them. These women are taking a course organized in their factory to teach them to be lathe operators.



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ginning to bring Polish women the advantages of ready-made articles both cheap and tasteful. So far this production is in its early stages.

To an American realizing the advantages of having such clothes available, it is a bit amusing to hear skeptical comments from those brought up under the old system. Last spring, for instance, the central department store in Warsaw received a consignment of ready-made cotton dresses very reasonably priced: ideal for summer wear in the office and on the street, and also nice to slip into at home during other seasons, when one wants to get out of a suit or woolen dress.

The die-hards tended to turn up their noses—"What, buy a ready-made frock?"—but the clever maids and matrons bought up the supply promptly, and I can testify that most of the models were becoming indeed, barring a few prints in over-bright colors. Of course it was sometimes necessary for the purchaser to insert a tuck, alter a hem, or change the buttons for color emphasis, but these arts, so familiar to American women, are rapidly being learned here.

What is true of clothing is also true in other areas of interest to women, for instance in hairdressing and cosmetics. Here too you will find the private caterers to feminine beauty operating still, under strict price control of course, but more and more of these shops are making a quiet shift into cooperatives and government chains.

When a Polish woman visits the hairdresser's she may command the services familiar in America: manicure, eyebrow shaping, supplementation of nature with tints and waves of various sorts. Under the drier she can read magazines about films and

fashions, like her sisters in America; but the printed materials are, it goes without saying, on a much higher level here. Movie magazines tell about films that are triumphs of serious art or documentation, and there is a refreshing absence of the decadent, the fatuous and the sinister elements so conspicuous in texts and advertisements of these journals at home.

Shopping for groceries gives occasion, like the hairdressers', for meditation on problems of broad economy and international trade. This aspect of housewives' activity is also in a state of transition. You can see the tiny hole-in-the-wall private shops side by side with the larger chain stores of state and cooperative enterprises. These in turn are now being felt to be too scattered and specialized, necessitating separate visits for the purchase of different items like meat, dairy products, vegetables, bread, sweets and cake. Plans for the future include large central markets, where all of these items, or most of them, will be purchasable under one roof. The change will mean an enormous gain for Polish women, who at present accomplish miracles in combining rather old-fashioned marketing with new-fashioned responsibilities inside and outside the home.

Meantime, there are already some attractive larger shops carrying delicatessen wares such as superior preserves, cheeses, fruits and fruit juices, wines and sweets: the kind of things a family wants to have for special entertaining and celebrations.

And here from time to time you may come upon an item which once more brings up the subject of foreign trade. Among the canned goods with Polish labels you will occasionally find some with English ones: such items as whole tinned hams, roast goose

in cuts, jams and vegetables. All of these are excellent in any language. They were obviously intended for export to England, where the underfed population would surely appreciate them in exchange for the machinery, cotton and machine-made goods (thread is one of them) still scarce at this end. That is how the English violation of trade agreements, under pressure from Washington, is made palpable to shoppers here.

It may be added that the time is passing when the need for exchange is urgently felt in Poland; the policy of trying to strangle socialism by embargo is failing signally.

There is one kind of shopping here, by the way, that is pure pleasure both aesthetically and financially. I refer to the increasing supplies of crystal and chinaware: cut glass in original designs, wine and cocktail glasses, coffee and tea sets of fine texture and subtle lines, vases and dinner sets.

When I first arrived here a year and a half ago such tableware was hard to get and practically limited to the second-hand trade. Now the new products are available in elegant new shops and at extremely reasonable prices. Good everyday china is also coming into the department stores at the same time in increasing quantities.

Even more alluring are the multiplying shops that carry the handmade products of "folk art" (*sztuka ludowa*). Multicolored and plain handwoven textiles are to be found here in the shape of curtain materials, drapes, linen tablecloths with napkins, woolen rugs and tapestries. There is some embroidery too, but mostly the rich effects are gained by the knowing use of inwoven color, in combinations such as silver gray thread with robin's egg blue or aqua-

marine or ivory, muted olive-green with soft tans and beige, mustard with shades of brown and deeper green. Certain districts in Poland produce the clear, sharper colors familiar to us from the more usual Mexican serapes, but the finest work here is done with softer effects.

The hand-turned pottery is lovely and amazingly cheap. Vases, handleless mugs and matching pitchers come in opalescent greens and blues, lemon yellow and tans, lightly touched with brush strokes of contrasting color. There are black jugs and basins and fruit dishes, marked with lighter tracings of gray which resemble Gothic remains of the fourth century dug up in the Old City during current restorations.

Besides there are miscellaneous smaller articles ranging, like the rest, from the beautiful and cheap to the beautiful and non-cheap: tooled leather handbags, sandals, pottery lamp bases, carved wooden boxes, brooches and necklaces of amber, silver alloy, ceramics and highly polished, petrified wood.

Some of the shops also carry etchings, paintings (the "primitives" are very interesting), water colors and smaller items of wood and stone sculpture. As families move into new apartments, or await transfer in the patched-up older ones, they can now begin to collect some objects of authentic beauty and use for daily living.

There is a theory behind the development of all these shops. They represent the planned fostering of all popular traditional arts, as a living contribution enriching the new socialist way of life.

When purchases have been made, meals cooked, the cares of job and household put away, what do women do for entertainment when they go

An exciting experience the world over. Mother takes her daughter on a shopping trip in Warsaw to select a doll.



out, singly or with escort? The theater and movies which offer excellent and varied fare have already been described in these pages. There are also many lectures, meetings and discussion groups.

Adhering to the lighter side of things in this account, however, we may rather say a word about the places at which people gather for the sake of human sociability pure and simple, to exchange current news and jests and talk of personal doings. The traditional European milieu for such social life is of course the public café, and Warsaw now has a large, still-growing number of these centers. They range from cozy little places with miniature tables and stools, to bright sunny halls with spacious outlook, where one can read papers and magazines of the progressive world press in a score of languages, while sipping tea or coffee with cakes.

The grandest center of all for sociability is the new residential section just completed around a widened square of old Marszałkowska street. M.D.M. (Marszałkowska Residential District) is the latest pride of the

city so rapidly restoring itself. Here, under massive colonnades that facilitate window-shopping in all weathers, are some of the most attractive stores in the city. The terrace that roofs the colonnade is put to use in summer to add outdoors space to a café, a restaurant, a reading room and chess club. Bright colored parasols, gay flower boxes, deck chairs and low-slung wicker seats at the tables add to the visitors' comfort and pleasure. There are also, on the street level, two indoor cafés, a milk bar, a fruit bar, and a *beer-stube*; and below street level—agreeably cool on a hot summer's night, as I can testify—is a Gothic-style wine cellar, where friends can celebrate an evening of leisure by talking over a bottle of native or imported beverage as long as they desire.

M.D.M. is one of the brightest islands amid the diminishing areas of ruin still remaining to be conquered. To Polish women, co-creators and home-builders in this people's democracy, it is a pledge and symbol of the coming abundant and gracious life, now clearly within grasp.

Writers and Writing in the USSR

***Straight questions about art, culture
bring straight replies, British author
reports following visit to the Soviets***

by ARNOLD KETTLE

I WAS lucky enough to be one of a party of six British writers—supporters of the Authors' World Peace Appeal—who in July, 1952 visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Writers. What follows is merely some personal impressions of one member of the party.

We received from our Soviet colleagues a welcome not less friendly than it was generous. They put themselves at our disposal with a prodigal disregard of their own time and answered our questions with the greatest frankness. Our discussions were certainly not, on either side, mealy-mouthed. To the Russians some of our party's questions must sometimes have seemed on the borderline of insult; for their part they did not hesitate, when they thought it necessary, to go on to the offensive. Neither group felt that there was anything to be gained from a smudging of controversial issues.

Some of our discussions took place in the beautiful house in Moscow which is the headquarters of the Union of Soviet Writers. It is the original house of the Rostov family in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. The house of the Leningrad writers, with its superb view of that city's lovely waterfront, is scarcely less impres-

sive. Other meetings were less formal, including a wonderful day spent in a visit to Tolstoy's house at Yasnaya Polyana, 150 miles from Moscow, a national monument kept with a combination of care and informality which we found very moving.

The material conditions of writers in the Soviet Union are obviously excellent. Editions run to enormous numbers and royalties are considerable, so that (taking the ruble as worth sixpence) a new writer will make the equivalent of from £1,000 to £3,000 on the first edition of his book (generally 15,000 copies). Ten Soviet poets have a circulation of over a million each. What we saw of the Union of Writers' houses and heard of the rest-homes in the Crimea and the Caucasus was enough to assure us that the practicing writer in the Soviet Union is looked upon as a member of society deserving the highest privileges.

But it was not, of course, material conditions that we chiefly discussed. We asked about censorship, whether official or implicit, about relations between writers and the state, about freedom of criticism, and about the artistic standards and values of the Soviet writers.

Samuel Marshak, the eminent translator of Shakespeare and Burns,

a literary man of pre-revolutionary days, told us, while emphasizing that he was not a member of the Communist Party, that he much preferred the relations which he now had with the State publishing houses and the Union of Writers to his previous experience of commercial publishing. "You see, the relationship isn't a financial one any longer," he said. "We writers feel much more a part of the people, not isolated and 'different' the way writers used to be."

This point was taken up a hundred times in different forms. "It is only if your soul is typical of the soul of your time that you will find the common language of the people," said Alexei Surkov. "There are difficulties enough in working for the masses; but they are nothing compared with the dangers of loneliness and the isolation of the writer from the people." "We believe in personal relationships, in love and all it means," said Galina Nikolaeva, "but we don't see personal relationships in isolation. Love of our country is an important kind of love." Vera Panova insisted that though the writer must not underestimate or play down the evil in life yet ultimately he must show that good triumphs. "That's precisely what many Western intellectuals would deny," I said. "So much the worse for them," said Vera Panova.

It seemed to me as we talked to the Soviet writers that two things in particular emerged. The first was that one should not try to approach the problems of Soviet culture in too abstract or theoretical a fashion. The basis of Soviet culture is not an abstract theory, a dogma, a wordy orthodoxy. The problem that faces the Soviet writer is—in all its simplicity and complexity—the problem

of producing a truly popular literature, a literature which the people will enjoy and find satisfying. And by the people is meant not "elite" but the people themselves.

At a factory we visited, meetings were arranged about once a month in which the workers discussed particular books with their authors, giving their criticisms, saying what they liked. The average attendance at these meetings, the secretary of the trade union branch told us, was about 150. The House of Children's Books arranges similar meetings up and down the country between the writers of children's books and their young readers. These discussions are two-way affairs. It is not a matter of the writers explaining or lecturing on their own level. It is a matter of achieving a unity of feeling and a fundamental sympathy between writers and readers.

I stress this perhaps obvious point because to me it was the most impressive thing I learned in my visit to the Soviet Union. It seemed to me that most discussion by Western intellectuals of "Socialist Realism," "Revolutionary Art," "Marxism and Culture," and so on, all miss the essential point, just as most discussions about the political and social set-up of the Soviet Union tend to become hopelessly abstract and theoretical.

The main thing about the Soviet Union is that it is a people's country, a country in which everything is based upon and depends upon the lives and activities of the ordinary working people and all judgments, values, morals, aesthetic criteria, etc., spring from this.

We are always being told that ideas and standards are *imposed* on the Soviet people from above and I think that even many people who are sympathetic to the USSR have some-

thing of this feeling. I can only say that it seems to me the absolute reverse of the truth. It is the people who impose *their* values, *their* ideas, *their* sense of necessity upon Soviet society, for, quite literally, they *are* Soviet society.

The second point that struck me time and time again was that even when there were quite substantial disagreements between many of the British and Soviet writers one felt that fundamentally we were all talking the same language. By this I mean that the values we held dear were the same, even when interpretations differed. Alexei Surkov and Boris Polevoy constantly used phrases which breathed the same spirit as Wordsworth's preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* and Shelley's *Defense of Poetry*.

Wherever we went we were impressed by the standard of reading: among the children no comic-strips, no gangsters, no sadistic horrors, no glorification of force or war or brutality. One of our party noticed as she sat in the Metro that of the two passengers seated on either side of her one was reading Chekhov and the other Dostoevsky. The great figures of the past, Russian and foreign, are not merely revered but even read. "Nobody pushes me around," said Professor Norikov, of the Gorky Institute. "I love the classics and work on them. A book I recently wrote on Pushkin sold 100,000 copies."

We took the opportunity to talk at some length about the effects of the discussions and criticism among the writers themselves which are a feature of Soviet writing. I remember saying, during a conversation at Leningrad, that it seemed to me from the Soviet novels I had read in translation that perhaps the chief weakness lay in an over-simplified

characterization and a consequent lack of conflict within the books. We discussed this question fairly fully. Several of the Russians made the legitimate point that in the Soviet Union the fundamental conflicts within society have been eliminated and with them many of the psychological conflicts which bother and often obsess Western writers. A new society is producing a new man, simpler, less racked with inner division, but not less profound.*

But all the writers agreed that there had not yet been a fully satisfactory artistic presentation of the new man and his world. "The time in which we live is too deep and exciting for most of us as writers," said Surkov. "It needs a Shakespeare." And when we pressed some of our points someone said: "The kind of questions you are raising are precisely the sort that we discuss among ourselves."

It was interesting to hear from Zoshchenko in Leningrad the reactions of a writer who has himself been seriously criticized.** We asked him whether the criticism had been useful to him or inhibiting. He replied thoughtfully and with obvious sincerity that it was difficult to say and that only when his work appeared could a satisfactory judgment be made. He did not pretend that he had liked the experience; it had been a painful and for a time a bitter thing. But it had made him think more fundamentally than he had previously done of the responsi-

* See "Drama Without 'Conflict'?" by Andrew Vaynow, NWR, October, 1952.

** Zoshchenko was criticized, among others, for formalistic influences and a negative approach to Soviet life in an address, in 1946, to Leningrad writers by the late Andrei Zhdanov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of the Leningrad Party organization. Zhdanov's critical comments launched a wide discussion of the aims of literature in a Socialist society.



In town or country, Soviet people are deeply interested in literature. A village (upper) gathers to mark Pushkin's 150th anniversary. Lower: Moscow subway workers' drama circle meets in their club to discuss a new play.

bilities of a humorous writer and for that reason he could not resent the criticism and tried to profit by it.

It was obvious that Zoshchenko himself was personally on good terms with the other Leningrad members of the Union of Soviet Writers and that, however severe the criticism of him may have been, it had not resulted in ostracism or oblivion, let alone the more sinister consequences which some British comments always, on such occasions, imply.

It is clear that in a socialist society in which publishing for profit has been abolished, the question of what

does and does not get published is one which has to be decided in different ways from the one with which we are familiar. The various publishing houses and periodicals (many novels are first published, like our own nineteenth-century novels, in serial form), although independent and—in the socialist sense—competitive, are all ultimately responsible to the State and, through the State, to the people themselves.

To the Western intellectual who is never called upon to take an actual decision as to what—given certain expendable resources—should or should not be published, the Soviet system

immediately raises all kinds of doubts. Is there not all the time a narrow form of censorship—ideological and political? Can *anything* be published? The question is not as simple as that. One of our party asked if a book written from a Christian pacifist viewpoint would stand any chance of publication in the Soviet Union. Yes: it might well be published by the religious publishing house. But would, say, a Graham Greene novel be published? Unlikely: it is not the sort of thing Soviet people want to read or can even understand.

I think this whole question cannot be simplified into neat sentences of complacency or indignation. Can *anything*, after all, be published in Britain? Are we quite sure anyway that we want *anything* to be published, quite regardless of its value and consequences? The important questions are really: what are the standards by which literature is to be judged as suitable for publication and who is to be responsible for the actual decisions? Without going any deeper into the question it seems to me that the Soviet publishing system is, to say the least, a responsible and democratic one. That it is not perfect need surprise no one. But that it should be dismissed as in some way sinister or inimical to artistic standards is, I suggest, quite unwarrantable. Such an attitude can be due only to extreme prejudice or to a failure to think through the implications of socialism and democracy in the cultural sphere.

A democratic culture is not a culture in which the mass of the people have been "educated up" to the tastes of their betters, an assumption which is implicit in much thinking on the subject in our country. On the contrary it is a culture not merely for but of the people. This may mean the disappearance of certain types of art which are born out of the problems of a minority, but it does not mean a lowering of standards.

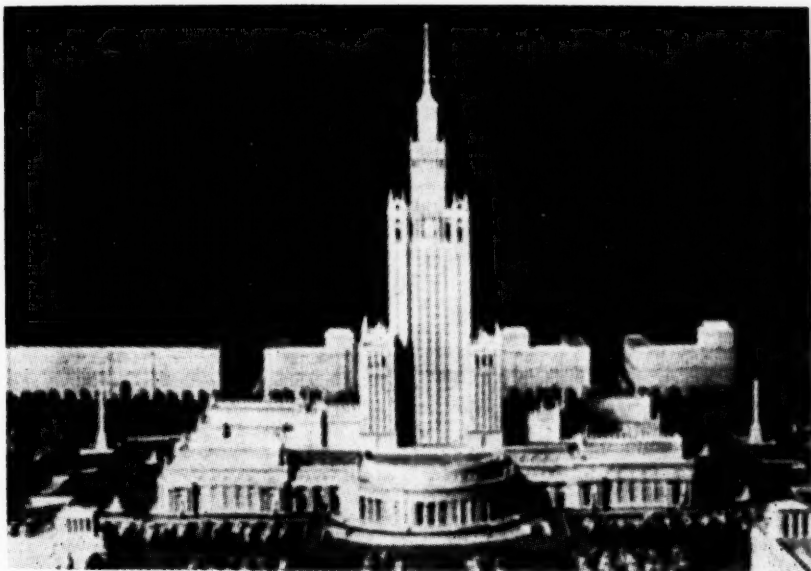
No one who has visited the Soviet theaters could possibly imagine that artistic standards in the Soviet Union are in danger—not that there is any complacency anywhere about the quality of most of the new plays. We went, for instance, to a performance of Tolstoy's *The Living Corpse* at the Maly Theater in Moscow. It is not a play that one can imagine being "popular" anywhere in the West, yet the audience of ordinary working-class folk was enthusiastic and enormously appreciative. And well they might be.

I have never anywhere seen acting or production of so high a standard. The whole thing made even a superior Old Vic production seem rather amateurish—or, rather, a bit too professional; for what struck one was the combination of supreme technical excellence with a complete absence of slickness. Audiences who are being brought up on productions of such quality cannot possibly be in danger of not knowing what artistic standards are.

(From the *Anglo-Soviet Journal*)

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN CHINA

CHINA has about 60 national minorities with a total population of approximately 40 million. Autonomous regions of varying size that have been established for them already number 130.



A model of the Palace of Culture and Science, the Soviet Union's gift to Poland, which will occupy one of the largest squares in Warsaw and will tower 726 feet high.

From the USSR to Poland

ONE of the most splendid demonstrations of friendship between two nations is the magnificent Palace of Culture and Science that the Soviet Union is presenting to Poland. Scheduled for completion in 1955, it will be the new home of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The entire cost of the Palace, including a housing estate for the building workers, construction materials, machinery and equipment, and even the supplies for the Soviet engineers and technicians, is borne by the USSR. Work on the construction site has already begun.

The Academy will have 250 rooms and studies in the Palace, as well as six two-story lecture rooms, a conference hall and other facilities.

In addition to the Academy of Sciences the Palace will house the Institute for Training Scientific Cadres, the Society for Popular Knowledge, and a Youth Palace.

The Institute will have 120 rooms, 52 studies for scientific workers, a library, 12 lecture halls, and an auditorium accommodating 400. The Society will have 50 rooms, one auditorium seating 400, and two seating 200 each. The Youth Palace will have laboratories, work rooms, technical sections and a sport section equipped with everything from a gymnasium to a swimming pool.

In addition there will be a museum, a large auditorium seating 3,700, a theater, concert hall, and two cinema auditorium.

Dr. Du Bois' Stirring Story

A review by JESSICA SMITH

IN BATTLE FOR PEACE. The story of my 83rd Birthday. By W. E. B. Du Bois, With Comment by Shirley Graham. Masses and Mainstream. New York, 1952. 192 pp. \$1.00

DR. DU BOIS tells in his rich and flowing and poetic style the story of how he and his co-workers in the former Peace Information Center were brought to trial by the United States Government, charged with failure to register as foreign agents because they were discharging their duties as patriotic Americans in working for peace and trying to save our country and the world from the unimaginable horrors of atomic destruction.

The Government had no case because Dr. Du Bois and his colleagues were acting as agents of no foreign principal, but only of their own consciences. The "proofs" which the government claimed to possess could only have been forgeries if they existed at all. Chief government witness was the miserable creature characterized by Dr. Du Bois as "Rogge the Rat" who had himself been an initiator in the organization of the Peace Information Center. When Rogge had later registered as an agent of Yugoslavia he had declared that no movement with which he was connected was an agent of a foreign principal, although he was then a member of the PIC. Yet he appeared at the trial to charge his former colleagues with being what he had previously said they were not.

Because of all this, because of the forthright and uncompromising stand of the defendants, because the fantastic charges aroused the indignation of decent people all over this land and brought protests from the far corners of the earth, the verdict was an acquittal even before the defense had presented

its case, and a great victory was scored for the cause of peace.

Woven into the story of the trial and victory are glimpses of Dr. Du Bois' lifelong struggle for the freedom of the Negro people and colonial liberation, merged now into the struggle for a better world without hunger or want or oppression or war which Negro and white people will build together. In these glimpses we see the constant growth and development of this deeply cultured, richly endowed world citizen who each year uses his pen and voice more mightily in the cause of human welfare.

This is a love story, too. For in the midst of the struggle came the marriage of Dr. Du Bois and the gifted writer, Shirley Graham, who stood so heroically by his side during the indictment and the trial and the struggles around it, and who plays her own noble part in the great battle for peace. Her commentaries give added warmth, humor and insight to this stirring human document.

The prosecution of Dr. Du Bois failed as utterly in the attempt to silence him by intimidation as by "legal" means. Strongly and boldly he speaks out in this book and from the public platform against the forces that today are "transforming this traditionally peaceful nation into the greatest war-monger of all history." He exposes the utter bankruptcy of the position of the anti-Communists and anti-Sovieteers, and expresses his gratitude for the support received in his case from Communists, Socialists and adherents of the Left, as well as from many others.

He calls for cooperation of all groups who believe in peace, whatever their differences on other issues, and for peaceful co-existence between the socialist and capitalist systems.

Denying that loyalty to the United States involves hatred for other peoples, he declares:

While, then, I am and expect to be a loyal citizen of the United States, I also respect and admire the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I regard that land as today the most hopeful nation on earth, not because of its theory, but because of what it has accomplished. It has in a generation raised hundreds of millions of debased serfs out of illiteracy, superstition and poverty to self-respecting, hard working manhood. I do not regard the Soviet Union as perfect, but as an historian and sociologist of some training and experience, and as a traveler in many parts of the world, I do not believe the evidence offered charging the Soviets with being a nation of slavery, with being an imperialism exploiting unwilling peoples, or a nation which does not fulfill its obligations to other nations. . . . The greatest single fact about Russia which holds my faith is its system of popular education. There is in the world no system

equal to it. . . . The Soviet Union is trying desperately to evolve a nation working under severe discipline so as to evolve a people as free as abolition of poverty, ignorance and disease makes possible.

This beautiful and moving book should be read by every American concerned with peace and the future of our country. It is the record of a battle on behalf of the most vital issue in the world today fought with courage and nobility by one of the greatest figures of our times. We need to know every detail of that battle because it was waged on behalf of us all and because from the telling of it we can draw hope and strength and inspiration for the continuing struggle for peace to which it summons us. For through the sombre notes pounding into our consciousness the shame and degradation that have befallen us today, sound the clear notes of the triumphant song of victory for peace and freedom that will one day ring throughout our land.

War Propaganda Via Footnotes

A review by VICTOR PERLO

THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY, by *Dexter Perkins*. Harvard University Press, 1952, 203 pp. \$3.75.

DURING RECENT YEARS leading politicians have written their apologies for helping to organize the foreign policy known as the cold war. Now Dexter Perkins, Chairman of the History Department of the University of Rochester, has given a historical and theoretical explanation. He endeavors to refute "those who charge the United States with imperialistic designs."

The author concedes that the U.S. was an imperialist power from 1898 to 1918, but then, he claims, this ceased. The facts about subsequent American

imperialist expansion, especially since World War II, are too conspicuous to be denied: the largest peacetime military budgets in all history, the most far-flung network of military bases ever known, billions of new foreign investments and profits from same, establishment of U.S. financial domination over the capitalist world, the war against the Korean people, reactionary legislation like the Smith and McCarran Acts at home.

Mr. Perkins tries to explain away this gross reality with three main devices:

First, he deliberately confuses American imperialism with the American people:

"To the Soviet Union the peoples

of the West and, particularly, of the United States are imperialists" (p. 31).

He *deliberately* confuses the issue, because a moderately informed man must be aware of the distinction made by Soviet leaders and by anti-imperialists everywhere between the peoples of the imperialist states, and the ruling monopoly groups, who alone are the imperialists. Proceeding from the confusion of the people with the imperialists, Mr. Perkins cites various examples of the anti-imperialist sentiments of the American people as evidence of the absence of American imperialism. All he really proves thereby is that imperialism and imperialist war are in opposition to the American people as well as to the peoples of all other countries.

Secondly, Mr. Perkins develops various mystical explanations for United States foreign policy:

"It is possible to regard the expansion of the United States as a kind of *biological process* which could hardly have been arrested." (pp. 17-18).

"... we are dealing with *process* rather than with principle; with the *urge* of a great nation to enlarge its sphere of influence and activity... it was *natural*, perhaps *inevitable* that the American people should begin to look beyond their borders, and seek to play a greater part on the stage of the world." (p. 23) (Emphasis added.)

Does the American steel worker, or sharecropper, have a "biological urge" to conquer the Philippines, or Haiti, or Korea? Clearly, this is most unnatural nonsense!

In the same vein, Mr. Perkins finds that the main cause of America's frequent wars is "the idea of national security" (p. 89). He pictures the "American security zone" expanding from the area of the Caribbean at the end of the 19th Century, to the Far Pacific by the middle of the 1930s, and by now "immensely widened" to embrace "inevitably" Germany and West-

ern Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, all of Latin America, the Orient—in short, almost every place.

What is this accordion-like "security zone?" Mr. Perkins frankly admits that it has not involved any danger of attack on the United States, with the possible exception of the menace of Hitler and Japan in the 1930s. But:

"It matters very little whether the danger existed or not; security is a metaphysical as well as a physical conception." (p. 92).

In short, the "idea of national security" is a "metaphysical" invention. More accurately, it is the choice hypocritical slogan of U.S. imperialism to excuse its aggression.

The final theme of the book is Soviet policy as the excuse for U.S. foreign policy. Mr. Perkins states:

"But it is not the object of this chapter to narrate in detail the story of the deterioration of Russo-American relations from 1945 to 1950 or to assess the blame therefor."

This is *immediately* followed by:

"There is good reason to believe that shortly after Yalta the whole question of such relations was thoroughly and cold-bloodedly examined by the Politburo, and that the decision was taken to pursue an aggressive rather than a conciliatory policy towards the United States. . . ." (p. 181).

No evidence is given. The "good reason" is not mentioned. By this sheer speculation, worthy of a cheap gossip columnist, a once respected historian and scholar sets up the major premise required by the promoters of anti-Soviet war.

The tightening net of U.S. bomber bases surrounding the Soviet Union—ignored. The repeated overtures of the U.S.S.R. for peaceful trade, for conferences to settle differences, for disarmament—ignored. The consistent advocacy by the leaders of the Soviet

Union of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism—ignored. Instead, the unproved and unprovable slander of a Dulles or an Acheson—that any colonial revolt against imperialism, any working class struggle for power anywhere—is “Soviet-inspired”; that the United States must intervene to prevent this. The author inadvertently admits the real purpose of U.S. reactionary interventions, and anti-Soviet war preparations:

“They (the Soviet Union) can put the United States in an uncomfortable position of denying the right of revolution, and of acting to suppress it. It is exceedingly important to note the value of this technique in dealing with any country where a rotten gov-

ernment and a reactionary oligarchical clique may be in control, and where the aspirations of the masses are neglected” (pp. 183-184).

Mr. Perkins does *not* advocate breaking with reactionary regimes. He does *not* advocate using U.S. power to help the masses realize their aspirations. He considers that the U.S. must deny the right of revolution, and act to suppress it, on the ground that it is Soviet-inspired.

It is not only the Soviet people, but the peoples of almost all countries, who rightly condemn this policy of the U.S. Government. And one may expect that many American students, subjected to Mr. Perkins’ book, will see through it as a perversion of scholarship seeking to justify aggressive war.

Victims of the Cold War Hysteria

THE COLD-WAR MURDER: The Frame-Up Against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, by Richard O. Boyer. Civil Rights Congress, New York. 1952 48 pp. 25 cents.

“We do not pretend that we are unafraid. But we fear also for those for whom our death sentence is a precedent, for those who like us may find themselves in our place, unless you, who are free today, makes us free again.”

SO WROTE Julius and Ethel Rosenberg from the death house at Sing Sing.

This couple, the husband 33, the wife 36, were convicted early in 1951 of espionage and sentenced to death. The date of their execution has been set for the week of January 12. Meanwhile, a growing movement (tragically slow in getting started), has developed to bring about executive clemency by President Truman.

The Rosenbergs were convicted on charges of conspiring to convey the secret of the atomic bomb to the Soviet

Union. The case hinged on the testimony of a confessed spy, David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg. Greenglass was sentenced (by the same judge who ordered the Rosenbergs executed) to a 15-year term and is expected to serve much less. In passing sentence on the Rosenbergs the judge made the fantastic statement that the **defendants** had been responsible for the more than 50,000 casualties in Korea, an implicit admission that the case was being utilized to justify the warmakers in their own criminal adventures.

The petition to invalidate the conviction and set aside the death sentence, recently submitted by defense counsel, was buttressed by affidavits of four eminent scientists that the “secrets” allegedly transmitted to the Soviet Union were not secrets at all but were well-known. This was further attested to by more than 100 scientific journals from various parts of the world showing that the so-called “confidential information” was public property as far back as 1940.

The defendants were found guilty of espionage, not treason, and the alleged offense was committed at a time when the Soviet Union was our ally in the war against the Nazis. Even in treason cases the death penalty has been imposed only twice by U.S. civilian courts, *never in espionage cases.*

In this pamphlet Richard O. Boyer, author and journalist, has described the Rosenberg case with skill and eloquence. He has traced their histories and shown them to be victims of the cold war hysteria. He notes that Dr. Klaus Fuchs, in a similar case, received a sentence of 14 years of which he will serve only nine, while Dr. Allan May Nunn, received a sentence half that long.

The story that Richard Boyer has written is an unforgettably human one:

the letters of the Rosenbergs to each other and to their young children are heartbreaking. The political climate which brought about the conviction is described with great power. Excerpts from the masterly analysis of the trial record by D. N. Pritt, noted British lawyer, cast serious doubts on the impartiality of the entire proceeding.

Time is desperately short to prevent another judicial murder like that of Sacco and Vanzetti 25 years ago. Read this pamphlet, spread it far and wide, and wire at once to Pres. Truman urging him to commute the sentence. You will by this action not only help save the lives of two young working people but also help safeguard your own liberties—so gravely jeopardized in these days of war hysteria and reaction.

—S.G.

With Malice Toward All

POSTMARKED MOSCOW, *by Lydia Kirk. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1952. 278 pp. \$3.00*

AFTER serving as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, 1949-52, Admiral Alan G. Kirk showed what he had been there for by becoming, on his return, head of "The Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia," and currently of the Administration's Psychological Warfare Board, concerned with the problem of inciting the people of the Soviet Union to overthrow their government.

This book by the ambassador's lady is written to show why there is obviously no other course for the poor downtrodden Russians. Her first valiant blow in this lofty cause was to sponsor a display in Bonwit Teller's Fifth Ave. windows of Russian women's dresses and underwear, having picked out the most unattractive models she could find as objects for mockery. The tastelessness and vulgarity of this performance is exceeded only by the book itself, which

reveals much more about the type of Americans who these days represent our country abroad and what they are up to, than about the Soviet people, and is worth mentioning at all only for this reason.

Mrs. Kirk refers to Russians as "these miserable, ignorant people." Visitors from the Soviet foreign office who came as guests to the American embassy are invariably described as "unshaven," wearing "crumpled suits," or as looking like "dressed up monkeys." She jeers at the way their wives dress when they entertain her, describes their hats as "monstrous affairs," and then wonders why social contacts for American diplomats with Russians are strained.

Soviet musicians are reported in exile (odd how they can at the same time give performances of their works in Moscow!). Art, even folk art, "is disappearing." She admits, however, being impressed by the color and beauty of Soviet opera and ballet. Only the audience depresses her, made up as it is largely of workers and peasants. Think

what the Bolshoy Opera House must have looked like, she sighs, "with grand duchesses in tiaras leaning out of every box," thus revealing what the would-be liberators of the Russian people have in mind.

Mrs. Kirk goes to great lengths to describe a scene in which "Russian" hands seem to be pushing a little cat out of a window. This calls for the comment: "The American mentality that calls out the fire department to rescue a cat from a tree would be incomprehensible to a Russian." She fails to note how the Russian mentality reacts to what American napalm bombs are doing to the women and children of Korea.

Her gratuitous insults are not confined to the Russians. She describes the seven daughters of the Pakistan ambassador, one of whom is to be married: "She and her mother and sisters are all draped alike and all look alike. I can't think how the bridegroom will tell her from the others."

The cleanness of Moscow streets, the lack of refuse lying about, is "because the Russians have no refuse . . . they eat so little and own so little."

Her discussion of the servant problem is an echo of "Birth of a Nation": "It's so hard to keep everybody happy—everyone must share and share alike—not because it's the new Soviet philosophy, but because they are really children, much like our own Negro servants of two generations ago." And then there is that veritable "plague of annual vacations . . . one of the worst problems of Russian housekeeping, as each employee receives thirty days a year."

And that frightening thing, the power of the masses—"It's what crushed the invading forces of the Germans, the skilled technicians of the modern world, who had to give way to sheer numbers and space." Her husband comes back from Stalingrad, marveling how the Russians held out: "The Germans would only have had to make one last thrust," he tells her, "and the Russians must have capitulated." Apparently he wishes they had. Elsewhere

she remarks: "They would never have won their war if we hadn't helped out." *Their war . . .*

Finally, the outrage of a whole people lining up to sign peace petitions, which causes the comment: "How we let the Russians get away with the Peace slogan, I can't imagine. It would seem as though any good advertising man could have told us that Peace is a term to hang on to for our own use. Of course, all of us here are in favor of peace, but poor ignorant folk all over the world sign Soviet-inspired appeals about it. . . ."

This fantastic book has neither political nor literary merit. But what does it matter to the publishers as long as it provides a weapon—however feeble—in the cold war

J. S.

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WHY YOUR HELP IS IMPORTANT TO YOU!

(Continued from page 2)

that is comparatively unknown to our misguided public. My wife and I found Dr. Du Bois' article thrilling, full of warm humanity and intelligence. The whole issue is packed with the joy of a new life. . . . To minimize the carnage and destruction in Korea as a mere "police action" is one of the clever tricks of the propaganda barrage to ease people into what is steadily becoming apparent—the ultimate fury of those who are back of this super-great madness. It is a tragic and fearful state to which our national psychology has been driven by our "trained seal" commentators.—**Charles R.**

Wants Fuller Picture

Philadelphia—Although I enjoy the magazine immensely I agree with a letter you published recently in which the reader asked for more articles on the various countries of Eastern Europe and China. We often get only little teasing items telling of the planting of a shelter belt of trees in China or a canal in Rumania but no really all-inclusive articles about any of these countries. What is the aim of the Five-Year Plan in China, if they have one? How is Poland faring? Has Eastern Germany rebuilt its industries? I know things are improving there as I have seen letters received from friends, but still would like to read about it in NWR.—**W. H.**

For Library Fund

New York City—Enclosed please find \$1 for the library fund. Sorry I can't make it more. I want to tell you how pleased I have been with the small-sized magazine. I can now put it in my pocketbook which is quite a convenience.—**Hinda Levy.**

THE YEAR now beginning will be a fateful one. With the danger of the Korean war spreading, the continued attack on our living standards and civil rights, every American will be called upon to make decisions of the most crucial kind.

No one can get a true picture of the nature of American policy without a knowledge of the countries depicted by the prowar press as our "enemies," actual or potential. Americans are being led to believe that half the world's population fits into this category.

NWR seeks to provide the real facts about this "other half." We have made plans for even more extensive coverage in 1953 than during the past year. But much will depend on your help. Your cooperation will determine whether we can continue to publish the kind of magazine so vitally needed today.

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A Letter From Texas . . .

A reader in a small town in Texas writes that his boy showed NWR to a friend in school who said he "did not know a Russian looked like an American." And commenting on some photos of recent construction in the USSR, our Texas friend wrote: "They look mighty nice. I do believe that a people building like that don't mean to destroy."

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