

NEW WORLD

APRIL
1953

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Review

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1879

STALIN

1953



For the Record

Los Angeles—On April 12, 1945, Franklin Roosevelt died. The next day Marshal Joseph Stalin wrote:

"On behalf of the Soviet Government and myself personally, I express our profound condolences to the Government of the United States of America on the occasion of the premature death of President Roosevelt.

"The American people and the United Nations have in Franklin Roosevelt a great statesman of world significance and a pioneer in the organization of peace and security after the war. The Government of the Soviet Union expresses sincere sympathy to the American people in their great loss and their conviction that the policy of friendship between the great powers who are shouldering the main burden of war against the common enemy will continue in the future."

The black-edged red flags of the Soviet Union were slowly hoisted over the Kremlin, over all public buildings, and in the city squares. It was a gesture to the head of a foreign government unparalleled in Soviet history.

Eight years later Joseph Stalin died. Many world leaders recalled Stalin's mighty effort in behalf of the allies in the war against fascism. The most honest statesmen acknowledged Stalin's greatness.

Not so Dwight Eisenhower and his junior partner, Winston Churchill. They sent mere perfunctory notes to the Soviet Government.

One world in peace.—George E. Elbert.

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PLEASE NOTE

OUR NEW ADDRESS NEW WORLD REVIEW

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NEW WORLD *Review*

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The drawing of Stalin on our cover is by the eminent American artist, Hugo Gellert

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NEW WORLD REVIEW



STALIN AND HIS HERITAGE

by
JESSICA SMITH

IT IS the common duty of the American people to understand the deep meaning for humanity of the great and living heritage of the teachings of Joseph Stalin and their practical results in building a new society on the scientific foundations laid by Marx, Engels and Lenin—a socialist society which has as its aim the satisfaction of all the material and spiritual needs of human beings.

The name of Joseph Stalin will be forever linked with the forward movement of mankind. For it is the essence of his work that it is ongoing and indestructible and will be continued in the collective efforts of those who chose him as their leader because of his knowledge of and ever present concern for their needs, and his wisdom, drawn from the people themselves, in guiding them along the path charted by Lenin leading to the fulfillment of these needs.

This work will grow and flower in factories and fertile fields producing abundantly for human needs, in deserts transformed into gardens, in

atomic and yet new forms of energy serving the needs of life, in the creative work of artists, in the secure and free lives of all men and women who work by hand and brain, in the great and equal brotherhood of peoples that will one day be a reality everywhere, in the laughter of children born and reared in a world of peace.

The grief of the Soviet people is shared by the 600,000,000 people of the lands who have entered the road to socialism. It is shared by all progressive humanity, by all who love peace and hold human life sacred.

All Americans concerned with the highest interests of our country must have a special sense of gratitude for Stalin's unceasing efforts to establish peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union as the only road to a secure future.

Americans should remember especially the benefits our country derived in the pre-war period of friendly relations under President

Roosevelt, when trade with the Soviet Union meant jobs for many workers who would otherwise have been unemployed.

At this time we think especially of the everlasting debt of our country for Stalin's leadership of the Soviet people in the magnificent struggle which ended in victory over fascism. Millions of our countrymen owe their very lives to Stalin and the whole Soviet people who fought so valiantly and gave fifteen million lives in our common cause.

It was Stalin's guidance in the years of peaceful construction between Lenin's death and the second world war, that won for him the undying admiration, trust and love of the Soviet people. Those years, under the Five-Year Plans, saw the country transformed from its primitive agrarian economy to a foremost modern industrial nation, the establishment of a large scale, mechanized collective agriculture. They saw the end of unemployment, the growth of the trade unions into the greatest mass organization of the people, on democratic foundations. They saw the matchless program of care for children and mothers, for the health of the whole people, for an all-embracing social security system. They saw the once backward nationalities raised to full equality and human dignity in the Soviet family of nations. They saw the crowning glory of the most democratic Constitution the world had yet known, marking the complete victory of socialism in all spheres of Soviet economy.

Stalin's leadership brought the Soviet people, on the eve of the second world war, to a point where they were beginning to know the full enjoyment of the fruits of their prodigious labors, with a higher standard

of material and cultural well-being than they had ever known before.

In May, 1941, as Hitler's attack became imminent, Stalin was called to add to his position as General Secretary of the Communist Party and People's Deputy to the Supreme Soviet, that of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, since it was already clear that in the grave days ahead the country needed Stalin at the helm of the state itself.

When the armies of Hitler invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941, the whole power of the State, by a decree of the Soviet Government, was concentrated, for the duration of the war, in the hands of a State Defense Committee headed by Stalin, who also became People's Commissar of Defense. The other members of the State Defense Committee were Viacheslav Molotov, G. M. Malenkov, Lavrenti Beria and Klimenti Voroshilov.

It is deeply significant testimony to the consistency of the policy of the Soviet Government and the unity of its leadership, that the four men to whom with Stalin was entrusted the guidance of the State in its supreme moment of danger, are today, with Malenkov as Premier, among those entrusted with carrying forward Stalin's leadership.

The whole world knows with what surpassing genius Stalin directed the military operations of the Red Army, and the defense activities of the entire population. As he had labored for his people in time of peace, Stalin labored to save his people and the world from fascist enslavement and destruction. Day and night he kept in close and constant personal touch with every sector of the front, with the guerrillas, with every phase of civilian defense operations. The other Government and Party leaders

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worked by his side, and in Malenkov's able hands was the vital problem of war production.

It was Stalin who worked out to the last detail the strategy of the magnificent defense of Stalingrad, which led to the encirclement of 300,000 German troops and resulted in the glorious victory which turned the tide of the war and saved civilization. And it was Malenkov whom Stalin chose as his deputy at that moment of supreme crisis to go to Stalingrad and give its embattled people and armies the help and encouragement they needed.

Following the war, the economy of the Soviet Union was immediately reconverted to a peacetime footing. The Five-Year Plans of peaceful construction were resumed, with a rate of increase in production unparalleled by any other country. By 1948, the reconstruction of the vast ruin wrought by Hitler's armies was completed. In 1952, pre-war production was more than doubled, while the living standards of the people, due to the successive price reductions, the tremendous program of home building, consumers' goods and agricultural production, reached a higher level than ever before, with steady upward advances guaranteed in the new plan.

In the postwar period, under Stalin's direct initiative and guidance, the mighty Construction Projects of Communism have been inaugurated. These include the great afforestation project to transform nature, ending drought forever, guaranteeing permanent soil fertility. They include the great electric power and irrigation projects on the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and the Amu-Darya Rivers, which will bring power to homes and industries, life to the Kara Kum Desert and other arid



Stalin as Commander-in-Chief
in the great war against Fascism

areas, provide food for an additional 100,000,000 people. Of these the Volga-Don Canal, linking five seas, is already in operation, and the others well on the way to completion.

This period has seen a further mighty advance in education and culture and science.

These postwar achievements were outlined in the inspiring report made by Georgi Malenkov at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held last October, which reviewed advances in a brief span of time unmatched in all human history.

In the actuality of Soviet life can



Stalin with Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran where, as at Yalta and Potsdam, he joined with the United States and Britain in agreement on enduring peace

be seen the working out of what Stalin, in his last published work, *The Economic Problems of Socialism*, described in the profound and lucid terms so characteristic of him, as the basic economic law of socialism:

The essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.

Thus, it is clear, as Malenkov pointed out in his report, that the aim of socialist production, according to Stalin's teaching and the facts of Soviet life "is not profit, but man and his requirements."

It is the successes already achieved

in the working out of this law of socialism that provide the basis for the present period of transition to the higher stage of communism, when production shall have reached such a high point that distribution will no longer be on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," but "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

It is for peace, not war, that the Soviet people are building, and it is peace, not war that they require for the transition from socialism to communism. Every Soviet person knows this, and every Soviet person knows that their greatest debt of all to Stalin is his leadership for peace.

The struggle for peace began with the birth of the Soviet State, with its appeal to the peoples of the world for peace. While the capi-

talist world has sought ever since by arms and every other means to destroy the land of socialism, Lenin from the first sought to develop a policy of peaceful co-existence.

Stalin's Peace Leadership

When leadership passed to Stalin after Lenin's death, he vowed:

The idea of cooperation between the two systems was first expressed by Lenin. . . . We have never departed and never shall depart, from Lenin's teachings.

Under Stalin's guidance, Litvinov in the Disarmament Conference and later in the League of Nations, fought year after year for arms reduction and abolition of all means of mass destruction as an essential step toward peace. When the danger of fascist aggression arose, it was Stalin who developed the policy of collective security, pointing out to the allied nations that only a firm alliance against aggression could avert the peril of new world war. Only when it was clear that Britain and France wanted no such alliance, but wanted instead to direct the spearhead of German aggression against the Soviet Union, did Stalin take the step of making a non-aggression pact with Germany as the only alternative.

When Stalin spoke to his people a few days after Hitler's attack, he declared:

I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighboring state, even though the state was headed by such fiends and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop. . . .

What did we gain by concluding the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany? We secured our country peace for a year and a half, and the oppor-

tunity of preparing its forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the Pact. This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for fascist Germany.

This definite advantage was what led to victory over fascism, the victory of the Soviet Union and of the whole democratic coalition which was finally brought into being when the Western countries needed the aid of the Soviet Union to save their independence and democratic liberties.

All through the war Stalin supported the idea of a continuing coalition in the postwar years, and of a world organization to maintain the peace. At Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, he joined with the leaders of Great Britain and the United States in solemn pacts never again to permit aggression, and to create conditions for a peace that would endure for many generations. The Soviet Union has been true to these treaties.

Despite the cold war which began with the death of President Roosevelt, the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership confidently placed its hopes on averting a new war and directed all its domestic and foreign policies to this end. It is important to recall that in May, 1947, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree *completely abolishing capital punishment in the Soviet Union for any crime whatsoever*, and making confinement for twenty-five years the maximum punishment.

The reason given for this decree is highly significant. Its preamble stated that the international situation "showed that the cause of peace can be considered secure for a long time, in spite of the attempts of aggressive elements to provoke war," and that in response to the wishes of

the Soviet people, "the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet believes that the application of the death penalty is no longer necessary in peacetime conditions."

There can be no clearer indication of the purpose and direction of Stalin's policy. But the aggressive policies against the Soviet Union were intensified with the promulgation of the Truman Doctrine as the first step in what has become the "liberation" policy of trying to destroy the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism from within.

As the operations of wreckers, spies, and terrorists became more malignant under the infamous Project X which today has become the core of United States foreign policy, the Soviet Union was forced in the interests of security to issue a new decree in January, 1950 making an exception to the decree of 1947 in the case of "traitors to the homeland, spies and saboteurs."

Thus people of our country who deplore what they consider repressive measures in the Soviet Union, must not forget that these are in no way integral to a socialist society, but protective measures against the efforts to destroy it.

"We did not build our society in order to restrict personal liberty," Stalin told Roy Howard in 1936, "but in order that the human individual may feel really free." It was in that same interview that Stalin made his famous statement that "the export of revolution is nonsense," and that the Soviet Union had no intention of intervening in the internal affairs of other states.

Under Stalin's leadership Soviet representatives in the United Nations and in relations with individual states have sought to reach international agreement on arms reduction,

have made one concession after another in the effort to reach agreement on the prohibition of atomic warfare, have urged the conclusion of a five-power pact of peace among the great powers, have labored consistently to bring about a unified, peaceful, democratic Germany, peace in the Far East, an end to the Korean war, and to all existing wars and preparations for war.

Through this whole period, as in the period between the two world wars, Stalin has persistently proclaimed the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union, and again and again, despite all provocations and rebuffs from our country, he has taken the initiative in proposing meetings with the American head of state.

One of Stalin's final statements contained the offer, in answer to a series of questions put to him by James Reston of the *New York Times*, to meet with President Eisenhower to consider the easing of world tensions, his agreement to cooperate in bringing an end to the Korean war, his declaration that the United States and the Soviet Union can continue to live together in peace.

Just ten days before Stalin's death on February 24, Harrison Salisbury, reported from Moscow on Stalin's conversations with K. P. S. Menon India's ambassador to Moscow, and with Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu of India a winner of the Stalin Peace Prize both of whom had received the strongest impressions of Stalin's desire for peace.

Dr. Kitchlu told the *New York Times* correspondent that Stalin had spoken highly of the American people and their great contribution to world development. Dr. Kitchlu gained the impression that Stalin

Premier Georgi Malenkov told the meeting of the Supreme Soviet on March 15 that the Soviet Government was continuing its "tried and tested policy of peace, international collaboration and the development of business connections with all countries."

He declared: "At the present and in the future there is no controversial outstanding problem which could not be solved in a peaceful way on the basis of mutual agreement among the countries concerned. This refers to the relations with all states including our relations with the United States."



hoped for a more realistic and practical view of the world situation from President Eisenhower than from his predecessor, despite the fact that he had surrounded himself with a group particularly interested in war profits. Dr. Kitchlu summed up his impressions:

The Soviet Union does not want war with the United States—it cannot afford war because that would jeopardize what has been built up in the Soviet Union in the last thirty-five years.

Soviet Peace Policy Continues

Decent Americans can only feel the deepest shame at the flood of vulgar and evil words that filled our press at the death of this great world peace leader, and above all at the efforts of our government through the "Voice of America" and its whole "psychological warfare" apparatus to stir up dissension and bloodshed within the Soviet Union.

How strange and shocking must have sounded to the Soviet people

the words beamed to them in the midst of their great farewell to their beloved leader that "blood will have to flow in the Kremlin" before Malenkov's leadership could be established, that it "must be won by conspiracy and murder, and it is maintained by fear."

Vain hopes. The psychological warfare "experts" were admittedly baffled by the calm, determined and unified way in which the Soviet Government, backed by the will of the Soviet people, immediately set about the necessary reorganization of its collective leadership, gathering together in the leading posts the whole group that had worked most closely with Stalin.

All the frantic and ugly efforts of the press could not bely reports in the dispatches of their own correspondent on the spot of the overwhelming grief of the Soviet people coupled with their unshakable determination to carry on Stalin's work.

After the first news of Stalin's illness reached the people of Moscow, Harrison Salisbury reported on the great sorrowing crowds in the streets

Viacheslav Molotov, Foreign Minister of the USSR, and Andrei Vyshinsky, Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Soviet Representative to the United Nations



and in the churches and synagogues, where Patriarch Alexei and the Chief Rabbi of Moscow had called for prayers "for our dear leader and teacher." Salisbury wrote:

Let there be no mistake about it—the news of Premier Stalin's illness is profoundly sad to the ordinary man and woman of Russia. . . . It may be difficult for persons in other lands to grasp, but it is true that to the ordinary Russian the phrases bestowed on Premier Stalin—genius architect, great leader, great teacher—have genuine meaning. Premier Stalin has been to the ordinary Russian a person apart from other humans, a figure of legendary qualities come to life. (*New York Times*, March 5.)

And in announcing the changes in the government on March 7, Salisbury reported:

Premier Malenkov's government of unity and strength moved resolutely ahead tonight, firmly treading the paths of domestic and foreign policy laid down by Stalin.

Millions of Americans will in time

come to understand the truth already known by hundreds of millions of the world's people. They will learn the reality of the magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union, of the wisdom, deep humanity and genius of the philosopher-leader Joseph Stalin, the splendor of his life of selfless devotion to the interests of all who work by hand or brain, to the great cause of advancing the human race. And with this understanding will come the knowledge that our country has everything to gain by ending the cold war and replacing it with the mutually beneficial economic, cultural and social interchange which will benefit all our people and enrich our nation in the highest sense, and which alone can guarantee security.

Renewed dedication to the cause of world peace and the friendship of peoples is the best way to honor the memory of Stalin and express the gratitude which all people of good will everywhere must feel for his mighty and immortal contributions to human progress and enduring peace.

"TO YOU BELOVED COMRADE"

by PAUL ROBESON
Stalin Peace Prize Recipient

THERE IS no richer store of human experience than the folk tales, folk poems and songs of a people. In many, the heroes are always fully recognizable humans — only larger and more embracing in dimension. So it is with the Russian, the Chinese, and the African folk-lore.

In 1937, a highly expectant audience of Moscow citizens—workers, artists, youth, farmers from surrounding towns—crowded the Bolshoy Theater. They awaited a performance by the Uzbek National Theater, headed by the highly gifted Tamara Khanum. The orchestra was a large one with instruments ancient and modern. How exciting would be the blending of the music of the rich culture of Moussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Khrennikov, Gliere—with that of the beautiful music of the Uzbeks, stemming too from an old and proud civilization.

Suddenly everyone stood—began to applaud—to cheer—and to smile. The children waved.

In a box to the right—smiling and applauding the audience—as well as the artists on the stage—stood the great Stalin.

I remember the tears began to quietly flow, and I too smiled and waved. Here was clearly a man who seemed to embrace all. So kindly—I can never forget that warm feeling of kindness and also a feeling of

sureness. Here was one who was wise and good—the world and especially the socialist world was fortunate indeed to have his daily guidance. I lifted high my boy Pauli to wave to this world leader, and his leader. For Paul, Jr. had entered school in Moscow, in the land of the Soviets.

The wonderful performance began, unfolding new delights at every turn—ensemble and individual, vocal and orchestral, classic and folk-dancing of amazing originality. Could it be possible that a few years before in 1900—in 1915—these people had been semi-serfs—their cultural expression forbidden, their rich heritage almost lost under tsarist oppression's heel?

So here one witnessed in the field of the arts—a culture national in form, socialist in content. Here was a people quite comparable to some of the tribal folk of Asia—quite comparable to the proud Youba or Basuto of West and East Africa, but now their lives flowering anew within the socialist way of life twenty years matured under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin. And in this whole area of the development of national minorities—of their relation to the Great Russians—Stalin had played and was playing a most decisive role.

I was later to travel—to see with my own eyes what could happen to so-called backward peoples. In the West (in England, in Belgium,



Stalin with delegates from cotton-growing collective farms of Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia in 1935. In a speech to the delegates, Stalin said: "There is, comrades, one thing more valuable than cotton—that is the friendship of the peoples of our country . . . and friendship among the peoples of the USSR is a great and serious victory, because while that friendship exists the people of our country will be free and unconquerable."

France, Portugal, Holland)—the Africans, the Indians (East and West), many of the Asian peoples were considered so backward that centuries, perhaps, would have to pass before these so-called "colonials" could become a part of modern society.

But in the Soviet Union, Yakuts, Nenetses, Kirgiz, Tadzhiks—had respect and were helped to advance with unbelievable rapidity in this socialist land. No empty promises, such as colored folk continuously hear in these United States, but deeds. For example, the transforming of the desert in Uzbekistan into blooming acres of cotton. And an old friend

of mine, Mr. Golden, trained under Carver at Tuskegee, played a prominent role in cotton production. In 1949, I saw his daughter, now grown and in the university—a proud Soviet citizen.

Today in Korea—in Southeast Asia—in Latin America and the West Indies, in the Middle East—in Africa, one sees tens of millions of long oppressed colonial peoples surging toward freedom. What courage—what sacrifice—what determination never to rest until victory!

And arrayed against them, the combined powers of the so-called Free West, headed by the greedy,

profit-hungry, war-minded industrialists and financial barons of our America. The illusion of an "American Century" blinds them for the immediate present to the clear fact that civilization has passed them by—that we now live in a people's century—that the star shines brightly in the East of Europe and of the world. Colonial peoples today look to the Soviet Socialist Republics. They see how under the great Stalin millions like themselves have found a new life. They see that aided and guided by the example of the Soviet Union, led by their Mao Tse-tung, a new China adds its mighty power to the true and expanding socialist way of life. They see formerly semi-colonial Eastern European nations building new People's Democracies, based upon the people's power with the people shaping their own destinies. So much of this progress stems from the magnificent leadership, theoretical and practical, given by their friend Joseph Stalin.

They have sung—sing now and will sing his praise—in song and story. Slava—slava—slava—Stalin, Glory to Stalin. Forever will his name be honored and beloved in all lands.

In all spheres of modern life the influence of Stalin reaches wide and deep. From his last simply written but vastly discerning and comprehensive document, back through the years, his contributions to the science of our world society remain invaluable. One reverently speaks of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—the shapers of humanity's richest present and future.

Yes, through his deep humanity, by his wise understanding, he leaves us a rich and monumental heritage. Most importantly—he has charted the direction of our present and future struggles. He has pointed the

way to peace—to friendly co-existence—to the exchange of mutual scientific and cultural contributions—to the end of war and destruction. How consistently, how patiently, he labored for peace and ever-increasing abundance, with what deep kindness and wisdom. He leaves tens of millions all over the earth bowed in heart-aching grief.

But, as he well knew, the struggle continues. So, inspired by his noble example, let us lift our heads slowly but proudly high and march forward in the fight for peace—for a rich and rewarding life for all.

In the inspired words of Lewis Allan, our progressive lyricist—
*To you Beloved Comrade, we make
this solemn vow*

*The fight will go on—the fight will
still go on.*

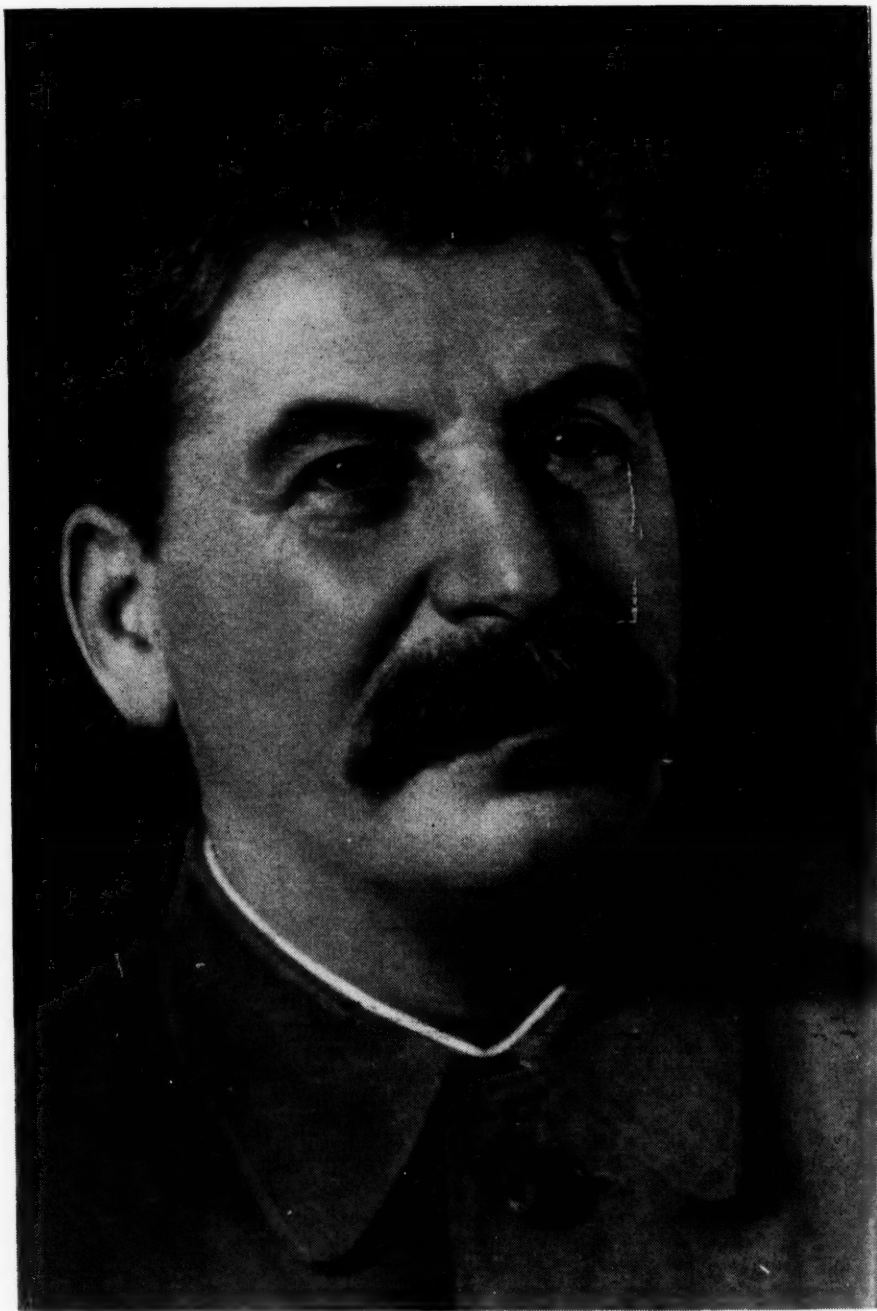
*Sleep well, Beloved Comrade, our
work will just begin*

*The fight will go on—till we win—
until we win.*

STALIN ON ANTI-SEMITISM

NATIONAL and racial chauvinism is a survival of the man-hating customs which are characteristic of the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism serves the purpose of exploiters as a lightning rod which helps capitalism ward off the blows of the working people. Anti-Semitism is dangerous for working people as it is a false path which leads them astray from the right road and brings them into the jungle. In the USSR, anti-Semitism is punished most severely as a phenomenon inimical to the Soviet system.

Speech before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government, January 12, 1931.



JOSEPH STALIN

Philosopher-Statesman

by HOWARD SELSAM

SAGES of old had dreamed of an ideal statesmanship, or political art, as the highest of all human arts. In ancient India, China and Greece there developed the idea that this art of organizing society should be based on a genuinely true conception of the nature of human beings, the nature of the universe, and of what constitutes a good life for mankind. It is not without significance that only the most advanced and radical wing of the bourgeoisie, in its struggle for power, could think of such statesmanship as necessarily resting on a scientific analysis of the world, of man, and his social relations. Such was the position of Diderot and Helvetius in eighteenth century France. But being bourgeois, and not proletarian, and using mechanical instead of dialectical materialism, these men could never answer the question as to how you could get the philosopher-statesman. They had a vague idea of what a rationally ordered society should be, but no conception of how to attain it. They were limited to pious hopes that it would somehow happen sometime.

Stalin, succeeding Lenin at the head of the Soviet State and the Communist Party, both of which he had helped to create and develop,

had both the scientific theory of the ideal statesman and the knowledge of and relation to the masses that enabled him to lead them. "The art of leadership," he wrote, "is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because to do so is to become isolated from the masses. But neither must one rush ahead, for to rush ahead is to lose contact with the masses. He who wants to lead a movement and at the same time keep in touch with the vast masses, must wage a fight on two fronts—against those who lag behind and against those who rush on ahead." ("Dizzy with Success," *Leninism*, 1942, p. 174.)

With Stalin, as with Lenin, true proletarian statesmanship meant not only to be theoretically right but to have the support of the masses for a correct position. Right here, perhaps, is to be found the central key to Stalin's whole life and work: namely, the combination of theoretical correctness with the richest knowledge of, and the deepest re-

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spect for, the feelings, hopes, and aspirations of the people. One of the most striking parts, for example, of the recent *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* is Stalin's emphatic and decisive rejection of any approach to the collective farmers that would *push* them, rather than *lead* them, into a higher level of property relations. The first, Stalin makes clear, is the path of the bureaucrat. The latter is the path of the Marxist philosopher-statesman—he to whom, in Stalin's famous words, the most valuable capital the world possesses is people.

IT HAS BEEN STALIN'S difficult and unique historic achievement to lead the multi-national peoples of the first socialist society through the successful construction of a socialist economy based on heavy industry, to lead them victoriously through a terrible military onslaught upon them, and finally to help prepare the conditions and the people for the transition to the world's first communist society. And throughout all this, Stalin was concerned with, and gave all possible theoretical aid to, the struggles of the working class and the national liberation movements everywhere in the world.

These achievements would have been impossible without the most solid grasp and mastery of Marxist theory—without indeed, contributing to the development of this theory in connection with rapidly changing situations and ever new problems. Throughout all of Stalin's voluminous reports and other writings, one finds three characteristics that permeate the whole and constitute their essence. These are: 1.) a love of people and an unbounded confidence in the working masses; 2.) a most extraordinarily thorough grasp of

ONLY THE PEOPLE ARE IMMORTAL

LEADERS come and leaders go, but the people remain. Only the people are immortal. Everything else is transient. Therefore one must not treat the confidence of the people lightly.

Stalin, in a speech at a reception for delegates to a conference of workers in the metal and coal industry by Government and Party leaders in the Kremlin in the autumn of 1937.

the situation before him—the facts of it and the course of its development; and 3.) a mastery of the dialectical method and a keen understanding and fully conscious use of the materialist world outlook.

To have been a Marxist anywhere on earth during the past thirty years is to have read and studied the writings of Joseph Stalin. During three decades he has been the theoretical leader and teacher not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union but of Marxists and progressives everywhere. A whole generation has been reared by Stalin—has grown up and developed under the inspiring influence of his writings. Of course, there were the classics of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but we need to remind ourselves that thirty years ago Stalin's *The National Question* was a classic too. It was Stalin's early mastery of Marxist philosophy that enabled him to solve, in this and many other writings, "one of the most complicated questions in the history of the development of society, namely the question of nationalities."

(G. Malenkov at the funeral of Stalin.)

His *Foundations of Leninism* was soon to join that body of immortal classics. And year by year the speeches, official reports, and other documents from his hand became an inseparable part of the body of ever-developing Marxist-Leninist science. Who can forget the excitement, the stimulation, of the first reading of *Mastering Bolshevism*, of the interviews with H. G. Wells and Emil Ludwig, of the speech to the Congress of Stakhanovites, of Chapter IV of the *History of the CPSU* on dialectical and historical materialism, and more recently of *Marxism and Linguistics and Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*?

Here is basic theory always, but theory in the most indissoluble relation to practice. Stalin never touched a practical question, such as the overzealous drive for collectivization, as in "Dizzy with Success," or in his address of June 23, 1931 to business executives on labor turnover and the technical intelligentsia (*Leninism*, 203-221), without raising it to the highest theoretical level, without wide generalizations and the search for, and formulation of, new principles to meet new situations. Similarly, he never dealt with theoretical questions, no matter how seemingly abstract, without the most direct ap-

plication to practice. Examples are his analysis of the meaning of the principles of scientific materialism for the struggles of the working class, and of the significance for national cultures and socialist internationalism of a proper understanding of the nature of language.

Stalin's profound grasp and extraordinary contributions to both the dialectical method and a scientific materialist philosophy are of course most immediately evident in Chapter IV of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (also published separately as a pamphlet, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*), but it is also necessary, for a fuller understanding of his enrichment of Marxist philosophy, to read his early *Anarchism or Socialism*, written in 1906, his very latest writings, as well as nearly everything in between.

Much detailed work must be done before Stalin's contributions can be fully appreciated. At this moment a few illustrations from *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* will help. After presenting the "principal features" of the Marxist dialectical method in a form at once more simple, clear and comprehensive than to be found in any previous Marxist writing, Stalin illustrates the four features or principles he has given in three brief pages, every

ON MARXISM AS THE ENEMY OF DOGMATISM

MARXISM as a science cannot stand still, it develops and improves. In its development Marxism cannot but be enriched by new experience, new knowledge—consequently some of its formulae and conclusions cannot but be replaced by new formulae and conclusions, corresponding to the new historical tasks. Marxism does not recognize invariable conclusions and formulae, obligatory for all epochs and periods. Marxism is the enemy of all dogmatism.

Stalin in Linguistics discussion, Pravda, July 28, 1950.

STALIN ON TIES WITH THE PEOPLE

IT MAY BE TAKEN as the rule that as long as the Bolsheviks maintain the bond with the broad masses of the people, they will be invincible. And, on the contrary, once the Bolsheviks detach themselves from the masses and lose their ties with them, once they are covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all their strength and become an empty shell.

The ancient Greeks had in their system of mythology a famous hero named Antaeus, who, according to mythology, was the son of Poseidon, the god of the seas, and Gaea, the goddess of the earth. He had a special attachment to his mother who had borne him, nurtured and raised him. There was no hero whom he could not vanquish—this Antaeus. He was deemed an unconquerable hero. Wherein was his strength? It consisted in that every time when wrestling with an opponent became difficult, he touched the earth, his mother who had borne him and nurtured him, and gained new strength thereby. Nevertheless, he had also a weak spot—the danger of somehow being torn away from the earth. The enemies took this weakness of his into account and watched him. And behold, an enemy was found who took advantage of that weakness and vanquished him. It was Hercules. How did he vanquish him? He tore him away from the earth, lifted him up in the air, deprived him of the possibility of touching the earth and in this manner strangled him in the air.

I thing that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus. They, too, like Antaeus, are strong in that they keep contact with their mother, with the masses who had borne, nurtured and reared them. And as long as they keep contact with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

At the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Community Party of the USSR, March 5, 1937.

sentence of which has meaning anywhere in the world in connection with any situation in which people are struggling against class oppression. Perhaps his most striking sentence is the following:

... if development proceeds by way of disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

This is essential, too, for the under-

standing of past historical struggles, such as those which led to the fall of Rome or of European feudalism.

Further, as in his early work expounding the philosophical foundations of anarchism as against those of scientific socialism, Stalin separates out and generalizes one special feature of the dialectical method. It is the teaching that in all phenomena of nature and society, there is something dying away and something new being born, developing, gaining strength; and that this struggle or conflict "constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of

the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes." Such changes can take place explosively, as that from capitalism to socialism where the contradiction between what is dying and what is growing is antagonistic. On the other hand they may occur gradually, as that from socialism to communism, where the contradictions are not between antagonistic classes based on an irreconcilable conflict of interests. But change they will, and "the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing."

As I read him, this is Joseph Stalin's key and central thought, his profound distillation, for the forward movement of mankind, of the dialectical method. All his life he has used this and sought to teach it to the people of the Soviet Union and to workers and oppressed peoples everywhere. It appears in virtually all of his speeches and pronouncements, from his early arguments against the Narodniks in which he showed that it was the working class, not the peasantry, that was the rising, growing force in society, to his inspired address in Red Square on the 24th Anniversary of the Revolution, with the Nazi armies stopped only two weeks earlier almost at the gates of Moscow. Here Stalin passionately calls upon all the people to unite for the defense of the Motherland and to resist the invaders with utmost courage and resoluteness while yet calmly assuring them that "the Nazi invaders are facing disaster" and that whereas Soviet resources are inexhaustible, "Germany is bleeding white." (*The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, 1945, p. 37.)

Stalin's insistence on the importance of that which is arising is

again revealed in the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* in which Stalin, as had no others, sees the contradiction between collective farm property and the requirements of communism. He searches out precisely that which has already commenced as a method of exchange of farm products for manufactured consumers goods, as the growing element which provides the key to the future. One can only mention, finally, that of the 24 papers that make up the volume *Leninism: Selected Writings*, no less than 20 are devoted primarily to the exposition of the need for a new orientation, a new "line," new attitudes and new practice, because conditions, relationships of people, of forces, are changing; something new is showing itself, something old beginning to weaken. And Stalin never tired of repeating that not to recognize new relations of forces is to fail to be dialectical, is to be a follower of Don Quixote (Stalin's figure) rather than of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. For dialectics, he says, "is the soul of Marxism" and that means dealing with every problem in its concrete context of changing conditions, while yet always steadfastly keeping one's eye on the "main link," the long range plan, the desired goal.

It is not possible here to seek to analyze and present Stalin's full contribution to dialectics. The heart of his approach is that dialectics, or the dialectical method, needs to be

FREEDOM OF CRITICISM

IT IS generally recognized that no science can develop and flourish without a battle of opinions, without freedom of criticism.

Stalin, in discussion on linguistics, Pravda, June 20, 1950

continually developed and refined if it is to be an adequate instrument to reflect and deal with ever-changing conditions. It was, for example, undoubtedly under Stalin's inspiration and guidance, that the late A. A. Zhdanov showed that in socialist society criticism and self-criticism had become "a new aspect of movement, a new type of development, a new dialectical law." Again, it was under Stalin's leadership that Soviet philosophers were so frequently criticized for not enriching dialectics with new generalizations, new formulations to reflect new stages in the development of socialist society and of world relations.

It is in a similar manner, with the same concreteness and recognition of the need of constant development, that Stalin approaches materialism. Nearly 50 years ago, Stalin, writing of the importance of materialist theory for the practical activities of mankind, said that materialism teaches "that we must seek the grounds for a given ideal not in the minds of men, not in their imagina-

tions, but in the development of their economic conditions. All those ideals which ignore economic conditions and are not based upon their development are useless and unacceptable." (*Anarchism or Socialism*, p. 40.)

Following his presentation of the principal features of materialist philosophy in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Stalin generalizes in several pages their meaning for the practical activity of "the party of the proletariat" as he did after presenting the principal features of dialectics. Again the lessons are clear and succinct, so much so that it would be hard to find an error the working class and its organizations have committed anywhere, that is not included. Perhaps these are best summed up by Stalin in the following:

Hence, in order not to err in policy, in order not to find itself in the position of idle dreamers, the party of the proletariat must not base its activities on abstract "principles of human reason," but on the concrete conditions of the material life

THE REAL HEROES AND CREATORS OF THE NEW LIFE

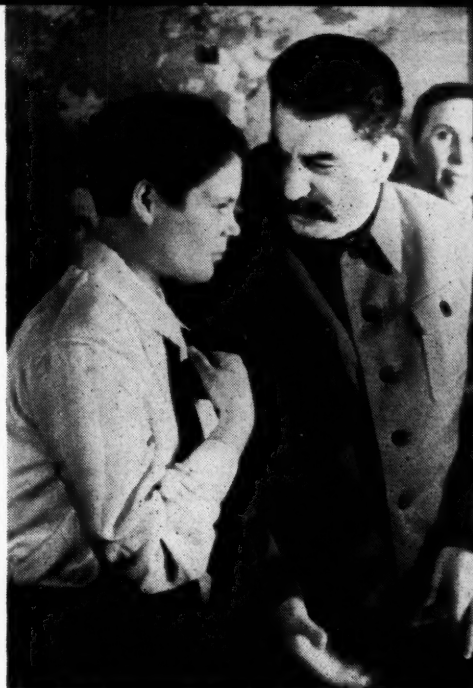
THE TIMES have passed when leaders were regarded as the only creators of history, while the workers and peasants were not taken into account. The destinies of nations and of states are now determined, not only by leaders, but primarily and mainly by the working millions. The workers and the peasants, who work without fuss and noise, who build factories and mills, sink mines, lay railroads, build collective farms and state farms, those who create all the good things of life, who feed and clothe the whole world—they are the real heroes and the creators of the new life. . . . It is not good when people overrate their strength and begin to be puffed up about the services they have rendered. This leads to boasting, and boasting is not a good thing. But it is still worse when people begin to underrate their strength and fail to see that their "modest" and "insignificant" work is really great and creative work which decides the fate of history.

Stalin's speech to collective farmers, February 19, 1933.

of society, as the determining force of social development; not on the good wishes of "great men," but on the real needs of development of the material life of society. (p. 21)

As with dialectics, Stalin's understanding and use of Marxist scientific materialist philosophy appears clearly in all of his speeches, reports, interviews, and other documents. Whether it is a question of the world's need for peace and the possibility of the co-existence of socialism and capitalism, or a question of why war between imperialist powers is inevitable and can be held back only by the strongest people's peace movement, Stalin is always looking at the material forces operating, while seeing at the same time the dialectical interplay of material conditions and consciousness.

Dialectical materialism means for Stalin the search for the material base of anything, the underlying concrete conditions in every situation, the *real* needs of people as opposed to assumed or imagined needs, what people do rather than what they say. It is the incessant quest for the reality that lies behind the surface appearance while at the same time it investigates the relation between the two. Stalin's whole life work has made it abundantly clear that to be a philosophical materialist is not to know a few formulae but is to struggle to know ever more about the nature and processes of the world we live in. It is, further, to seek to master nature and our social relations in order to bend them to our purposes. Man, he says, cannot create laws of economic development, but he can discover them and thus utilize and apply them intelligently. (See *Economic Problems*, p. 8.)



Stalin talking with Maria Demchenko at a conference in the Kremlin in 1936. A young peasant woman, she came to the country's attention when she developed a more efficient method of producing sugar-beets.

On this foundation of the dialectical method and a scientific materialist world outlook rests Stalin's immensely rich and warm socialist humanism. This humanism is a love of people, a feeling for living human beings as the greatest and highest product of nature. But, being materialist and dialectical, it recognizes that to love people is to hate the enemies of people, is to hate and fight to the end against all forces, all people, who would oppress their fellows. Stalin's implacable opposition to the enemies of the working masses is the necessary other side of his love for mankind. Such materialist humanism is infinitely superior to, and never to be confused with,

bourgeois humanitarianism which teaches us to love everybody, to respect all men equally, even those who would destroy, for their profits, the lives of millions of others.

From all his writings Stalin's humanity, his deep love for the masses of working people of factory and farm shines luminously. He can always deal with figures and always begins with figures. That is because he is a materialist. How much grain was produced last year, how much on individual farms, state farms, collectives? How many tractors were produced for the farms last year, how many this year? Is this enough? But behind the questions on figures there is always solicitude about how the peasant is living. What must he yet have to be a full-fledged and self-conscious member of a socialist community? What must be done next year, and the next, to free him from all fear of insecurity and poverty, to make him prosperous? And he proceeds to describe a rising new world and new people. ("Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress," 1934, *Leninism*, pp. 330-334.) "Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous," Stalin told the Stakhanovites in 1935.

In Stalin's last published work, *Economic Problems*, this humanism and its dependence on the most rigorous analysis of objective economic law, appears most strikingly. Soviet theoreticians had been speaking for several years on conditions for the transition to communism. They had discussed some of the material and moral requirements of a society based on the principle: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." But Stalin raises the discussion to a new and higher level. After discussing two preliminary conditions that must be

STALIN ON SCIENCE

PERMIT me to propose a toast to science, to its flourishing, to the health of the men of science. To the flourishing of science, that science which does not segregate itself from the people, does not keep aloof from the people, but is ready to serve the people, ready to transmit to the people all the conquests of science; that science which serves the people not under compulsion but voluntarily and willingly!

*At a gathering of educators
in the Kremlin, May 17, 1938.*

satisfied for the transition to communism, he adds a third, "... to ensure such a cultural advancement of society as will secure for all members of society the all-round development of their physical and mental abilities, so that the members of society may be in a position to receive an education sufficient to enable them to be active agents of social development, and in a position freely to choose their occupations and not be tied all their lives, owing to the existing division of labor, to some one occupation." (pp. 52 ff.) He adds that one of the preconditions for such development of people is a shortening of the working day to six and subsequently to five hours. It is Stalin's profound philosophical understanding that enables him to see, more sharply than others, both the increase in material production required for the creation of such new people and the necessity of such people for the further development of material production.

In this same work Stalin castigates a certain Yaroshenko for believing in "expansion of production

for the sake of expansion of production, production as an aim in itself; man and his requirements disappear from Comrade Yaroshenko's field of vision." Stalin insists that "The aim of socialist production . . . is man and his needs, that is, the satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements." (*ibid.*, p. 59.) This whole discussion beautifully illustrates the boundless gap between Marxist materialism and American pragmatism.

IT WAS GIVEN to Stalin, the disciple of Lenin, to reveal in practice for the first time in world history, all that was meaningful in the idea of the philosopher-king, the philosopher-statesman. There is an objective reason why this is so. A genuinely philosophical-scientific approach to, and solution of, the problems of social life that can move society forward in a rationally planned direction can come only when society's problems are capable of a scientific solution—and that can be only in a society whose ruling class aims not to perpetuate itself as a class, but to abolish classes and eliminate the exploitation of man by man.

What this means, of course, is only that the genius of Stalin did not of itself make him the world's first great philosopher-statesman, but that the world's first socialist revolution and the resultant construction of a socialist society required, made possible, and produced such a statesman. An Ashoka, an Augustus Caesar, a Constantine, a Suleiman the Magnificent, a Peter the Great, a Franklin D. Roosevelt, fell short of this distinction not because their minds were inferior or their leadership less energetic, but because the level of social and scien-

tific development and their class relations were such as to make impossible a consistent objective worldview and a scientific approach to all problems of human life and its social organization.

We find in the career of Joseph Stalin, whose death was mourned by more millions and millions of people than that of anyone in all history, the perfect unity of the statesman and his people, of the people and their statesman. The pre-requisite for this is the objective unity of the tasks before a people and the theory and the objective conditions necessary for their fulfillment. And this is true not only of the Soviet Union. The whole world has reached a stage in which the requirements for the need of further socialist construction and the transition to communism of a part of the world perfectly coincide with the needs of the overwhelming majority of the two billion or more of the earth's people. Stalin guarded this unity with utmost care and vigilance. Its key word is peace. As Georgi Malenkov the new Premier of the Soviet Union said at Stalin's funeral, "The Communist Party and Soviet Government insist that a policy of peace between nations is the only correct policy that corresponds with the interests of all nations."

STALIN ON YOUTH

THE YOUTH is our future, our hope, comrades. The youth must take our place, the place of the old people. It must carry our banner to the final victory.

*Speech to collective farmers,
February 19, 1933.*

How the Soviet People Grieved

by

RALPH PARKER

THERE ARE MOMENTS in the life of a nation when a whole people bares its soul. At these moments eyes may often express more than words ever can, a simple gesture mean a thousand times more than any official demonstration. Mourning Joseph Stalin, the Soviet people revealed their true feelings in a way that can only happen when men are stirred to the very core of their being.

The news of Stalin's grave illness fell on the people of Moscow as they were on their way to work. The shock was very great. Strange penetrating silence pervaded the great city. People spoke in subdued tones, they moved quietly, as if they were without hearing of the room in the Kremlin where their beloved leader lay stricken.

The last few months had provided them with so many examples of Stalin working at the height of his powers. Millions had seen him in the Red Square last November 7; millions have been studying his classic contribution to Marxist theory, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, and his speech at the 19th Party Congress last October. People had read of his reception of foreign

ambassadors and leading personalities in the world peace movement. They felt the guiding hand of Joseph Stalin in every aspect of their lives.

Yet the feelings that welled up in people during those days of anguished suspense were profoundly personal. "The father of our family is in danger," a Moscow mechanic said to me. "Save our father, save the father of peace," ran messages that poured into the Kremlin.

One saw this deep personal concern on the tear-stricken faces of the girls who delivered the newspapers bearing the grave news; in the dreaming looks of mothers who dropped the books from which they were reading fairytales to children in the parks; in the bearing of the crowds that turned away, biting their lips, from the news-boards in the street; in the eyes of those who came to the Red Square to gaze at those buildings in the Kremlin where Stalin lived and worked.

And then the blow fell. Stalin

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Mourners carrying wreaths to lay at Stalin's bier as he lay in state in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions in the Soviet capital

was dead. The beloved leader and teacher of the world's working-class, the ardent fighter for peace and socialism, the great designer of communism was no more.

What followed in the streets of Moscow was the greatest demonstration of a people's love that history has ever known—an outpouring of people so massive, so spontaneous, so elemental that those of us who witnessed it can truly say that we saw a whole people act as one.

No single word can describe the emotion that moved those millions that blackened the great wide streets of Moscow. There was grief, but there was also pride—a kind of look in people's eyes that said, "We vow

to carry your glorious work forward, Comrade Stalin." There was a sense of immense loss but there was also an extraordinary rallying, a bracing of strength, as every man, woman and child felt he had been handed by Stalin personally a heritage that made it incumbent on him to bring Stalin's great design to its glorious conclusion. In those last respects that the people came to pay to Stalin there was a tremendous upsurge of gratitude.

"Stalin gave us everything," a stranger turned to me and said. "I am an Uzbek woman. Stalin gave me freedom. As an Uzbek, as a woman. As a human being. Now Comrade Stalin has given me his life

and I am on my way to say Thank You to him."

Infinitely touching were the gatherings that came together immediately the sad news of Stalin's death became known. Foundrymen in the Dynamo Factory in Moscow were coming off night shift on Friday morning at that moment. The hands that a few minutes before had been grasping the instruments of production which the Stalin Constitution made the inalienable property of the working class were now tensely clasped across bodies bowed in grief. With their heavy eye-protectors pushed up on their brows under the peaks of their caps, the faces of the workingmen who are the masters of the Soviet Union wore a look of sadness that no words can convey.

"We just cried throughout the first lesson," sixteen year old Lena, a pupil at a Moscow girl's school told me. "Then we assembled before a portrait of our dear Stalin and promised him we would be true forever to his great name."

All felt themselves drawn to the House of the Trade Unions where for three days and nights the body of Joseph Stalin lay in state. The people packed the two great boulevards ringing Moscow; they streamed down the roads that led to the building where a single portrait of their departed leader hung. Red flags edged with black hung from every building. During the nights the temperature dropped far below zero and a keen wind seemed to cut through you. Yet there were people who waited twenty hours and others who walked scores of miles to reach Moscow. At times the lines were over ten miles long.

Slowly the people passed into the building that was once the house of the Moscow nobility, but where never

before has so much love, respect and veneration been paid to such a noble leader. They mounted a great staircase lined with young Soviet officers. The finest of black veils hung over the beautiful cutglass chandeliers, the white marble walls were draped in black and red.

The people walked through a veritable valley of flowers to the great Hall of Columns. Tulips from Uzbekistan, magnolias from the Black Sea Coast which Stalin loved so much, sweet scented mimosa bound into wreaths by the loving hands of Young Pioneers, sombre wreaths of forest branches and leaves from under the snow of the tundra, boughs of desert saxaul shrubs from the site of the Turkmenian Canal, one of the great Construction Projects of Communism that Stalin himself designed. . . . So abundant were the flowers that they flowed out into the snow-covered streets to line the granite walls of the Council of Ministers, the deep red walls of the Lenin Museum, the pavements of the Red Square. These flowers represented the beauty and love embodied in Stalin's life and work.

Within the Hall of Columns the body of Joseph Stalin lay on a catafalque below the banner of the Central Committee of the CPSU, that same banner, inscribed with the words "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" that hung above the body of Lenin in this hall twenty-nine years ago.

The soft light played on the pale, composed, noble features. Streaks of grey gleamed in the hair and heavy moustache. The hands rested naturally on the body which wore a regulation tunic. The finger tips just touched the edge of the sea of flowers.

The coats of arms of the sixteen



Thousands on Red Square pay their last respects to the Soviet leader. The flowers, sent from all parts of the country, banked the Kremlin wall

constituent republics of the Soviet Union hung in the hall and throughout the vigil, delegations from these republics stood beside the bier. Industrial workers, peasants, scientists from Turkmenia, wood-cutters from Karelia, Baltic fishermen, Siberian hunters, Ukrainian farmers, Stakhanovite oil-workers from Baku. . .

Soft music played, stirring the deepest emotions. It was a moment when children grew as serious as old men, when old men fought with their tears as children. A mother bears her infant to the feet of the dead leader. The child drops a single sprig of mimosa, that first spring flower that comes to Moscow, usually a herald of life, now a sad token of a city's grief. At that moment a group of veterans of the October Revolution which had come from Leningrad, were standing on vigil. As they walk away from their post of honor, one of them limping from a wound sustained in the capture of

the Winter Palace, takes the infant in his arms and stands to gaze on Stalin for the last time.

Late on Sunday night the portrait of Stalin on the House of the Trade Union was fixed in the beams of searchlights. The wind rustled the silken bands on the wreaths lying in the street. I stoop to read the inscriptions . . . in Russian, Ukrainian, Chinese, Georgian, French, English, German. . . The flowers lay on the white glistening snow, snow as pure and as lustrous as the principles for which Joseph Stalin worked for sixty years.

On Monday, March 9, the last solemn ceremonies took place. To the great hall came leading figures of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government, trade unions, cooperative and cultural organizations together with leaders of Communist Parties from all over the world and governmental delegations from many lands. As music played, the last guard

of honor took up its post. Then Marshal Budenny led a group of Marshals to the catafalque. Tenderly they raised the red silk cushions on which Stalin's medals lay and walked toward the doors of the hall. The orchestra broke into the strains of Chopin's funeral march. The coffin was gently lifted onto the shoulders of Stalin's closest associates. Through the flower-filled lobbies the procession passed into the street.

The sarcophagus was placed on a gun carriage and drawn by seven shaggy-coated black horses towards the Red Square. Before it went a sea of flowers born by working men and women. Behind walked Soviet leaders, members of the bereaved family, leaders of Communist Parties from abroad, governmental delegations, diplomats. . . . Beside G. M. Malenkov walked Chou En-Lai.

And slowly, with military escort, the cortege moved towards the Red Square. There, tens of thousands of workers awaited in dense formation. Before them stretched a line of young officers, banners dipped. As the cortege passed all eyes were drawn to the precious burden on the gun-carriage. They were not the sightless eyes which watch the death of kings and emperors in lands where rich are divided from poor, workers from idlers. They were the eyes of a whole nation truly and deeply grieving.

Arriving in front of the Mausoleum, Stalin was placed on a raised platform and the leaders of the Soviet people and of fraternal Communist Parties took their places on the Mausoleum's plinth. From there Malenkov, Beria and Molotov made their valedictory speeches. As Malenkov ended with the words: "Farewell, our teacher and leader, our beloved friend, our own Comrade

Stalin! Forward on the road to the complete triumph of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin!" you could feel a great wave of emotion sweep the immense crowd of mourners.

As six minutes before noon the Soviet leaders descended from the plinth of the Mausoleum. Slowly and with infinite tenderness they lifted Stalin onto their shoulders and bore him through the portals of the magnificent Mausoleum. As they passed from the light of a grey wintry day they were followed by the tear-stricken eyes of those who live and work to complete Stalin's great design, the working men and women of the first Socialist State in the world.

Thirty times the guns of Moscow boomed and then a great silence fell on the square, a silence that spread over the whole of the Soviet Union and beyond it into other lands where the memory of Joseph Stalin was being honored that day. The sad wail of sirens that reached us from the port, railway yards and factories of the city served only to intensify the silence.

And then as the Soviet leaders emerged from the Mausoleum the massed bands broke into the national anthem of the Soviet Union. On the Kremlin the banner of the Soviet Union which had been at half mast since Stalin's death, was hoisted to its full height. And many saw in that gesture a message to the Soviet people, a message to the whole world, that the banner of the Soviet Union can never be hauled down by any power on earth and that the Soviet people in its hour of grief had resumed its advance towards the magnificent successes of communism, towards world peace, democracy and socialism in the name of Stalin and the Communist Party.

Soviet-Chinese Friendship

A Monument to Stalin

by

FREDERICK V. FIELD

ON THE DAY of Stalin's funeral, as the ceremonies were being brought to a close many thousands of miles away in the Kremlin, all work in China halted for five minutes. All persons stood still. Their boats, vehicles and even draft animals were stopped. Factories, mines, trains and steamboats blew whistles and sirens. The five hundred million people of the Soviet Union's great ally, China, mourned the "incalculable loss" of their life-long friend and helper, Joseph Stalin. To give expression to the people's feelings the leaders of the Chinese People's Republic held a memorial meeting in Peking, and a memorial article written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung appeared throughout the country.

Among those who rule in the United States things were different.

No sooner was the news flashed to the world that Joseph Stalin had suffered a heavy stroke than the American news agencies embarked on an orgy of speculation. It would seem that every correspondent was told, "Go search the sewers and the gutters and report this filth back to your newspaper or radio station as 'the best information available,' 'well-founded opinion,' or 'facts revealed by confidential but completely au-

thoritative sources'." And the correspondents dutifully complied and dredged up volumes of muck—and all this was purveyed to the American public as news and honest interpretation.

One of the principal channels of speculation from which poured the deluge designed to submerge our intelligence was the relation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. To quote only a few of the more restrained newspapers, the *New York Times* ran a dispatch from one of their men in London under the heading "British Watch Mao for Malenkov Rift"; they featured a story from their Hong Kong correspondent, who actually reported the contrary, under the heading "Possibility Posed that Stalin's Successor May Take New Line Toward Peiping." The *New York Herald Tribune*, in their zeal overlooking the fact that China's leader had done pretty well while Stalin lived, reported the views of government "experts" in Washington under the heading "Chance For Mao to Rise Is Seen if Stalin Dies," and the *Wall Street Journal* conveyed the views of "an influential group in the State Department and Pentagon" in a story headed "Now Is the Time to Force

China-Russia Break." Thus it was throughout the country's newspapers and over the radio and TV—except that the big chains were far more vitriolic than these conservative examples would indicate.

The fact that events in the past and in the present give no support whatsoever to this line of rumor-mongering does not in the least deter those who try to mold American public opinion to their designs. For these rumors are not the result of haphazard adventurism on the part of the owners of the news agencies or their correspondents. On the contrary they were carefully implanted by American intelligence experts throughout the capitals of the captive world as well as here at home. Correspondents get their line through an elaborate process of briefing whereby they are told the official policy of the American government and are instructed on the interpretation which the government insists be placed upon important events. It was no accident that precisely the same rumors regarding Soviet-Chinese relations emerged on the same day from such widely scattered places as London, Washington and Hong Kong.

Apparently the Eisenhower-Dulles group believes that if the public can be made to believe that a struggle for power exists between the leadership of the Soviet Union and that of the People's Republic of China, if it can be made to believe that China is a puppet, and an unwilling one at that, of the Kremlin, if it can be made to believe that there are important theoretical and tactical differences between Chinese and Soviet Communists, and so on, then it will be easier to justify the continuation and expansion of the war against the people of the Far East. This is the purpose of the "exploitation" of the

situation, of which the State Department boasted, created by the death of Stalin. Use the occasion to spread and deepen the falsehoods about China and the Soviet Union in order to bludgeon the American people into an acceptance of the war policies now so universally hated. Prepare the ideological smog, no matter how harmful the effect, for further acts of American aggression across the Pacific.

This whole line of propaganda is not based on events, nor on truth, nor on reality. It is built upon falsehood, many times compounded. It is made of the same kind of self-delusion that characterizes the McCarran-McCarthy attempt to make people believe that the Institute of Pacific Relations caused the successful revolution of five hundred million Chinese against feudalism and imperialism. All of it is nonsense, dangerous and suicidal nonsense.

Some of the more serious correspondents saw through this infantile attempt to "exploit" the death of Stalin. Take the case of Lieberman, the *New York Times* reporter stationed in Hong Kong. His first dispatch, printed on March 4, starts off with the official Dulles line: "Stalin's stroke touched off swift speculation here." Then several paragraphs describing the speculation of "British and American observers," the usual range of free-wheeling rumors, which Lieberman to his credit flatly refutes by saying:

Although the change of leadership in Moscow may affect the existing operational mechanisms of Chinese-Soviet relations, the general feeling here tonight was that the basic concepts of the Peiping-Moscow alliance would not be vitally affected in the foreseeable future. The alliance, it is felt, is grounded in a substantial mu-



Chairman Mao Tse-tung reviews the parade on Tien An Men Square, Peking, on Oct. 1, 1952, the third anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic

tuality of interest and ideology that transcends personal relationships under present international conditions.

The truth, as always, lies in events, past and present, and events show us conclusively that the bonds between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic and between the Russian and Chinese people are firmly welded and ever increasing. To say otherwise is to disregard events. To build policies upon any contrary conclusion is a criminal distortion of reality which can lead only to the expansion of the horror that our government has already brought about in Korea.

Recognizing the immense importance of the relations between the

Soviet Union and China and particularly the pertinence to world peace and security which these relations bear, this magazine has regularly sought to present its readers with information and responsible analysis of the developing comity between these two great nations. These reports, we submit, accurately reflect the facts and events which we as Americans must recognize if we wish to live and grow in a peaceful and democratic world. They are, it is hardly necessary to emphasize, diametrically opposed to the insanities about Eastern Asia which Acheson and Dulles and those whom they represent and who represent them have tried to cram into the American mind.

The thoughts spoken by Russian and Chinese leaders—and reflected in our pages—on recent historic occasions, such as the conclusion of the great Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance of 1950, its development in 1952, the Korean War and the repeated efforts of the peace bloc, led by the Soviet Union, to bring an end to that war, as well as the victory of the Chinese people and the establishment of their People's Republic—these thoughts have now been forcefully reiterated on the occasion of the death of the great world leader, Stalin.

In his telegram expressing "boundless grief" over Stalin's death Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, pledged that the nation which he leads would stand by the Soviet Union "definitely, forever and with maximum resoluteness" and work for the strengthening of the "world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union." Commenting on China's as well as the Soviet Union's "incalculable loss" Chairman Mao went on to say:

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution is entirely inseparable from the continuing care, guidance and support of Comrade Stalin over the past thirty years and more. Since the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Stalin, the great Soviet people and the Soviet Government under his leadership have rendered generous and disinterested assistance to the construction work of the Chinese people.

Mao Tse-tung wrote a memorial article entitled "The Greatest Friendship" which was distributed throughout China on the day of Stalin's funeral. In it he eulogized Stalin's theoretical and practical contributions. He said that the great task of

China was now to "transform sorrow into strength" by deepening the relations between the two nations. The Chinese people, he noted, would intensify their study of Stalin's contributions to Marxism-Leninism as well as their emulation of Soviet scientific and technological developments. The Communist Party of the USSR Chairman Mao declared, "has been and is our model and will remain so in the future. We are fully confident that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, headed by Comrade Malenkov, are sure to follow Comrade Stalin's legacy in order to push the great enterprises of communism further and to develop and glorify them."

At the same time the *New York Times* printed a dispatch from its Moscow correspondent that "Premier Georgi M. Malenkov and his Government associates moved swiftly today to deepen and strengthen the bonds that unite the Soviet Union and Communist China." It was apparent, he reported, that the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the two countries "was for Premier Malenkov as it was for Premier Stalin a bulwark of Soviet foreign policy."

Thus the most powerful alliance in the world today, the greatest force for peace that exists, remains unshaken. History, facts, events, will not be turned, will not be altered by lies, speculations and rumors. The alliance between the people of the Soviet Union and of China, seven hundred million in all, a product of Stalin's statesmanship, will grow and strengthen and eventually triumph against those evil forces which seek to shatter it. It will indeed be a glorious monument to Stalin.

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The Volga-Don Canal, first to be completed of the great Stalin Construction Projects of Communism, links up five seas. This is the ninth lock.

Land of the Soviets

The rapid growth and broad development of every aspect of Soviet life is inseparably bound with the name of Stalin, who guided his country's progress since Lenin's death. On these pages we present a glimpse in pictures of life in the Soviet Union today.

Shrubby and flowers on the grounds of the VEF Plant in Riga, Soviet Latvia, make this a pleasant place for the workers to relax at lunch time.





Harvesting in the Kazakh Republic. Soviet agriculture employs the latest achievements of agronomy and is better equipped with machinery than that of any other country.

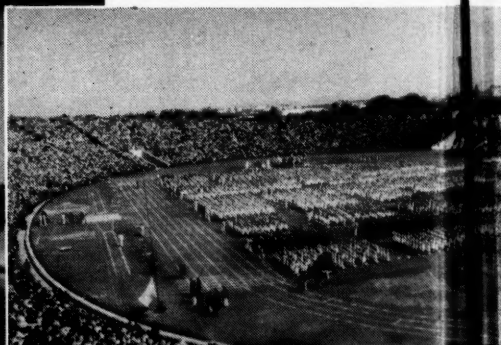


Irkutsk University (Siberia) students and expedition on Lake Baikal. Massur

There has been an enormous housing program in the Soviet Union, especially since the war. This building on the Moskva River is the last word in apartment dwellings newly completed in Moscow.



The people go in for athletics even at Stalin Stadium in Baku, in Azerbaijan.





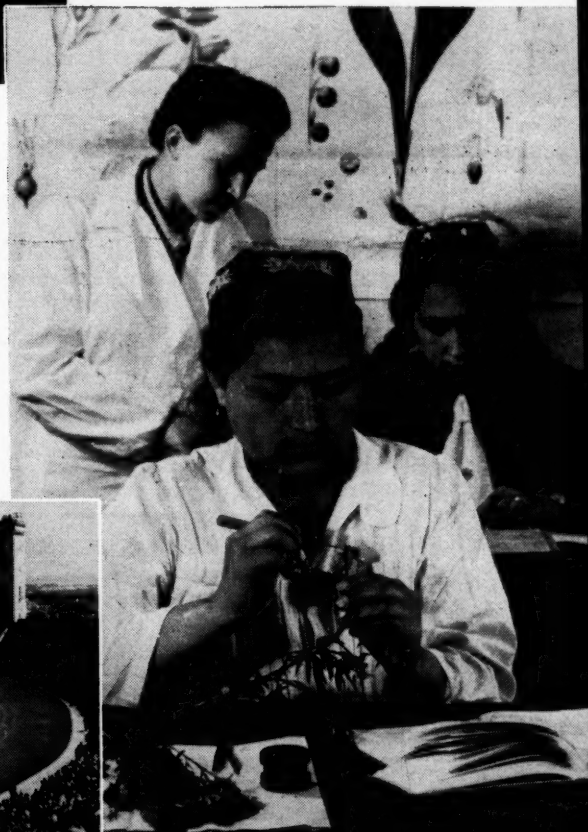
beria...nts doing field work on an
ikal. Measured work on graduating.

A botany class in Leninabad,
the Tadzhik Soviet Republic.
Formerly, women in the Asian
parts of Russia were oppressed
and had no opportunity to
study nor to enter the life-
stream of their communities.

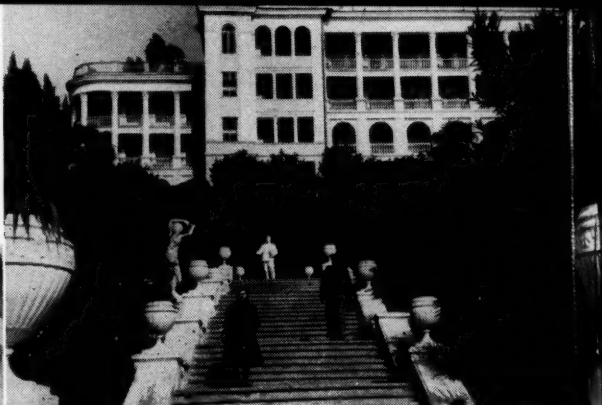
r athle... every republic. This is the ...
ku, in Azerbaidzhan Soviet, Republic.



The national republics have been aided in
the development of their own heavy industry.
This is a section of the Stalin Iron and
Steel Works in Rustavi, Georgian Republic.



Reflecting the rising Soviet standard of living is this farmers market (below) in Erevan, Soviet Armenia. It merges regional forms with the latest in architecture.



This lovely Soviet workers resort is the sanatorium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Siberian miners children play in a chess tournament in their Palace of Pioneers. Its in the town of Propkoyevsk, in the Kuzbas, Siberia.



Girl campers at Artek, Crimean childrens' camp on the Black Sea.



Vera Panova, Stalin Prize novelist, is known to Americans for "The Factory" and "The Train."



Malenkov's Funeral Oration

DEAR fellow countrymen, comrades, friends, dear brothers in other countries:

Our Party, the Soviet people, all humanity, have suffered a most grievous, irreparable loss. The glorious life-path of our teacher and leader, the greatest genius of humanity, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, has ended. In these sorrowful days, the great sorrow of the Soviet people is being shared by all progressive humanity.

Stalin's name is infinitely dear to the Soviet people and the widest people's masses in all parts of the globe. Vast are the grandeur and significance of Comrade Stalin's activities for the Soviet people and working people of all lands. His works will live forever, and grateful posterity, in common with us, will praise Stalin's name.

Stalin gave his life in the cause of liberating the working class and all workers from the yoke and bondage of exploiters, in the cause of freeing mankind from exterminating wars, in the cause of the struggle for a free and happy life on earth for the working people.

Comrade Stalin, the great thinker of our epoch, creatively developed in new historic conditions the teachings of Marxism and Leninism. Stalin's name justly takes its place beside the names of the greatest men in the en-

tire history of mankind—Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Our Party adheres to the great teachings of Marxism and Leninism, which furnish the Party and the people with the invincible strength and ability to blaze new paths in history.

Lenin and Stalin, in the course of long years, waged under difficult underground conditions a struggle for the deliverance of the peoples of Russia from the yoke of autocracy and from the oppression of landowners and capitalists. Guided by Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people have accomplished the greatest revolution in the history of mankind, have put an end to a regime of capitalism in our country and entered upon a new path, the path of socialism.

Continuing the work of Lenin and steadily developing Lenin's teaching, which illuminates the way ahead for the Party and Soviet state, Comrade Stalin brought our country to a world historic victory of socialism, which insured for the first time in the many thousands of years of the existence of human society the abolition of exploitation of man by man. Lenin and Stalin founded the first workers' and peasants' state in the world.

Comrade Stalin worked tirelessly to strengthen the Soviet state. The strength and might of our state are the most important conditions for the successful construction of commu-



Pall bearers carry Stalin's coffin to its last resting place on Red Square. Right to left, they are: L. P. Beria, G. M. Malenkov, Vassily Stalin, V. M. Molotov, N. M. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich and N. M. Shvernik.

nism in our country. It is our sacred duty to continue to strengthen our great socialist state, the bulwark of peace and security of the peoples, tirelessly and in every way.

With the name of Comrade Stalin is connected the solution of one of the most complicated questions in the history of the development of society, namely the question of nationalities.

In the history of the development of human society and the national question, the greatest theoretician of the national question, Comrade Stalin, secured, for the first time in history, within the frontiers of a huge multi-national state, the liquidation of national strife.

Under Comrade Stalin's leadership, our Party has overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of the people who were formerly oppressed, by uniting into one brotherly family

all the nationalities of the Soviet Union and forging friendship among peoples. Our sacred duty is to strengthen and further the unity and friendship of the nations of the Soviet Union and to strengthen the Soviet multi-national state. With the friendship among the peoples of our country, we are not afraid of any internal or external enemies. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Army was created and strengthened.

The strengthening of the defensive power of the country and the consolidation of the Soviet armed forces were the untiring concern of Comrade Stalin. Headed by its great military leader, Generalissimo Stalin, the Soviet Army won a historic victory during the Second World War and delivered the peoples of Europe and Asia from the threat of Fascist sla-

very. Our sacred duty is to strengthen by every means the mighty Soviet armed forces. We must keep them in a state of combat preparedness for a crushing rebuff to any attack of any enemy.

As a result of the ceaseless toil of Comrade Stalin, in accordance with plans worked out by him, our Party has converted a formerly backward country into a mighty industrial and collective farm power, and has created a new economic order which knows no crises nor unemployment. It is our sacred duty to insure the further flourishing of our Socialist motherland. We must develop by every means our socialist industry, the bulwark of the might and strength of our country. We must develop by every means our collective farm system and strive for a further upsurge and flourishing of all collective farms of the Soviet country and strengthen the union of working class and collective farm peasantry.

In the internal sphere, our main task is ceaselessly to strive for further improvement in the material welfare of the workers, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia and all the Soviet people. It is a law for our Party and Government to implement the duty of ceaselessly striving for the good of the people, for the maximum satisfaction of their material and cultural needs. Lenin and Stalin created and tempered our Party as a great transforming force of society. Comrade Stalin taught all his life that there is nothing higher than the title of member of the Communist Party.

In a stubborn struggle against enemies, Comrade Stalin defended the monolithic unity of the ranks of our Party. It is our sacred duty to preserve this spirit so as to be able further to strengthen the great Com-

munist Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party lies in the unity and close rallying together of its ranks, in the unity of will and action, in the ability of Party members to merge their wills in the will and wishes of the Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party lies in its close ties with the masses of the people. The unity of the Party and the people is based on the Party's constant service to the interests of the people. We must treasure the unity of the Party as the apple of our eye. We must strengthen further the unbreakable bonds between the Party and people and train the Communists and all working people in the spirit of high political vigilance, of irreconcilability and firmness in the struggle against internal and foreign enemies.

Under the leadership of the great Stalin, a mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism has been set up. In that camp, in close fraternal unity with the Soviet people, march the great Chinese people, the fraternal peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic.

In stubborn battle, the heroic Korean people are defending the independence of their motherland. A courageous fight is being waged for freedom and national independence by the people of Vietnam. It is our sacred task to preserve and consolidate the greatest attainment of the people—the camp of peace, democracy and socialism—to strengthen the ties, friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the democratic bloc.

We must in every way consolidate the eternal, indestructible and fraternal friendship of the Soviet Union with the great Chinese people and

with the working people of all the People's Democracies.

The peoples of all lands know Comrade Stalin as the great standard bearer of peace. Comrade Stalin directed the supreme force of his genius toward the preservation of peace for the peoples of all countries.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state, a policy of peace and friendship among nations, forms a decisive barrier to the unleashing of a new war and is in conformity with the vital interests of all nations. The Soviet Union has invariably been championing the defense of the cause of peace, for its interests are inseparable from the cause of peace the world over.

The Soviet Union has waged and is waging a consistent policy for the preservation and stabilization of peace, a policy of struggle against the preparation and unleashing of a new war, a policy of international cooperation and development of business relations with all countries, a policy based on the Lenin-Stalin premise of the possibility of the prolonged co-existence and peaceful competition of two different systems, capitalist and socialist.

The great Stalin reared us in the spirit of boundlessly loyal service to the interests of the people. We are the true servants of the people, and the people want peace and hate war. May the desire of the people to prevent the shedding of the blood of millions and to ensure the peaceful building of a happy life be sacred to all of us!

In the sphere of foreign policy, our main concern is in preventing a new war and in living in peace with all countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government consider that the

most correct, essential and just foreign policy is the policy of peace among all peoples, based on mutual trust, operative and supported by facts and confirmed by facts.

Governments must serve their peoples faithfully, and the peoples yearn for peace and curse war. Criminal will be those Governments that will want to trick peoples and go against the sacred wish of the peoples to maintain peace and prevent a new bloody massacre.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government insist that the policy of peace between nations is the only correct policy that corresponds with the interests of all nations.

Comrades:

The passing of our great leader and teacher, the great Stalin, imposes on all Soviet men and women the duty to multiply their efforts to realize the magnificent tasks confronting the Soviet people, and to increase their contribution to the common cause of the construction of a communist society, of strengthening the power and defense abilities of our socialist homeland.

The working people of the Soviet Union see and know that our powerful homeland is advancing toward new successes.

We have all that is necessary to build a complete communist society. With firm faith in their limitless forces and possibilities, the Soviet people will proceed with the great cause of building communism. There are no forces in the world which can stop the forward movement of Soviet society toward communism.

Farewell, our teacher and leader, our dear friend, our comrade, Stalin!

Forward, along the road toward the complete victory of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin!

The Vienna Peace Congress

A Demonstration of Peaceful Co-Existence

by ILYA EHRENBURG

Soviet Writer and Stalin Peace Prize Recipient

THE SCEPTICS say: "Blood is still flowing in Korea, the peoples are still living in a state of alarm, the cold war is still going on—what has the Vienna Congress achieved?"

No doubt the road leading to peace is a long one: it is harder to build a house than to destroy it. But much has been achieved. The Vienna Congress is a step forward, not merely because it took its stand in favor of peaceful co-existence but also because it demonstrated the possibility of such co-existence.

It is easy for any big party or tendency successfully to convene a large congress.

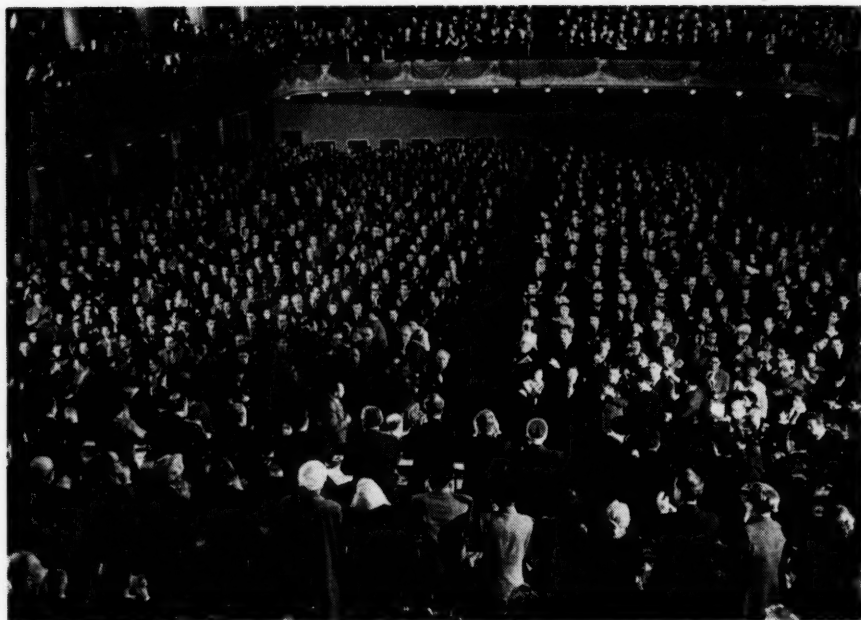
The Vienna Congress was a different matter, involving a meeting between representatives of different parties, and different tendencies, a prototype of the round table of the nations that is dreamed of by a tormented humanity. Such a congress could not have been thought of in 1949, nor yet in 1951. It has taken years of lying and fear, the ashes of Korea, the half-starved existence of hundreds of millions, foreign occupation of dozens of countries, the cruel lessons of history before the dream of peace became the cause of peace.

The people who do not want to see, or whose conscience is not very clear, are asserting that the Vienna Congress was directed by Communists and partisans of the Soviet Union, that all the other participants were crushed, squeezed out or morally annihilated; or that there were none at all of the latter, because the Laborite who once decided to go to Vienna became thereby a communist, and Jean-Paul Sartre, when he dared sit down at the side of Aragon and Fedin, in so doing denied existentialism.

I won't linger over the arithmetic of it. It has already been answered in the press that at the Vienna Congress, the communists and partisans of the Soviet Union were not a majority but a minority.

I would like to emphasize something else: that in coming to Vienna, people were not giving up their ideas, their likings, but rather it was fidelity to themselves, to their conception of the world, to their affinities and traditions which brought them there.

To take part in the work of the Congress of the Peoples, the Italian deputy Giuseppe Nitti had no need to renounce his liberalism; on the contrary, it was because he saw it to



Concluding session of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna, on December 20, 1952, as the delegates voted to adopt the agreed decisions.

be threatened that he scorned prejudice and police harrying. Mr. Nitti came to Vienna because he wanted to remain Mr. Nitti.

When she took her place at the presidium of the Congress, Madame Piaggio gave up neither the Catholic faith, nor her political viewpoint which is very far from communism; she came to Vienna because they mean a lot to her.

Obviously, all the Englishmen who represented at the Congress millions of workingmen in their country can be expelled from the Labor Party, but that will not stop them from remaining Laborites, because they are organically tied to the mass of their party. I spoke to several of them and I know what brought them to the Congress—their attachment to the labor movement, to the trade unions,

to the outlook on the world they have acquired over tens of years.

Need it be said that the friends of Egypt's General Naguib did not take the road to Vienna to make a study of the Marxist conception; that Mr. Cooke, a partisan of Argentina's President Peron, emphasized on every occasion his solidarity with a regime in no way reminiscent of that of the Soviet Union; that the French radicals, before, during and after the Congress were profoundly persuaded that the political system of France suits them better than that of Poland; that the servants of the different religions who came to the Congress did so to save, not the edification of socialist society, not historical materialism, not the prospects of communism, but their congregations, their churches and their faith?

I chatted in friendly fashion with Jean-Paul Sartre. That did not make me change my views on philosophy, any more than it did him on his conception of free-will. He and I love different things, but those things he loves, and those I love are threatened by the same danger of war, the same anxiety clouds them. Those who do not wish to see or those whose conscience is not of the clearest can say that Sartre ceased to be Sartre when he came to Vienna. Clearly, life goes on and the way of a writer is a complicated one, but I am convinced that Sartre came to Vienna because he wanted to remain Sartre.

I have had the occasion more than once to say that war is not very favorable to discussion. In war, men and peoples do not demonstrate the qualities that are their own and do not assert the ideas that are dear to them.

At the moment there is a great deal of talk about "crusading." Is it not time to say out loud that the crusades served every purpose except that of giving a demonstration of Christian morality?

Bonaparte the Consul assured his fellow-citizens that he was bringing to Europe the advanced ideas born out of the French Revolution, and in all the capitals of monarchical Europe the daring Corsican was given no other name than "the Jacobin." Despite this, the wars he waged had nothing at all in common with the Convention's declarations on the brotherhood of peoples or the ideas of liberty which aroused the French people in the years of its drive forward.

At the time of the First World War, the German social-democrats affirmed that the Kaiser's field-mars-hals were conducting mankind to progress, while the French socialists

asserted that progress could be ensured only through victory of the Entente.

There are no wars dictated by ideas, there are wars which destroy the possibility of ideas. In the same way as camouflage makes all color disappear, so does war erase, dis-color and raze the different conceptions of the world.

The twentieth century will go down in history as the century of the great dispute between two classes, two societies, two conceptions of the world. This dispute cannot find a solution by force of arms, for the different worlds are not arguing about whose armaments or strategy are superior, but about who has a superior peaceful organization of economy.

Upholders of capitalism affirm that free competition, private initiative, the existence of different classes in society and the corresponding notions of constitutional freedoms, are indispensable to the well-being of humanity. But any war spells destruction of material wealth, abasement of the standard of living, state interference in economy and restriction of the various "freedoms."

Thus the defenders of capitalism, if they are capable of thought and reflection, cannot expect from war the salvation of their system.

There is not one partisan of socialism who can wish for war, for the building of socialism demands not only the will of men, but also a material basis which would be destroyed or severely damaged by any war, even were it victorious.

It was precisely these considerations that enabled the partisans of different systems to meet peacefully and talk over the steps to be taken in defense of peace.

He who was present at the Congress of the Peoples, he who has seen with

STALIN ON PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

THE PEACEFUL co-existence of capitalism and communism is quite possible, provided there is a mutual desire to cooperate, a readiness to carry out undertaken commitments, observance of the principles of equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

From Stalin's replies to American editors, May 31, 1952.

what patience the two thousand delegates listened to the different speeches, at times containing criticism of conceptions dear to one part or another of the hall, he who has taken part in the work of the Congress and seen the efforts made by men of varying opinion to come to agreement and find formulas acceptable to all—that one knows that we, the partisans of peace, are neither dreamers nor utopians.

The two thousand delegates of eighty-five countries assure their fellow-citizens that with good will, agreement can be reached, and that what the representatives of the peoples have done, the representatives of the governments must now do.

Without doubt, the artists present at the Congress of the Peoples more than once admired the diversity, melody and picturesqueness of the world. This is not only apparent in the external aspect, in the different color of skin or character of face or clothing. The representatives of the different peoples, meeting in one hall, asserted in themselves the particular faces of their peoples.

If war, both hot and cold, levels down and wipes out all personality, peace on the contrary means the development of national cultures, the triumph of national tastes, the preservation of the penchants big and little which are proper to all men and peoples.

When we speak of the richness of human culture, we are not talking about something abstract, which has appeared one knows not from where, but about the greatness of each people which has displayed its own character and thereby enriched all mankind.

Can one imagine the world without Paris, without that forest of stone of the centuries, without that town that resembles a landscape, as if devoid of any plan, but at the same time full of harmony, without that town whose place is in the history of humanity at large, whose streets are familiar through many a novel to the schoolboys of Melbourne and Prague, the town created by the French and stamped with the seal of their national genius?

Can one imagine the world without Goethe, without Cervantes, without Tolstoy, without Dickens?

The higher the tree and the more its branches, the stronger and deeper are its roots.

That is why the love the man of any nation feels for the landscape of his country, for its customs and for the little things that go to make up its daily life, is something worthy of respect; and if the Frenchman is proud of the landscapes of Corot, he is naturally fond of the classic fisherman capable of spending all his Sunday on the banks of the Marne waiting for gudgeons real or imaginary.

It is said that men understand what air is only when they are in a rarefied atmosphere, gasping for breath at the bottom of a caved-in mine or climbing to too great heights. During the Second World War, the peoples of the entire world understood what the loss of national independence and of their national face meant—and they have not forgotten what they learned.

It is precisely because of this that they have now understood the danger of a new slavery. It is precisely because of this that the peoples deprived of their independence have undertaken the struggle for this elementary and sacred right. It is precisely because of this that the French are now able to understand the Vietnamese and the Tunisians, that the Dutch can find a common language with the Indonesians.

In report-back meetings on the work of the Vienna Congress, it is said that one of the points on the agenda was the question of national independence. To me it seems that the question went all through the agenda and that the defense of peace cannot be separated from that of national independence.

The utopia of pacifists in the past was due to the fact that they asserted the so-called need to destroy all states in the name of peace and melt all peoples into one, speaking Esperanto.

The Vienna Congress has shown on the contrary that one cannot save peace if the national features of each people are scorned, and that it is impossible for these national features to be manifested or protected without peace being saved.

In my speech at the Congress of the Peoples I recalled the proverb: "A man's house is his castle." One of the French delegates spoke to me and asked me why, then, I was against

the Atlantic Pact. He told me that, if a man is master in his own house, he has therefore the right to sell it to his neighbor.

I replied that the "man" is not such and such a group of cabinet ministers, who, it must be said, have in France a life as fleeting as the mayfly, but the people. Keeping to France, one may recall that the man fought at Valmy, but did not emigrate to Coblenz; that he defended the forts round Paris, but did not come to terms with Bismarck; that he was in the maquis, but not at Vichy.

The same is true of the other peoples.

Hundreds, thousands, or even hundreds of thousands of people may well, through cupidity or stupidity, fear or ambition, make the house of their fathers into a hotel for illustrious foreign guests or a fortress for foreign troops but the people love their homeland even when the former behave harshly to it.

Now, at the middle of the twentieth century, we can see a grandiose movement taking place in all the peoples of the world, the British and the Malaysians, the Koreans and the Turks, the French and the Tunisians, the Italians and the Brazilians—the fight for national independence, for the right to live as one thinks fit, for one's mother tongue, for one's own habits and environment. This movement is organically bound up with the movement for peace, for even the small businessman in the most out-of-the-way United States township, dazed as he may be by talk of world supremacy, is beginning to understand that there is only one way of preserving his way of life, his automobile, his Jenny or his Mary, his "comics," his jazz or his bar, and that is to prevent war.

One cannot conceive of national independence separate from the notion of security. The inhabitant of Liverpool or Manchester knows today that he may awake one morning, not to the sound of his ringing alarm clock, but to the noise of bombs, and thus learn that, during the night foreign aircraft have taken off from British soil to drop bombs on a town a thousand miles away, and that neither the member of parliament nor even the prime minister had previous knowledge of it.

Can the French or the Italians answer for the foreign soldiers who have taken up quarters on their soil?

Time was when privileged townsmen had obtained the right to place at their doors a notice "No Billeting"—that was for national troops. Today, a great many states are demanding that they be no longer obliged to receive foreign armies. Clearly, it is unpleasant to have guests who behave in your home as if it were theirs. It is not only a matter of hurt national pride, or of dislike for these uninvited guests who behave badly and stick their noses into everything, it is principally that these billeted troops can start a war without the agreement or even the knowledge of the masters of the house.

The state can have no true security without its national independence.

Since the Vienna Congress, the aims of the partisans of peace have become more clear. We can say to everyone: if you want to be master in your own home, you must defend peace. The house may be big or small, but the man living in it built it above all so that it should be his house.

I have been to Luxemburg. It is a tiny country, but it has the same right to exist as any great power; it wishes neither to be the courtyard

through which pass the local bandits, nor the pathway for the "derzhimorda"* from overseas.

We can say to everyone: if you want to live as you see fit, if the French or Iranian way of life suits you, if the Italian or Canadian regime is dear to you, then send away the curators, the guardians and undesirable defenders. If you wish to guarantee the security of your country, then take upon yourself the understanding to guarantee that of others. You can answer for yourself but not for the other fellow in your house who has a gun in his hand, even if you deferentially give him the title not only of ally but of relation.

If, as a Frenchman, you want the soldiers of the U.S. to leave France, then do not forget to recall the French from Viet-Nam.

If you want talks, agreements, peace, then demand that your deputy, your cabinet ministers, the government of your country begin talks with the governments of other countries.

If you want to protect your ideas, defend your conception of the world, safeguard the regime you hold dear, then give the order for the bombs to be taken off the table: bombs are not an argument and what is more, they are equally dangerous for all those taking part in the discussion. Forget Bikini. Remember Vienna.

If you want to defend yourself, defend peace, for every man lives and thinks in his own way, every town has its own aspect, but all ruins look alike, and they have no longer either shape, hair, color of eyes, nor dreams—not even remembrance.

(From the Canadian "Peace Review")

*Derzhimorda "guard your muzzle," i.e. "watch your tongue." Name of the police character in Gogol's *Revisor* now used for the type of low policeman.

TRIBUTES TO STALIN

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people—very well indeed.

Report to the Nation on the Teheran Conference, December 24, 1943

As Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, I congratulate you on the brilliant victory at Stalingrad of the armies under your supreme command. The 162 days of the epic battle for the city which has forever honored your name and the decisive result which all Americans are celebrating today, will remain one of the proudest chapters in this war of the peoples united against Nazism and its emulators. . . .

Message to Stalin, February 1, 1943

WINSTON CHURCHILL

British Prime Minister

Stalin is a man of massive and strong personality, suitable to the stormy times in which he has lived. He is a man of inexhaustible courage and will power, a man direct and even blunt in speech. . . . Stalin also left upon me the impression of deep, cool wisdom and complete absence of illusion of any kind.

Report to House of Commons, September 8, 1942

CORDELL HULL

Former Secretary of State

I found in Marshal Stalin a remarkable personality, one of the great statesmen and leaders of this age.

Report on Moscow Conference to Congress, November 18, 1943

ANTHONY EDEN

British Foreign Secretary

Through the untold sufferings of the present war, the Soviet Union wishes to gain a lasting peace for all people—so do we. We must work together to win the war and win the peace. With the experience of Stalin's talks fresh in my mind, I am convinced that we can do both.

Broadcast from London on return from Moscow, Jan. 5, 1942

LESTER PEARSON
President, UN General Assembly

As President of the General Assembly, I express through you to the Government and peoples of the Soviet Union deep sympathy at the death of Premier Stalin. With his passing the United Nations has lost one of its founders and the Soviet peoples the man who was their indomitable leader in the common struggle against Nazi aggression. We remember at this time how great was the contribution of those peoples to victory in that struggle, victory that made possible our world organization on which today millions of men and women in all lands rest their hopes for peace.

Message to Vyshinsky, March 5, 1953

JOSEPH E. DAVIES
Former Ambassador to Moscow

He gives the impression of a strong mind which is composed and wise. His brown eyes are exceedingly kind and gentle. A child would like to sit on his lap. . . .

We sat down at the table and with an interpreter talked for two hours. . . . It was an intellectual feast. Throughout it we joked and laughed. He has a sly humor. He has a very great mentality. It is sharp, shrewd, and above all things, wise. . . .

First and foremost, this government does have a kindly and friendly feeling toward the American people. Basically, there is nothing that we have that they could take and nothing that they have that we would want to take and it is just impossible that there would at any time ever be an armed conflict between the two countries. . . .

Mission to Moscow

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

It is useless to go on ignoring the fact that Stalin is the ablest statesman in Europe.

New York Herald Tribune, February 3, 1949

PATRIARCH ALEXIUS
Head of the Russian Orthodox Church

We consider that Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin has created the best possible conditions for the work of our Church. We receive great support from him in all our needs and desires.

Interview in Soviet Russia Today, November, 1945

HENRI BARBUSSE
Eminent French Writer

He is strong because he is right, and powerful because his power is beneficent—and for no other reason.

*Writing on Stalin's 55th birthday,
Soviet Russia Today, February, 1935*

MARTIN ANDERSON NEXO
Great Danish Novelist

This new life can no longer be denied. Amidst it towers the figure of Stalin, who has been so generously endowed with all the finest qualities of the working man. Strong and open minded, wise and solicitous, farsighted and self-sacrificing—every progressive worker must try to see in Stalin his own image and reflection of his own world.

Soviet Russia Today, January, 1940

DR. HEWLETT JOHSON
Dean of Canterbury

Stalin is calm, composed, simple, not lacking in humor, direct in speech, untouched by the slightest suspicion of pomposity . . . just steady purpose and a kindly geniality.

No man of mystery dominates the Kremlin. Stalin is the embodiment of good-humored common sense, as much a man of the people today as when he plied the secret printing press in the commonplace villa in Tbilisi, just as direct, as knowledgeable and as practical as when he used the Marxian Socialism he had mastered not as a philosophical theory but as a plan of action for common men.

Soviet Russia Since the War

WENDELL WILLKIE

In Moscow I had two long talks with Joseph Stalin. . . . He is one of the significant men of this generation. . . . He talks quietly, readily, and at times with a simple, moving eloquence . . . when we talked of the causes of the war and the economic and political questions that would face the world after it was over, his comprehension was broad, his detailed information exact.

No, we do not need to fear Russia. . . . We need to learn to work with her in the world after the war. For Russia is a dynamic country, a vital new society, a force that cannot be bypassed in any future world.

One World

JOSEPH STALIN

A Biographical Sketch

JOSEPH STALIN (Dzhugashvili) was born in 1879 in the small town of Gori in Georgia. His father was a poorly paid shoe worker, and poverty compelled the mother to take in washing.

D. Gogakhia, a childhood playmate of Stalin's, recalls the conditions of the Dzhugashvili household:

The entrance to their room was directly from the yard. The room was small and had one small window and the floor was of crude brick. The furniture was a stool, a small table and a Caucasian sofa covered with a straw mat. Their rent was a ruble and a half a month, but the family found even this small sum hard to scrape together.

Gogakhia, a Mingrelian, spoke Georgian with a heavy accent. On this account he suffered from the taunts of insensitive schoolmates. Stalin befriended the Mingrelian boy. He suggested that they exchange lessons in each other's language and this exchange was carried on. It is pleasing to see in this early intuitive friendliness toward a boy of another people, a foreshadowing of one of Stalin's outstanding contributions to humanity, the Soviet position on the national question, which Stalin helped to shape and which has made the Soviet Union an

example of true fraternity among peoples.

The children attended a church school. Young Joseph was an "A" scholar. He won the only monthly scholarship granted in the school, graduated at the head of the class, and was awarded a diploma of honor—an exceptional event since such honors usually went to the sons of the clergy.

On graduation young Stalin entered the religious seminary at Tiflis (Tbilisi), following the wishes of his mother, who wanted him to become a priest. The regime at this institution was repressive. Students were forbidden to read newspapers, to attend theatres, to leave the seminary grounds after five o'clock.

These repressions however proved useless. The students responded to the ferment that was sweeping life outside the seminary walls. Stalin, who had continued a top rank student, excelling in logic and secular history and such sciences as were taught at the seminary, turned to

This sketch of the earlier activities of Stalin was taken from the January, 1940 issue of "Soviet Russia Today" which was devoted to his sixtieth birthday.

studies not included in the curriculum—to political literature. He organized a Marxist study circle at the seminary, and was active in the underground revolutionary movement.

A fellow student has published reminiscences of these seminary days:

One morning in Pushkin Square I came upon Stalin surrounded by a group of fellow students. They were in a heated discussion. Stalin was criticizing Jordania (later leader of the Georgian Mensheviks and, after the October Revolution, the organizer of the counter-revolution in Georgia). It was during this discussion that we first heard of Lenin. The bell rang and we went back to our classes. Astounded by Joseph's criticism of Jordania I took him aside to hear more. Joseph referred to Tulin's (Lenin's) articles and said, "I must see him at all costs."

Stalin's activities did not escape the attentions of the seminary authorities. One of the priest teachers wrote a report: "Joseph Dzhugashvili should be expelled as a politically unreliable person." The pretext decided upon for his expulsion was non-payment of tuition fees.

In later days Stalin recalled the

difficulties of the Tiflis group in getting access to the Marxist classics. There was only one copy of *Capital* in all Tiflis. The Marxists rented it and made copies by hand for their study circles.

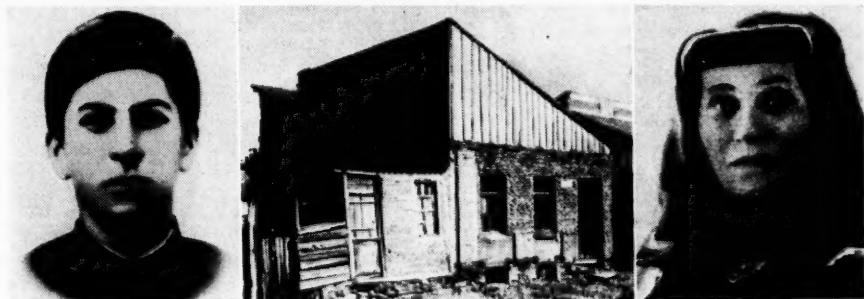
While still in the seminary Stalin had established contacts with workers. The tool worker Kalandarov recalls a workers' study circle conducted by Stalin:

He knew how to speak to us in simple language. He gave us answers to questions that came up in our daily work and that were asked by our fellow-workers. Stalin was a very witty speaker too.

Kalandarov became a revolutionist and it was at his house that Stalin stayed when he went to Batum to organize the first mass meeting held in that city. He also led the successful strike at the Matashev Oil Refinery. By that time (1902) Stalin had already become a hunted professional revolutionist, having been forced to go into hiding, following the May First demonstration in Tiflis.

In 1902, after having organized several strikes in Batum, and led a number of political demonstrations, Stalin was arrested and imprisoned.

Stalin as a seminary student, and Ekaterina Dzhugashvili, his mother. The Dzhugashvili home (center) in Gori, Georgia, where Stalin was born.





Lenin and Stalin at Smolny during the Revolution. A drawing by P. Vasilyev.

But even in prison his activities went on. The worker Kaladze describes how contact was made with Stalin:

Our first efforts were without success. Later I learned that a fellow countryman of mine delivered wood to the prison. He and his mate, a driver called Mikh, agreed to get me into the prison yard as a worker who stacked the wood. The next thing to do was to find out at what hour Stalin was let out to exercise so that we could bring our wood in at that time.

At the prison gate there was a vegetable stand kept by a Persian. He was allowed into the yard once a day to sell fruit to the prisoners. By chance I found out that he had a brother working at my factory. His brother turned out to be well inclined to us. Through this brother we got the vegetable sellers to find out when Stalin would be in the yard and to give him a message.

The day arrived; I did my wood stacking as slowly as possible. The prisoners walked up and down the yard while the guard stood in the center. Every time Stalin passed me he uttered a few quick words—instructions for the work of our organ-

ization. In this way we kept up our work even while Stalin was in prison.

During one of my visits to the prison yard he dropped a paper at my feet. I picked it up. It was a manifesto to the Batum oil workers. When our workers read the manifesto they were amazed how well Stalin knew the life and needs of the workers. He put forward the demands for each separate trade. The manifesto was of great importance for it helped weld the workers together for the political struggle as well as for their economic demands.

Stalin was transferred from the Batum prison to the prison at Kutais, in Georgia, from there back to Batum prison, and from there to exile in Siberia. He made his escape, however, and in a few months was back at his work in the Caucasus. There, in the period between 1904 and 1905, his work included the Bolshevikization of the workers' organizations against the efforts of the Mensheviks, Anarchists, Socialist Revolutionaries, and nationalists of every variety. His work in that direction was successful and a firm Bolshevik

organization of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was established in Tiflis. In his pamphlets and articles written at that time he proved himself to be an able exponent of the Leninist position. Lenin wrote an approving review of one of his articles.

Stalin's following among the Caucasian workers was gained by active participation in all their struggles. Under his leadership a strike of the Baku workers won the first collective bargaining agreement in the history of the working class movement in Russia.

This strike, which took place on the eve of the 1905 revolution had great value in consolidating the forces of the revolutionary working class movement in the Caucasus regions.

Stalin's first meeting with Lenin took place in 1905 in Tammerfors, Finland, where he attended the All-Russian Conference of Bolsheviks as a delegate from the Caucasus. The elements of the personality of Lenin that most forcibly impressed Stalin were Lenin's modesty and simplicity, qualities which Stalin also shared.

Stalin was an active participant also in the Fourth (Unity) Party Congress in Stockholm where, together with Lenin, he defended the Bolshevik program as illustrated in the lessons of the first working class revolution. He participated also in the Fifth (London), Party Congress. His "Notes of a Delegate," covering the work of this congress, was a concise analysis of the proceedings, a discerning appraisal of its significance, and a shattering exposure of the Menshevik position as expressions of their class alignment with the petty bourgeoisie.

Returning to the Caucasus he car-

ried on underground activities, with the police constantly on his trail. Never staying more than one night in the same house, he managed to escape arrest for several months. Finally, however, he was caught. On March 25, 1908, he was arrested and taken to the Baku Prison in Baku. He succeeded in maintaining contacts with the movement outside. At the same time, within the prison he organized study circles and debates, and led protests against the repressive prison conditions. In an attempt to break the morale of the political prisoners and stop these activities the authorities called in a company of soldiers from the city garrison. The soldiers were stationed in two parallel lines and the "politicals" were sent between their lines to be clubbed by the rifle butts of the soldiers. Stalin did not "run" that gauntlet. He walked between the lines never bending his head.

Seven months later he was sent into exile. Again he escaped and in June, 1908, was back in Baku carrying on his Party work with the same tireless energy, the same uncompromising devotion, the same unflinching daring. This work, which he carried on from town to town and through the countryside, was again interrupted by his arrest in 1910, by imprisonment, exile and escape, this time to St. Petersburg.

He was again arrested and exiled. While he was in Siberia the Prague Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, at Lenin's proposal, elected Stalin a member of the Central Committee of the Party and the head of the bureau for work in Russia. Under Stalin's direction the work of this bureau was extremely effective in laying the basis for the upsurge of the working class movement that soon followed.

In February, 1912, Stalin again escaped from exile. On instructions from the Central Committee he visited Party groups throughout the country; he directed the newspaper *Zvezda* (Star); and took a leading part in founding the central organ of the Party, the newspaper *Pravda*.

Stalin's fifth arrest occurred in April, 1912. He was exiled to remote Naryn from which escape was supposed to be practically impossible. Nevertheless, with great difficulties and at great physical risks, Stalin made the escape. He went abroad this time to see Lenin and to participate in Party conferences. He returned to direct the illegal work in St. Petersburg, to guide the Bolshevik Party group in the Duma, to edit the Party newspapers, *Zvezda* and *Pravda*, and to direct the Party election campaign to the fourth State Duma of 1912.

In 1913, Stalin completed the first volume of his great book, "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question." Here Stalin elaborated the principles of Party policy on the national question—what constitutes nationality, and the right of nations to self determination even to the point of secession and the formation of independent states. These principles have been the foundation blocks of the multi-national Soviet state, ending centuries of national oppression and ages of national and religious antagonism.

Lenin immediately acknowledged the value of Stalin's contribution. In a letter to Gorky in 1913 he wrote:

As to nationalism I fully agree with you that this is a question that needs to be tackled seriously. We have a wonderful Georgian here who has sat down to write a big article for *Prosvetsheniye* and has collected all the Austrian and other material.

After the revolution a personal meeting between Stalin and Gorky ripened into a warm friendship which lasted until Gorky died in 1936, and involved frequent and close collaboration in activities for the development of Soviet culture.

In 1913, Stalin was arrested once again, and in June he set out on what was to be the last of his periods of exile. He was sent to the Turukhansk region, above the Arctic Circle. Wild and desolate, cut off completely from communication with the outside world for three months a year and receiving only one visit by steamer down the Yenisei River during the summer, the authorities thought that here it would be impossible for this resourceful prisoner, who was listed as a "runaway" because of his frequent escapes, to carry on revolutionary activities and get away again. While they could not stop his activities, Stalin had to wait this time for his freedom until all political exiles were liberated by the revolutionary movements of 1917.

Liberated by the February revolution the exiles streamed back to Petrograd, the cradle of the revolution. Stalin returned on March 25, and two days later *Pravda* carried his article calling for the organization of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, the immediate arming of the workers and the formation of a Workers' Guard.

On April 16th, Lenin arrived in Petrograd. The next day his historic "April Theses" were published. Their strongest advocate was Stalin. The April Party Conference adopted them and launched the struggle for a Socialist revolution. At this conference Pyatakov and Bukharin led the opposition. At subsequent congresses and meetings it was they and



Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin. It was on Lenin's motion, on April 3, 1922, that the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party elected Stalin General Secretary of the Central Committee, a post he held until his death.

Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev and their followers who put stumbling blocks in the path of the Bolsheviks, and sought to deflect the course of the Socialist revolution.

In May, 1917, the Central Committee elected Stalin to the Political Bureau of which he has been a member ever since. When Lenin was hunted by the counter-revolutionary Provisional government and had to go into hiding, responsible leadership was entrusted to Stalin. It was under his direction that the Sixth Congress of the Party was held. It was Stalin who made the main political report and who, carrying out the directives of Lenin, made it a Congress of preparation for the Oc-

tober Socialist Revolution. The Congress was marked by treacheries and obstructions by Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev and their supporters.

But it rallied in solid support of Stalin who upheld Lenin's view that the triumph of Socialism was in sight. Lenin's directives for preparing the armed uprising were followed.

At the Central Committee meeting of October 29th, 1917, a Party Center headed by Stalin, was elected to direct the uprising. Nine days later, on November 7th, the uprising was triumphantly carried out.

One of the first moves of the new Socialist state was to satisfy the demand for peace of the exhausted

Russian people. The Brest-Litovsk treaty, sabotaged by Trotsky, whose refusal to carry out Lenin's instructions resulted in more onerous and humiliating terms, was signed between the Soviet Republic and Germany.

The respite gained by the Brest-Litovsk peace was soon broken. The Allies began their intervention in which they cooperated with their enemy on other fronts, the Germans, acting in violation of the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty; the Civil War was opened by the White Guard generals, receiving aid from the capitalist powers who were not prevented either by their other military commitments or by the war exhaustion of their peoples, from attempting to destroy the first Socialist state.

In these critical days, when several times the life of the new state was threatened, Stalin proved himself the man of steel. He was active in organizing the workers and peasants for defense. He was active on the battle line. Wherever a war front was in a critical position Lenin and the Party send Stalin to save the situation.

This was the case at the Petrograd Front where, ignoring objections based on so-called "Naval Science" he directed a victorious attack on forts that menaced Petrograd. This was the case at the Eastern Front where carrying out the directions of the Central Committee he countermanded orders to halt the pursuit of Kolchak and thereby turned the defeat of Kolchak into a rout that eliminated his army as a military entity. This was the case on the Southern Front where Stalin, rejecting Trotsky's plan for an attack on Denikin by way of the hostile and roadless Cossack regions, used



Stalin during the Civil War.
A drawing

instead the Kharkov-Donets-Rostov route, leading through friendly working-class and peasant regions where railroad networks also insured rapid communications and steady supplies. By this march Denikin was defeated.

A decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic in 1919, gave public recognition to Stalin's services:

At a moment of grave danger when, surrounded on all sides by a solid ring of enemies, Soviet power repulsed the blows of the enemy, at a moment when the forces of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution in July, 1919, advanced in Krasnaya Gorka, at that hour so difficult for Soviet Russia, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, appointed by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Com-

mittee to a fighting post, succeeded by his energy and tireless work in rallying the Red Army troops who had wavered. Himself present on the fighting line under fire, Stalin, by personal example, inspired the ranks of those fighting for the Soviet Republic. To mark all these services in the defense of Petrograd and likewise his selfless continued work on the Southern Front, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has decided to award Stalin the Order of the Red Banner.

By 1920, the interventionists had withdrawn their armies, and the White Guard armies had been crushed. The Civil War was over but the country was devastated. Lenin drew up his famous Electrification Plan, prototype of the Five-Year Plans, and was enthusiastically supported by Stalin. Again with the devoted support of Stalin, Lenin led the nation through the difficult transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy. At every step they were hampered by the opposition of Trotsky, Bukharin and their followers.

Stalin had served as People's Commissar on National Affairs from the very establishment of the Soviet Republic; in 1919, he had also been appointed People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. In 1922, at the proposal of Lenin, the Central Committee of the Party elected Stalin Secretary General of the Party, in which post he has served ever since.

In December of the same year the government was reconstituted, on the initiative of Stalin, into the fraternal Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the USSR, on the basis of the voluntary and equal union of the nations living on Soviet territory.

In January, 1924, Lenin died. Long ago while still in his student days,

reading Lenin's articles as every conscientious revolutionist read them, as directives for revolutionary work, and acting on them in his own sphere, Stalin had made himself Lenin's follower. He had said then, "I must see Lenin!" In time revolutionary activities brought them together. From this first meeting on their association became closer. Uninterrupted by exigencies such as kept Lenin abroad and Stalin in Siberian exile, or later kept Lenin in Petrograd while Stalin went to distant fronts, their association grew ever closer, becoming more and more direct collaboration. It was manifest that the continuation of Lenin's work could best be entrusted to Stalin; and so the Soviet people decided.

In the days of mourning for Lenin, at the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR, Stalin made a solemn vow in the name of the Communist Party of the USSR to continue the work of Lenin.

Since then, under Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Union has made advances unequaled in history.

Planned economy has been introduced, ending unemployment and economic crises in one-sixth of the world. Through the Five-Year Plans, production of large scale industry has been increased ten times over 1913, a peak year of Russian industry in tsarist times. [This refers to 1939.]

Collectivized agriculture has ended exploitation on the land and made possible mechanization of agriculture, lightening the labor and raising the material and cultural level of the farmers.

Through the Five-Year Plans the advance in factory and on farms has been harmoniously integrated.

Under Stalin's leadership the new Constitution, by general consent called the "Stalin Constitution," has

ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND PEACE

WE STAND for peace and for the strengthening of business-like relations will all countries. This is our position and we will adhere to it as long as these countries maintain identical relations with the Soviet Union, as long as they make no attempt to violate our country's interests.

*From Stalin's report to the
18th Party Congress, March
10, 1939, in Moscow.*

become the fundamental law of the Soviet state. The most advanced charter of human rights to be announced by any society, the Constitution has brought into the world greater liberties, greater opportunities, greater safeguards than humanity has known till now; and has implemented each declaration in the charter with provisions to make it effective.

Under Stalin's leadership the Soviet conquest of the Arctic, the most brilliant achievement in the history of human exploration, has extended the borders of the habitable world and the frontiers of human knowledge. Under Stalin's inspiration the achievements of Stakhanov led to the Stakhanovite movement in Soviet industry which extended the creative participation of workers in industry. All these, and the brilliant Soviet foreign policy, have had upon them the imprint of Stalin's genius.

In the year just ended, Stalin reached the age of sixty. There was comparatively little official celebration. In its spontaneity, its deep feeling and understanding the tribute accorded by the Soviet people to Stalin was unique. Probably never

before has a leader received a tribute from a people who honored him with such devotion or who knew so well why he deserved their honor.

We have given in this article the main outlines of Stalin's revolutionary career. In a speech at a meeting of Tiflis Railway Workers in 1926 Stalin himself surveyed his revolutionary path in these words:

Comrades, permit me, first of all, to express my comradely gratitude for the greetings conveyed by the representatives of the workers.

I must tell you quite honestly, comrades, that I do not deserve a good half of the praise that has been lavished on me here. It seems that I am a hero of the October Revolution, and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and leader of the Communist International, and a legendary giant, and anything else you please.

I am, therefore, constrained to give a true picture of what I was before and to whom I am indebted for my present position in our Party.

Comrade Arakel said here that in the past he considered himself one of my teachers, and regarded me as one of his pupils. This is quite true, comrades. Indeed, I was and remain one of the disciples of the enlightened workers of the Tiflis railway shop.

Permit me to turn to the past.

I recall 1898 when I was first assigned to lead a circle of railway shop workers. That was some 28 years ago. I remember how I received lessons in practical work at Comrade Sturua's house in the presence of Sylvester Jibladze (at that time he, too, was one of my teachers), Zakro Chodrishvili, George Chkheidze, Mikho Bochoroshvili, Comrade Ninua and other foremost workers of Tiflis. Compared with these comrades I was an unfledged youth. True, I may have read a bit more than many of them. But as a practical worker I was undoubtedly only a beginner. There, among these

Stalin and the great Russian writer Maxim Gorky. Meeting after the Revolution, their firm friendship lasted until the death of the writer in 1936.



comrades, I received my first militant revolutionary baptism. And there, among these comrades, I became an apprentice of revolution. As you see, my first teachers were the Tiflis workers. Permit me now to express my sincere comradely gratitude to them.

I recall the period from 1905 to 1907 when, at the instructions of the Party, I was transferred to work in Baku. Two years of revolutionary activities among the oil workers tempered me as a practical fighter and one of the practical leaders. From my contact with such foremost workers of Baku as Wacek, Saratovets and others, on the one hand, and from my participation in the deep-rooted conflicts between the workers and the oil companies, on the other, I learned for the first time what it means to lead large masses of workers.

Thus, in Baku, I received my second militant revolutionary baptism. There I became an assistant craftsman of revolution. Permit me

now to express my sincere comradely gratitude to my Baku teachers.

Lastly, I recall 1917 when after having been through prison and exile, the Party sent me to Lenin-grad. There among the Russian workers, in direct contact with the great teacher of the proletarians of all lands, Comrade Lenin, in the tempest of the proletariat's battles against the bourgeoisie, in a situation of imperialist war, I first learned to understand what it means to be one of the leaders of the great Party of the working class. It was there, among the Russian workers—the liberators of the oppressed people and the champions of the proletarian struggle of all the peoples and in all countries—that I received my third militant revolutionary baptism. It was there, in Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, that I became one of the craftsmen of revolution. Permit me to express my sincere comradely gratitude to my Russian teachers and to bow to the memory of my teacher, Lenin.

Message on the Death of Stalin

TO ALL members of the Party, to all working people of the Soviet Union:

Dear Comrades and Friends: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR announce with profound sorrow to the Party and all working people of the Soviet Union that on the 5th of March, at 21.50 hours, after a grave illness, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, died.

The heart of the comrade and inspired continuer of Lenin's cause, the wise leader and teacher of the Communist Party and the Soviet people—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—has stopped beating.

Stalin's name is boundlessly dear to our Party, to the Soviet people, to the working people of the whole world.

Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin founded the mighty Communist Party, educated and forged it.

Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin was the inspirer and leader of the great October Socialist Revolution, founder of the world's first socialist state.

Continuing Lenin's immortal cause, Comrade Stalin led the Soviet people to the world-historic victory of socialism in our land.

Comrade Stalin led our country to victory over fascism in the second World War which wrought a radical change in the entire international scene.

Comrade Stalin armed the Party and all the people with a great and lucid program of building communism in the USSR.

The death of Comrade Stalin—the man who devoted all his life to selfless service to the great cause of communism—is a tremendous loss to the Party, to the working people of the Soviet Union and of the whole world.

The news of Comrade Stalin's death will bring profound pain to the hearts of the workers, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, and all the workers of our Motherland, to the hearts of the soldiers of our glorious Army and Navy, to the hearts of millions of working people in all countries of the world.

In these sorrowful days, all the peoples of our country are rallying even closer in a great fraternal family under the tested leadership of the Communist Party, founded and reared by Lenin and Stalin.

The Soviet people have boundless faith in and are permeated with deep love for their Communist Party, for they know that the supreme law governing all the activity of the Party is service in the interests of the people.

The workers, collective farmers, Soviet intelligentsia, and all workers



The Guard of Honor at Stalin's bier. Left to right, they are: V. M. Molotov, Marshal K. Voroshilov, L. P. Beria and Premier Georgi M. Malenkov.

of our country steadfastly pursue the policy mapped out by our Party, which is in conformity with the vital interests of the workers and pursues the continued consolidation of the might of our socialist Motherland.

The correctness of this policy of the Communist Party has been proved by decades of struggle.

It has led the workers of the Soviet country to historic victories of socialism.

Inspired by this policy, the peoples of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Party advance confidently towards fresh successes of Communist construction in our land.

The workers of our country know that the further improvement of the material well-being of all sections of populace—the workers, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia—the maximum satisfaction of constantly growing material and cultural needs of

the entire society, has always been and always is the subject of particular solicitude on the part of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The Soviet people know that the defense capacity and might of the Soviet State are growing and strengthening, that the Party is in every way strengthening the Soviet Army, Navy and intelligence organs with a view to constantly raising our preparedness for decisive rebuff to any aggressor.

The foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union has always been and is an unshakable policy of maintaining peace, the struggle against the preparing and unleashing of another war, a policy of international collaboration, and development of business-like relations with all countries.

The peoples of the Soviet Union,

true to the banner of proletarian internationalism, strengthen and develop fraternal friendship with the great Chinese people, with the working people of all the People's Democracies; friendly ties with working people of capitalist and colonial countries fighting for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Dear Comrades and Friends:

The great directing and guiding force of the Soviet people in the struggle for the building of Communism is to be found in our Communist Party.

The steel-like unity and monolithic unity of the ranks of the Party constitutes the main condition for its strength and might.

Our task is to guard like the apple of our eye the unity of the Party, to educate Communists as active political fighters for the implementation of policy and decisions of the Party, to strengthen even more the Party's ties with all the workers, collective farmers, and intelligentsia—for in this indissoluble link with the people lies the strength and invincibility of our Party.

The Party regards as one of its most essential tasks the education of

all Communists and working people in a spirit of high political vigilance, irreconcilability and firmness in the struggle against internal and external foes.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, appealing in these sorrowful days to the Party and the people, express their firm conviction that the Party and all the working people of our Motherland will rally even closer around the Central Committee and the Soviet Government, will mobilize all their forces and creative energy in the great cause of building Communism in our land.

The immortal name of Stalin will live forever in the hearts of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind.

Long live the great and all-conquering teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our mighty socialist Motherland!

Long live our heroic Soviet people!

Long live the great Communist Party of Soviet Union!

SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

The Great British Socialists

Stalin is not a dictator. . . . It is clear that, tested by the Constitution of the Soviet Union as revised and enacted in 1936, the USSR is the most inclusive and equalized democracy in the world. . . . One of the outstanding features of Soviet political democracy is racial equality . . . the most distinctive and unique characteristic of Soviet communism is the democratic control of land and capital . . . a multi-form democracy. . . . This fundamental transformation of the social order—the substitution of planned production for community consumption . . . [is] so vital a change for the better, so conducive to the progress of humanity to higher levels of health and happiness, virtue and wisdom, as to constitute a new civilization. . . . Soviet communism puts no limit to the growth of man's knowledge . . . The secular and religious are one. The only good life at which he [the citizen] aims is a life that is good for all his fellow men.

The Truth About Soviet Russia



The Presidium of the 19th Party Congress in October, 1952. First row, left to right: J. V. Stalin, G. M. Malenkov, L. M. Kaganovich, V. M. Molotov, K. E. Voroshilov, N. S. Krushchev, L. P. Beria and N. A. Bulganin.

New Government Changes

"TO ENSURE the uninterrupted and correct leadership of the whole life of the country," a joint meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, decided upon a number of governmental changes. These included:

The appointment of G. M. Malenkov as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and L. P. Beria, V. M. Molotov, N. A. Bulganin, and L. M. Kaganovich as First Vice-Chairmen.

To have a Presidium of the Council of Ministers, instead of two organs, a Presidium and a Bureau. The Presidium to consist of the Chairman and the First Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

To recognize K. E. Voroshilov as President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, releasing N. M. Shvernik from these duties and recommend him as Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

To combine the Ministry of State Security of the USSR and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR into

one ministry—the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR with L. P. Beria as the Minister.

To appoint V. M. Molotov Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and A. Y. Vyshinsky and Y. A. Malik First Deputy Ministers; V. V. Kuznetsov, Deputy Minister and A. Y. Vyshinsky Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations.

To appoint Marshal N. A. Bulganin Minister of the Army of the USSR, and Marshal A. M. Vasilevsky and G. K. Zhukov First Deputy Ministers.

To combine the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Trade of the USSR into one ministry—the Ministry of Domestic and Foreign Trade of the USSR, with A. I. Mikoyan as the Minister.

The Fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was convened March 15 to consider the above decisions which were subject to the approval of the Supreme Soviet. As we go to press the official decisions on the complete roster of appointments is not yet at hand.

When they are available we shall publish a complete account.

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NWR Associate Editor

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Sender Garlin is a veteran journalist who has lectured extensively on current affairs in all sections of the United States. Before coming to NEW WORLD REVIEW he was editor of the official weekly of the largest local of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, A. F. of L. He previously edited a number of other labor papers. As correspondent in Moscow for four years, 1935-39, he was the only American reporter to cover all three treason trials. He is the author of many pamphlets and social studies, including "The Truth About Reader's Digest," "Enemies of the Peace," and "Red Tape and Barbed Wire: Close-Up of the McCarran Law in Action."

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(Continued from page 2)

Warns of Illusions

Reseda, Calif.—Your magazine is so well edited and seems so factual I do not see why it should offend anybody. But you must bear in mind that thousands of people throughout the U.S. who never owned a home before or had a paying job, or even a modicum of job security, think they owe all to war spending and cannot see how they could get along without continuing the race.
—Faithful Reader.

Thank You

Long Island City, N. Y.—I am enclosing \$10 to be used for whatever purpose you deem best.—A Friend.

Wants It Every Month

Los Angeles, Cal.—Am so sorry you had to write twice to remind me of the subscription becoming due. I was out of town and therefore overlooked it. Enclosed is \$3.50 for the two-year subscription. I wish I could send some extra but there are so many calls on the progressive people that it is too often impossible to follow one's inclinations.

I wouldn't be without your wonderful publication for even one month. When I open it, I feel as if the dearest friends are speaking to me, telling me to be of good cheer, for the enemies of Peace and Freedom cannot forever prevail and perhaps liberation from the nightmares of the monstrous warmakers may be closer than we dare hope. We pray, oh so ardently, that the kind of world so many of the finest and bravest have worked and even died for, is fast approaching upon the horizon of our anguished world.—Barbara Nestor.

Dear Readers:

In response to our appeal for funds the dollar bills and checks have been pouring in from workers, pensioners, housewives, teachers, ministers, doctors, farmers, artists—from friends old and new—a wonderful cross-section of the peace-loving Americans who read our magazine.

Many of these contributions represent big sacrifices—and we are deeply grateful for them, one and all.

This heart-warming response has helped meet some of the most immediately pressing needs—here's another issue as a result! But the emergency continues, and if the magazine is to go on, we must have help from the rest of you too.

THE NEED IS STILL TERRIBLY URGENT. We ask all of you who have not yet sent in your contribution to try to do so at once so that we may carry on our work for peace and understanding. Every single dollar helps!

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