

NEW WORLD

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Review

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On Stalin

Philadelphia, Penna.—In Stalin's death the workers of the whole world have lost a staunch friend and a wonderful leader—**A. Y. T.**

Warren, Ohio—I am grieving, as I know you are, over the passing of Stalin, whom I have long regarded as the grtatest of living men—**K. Mack**

Sherman, Conn.—I want to congratulate you on your great tribute to Stalin in the April issue—**P. S.**

Can't Miss an Issue

Port Arthur, Ontario—We cannot afford to miss one issue of your excellent magazine. It must live and grow for the sake of peace and understanding of the new world—**Bruce Magnuson.**

That's One Way

Marysville, Calif.—You want to know from us readers how to make your magazine better. Well, sir, I don't see how it can be improved—only thing it needs is more support, so I am sending you the enclosed—**E. E. Long.**

A High Rating

Norwalk, Ohio—A score of leading U.S. publications both left and right reach our desk regularly. Not one, nor all combined, gives us the vital, factual information about what is taking place outside the U.S. that I find in every single issue of New World Review—**Ray S. Kellogg.**

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NEW WORLD *Review*

MAY

1953

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OUR COVER: Children of the new China celebrate National Day with doves of peace.

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The Door to Peace Is Open

by JESSICA SMITH

WITH THE SWIFT succession of peace moves made by the Soviet and Chinese Governments in recent weeks there is new hope everywhere that the ardent longing of the peoples of the world for a new era of peaceful co-existence can be realized.

There is no doubt that the American people share these hopes, and that their realization is as essential to the well-being of our country as to all others.

The door is wide open to peace. The war-makers are already showing confusion and hesitation in carrying out war plans based on a threat of aggression which the people are beginning increasingly to see has never existed. This is a supreme moment of opportunity for the American people to make sure that these plans are not only temporarily held up but abandoned for good, and that our country enter upon a new course based on negotiations instead of force.

It is necessary to understand clearly just what the possibilities are for peace, and the consistency, sincerity and determination of Soviet peace efforts.

Following the statement made by Premier Malenkov at Stalin's funeral that the Soviet Government would continue its policy for the preservation and stabilization of peace, and similar statements by Foreign Minister Molotov and Deputy Premier Lavrenti Beria, Malenkov made a

clear, strong declaration of the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on March 16. He said:

The Soviet Government will invariably pursue the tried and tested policy of preserving and consolidating peace, ensuring the defense and security of the Soviet Union, the policy of cooperation with all countries and the development of business relations with them on the basis of mutual observance of interests; it will continue to effect close political and economic cooperation and to strengthen the ties of fraternal friendship and solidarity with the great Chinese people, with all the peoples of the countries of People's Democracy.

The Soviet policy of peace is founded on respect for the rights of the peoples of other countries, both big and small, on the observance of the established international standards; the Soviet foreign policy is founded on the strict and undeviating observance of all treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with other states.

At present there is no disputed or outstanding issue which could not be settled peacefully on the basis of mutual agreement of the countries concerned. This refers to our relations with all states, including our relations with the United States of America.

The countries interested in preserving peace may have confidence, both at present and in the future, in the enduring peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government immediately set about implementing these words with deeds designed to ease international tensions.

Most important of these steps is the strong Soviet support for the initiative of the Chinese and North Korean governments for an end of the war in Korea.

Among other important actions for peace are the four-power negotiations in Germany to avoid future air clashes, the statement of General Chuikov proposing a new effort toward German unification and a peace treaty with Germany, the good offices undertaken by the Soviet Union for the release of British and French civilians interned in North Korea since the beginning of the war, already effected, and similar action under way with regard to interned Americans; the agreement on Dag Hammarskjöld as the new Secretary General of the United Nations and other steps in the UN (to be reported in the next issue), and the warm and friendly reception given to the group of American newspaper and radio representatives who received visas to visit the Soviet Union.

Recent internal developments of the Soviet Union are also of vital significance for the world peace movement in the strong light they throw on the reality of Soviet life and the direction of Soviet policies, dispelling the fog of lies and slanders that have been made the basis of the war drive. The new price reductions show a steady and consistent concern of the Soviet Union with the welfare of its citizens incompatible with any aggressive purposes. The far-reaching amnesty in the Soviet Union, followed by a similar amnesty in Rumania, and indications of more to follow in other People's Democracies, give the lie to the "police state" and "slave

labor" hoaxes. The release of the Soviet doctors and the frank announcement to the Soviet people of the discovery of this miscarriage of justice and its swift correction, show the vigilance with which the Soviet Government guards the civil liberties of its people, and protects them against divisive efforts to stir up racial animosities.

These events, the pressure of American and world public opinion, have made it difficult for the Administration to proceed with its plans to extend the war and through its "liberation" policy destroy the Soviet Union and the countries of socialism. While Dulles and other administration spokesmen have continued their bellicose statements, President Eisenhower has been compelled to give lip service at least to the possibility of negotiations for peace. Asked for his estimate of recent peace overtures from the Soviet Union and China at his press conference on April 2, President Eisenhower was reported in the *New York Times* as answering "that we should take at face value every offer that was made to us until it was proved not to be worthy of being so taken."

The opportunity for peace exists. The initiative of the American people must do the rest.

Towards an Armistice in Korea

It will be remembered that in Stalin's replies to the questions of James Reston of the *New York Times* published on Christmas Day, Stalin expressed his willingness to cooperate in a new diplomatic effort to end the Korean war. Subsequently, in a number of dispatches from Moscow, *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury stressed the deep concern of Soviet leaders on this matter. It



—Sofoto

Premier Georgi Malenkov addressing the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union that was convened in the Soviet capital on March 16

seems probable that during Premier Chou En-lai's presence in Moscow to attend Stalin's funeral, discussions were held as to the most effective steps that might be taken to bring peace in Korea.

On March 28, Kim Il Sung, North Korean Premier and Supreme Commander of the North Korean People's Army and Peng Teh-huai, Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, sent a letter to General Mark Clark, Commander-in-Chief of the UN forces in Korea, acceding to his request to arrange an exchange of sick and injured prisoners of war.

The letter pointed out that agreement had already been reached on this question and its implementation had been prevented only by the breaking off of negotiations at Panmunjom. It also pointed out that such an exchange of sick and injured prisoners during hostilities was in conformity with article 109 of the Geneva Convention. It stressed that this step should lead to the settlement of the entire prisoner-of-war question, and thereby an armistice, and proposed the immediate resumption of truce negotiations.

On March 31, the Peking radio broadcast a statement by Premier Chou En-lai which was subsequently transmitted to the United Nations, stressing the view that a "reasonable settlement of the question of exchanging sick and injured prisoners of war clearly has a very significant bearing upon the smooth settlement of the entire question of prisoners of war." A similar statement was made by Kim Il Sung the following day.

Premier Chou reviewed the main points of the draft armistice plan on which agreement had already been reached, leaving only the question of the repatriation of prisoners of war as an obstacle to a cease-fire.

On this point he said that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea "have always held and continue to hold that a reasonable solution can only lie in the release and repatriation of war prisoners without delay after the cessation of hostilities, in accordance with the stipulations of the 1949 Geneva Convention, particularly those of Article 118 of the Con-

vention." He went on to say that however, "in order to satisfy the desire of the people of the world for peace," the two governments "are prepared to take steps to eliminate the differences on this question so as to bring about an armistice in Korea." He therefore proposed, on behalf of both governments,

. . . that both parties to the negotiations should undertake to repatriate immediately after the cessation of hostilities all those prisoners of war in their custody who insist upon repatriation and to hand over the remaining prisoners of war to a neutral state so as to ensure a just solution to the question of repatriation.

Premier Chou emphasized that this proposal did not mean relinquishing the principle of repatriation of prisoners without delay after cessation of hostilities in accordance with Article 118 of the Geneva Convention, nor acknowledgment of the UN allegation that there are prisoners who resist repatriation. But, he explained, the handing over of the prisoners to a neutral state would provide the opportunity to make explanations to those North Korean and Chinese prisoners "who, under the intimidation and oppression of the opposite side, are filled with apprehensions and are afraid to return home," thus ensuring that their repatriation could be justly settled and would not obstruct the realization of an armistice. In conclusion, he stated:

We are convinced that this new step . . . for terminating the hostilities in Korea is in complete accord with the vital interests of the peoples whose sons are fighting on both sides in Korea, and is also in complete accord with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the whole world. If the United Nations

Command has the good faith to seek peace, this proposal of ours ought to be accepted by it.

There has been considerable unclarity in interpretations given by the press as to the meaning of this proposal, and a tendency to confuse it with the Indian proposal which the Soviet Union strongly opposed in the UN. While there has been an important concession in the relinquishment of insistence on the immediate repatriation of all prisoners of war as required by the Geneva Convention, the new proposal is quite different from the Indian proposal. Under the Indian proposal the prisoners were to be turned over to a repatriation commission composed of four countries not participating in the Korean war, which would repatriate all prisoners of war willing to return home, but no others. If this commission could not reach an agreement an umpire would be added, chosen by the United Nations. Unrepatriated POW's would become the responsibility, 90 days after the signing of the armistice agreement of a political conference and after another 30 days their disposition would be transferred to the United Nations, in other words to the enemy of the North Koreans and the Chinese in the Korean war.

In considering the meaning of this it is necessary to keep in mind the strong position of the Soviet Government, and also of the Chinese and North Korean Governments, on the sanctity of international agreements. To have agreed to this proposal would have meant agreeing to a course in direct violation of the Geneva Convention.

The new proposal to hand over the prisoners of war not ready to agree to immediate repatriation to a neu-



Viacheslav Molotov, Foreign Minister of the USSR, with Andrei Vyshinsky, Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Soviet Representative at the UN

tral state, where North Korean and Chinese representatives will have access to them, and be able to explain to them that their fears of reprisals in case of repatriation are ungrounded, is something quite different. It does not mean a violation of the Convention, but a postponement of its complete implementation.

On April 2, Viacheslav Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, issued a statement supporting the new initiative undertaken by the North Korean and Chinese authorities toward achieving an armistice and the end of the Korean war, which said:

I have been authorized to state that the Soviet Government expresses its full solidarity with this lofty act of the government of the People's Republic of China and the government

of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and has no doubt that this act will be ardently supported by the peoples of the entire world. The Soviet government likewise expresses confidence that this proposal will be correctly understood by the government of the United States.

Mr. Molotov stressed that the Soviet Government had supported all steps toward reaching a just armistice and ending the Korean war, beginning with Stalin's favorable response to the peaceable initiative undertaken by Prime Minister Nehru of India as far back as July 13, 1950, two weeks after the outbreak of the war. He noted further that Jacob Malik's radio address of June, 1951, provided the basis for the armistice negotiations which led to agreement on all terms of the armistice with



A group of American newspaper and radio owners arrive at the airdrome in Moscow on March 31 for a week's visit in the Soviet Union

—Sovfoto

the exception of the repatriation of prisoners of war.

Molotov declared that while the question of repatriating prisoners of war as a whole must be settled in conformity with the provisions of the Geneva Convention, it was the position of the Soviet Government that the new North Korean and Chinese proposal offered a just basis for settlement and was ready to give the utmost assistance in carrying it out.

In closing, Mr. Molotov stated that the presence in the United Nations of the lawful representatives of China and Korea would facilitate the conclusion of an armistice, would raise the prestige and international significance of the United Nations and strengthen world peace. He did not, however, make this a condition of support of the new step toward an armistice.

The negotiations for the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners opened at Panmunjom on April 3rd. The North Korean and Chinese negotiators proposed at once that the agreement include repatriation of prisoners of war with minor disabilities as well as those seriously ill and wounded. The North Koreans and Chinese negotiators provided a list of 600 sick and wounded prisoners of war to be returned out of a total of

11,599, while the UN negotiators offered 5,800 out of the total of 132,000. The UN negotiators at first tried to represent the figure of 600 as being far too low. This position was hardly tenable, however, in view of the fact that the North Korean and Chinese figure constituted 5 per cent of the total number, while the UN figure amounted to 4.2 per cent, a smaller proportion of the total.

Agreement was reached on April 10, the actual exchange of the sick and wounded to take place within ten days.

On March 10, a new communication was delivered to the UN negotiators at Panmunjom from General Nam Il, senior delegate of the delegation of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, proposing the resumption of full armistice negotiations, and further detailing their previous proposals.

Reiterating the position that the Geneva Convention provides for the release and repatriation of prisoners of war without delay after the cessation of hostilities, the letter said:

However, in view of the fact that the differences between the two sides on the question of repatriation of prisoners of war now constitute the only obstacles to the realization of an armistice in Korea, and in order

to eliminate the differences so as to bring about an armistice, the Korean and Chinese side in this new proposal makes the following obvious concession. . . .

The Korean and Chinese side hold that repatriation of prisoners of war should be carried out in two steps. That is, both parties to the negotiations should undertake to repatriate immediately after the cessation of hostilities all those prisoners of war in their custody who insist upon repatriation, and to hand over the remaining prisoners of war to a neutral state so as to insure a just solution to the question of their repatriation.

Such a step, the letter continued, would provide that the detaining side should "ensure no coercive means whatever to be employed against any prisoner of war in its custody, to obstruct their returning home, to effect forcible detention." (This position must be understood against the background of the violence and intimidation used against the North Koreans and Chinese in the UN camps. See article "The Shame of Koje," NWR, July, 1952). The letter further explained that this two-step solution would provide the opportunity for the North Koreans and Chinese to give thorough explanations to remove the fears of those prisoners of war handed over to a neutral state.

With Washington taking a position of "caution" and "wary restraint" and warning against "traps" in any new armistice talks, General Mark Clark showed reluctance to consider any renewal of armistice negotiations until the exchange of sick and wounded had been completed. As we go to press it is reported that the United States is preparing an answer looking toward a reopening of truce negotiations.

The new concession offered by the North Korean and Chinese govern-

ments and supported by the Soviet Union clearly opens the way to peace in Korea. This is the moment for the American people to press with renewed vigor for the conclusion of an armistice.

Labor and the People Demand Peace

ONE of the most serious obstacles to the development of an organized, militant peace movement expressing the will of the American people for peace, has been the support of the major sections of the leadership of organized labor for the warlike foreign policy of our government which is so contrary to the basic interests of the workers and the whole people.

But the workers are increasingly awakening to the fact that the war drive and the embargo on East-West trade are speeding depression and unemployment, and that only peace, accompanied by a large program of public works and the opening up of normal trade with the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies, can guarantee jobs and decent living standards. This is compelling a new attitude on the part of the trade union leadership.

At its March convention in Atlantic City, the United Automobile Workers, America's largest union, passed a resolution urging the Administration to accept Malenkov's proposal for peaceful negotiations. The resolution stated:

Lasting peace has never been, and will not be, won for the people of the world by war, but some day an enduring peace may be achieved through the long and patient process of negotiating settlements of international differences.

The resolution, which also called for CIO-AFL joint action to meet the anti-labor drive, attacked McCarthyism and all the thought control laws and approved a civil rights program, was sent to President Eisenhower, members of Congress, the United Nations and U.S. representatives at UN. Subsequently UAW President Walter Reuther wrote to the White House declaring that a depression is unnecessary and urging Eisenhower to start a plan for full peacetime production with continued full employment, which he declared is wholly possible.

The April issue of *The Butcher Workman*, organ of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, carried an editorial declaring cease-fire the only sensible solution to the Korean war. *Labor*, organ of the railroad brotherhoods, attacked the China Lobby's efforts to embroil this country in war with China, and expressed alarm at the consequences of such a war in the sacrifice of thousands of American boys and billions in American wealth. A strong editorial in the *Packinghouse Worker*, organ of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, called on its membership for discussions and action to halt "a new era of reaction," and the efforts to "drive Americans into subservience to the wishes of the military and war profiteers."

The 10th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union which opened April 6 in San Francisco inaugurated, under the leadership of its President Harry Bridges, a ten-point crusade for peace. Its goals include:

An immediate cease-fire in Korea; cease-fire in Indo-China, Malaya and Africa, with all issues to be nego-

tiated; a general arms reduction of all the big countries and the outlawing of atom and hydrogen bombs, germ warfare and other methods of mass destruction.

Letters urging peace are pouring into Washington, and filling the pages of the press throughout the country. Many local papers have carried peace editorials, many groups and individuals are speaking out, including many religious groups.

The "Minnesota Citizens for Peace in Korea" inserted an Open Letter to Eisenhower as a full page advertisement in northwestern newspapers, declaring "The first step toward peace is to get the hot war in Korea stopped."

On April 2, C. B. Baldwin, on behalf of the Progressive Party, called upon President Eisenhower to act on the proposal of Premier Chou En-lai to settle the prisoner-of-war issue and reach an armistice agreement. Vito Marcantonio sent a similar message approved by the American Labor Party's monthly conference in New York.

On April 3, thirty-eight leading Connecticut citizens visited UN representatives to urge united peace action.

In Congress, Representative Arthur G. Klein (D.-N.Y.) proposed that the United States take the lead in urging an immediate cease-fire in Korea. Washington correspondents have reported a number of Senators and Congressmen commenting favorably on the opportunities presented by Malenkov's peace offer.

A Conference held by the American Peace Crusade in Chicago, March 14 and 15, called for a nationwide campaign to urge on the Administration a US-Soviet meeting to help bring peace in Korea and settle other world questions. This was fol-

Danger in Truce: Allied Letdown

This Is First Among Problems Facing Administration

By Ned Russell
WASHINGTON, that the political conference scheduled to follow a benefits for China at this stage. On the other hand, the United States' allies, notably Britain,

Soviet Tactics Give U. S. Problem Of Avoiding Slump if Peace Comes

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 7—The bound to force a change in the has has leisurely pace of our planning. For do not fail for the new

Cost of Peace in Korea

Pentagon Officials Think Communists Would Gain More by End of Hostilities

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 3—The more strenuous to

Inside Wall Street

Reds' Peace Feelers Send Market Into Sharp Dip

By C. Norman Stabler 3/31/53

Peace feelers by Chinese Reds, designed immediately to facilitate the return of war prisoners and eventually to ending the Korean War, brought heavy selling in the

lowed by a message released by the APC on April 9, signed by a group of prominent Americans, urging President Eisenhower to arrange a meeting with Premier Malenkov.

A constructive step toward unifying the efforts of various organizations for peace was taken on April 11 in New York when representatives of eight peace groups, including trade union, women's, youth and neighborhood peace committees combined to form the New York Peace Council, which will be associated with the American Peace Crusade. The Council is planning an intensified campaign for peace in Korea through leaflets, mass meetings and delegations to the UN and to Congressional representatives.

Emphasis will also be laid on the over-all necessity of a program of peaceful co-existence in international relations, and on the opportunities

Newspaper headlines indicate the fears of peace in some quarters and underline the task before the peace forces in America

for avoiding a depression which lie in resumption of East-West trade.

The new peace trend in the labor movement, the steps toward greater unity among various sections of the peace forces, coupled with the recognition by certain elements within the war camp itself that the Soviet moves for peaceful negotiations cannot be ignored, are grounds for encouragement but not complacency.

We cannot underestimate the obstacles that will be thrown in the path of peace by the McCarthyites and McCarranites and all those elements in the administration whose fears of peace have been so vividly reflected in the press. The dangers ahead may be seen in the reception accorded the proposal reported to have been made by Secretary of State Dulles for settling on a boundary in Korea ninety miles north of the present battle line. This fantastic suggestion proposing, as Walter Lippmann pointed out, a method of negotiating based on a demand for unconditional surrender, was met with the cry of "appeasement" by those who want nothing less than the taking over of all Korea, and full scale war with China.

An ominous sign of the continued efforts to whip up the war spirit was the fascist attack on a Stalin-Roosevelt Memorial meeting in Chicago by a gang of DP hoodlums.

Greater efforts are required, far greater initiative on the part of the American people, to defeat the plans of those who see no way of keeping our economy going without war, and to win and maintain peace. Apr. 14

WHY THEY FEAR PEACE

by

FREDERICK V. FIELD

"**W**AR ITSELF is a terrible thing," says a recent editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, "but we find more terrible yet the fact that there are men walking about who talk of peace as if it were terrible."

That sentence assuredly expresses the sentiment of a vast majority of the American people. It has been expressed with more or less felicity by most liberal and all progressive organs of opinion and by many organizations and individual leaders. We use this particular quotation from the *Wall Street Journal* because it is extremely significant that this conservative newspaper, published from the heart of capitalism and reflecting the views of important sections of American finance should take this position. We are in complete agreement with this sentence.

We cannot go along with certain other aspects of the *Wall Street Journal's* analysis of the current situation. We cannot agree, for instance, that the defense program, whipped up in the hysterical atmosphere created by the Korean War, has been merely incidental to relatively full employment. On the contrary, we insist that the whole cold-to-hot war build-up has been a deliberate device of imperialists to avert depression, to solidify the political position of reaction, to

gain through falsely created fears domination over the widest possible expanse of the world, and to produce super profits for a handful of economic royalists.

No more can we agree with that newspaper's opinion that government spending is unimportant to what it believes to be the free, competitive system of American capitalism and their derivative view that given a world outlook of comparative peace American industry will automatically and willingly turn its attention to production for the benefit of consumers. That is a pure Wall Street myth, albeit a myth which from the Wall Street point of view is most important for the masses to swallow. Events of our lifetime have convinced us otherwise. We have reached a period in capitalism where the operation of industry has become merged with the control and operation of the government. This is the day of the advanced stage of monopoly in which the rulers of our economy, no longer daring to risk an indirect, disguised control of the State, take over the government directly and place its administration not in the hands of "front men" or lieutenants but in those of the industrial tycoons themselves.

Neither peace nor a peace-time

economy will be handed to us willingly by those in control of the American economy and government. These must be demanded and fought for by the people themselves. A peaceful world atmosphere can be won only step by step in forcing a change-over from a policy of war and aggression and a false welfare based upon war production, to a policy of peaceful co-existence, trade with all people on the basis of equality, and the creation of vast public enterprises to raise economic, social and cultural standards at home.

The significance of the present situation which has been created by the great peace offensive of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is that we can now fight our way forward toward these goals—provided the mass of Americans organize themselves to struggle in that direction. It is in this sense that we can find encouragement, even if of a limited nature, in the position which certain groups of conservatives take in exposing those "who talk of peace as if it were terrible." This is a basic attitude which brings a section of "Wall Street" into the camp working for the relaxation of world tensions.

The prospect of peace terrifies the monopolists and warmongers who are so generously represented in the Eisenhower Administration. They have been thrown into confusion by the peace offensive of recent weeks. Their horrifying perplexities have filled the airwaves and the newspaper columns.

The Geneva correspondent of the *New York Times* cables that "Evidence pours in from nearly every European capital, from Tokyo, Washington and Southeast Asia that the economic framework of the non-Communist world has an alarming tendency to melt in any atmosphere

slightly less frigid than the 'cold war'." He adds this amazing confession: "In the face of this evidence, economists can only repeat earlier warnings that relaxation of international tension would find the West in a serious and perhaps fatal economic condition."

The Alsop brothers note in their *New York Herald-Tribune* column that "Painful as it was, the Korean War simplified matters for the last Administration. As long as the aggression in Korea continued, direct East-West contact was ruled out. Korea thus acted as a sort of shield behind which the effort to strengthen the West could go on. It is now quite probably the Kremlin's intention to remove the shield."

Or again, there is Marguerite Higgins' warning in the same newspaper that the development of the Soviet Union's economy has outpaced that of the United States even during the cold-hot war period and her frightened question "If time has been on Russia's side during the partial crisis of the Korean 'police action,' what will happen during an era of a peace offensive?"

Surely it would seem that in commenting on the "dangers" of peace these journalists were unmasking the true purposes and role of the Korean War in the plans of the American imperialists!

The concern of the war-makers over the prospect of peace and an easement of international tensions is manifold and specific. The following points among others, have been emphasized by them: the danger of economic depression; the effect on the American armaments program; the fate of the Eisenhower budget; the rearmament and renazification of Western Germany; ditto for Japan; the whole future of the NATO pro-

gram; the status of Formosa; the membership of the Chinese People's Republic in the UN; the conflict between Britain and the United States over recognition of China; and, of course, the drastic decline of the stock markets in New York, Tokyo and London.

Let us look for a moment more closely at one of these questions. The policy of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations has been to re-make Japan in its former guise as the bastion of reaction and aggression in the Far East, with this difference, that now it is to be a subservient arm of the policies of American imperialists. To this end it has remained an occupied country, a reactionary government has been forced upon it, its pre-war militarist-fascist currents have been let loose and supplied with new reservoirs while its liberal-democratic ones have been cut off, it is being re-armed, and its industrial structure is being erected on a war-making base. Its domestic and foreign policies have been made completely subservient to the desires of the American government.

Last year Japan imported approximately two billion dollars worth of goods and exported only one and a quarter billion. This enormous trade deficit, however, was more than made up by eight hundred million dollars poured into the economy by the American armed forces and other American agencies. These eight hundred millions went primarily into the purchase of goods and services connected with the Korean War.

What happens to the economy of Japan in the event the Korean War stops? Clearly the puppet Japanese government will be faced with huge problems, among them the rationalization of Japanese industry and its

shift from a war to a peace basis. At present Japanese industry is forced to purchase its much-needed raw materials primarily from the United States at the inflated prices demanded by American producers. Any process of rationalization would have to involve, as an important element, the opening of new, more readily available and cheaper sources of these raw materials. And where else could the Japanese economy turn except to the People's Republic of China and to the Soviet Union, both willing and able to meet the demand?

Of such factors was the Korean War made. Its termination will require drastic adjustments such as those just indicated. Is there any wonder that the American imperialists have become terrified and panicky at the prospect of peace?

The policies which the war-makers fear will be destroyed by the peace offensive are the very policies against which all Americans interested in achieving peace must struggle. Peace means an independent and democratic Japan. It means the opening of trade with and among all people. It means recognition of China and Chinese membership in the UN. It means the end of the aggressive American-led Western-European alliance for aggression against the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It means the democratic unification of Germany. It means the abandonment of the wide-flung system of American military bases throughout the world. It means a drastic revision of our economy from a war to a peace basis and it means a program of full employment growing out of production for welfare rather than production for destruction.

Czechoslovakian People Mourn Their Leader

by ELEANOR WHEELER

IT IS DIFFICULT to describe the shock and the overwhelming grief of the Czechoslovakian people when they learned on the morning of March 14 that their President, Klement Gottwald, had passed away. A kind of silence settled over the city of Prague, a universal stillness as though in response to a silent command. It continued even when the first days of mourning had passed. People worked hard, but silently; there was a sense of determination to exert greater effort to build the society for which Gottwald gave his life, but there was the consciousness of a great loss.

As Gottwald lay in state in the Spanish Hall of the great Castle the people of Prague—and from far and wide throughout the Republic—filled the streets from curb to curb and filed slowly past the man who was their President and Chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Together with my colleagues I joined the populace in this last sad tribute. It seemed that the entire country was in the streets that were banked with wreaths and flowers. It took some six hours—and for some even longer—to pay our last respects and all the time grief marked the procession, for Gottwald was a man of the people, a cabinet-maker who became a true statesman, a son of the labor movement who became a great political leader.

As we passed the bier the people broke into tears, not only women



Klement Gottwald

—Eastfoto

but strong men with the calloused hands of workers, unashamed of their grief. And it is these same people who, a few days later, were able to raise their heads and dry their eyes and go on with brave resolution to the task of building the new life that they had begun under the leadership of the man for whom they were now grieving.

To understand the hold that Gottwald had on the hearts of his people it is essential to understand something of his life.

Klement Gottwald was born November 23, 1896 in the rich Mana region of Moravia. But as the son of a servant he did not enjoy the riches of his birthplace. His mother had to

put him with another family while she earned their living, and when he was only 12 he was apprenticed to a Vienna cabinet-maker. Although he worked sometimes until 10 at night he continued his studies and at the age of 16 was already active in left-wing movements. He joined the Social Democratic youth organization and the workers' physical culture union which was set up in opposition to the bourgeois Sokol.

At 18 he returned to Moravia where he worked in a factory. In the First World War he served in the army where he was sent as "politically unreliable" to the eastern front where he was wounded. He was then sent to the Italian front. He joined the new Czechoslovak army when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell apart.

Soon after he returned to the factory he became shop steward, secretary of the Social Democratic organization and head of the physical culture union. When the Communist Party was founded in 1921, Gottwald became a member of the leading group and worked through the 20's as editor of the paper until he was elected to Parliament. In 1925, he became a member of the Communist Party Executive Committee. From 1929 on he, together with Kopecky, Zapotocky, Siroky, Sverma and others, stood in clear leadership of the Party.

During the occupation, the Party decided that Gottwald remain in Moscow to direct the Party and the resistance movement from there. Zapotocky was also sent to Moscow, but

was caught at the border and put into a concentration camp. Gottwald's radio speeches from Moscow and his other activity made him an important leader of the resistance.

The elections in 1946 which gave the Communist Party more votes than any other party meant that Gottwald became Prime Minister (succeeding Fierlinger, leftwing Social Democrat, who is still a Deputy Prime Minister).

After the February events, President Benes was ill and was also somewhat compromised by the rightwing ministers who had agreed with him on the evoking of a crisis and a government of "experts" without the Communists. The May elections, therefore, returned Gottwald as President of the Republic. It was a difficult burden he carried, at the head of a state just starting toward socialism with all the internal and external obstacles that entails.

Gottwald has won a dignified place in the hearts of his people, and it is the very dignity of their grief that is most difficult to convey.

Gottwald's successor as President, Antonin Zapotocky, has been heartily welcomed by the people for, like Gottwald, he too springs from them. His father was an active member of the Social Democratic organization, and Zapotocky as a youth became an ornamental stone cutter. He also has artistic ability with the brush and canvas and has written a trilogy of three gripping novels.

The new Prime Minister, Viliam Siroky, a man with a keen mind and an eloquent tongue, came from a family of railroad workers and was himself a railroad worker until the late 20's when he gave his full time to Party work. Both Zapotocky and Siroky were long closely associated with Gottwald.

ELEANOR WHEELER is a regular contributor from Czechoslovakia where she is now living and working with her husband, George, and their children.

A Churchman's View of China

by

REV. DR. E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

FOR SO LONG was China the victim of external aggression and internal violence and fraud, that it seemed that the streams of vigorous life would not flow again in her veins. Her own great civilization had become strangely inert. Her scholars devoted their labors to the Chinese classics—as was fitting, but seemed to profit too little from the vigorous thought that was proving so creative in Western lands. Chinese science, once in the world's forefront, seemed to have been frozen in its tracks. Even art, for all its undying charm and delicacy, had become too largely repetitive.

For a hundred years and more foreign exploiters had wreaked every kind of wrong and indignity upon China. Feudalism crushed the people, and stifled the nation's life. China

was invaded by foreign armies, and large areas of her territory were held in a grip that seemed too strong and ruthless to be shaken off. Leaders who should have sacrificed their all for their people turned into cruel and oppressive traitors. The huge body of China lay wounded and bleeding, the victim of every wrong that can distress humanity. Her peasantry, poor beyond imagination, cold and starving, died in their thousands.

But in three short years a miracle has been wrought. In China today run full streams of hope, purpose and energy. No visitor can fail to marvel at their magnitude and strength. During my five weeks in China, I was not able to travel outside Peking, owing to illness contracted before going there, and had to depend on the reports of others for what they saw in villages and farms.

Peking is not China, but it is the political and cultural center, reflecting trends from every part of the country. By staying in Peking, one cannot see the water conservation works on the Huai River, or the factories of Tientsin and Shanghai, or any other of the projects that are taking shape with amazing rapidity. But one can see the care with which monuments of the ancient culture are

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being put in order and used to enrich the people's life. One can see large blocks of new buildings, and one may stay, as I did, in a comfortable, eight-storied hotel built in three months, with a hot-water service ever to be held in grateful memory.

In Peking, one can feel the nation's new life, and can see the crowds of busy, contented men and women. Food shops are well stocked with food, which the people are obviously buying. Peking is a city of cheerful noises. Itinerant tradesmen call attention to their craft and wares by various little gongs and bells. There are flocks of bicycles, and nobody supposes that a bicycle bell was born for silence; nor is a horn put on a motor car for nothing. From a school near my hotel came the cheerful sounds of boys and pleasant singing of groups of young people.

The celebration of October 1st, China's National Day, was a high peak of spontaneous joy and enthusiasm. Half a million people went by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in the Tien An Men Square. The vast square was filled with marching men and women, and fluttering, many-colored silk. And when the marching thousands had passed, then thousands of children surged by, singing and waving bunches of flowers. On a day like this, when one sensed the joyous energy, the unity of hope and purpose, and remembered the China of a few short years ago, invaded, occupied, oppressed, exploited by foreigners, crushed and terrorized by war-lords and bandits; betrayed and maltreated by the cruel and corrupt Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang soldiers, the miracle of the change seemed unbelievable. Yet it is true. Its roots lie deep in work and endurance of almost incredible courage and resourcefulness.

In Peking, one may talk with men and women who have lived in their own experience the old days and the new. And the miracle takes form and meaning. Beneath and amid the confusion and corruption were groups of men and women of singular purity of purpose, patience and courage, organizing themselves, helping one another, forming cooperatives, carrying out needed tasks amid enormous difficulties, fighting the Japanese in guerrilla bands, resisting war-lords and the depredations of greedy landlords, withstanding the rapacity and treachery of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, unconquerable in their hope.

The leaders in this vast movement were the Communist Party, directed and inspired by Mao Tse-tung, a leader of genius, who, amidst all his duties, found time to write pamphlets, comprehensive and lucid, with a sure grasp of the total situation and of the relation of each individual event to the whole. He was always confident—always sure of what would be. The basis of it all was the broadest that there can be—nothing less than all the people. Every undertaking was discussed by those who had to see it through at such length that impatient souls might have thought the jobs would never be begun. But everything was understood, and everybody's relations with his fellows became clear. Not only were the jobs done better, but the men and women who did them were made better and stronger. Further discussions followed the completion of each job—there were criticisms, suggestions and improvements. Mao Tse-tung said that one learns by one's defeats. In this way the people prepared for the day of their liberation—and were prepared for it. It is one of the greatest of epics in the history of mankind.

Thus it is that the Chinese govern-

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VIEW



The people of Peking as they demonstrated Oct. 1, 1952 in the central squares in celebration of the third anniversary of People's China

—Eastfoto

ment of today is based on the will of nearly five hundred million people. Never before has there been so vast a concourse of human beings, living together in continuous territory, speaking diverse dialects and languages, free in their local governments, yet with unanimity of will in their administration. In Peking, one not only feels the enthusiasm of the people of Peking, as also of those of Shanghai, Nanking, and other cities whom one meets there; one also sees there the representatives of national minorities, in their distinctive costumes—Tibetans and all sorts of peoples—fully sharing the joys and hopes of the New China.

It seems rather ridiculous, therefore, that there are actually governments which refuse to recognize the broad-based, stable government of

Mao Tse-tung. As Dr. Johnson said, of the man who remarked that he recognized the force of gravity: "He had better recognize it." We had better recognize the People's Democratic Republic of China, for it is here to stay, growing in strength from day to day. What is more, it presents no threat to anyone. For here, as in all the other People's Democracies, is the zest of peace and peaceful construction. These Chinese have already done much, but they have more in hand, and still more in prospect. They are devoting themselves with skill and ardor to preserving the land from floods, turning the energies of rivers into forms that can be used for human welfare, planting trees to lessen the effects of winds and to make the land more beautiful, building good homes for themselves, new fac-

tories, technical institutes, schools, universities, and hospitals, providing more and better food for everyone.

The Chinese Government and people desire lasting peace. They have no romantic illusions about war, because they have seen too much of it, and know it for what it is—a sordid and sickening bestiality that destroys the dignity and happiness of man. Peace means the opportunity to cultivate the things that enhance human worth and well-being. As an Australian, I cannot, therefore, but feel ashamed that my government, instead of giving the right hand of fellowship to this vast and hopeful political reality, is tying itself absurdly to the rump of a discredited scoundrel.

With recognition of the People's Republic of China must go support of China's right to take her place in the United Nations. The absence from the Security Council of representatives of a nation containing nearly a fifth of the human race robs it of legal and moral authority.

But the Western world seems bent on folly in its relations with China. Could anything be more stupid than the trade embargoes which are being more or less enforced against her? For long the Chinese masses were too poor to be able to buy anything. Now they have a margin over bare livelihood, and the margin keeps growing. Here is a huge market for every kind of consumer goods. Great construction works, new factories are being built. What a market is here for Western machines. Today this enormous market is wide open, but those who do not enter now cannot complain if tomorrow they find there is little room for them. The Chinese desire trade with the West, but by resourcefulness and hard work they are making good their shortages.

Moreover, there are countries which suffer from no embargoes against China, and their trade with her is steadily growing. Nor can it be expected that Western businessmen and industrialists will acquiesce much longer in the folly of shutting themselves out of a market, rich today, and becoming rapidly richer. Meanwhile, the injuries inflicted on the Chinese are less than those suffered by the Western world.

There is a final word that, as a clergyman, I would like to add. In the Christian Church in China is a vigorous reform movement which aims at making the Chinese Church completely independent. More than half of the Chinese Protestants have

Students of the Central Academy of Minority Nationalities enjoy themselves by performing native dances



already signed its Charter, as have a smaller, yet considerable, proportion of the Chinese Catholics. I have talked with the chairman of this movement, a leading Protestant layman. He and the Protestants wholeheartedly support the present Chinese Government, and enjoy complete religious freedom.

I was one of a small and intimate group which was able to ask questions of a prominent Catholic layman, the President of the Chinese Academy. He too spoke of enjoying full religious freedom, and professed loyalty to the Government of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Twice I attended service in a large Congregational church in Peking. On the first occasion, the pastor of the church was the preacher. His sermon was a Christian reinforcement of the economic principles of the Chinese Government. On the second occasion, the sermon was preached by a professor from one of the theological colleges who spoke of the freedom which people had enjoyed ever since "liberation," and of the bright future which had been opened up before the Christian Church.

I attended a ceremony at a Buddhist temple when Buddhists from

Ceylon presented a relic of Buddha to their Chinese co-religionists. Our small party was early for the service, so it was taken into a room and entertained with small cups of tea, cigarettes and sweets. While we waited thus, we talked with one of the Buddhist monks. He told us that they had never enjoyed such freedom and respect as they enjoy now.

As we were going into the temple, which is kept in beautiful condition, this monk pointed out the front and doorway of the temple and said: "We are grateful to the Government for all this." I learned afterwards that the Government had helped the religious bodies to restore and renovate their buildings.

When changes take place of so deep and wide a character as those which have taken place in China, there are bound to be some people who suffer loss, and who are dissatisfied. These represent, however, an infinitesimally small proportion of the Chinese people, as compared with the literally hundreds of millions who have entered upon a new life, full and rich, with boundless possibilities, and it is by their welfare—by their satisfaction—that the new order in China must be judged.

THE SOVIET SPIRIT

THE Soviet people have a sense of direction, of achievement, not merely in the sense of building noble buildings with incredible speed, but of building for themselves and for their children a life freer and fuller than any they had known. The atmosphere of the Soviet Union is inspiring. There is confidence in what they are doing, in the new creativeness to which they are being led. Everywhere one meets enthusiasm, almost one might say excitement, as past achievement passes on to plans of greater achievement. And with it all there is a friendliness and generosity that are almost incredible.

—Rev. Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, after a visit to the Soviet Union, in an article in *Russia and Us*, Journal of the Australian Russian Society.

In Town or Country

The People Take to Culture

In Soviet Armenia

by

ISOBEL and EDWIN CERNEY

HE WAS close to eighty and he was one of the first people we met in the club house of the Mikoyan State Farm, about fifty miles from Erevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia. On his black blouse he wore a gold medal, recognition of his achievements in grape growing since the war. "I like grapes. I'm going to work with them until the day I die," he told us. Cotton and grapes are the chief crops on this farm whose income last year was the

equivalent of two and a half million dollars.

The veteran grape grower and a forty-two-year-old woman brigade leader took six hours off to show us about the farm and their village. She, too, wears a beautiful medal. A Mother-Heroine with eleven children, she is deeply interested in the farm's music school, nursery, the half completed magnificent club house in the center of the town and, of course, the work of her brigade. Her bright

Edwin and Isobel Cerney (right) visit the poultry section of the Mikoyan State Farm some fifty miles from Erevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia

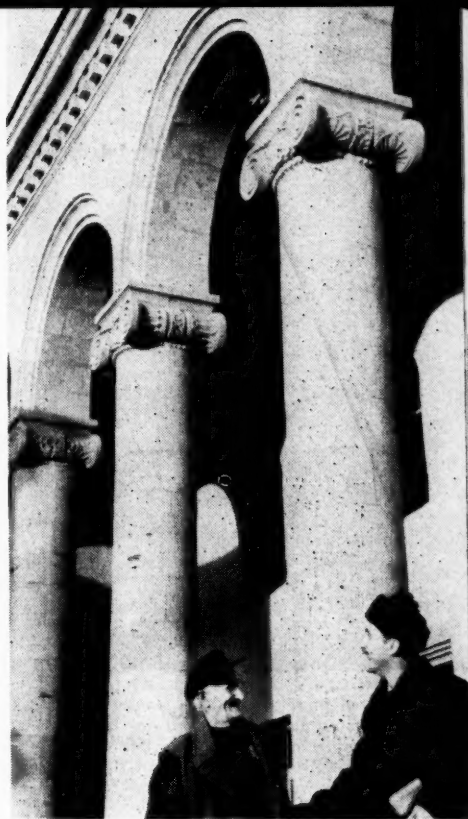


black eyes, quiet vigor, and knowledge of the world told us more than any words what it is to be a woman and a farmer in a society that protects and develops its women and children.

The farm's chairman and his wife were both graduates of higher institutes of learning. They seemed as unhurried and as glad to have foreign guests as all the rest of the village. When we entered her crowded adobe house she was putting the final touches on a dinner of chicken and rice, Armenian bread and goat cheese, five vegetables and two kinds of melons. She had on a very pretty cotton house dress. While we were in the yard talking with the farmers and cooking shashlyk over a barbecue pit, she changed into a well cut black georgette dress.

Some of her guests were dressed as for a city Sunday, others had on warm woven gowns in dark colors and wore the beautiful white woolen tasseled shawls of their own design and weaving. Just as the line between city and country is very thin, we noted, too, that handwork and machine work are everywhere naturally joined. Rich hued rugs of intricate design are used for wallhangings as well as under foot. Lacework is very popular—in stone as well as in curtaining and bedspreads. Embroidery, by men as well as women, is kept up in pioneer circles. They accent bare masses with lacework of stone in buildings quite the way they use pepper to prepare the palate for the gentle white wines or fiery cognac now so plentiful and inexpensive. These things, which we had already noted in the city dwellings, we noted again on the collective farm.

Discussion at the banquet our hostess and the neighbors had prepared on a few hours notice of our



The 80-year-old grape grower of the Mikoyan State Farm and Edwin Cerney stand in front of the new club house

visit flowed from questions they asked us about the Peace Conference we had just attended in Peking. They had read the proceedings of the conference, but they wanted our first hand impressions. They looked polite and puzzled when one of us commented on the tact we thought had been shown in making the Soviet Peace delegation so small and in choosing the leading Soviet historian of Chinese history, the editor of *Soviet Literature*, a woman professor from Moscow University and two poets from Soviet Asian Republics to represent the will to peace of the USSR at this historic meeting in



Making shashlyk for the banquet the farmers prepared for Edwin Cerney (holding skewer) and Isobel (left)

China. Their daily experience with the solicitude shown by the Soviet Government and their Communist Party for the national independence and fraternal equality of peoples suddenly made it awkward for us to explain *why* we would have to answer questions about "red imperialism" and "Moscow domination" when we got home! The several thousand Russians in Armenia have the status of a national minority.

After we had fumbled about a bit trying to explain, the chairman leapt up, a glass of golden wine in his hand.

"Let the sun of peace melt the black ice of hatred!" he began his toast. His blue eyes were clear. His lean, healthy look took us back to midwest farmers we have lived with. He was speaking in Armenian, a slow, stately roll of poetry. The interpreter whispered: "Remember the passage

in *Othello* that starts 'My battles all are ended'? He's reciting that. You know it, of course!" No. We did not remember the beautiful lines. Too long since Paul Robeson has been playing *Othello*. Two years since we have been free to teach in classrooms, reciting Shakespeare to students whose minds are unclouded by war.

The farmers told us they had been, again, to see their greatest actor in *Othello*. And that their new club house—"as beautiful as any of the chief buildings of the capital"—will have a theater seating 700 to which actors from various Republics will bring plays.

When we attended *Othello* in Erevan the next night we wished we had our farm friends with us to argue the fine points. For it seemed to us that this truly great Armenian actor had narrowed the theme of the play to a study in jealousy, where our own Paul Robeson made it a study in race relations and in human betrayal.

The Republic has built seven new theaters in the last two years, bringing the total to twenty. Armenians enjoy their native actors in classic and modern plays, as well as troupes from other republics and the People's Democracies, almost as often as we Americans go to the movies.

We were struck by how critical the audience was at the Annual All-Republic Music "Olympics." The best amateur musicians in all fields had been chosen in preliminary concerts on the farms and in the cities. The large hall was packed with relatives of the performers and with obvious devotees, including militiamen, of all people! They laughed scornfully at one inept conductor. When one of the choruses, which seemed to us very good indeed, got out of rhythm they laughed good-naturedly. And the gal-

leries made some cheerful cracks when one singer flatted a high note. They gave most applause to chamber music, to a new cantata done by Arutiunian (who should be heard here) and to improvisations done on a folk theme by a self-taught pianist. They were very attentive when a string ensemble played a rich, subtle composition.

Realizing that all these performances were amateur, we decided that professional work must be of very high quality with such amateurs setting standards. Half the program consisted of new compositions, to which the militiamen responded with great applause.

We were told that the man who sung a tenor aria from one of Verdi's operas is a lathe operator. When urged to make music his career he said the conditions in his shop and on the job were too good to leave, and that he is satisfied with the full schedule of concerts he has now, as an amateur.

The string ensemble we enjoyed most is made up of doctors and nurses. We would have assumed these were professional musicians.

There are seventeen different musical establishments, a Philharmonic society, a Conservatory, and a number of seven- and ten-year music

schools. These supply instruments and special training to musically gifted children, as well as an education in all the general subjects.

"We discover gifted children through circles of music and dancing which we have in our regular schools, and in our Pioneer clubs," Professor Santosyan of the Pedagogical Institute told us. "By the time children graduate from ten-year schools their teachers know them very well. They send them along to the Conservatory or to special training to prepare them for a musical career. The Ministry of Public Education has a special department studying gifted children."

A child with extraordinary musical gifts is transferred, as soon as discovered, from regular school either to a School for Gifted Children or to special studies after school with leading musicians.

Young children were taking instrumental lessons in all of the rooms of the School for Gifted Children our friends took us through on the Mikoyan State Farm. They were playing grand pianos and excellent instruments, including ancient flutes, fifes, drums and cymbals. Armenian farmers consider the support of such training just as necessary as it is to have your club house as fine as any building in the city. And the largest, best lighted, most central room of their club house is the library. These developments do not strike them as being "fads and frills" though their barns, fields, warehouses, and stock have put them in the millionaire class. We smiled as we thought of the wealthy California Fruit Growers' attitude toward culture!

"First of all a child must have his childhood. It is his right," Haikounoush Danielian, the "Nightingale" of Armenia told us. She runs the

ISOBEL and EDWIN CERNEY both have long teaching records in American schools and colleges. Mr. Cerney studied at Notre Dame and Yale School of Fine Arts. Mrs. Cerney studied at Carleton College and at Harvard. Both received their teacher's training at Winnetka Graduate Teacher's College. Both have been heads of departments at New London Junior College; both have trained teachers for the Government. The Cernys reside in California and only recently returned from a trip to China and the Soviet Union.

largest School for Gifted Children, in Erevan. "We have a department of protection of children's voices, to keep them from overstraining and acquiring bad singing habits. We protect them until they are old enough to study singing seriously. Voice students have their ear trained by violin study."

Danielian today devotes her full energies and experience to running this school and to her work as a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. She has deep, full, expressive brown eyes, large features and a very strong face. Her manner is modest, but when she speaks of the exploitation of child artists abroad she is fiery. When she speaks with her own students she is full of warm pride and humor. Great love of children and of music shines out of her.

"We try to persuade the children to develop instrumental as well as vocal talent—to explore all their possibilities. They study harmony and composition. Our school is only helping the child to discover his ability. He is free to develop at his own rate. The important thing is to take the child *seriously*," she told us. This she does not only in the school, but as a Deputy. She looks into the problems of everyday life and conditions, taking it upon herself to get good housing for her pupils and doing all she can to create the conditions needed for their unfolding. We were told that although she was elected to the Supreme Soviet by one district of Erevan, she hears from people all over the country, and feels bound to serve them all.

"A Deputy," she told us, "may be recalled by the people. It is the duty of a Deputy to serve the people all the time."

She led us into a small intimate concert hall. We heard a string quar-

tet play two Armenian songs by Co-mitas, a magnificent rendition of a Mozart sonata, a Glazounov cello serenade played by a ten-year-old boy with advanced technique, a brilliant nineteenth century Polish violin piece. All the children were between 8 and 14, very absorbed in the music and not at all self-conscious. We enjoyed the concert because of the children's musicianship, which was quite as impressive as their technique.

In the city markets, waiting for busses on the streets, everywhere we went in Armenia we had musicians and poets and artists pointed out to us. We saw the huge Apartment Building for Artists, where the first floor is for sculptors, so they can roll their monumental pieces in and out easily, the second floor for painters, who won't have to carry their canvasses far, and the top floors for graphic artists, etchers, and those who make small easily-carried art works. The studios are large, well lit; the rents never more than eight per cent of the artist's income.

In Soviet Armenia, no occupation or profession is without its art and music circles. People are fresh when they put in long hours at their avocations. They are not exhausted from insecurity and threats of war. The women are not housebound by lack of nurseries and centers for the care of their children. They are free to develop their own talents and tastes. There, as in Moscow, we found everyone discussing the new decisions and the new Five-Year Plan, one of whose chief emphases is on culture.

The pioneering we observed in Armenia is everywhere unmarked by haste, violence, isolation and the lone wolf attitude. The traditional designs, arts and crafts, their assiduously restored monuments and poems.



Librarian shows the Cerneys (right) a 1700-year-old manuscript at the Matenadaran Library which has a collection of 10,000 Armenian manuscripts and 500 Arabic, Latin, Rumanian, Abyssinian, Greek and other rare old books

bind them to the immortality of the race, it seems.

In Soviet Armenia, where a revolution in industry and in agriculture has been carried out in the last twenty-five years, the most ancient church of Europe, Echmeazdin Cathedral, is being carefully preserved and restored. And the oldest library of rare manuscripts, founded in the fifth century by Parbetsi, has been collected and restored. Next year the Matenadaran collection of 10,000 Armenian manuscripts and five hun-

dred Arabic, Latin, Rumanian, Abyssinian, Greek and other rare books will be moved into a new, air conditioned, eight-story building beside the new Philharmonic Building. Armenian people feel that this new library is unrivalled for architectural beauty anywhere in the Soviet Union.

And it will be their own most beautiful building, because, they tell you, that is the way to house historical documents "important to humanity as a whole."

EMINENT AUTHOR RENOUNCES CITIZENSHIP

STEFAN HEYM, eminent author of *Hostages*, *The Eyes of Reason*, *The Crusaders* and other best-sellers, has renounced his naturalized American citizenship and taken citizenship in the German Democratic Republic. He took the step, he declared, because of the "war-like policy of the present American government."

20 Million Germans Rebuild

Industry, farming and culture rise as the people of the German Democratic Republic take the path to Socialism

by MARGRIT ADLER

THERE ARE, perhaps, more falsehoods in our press about the German Democratic Republic than about any other Eastern European democracy.

Because Germany is one of the chief concerns of U.S. foreign policy, and because this country, in the heart of Europe, holds the fate of Europe, the balance between war and peace, it is of vital importance that the truth about the German Democratic Republic be known.

Last July, at a Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, the Marxist party in the German Democratic Republic and the most influential one in the democratic front, it was announced that the building of socialism was about to begin.

To understand the conditions which made this step possible, it is necessary first to consider the physical make-up of the Soviet Zone. It occupied 41,382 square miles of the 136,429 square miles of German territory. It was inhabited by about 20 million of the 65.5 million Germans living in 1946. Its population included more than four million repatriates from the east European countries, over 40 per cent of their total number.

As regards industrial potential, the Soviet Zone was considerably outweighed by the Western zones. It contained only 14.5 per cent of the me-

tallurgy and iron ore, 22 per cent of the machine and auto industry, 27 per cent of the chemical industry, 2.7 per cent of the anthracite and 5.7 per cent of the coke. The only industries in which the Soviet Zone had an advantage were lignite and lignite briquettes, paper and textile. The lignite production in the Soviet Zone accounted for 67 per cent of the total German production, paper 38 per cent and textiles 39 per cent.

In accordance with the Potsdam decisions, the Soviet occupation authorities expropriated the industrial enterprises of war criminals and war profiteers, including all monopoly holdings. Thus, about 9,000 industrial enterprises were taken over and gradually put under the control of the people. In 1945, this sector of industry accounted for 40 per cent of the industrial production. By 1950, the production of the people's owned sector had risen to 73 per cent.

How was this accomplished? Not, as some people might think, through additional expropriations. This amazing increase in production was achieved through the expansion of the people's owned industry and the

MARGRIT ADLER is editor of "The German American," progressive German language publication in New York.

creation of new enterprises. Two hundred of the expropriated enterprises, which had been marked for dismantling, were retained in Germany and operated by the Soviet occupation authorities. Gradually, over the years, these firms were returned to the German people to be administered by the state. An excellent example of how the enormous production increase in the people's owned sector of industry was accomplished is found in the story of the Zeiss Optical Works in Jena. In 1947, the Zeiss works had been 94 per cent dismantled. By 1950, 12,000 workers again produced the world famous optical and precision instruments. In three years the workers and technicians had rebuilt old machinery found on scrap heaps, constructed new instruments, turned old sheds and warehouses inside out for usable materials.

The Soviet Union had helped in the rebuilding of Zeiss. It had returned machines which had been sent to the Soviet Union after the war as reparation payments. It had sent sorely needed materials. Above all, it had given orders for research projects and for Zeiss products. Five years after Hitler's bloody war, Zeiss had been rebuilt larger than it had ever been before. It now comprises thirteen independently run factories—Zeiss Photo and Binoculars, Zeiss Microscopes, Zeiss Optic, and others.

One of the most difficult tasks in raising production was to bring about a change in the attitude of the workers towards their work. They had to learn that they would derive advantages from increased production. And in the beginning, in the devastated factories, without proper machines or raw materials, it was difficult to convince hungry men that they should work hard and long hours

and fight to overcome obstacles. But slowly a new understanding was created among the workers. Slowly at first and then at increasing speed, they saw their living standards increase, more food on the table, vacations at nice resorts operated by the trade unions, new and comfortable dwellings for workers.

The first hero of labor in the Soviet Zone was a miner named Adolph Hennecke. He emulated the method of his Soviet colleague Stakhanov. He increased coal production to an unheard of level. Gradually more and more workers found ways to increase production, simplify the work and install new safety devices. Workers started competitions, began to cut down the time of a production process, overfulfilled industrial plans. The first Two-Year Plan, 1949-51 was completed six months early.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the Laender or states, comprising the Soviet Zone was that for hundreds of years they had been the seat of the notorious Junker class. In both Mecklenburg and Brandenburg more than half of the land belonged to Junkers. In 1945, under the supervision of the Soviet occupation authorities, 6,350 estates of more than 250 acres each were expropriated. The five and a half million acres thus gained were distributed among poor and landless peasants and repatriates. Thus 385,000 new farms were created. For many of the new farmers this represented the fulfillment of an ancient dream.

To insure maximum crops and the greatest possible efficiency, Machine Lending Stations were established in the rural communities to make modern farm machinery available to the farmers. At first great difficulties existed in providing the necessary machinery. Before fleeing the coun-

try, the landowners or their agents had destroyed all farm equipment. A long process of rebuilding and repairing this machinery began. Soon, the Soviet Union came to the aid of the peasants by sending tractors and other machinery. Slowly the first farm machinery produced in postwar Germany rolled off the assembly lines. By the end of the Two-Year Plan, in 1951, 11,000 tractors, 4,300 tractor combines and 7,000 threshing machines served the farm communities.

Another task of the Machine Lending Station was to establish cultural centers in the communities they served. The farmers' organization, the Peasants Mutual Aid Federation, aided in setting up cooperatives for the sale of produce and the purchase of seed.

Thus the economic basis for the increasing welfare of the people in the German Democratic Republic was laid. By Christmas 1951, food prices had been slashed eleven times. With the exception of meats and fats all foodstuffs were available in sufficient quantity.

Such a democratic economic foundation could only be built with the aid of a democratic political set-up. Under the supervision and with the aid of the Soviet occupation authorities, democratic organizations were given every opportunity to develop. The Federation of Free German Trade Unions grew rapidly and was given ever more responsibility for the reconstruction of industry. The Free German Youth undertook the tremendous task of re-educating the young people who had grown up under the Hitler regime. Women, who comprise the majority of the population and who had been relegated to second class citizenship under the Hitler regime, were drawn to an ever increasing extent into public life with

the aid of the Democratic Women's Federation.

One of the big problems confronting this latter organization was the task of making it possible for women to work. A whole network of factory nurseries, day nurseries, kindergartens, etc., was organized. In addition, hot meals were served in factory cafeterias to relieve women of the necessity of cooking hot meals at home. In 1950, 256 factories had laundries; 1,218 had repair tailor shops to relieve their women workers of the household chores. And above all, of course, women were given opportunities to work in every branch of industry and advance in accordance with their abilities.

The head of the German Bank (Deutsche Notenbank) is a woman. Women fill posts of mayors, factory superintendents, jurists, and representatives of all legislative bodies. As early as 1950, 25 per cent of the deputies to the parliament, the People's Chamber, were women.

The block of anti-fascist political parties, supported by the above-mentioned people's organizations, took over greater responsibilities in the administration of municipal and state affairs. In 1946, public discussion of a draft constitution, submitted by the Socialist Unity Party, was started. By 1949, the democratic forces in the Soviet Zone had been sufficiently strengthened to satisfy the Potsdam requirements, which prescribed:

"It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world."

A delicatessen shop in the new socialist city that is growing around the East Iron and Steel Works. Food prices had been cut eleven times by Christmas of 1951



By 1949, the Western allies had scrapped the Potsdam decisions and forced the split of Germany. On September 20, 1949, they set up the separatist "Federal Republic" in Bonn. No solution for the whole of Germany could be hoped for in the immediate future. So, on October 7, 1949, the German Democratic Republic was founded in the Soviet Zone with Berlin as its capital. Its first cabinet, elected by the People's Chamber, is of great historic significance because of its composition. President Wilhelm Pieck, a Communist, rose in the labor movement as a woodworker. Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, a former member of the Social Democratic Party, had been a printer in his youth. Deputy Prime Minister Walter Ulbricht had been a carpenter, and the new Minister for Planning, Heinrich Rau, a former metal worker. A miner, Fritz Selbmann, was given the post of Minister for Industry. It is the first time in

the history of Germany that workers have occupied such important government posts.

But the new government also included representatives of the middle class. Prof. Dr. Hermann Kastner, Deputy Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) had been a lawyer by profession, Otto Nuschke, another Deputy Prime Minister and head of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), a journalist. To these parties also belonged the two recently dismissed ministers. Dr. Karl Hamann, a member of the LDP, was fired for inefficiency from his post as Minister for Trade and Supply. Georg Dertinger of the CDU, former Foreign Minister, was arrested on charges of espionage on January 6, 1953. We will deal with their cases in another article. At this time it is sufficient to note that these people, and others of their class were given the opportunity to serve the people in the new

democratic state which they sought to destroy.

This first truly democratic government of Germany was based on a constitution equally novel for that country. It guaranteed "the pursuit of happiness" to the people by decreeing the right to work, the right to education for all, and by guaranteeing security in old age and in case of sickness. The constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, the right to free expression of opinion, equal rights for men and women, and equal rights to all citizens, regardless of national origin or language.

Indeed, this constitution concretely provides for the exercise and securing of these democratic rights. It states that "no citizen is permitted to participate in war activities designed to suppress a nation." It further forbids attacks on democratic organizations, and makes expressions of race-hatred and bias against religion or other nations a criminal offense. It forbids incitement of war hysteria in any form. These provisions are further strengthened by a "Law for the Preservation of Peace," passed in 1950.

There are many other things one

A Letter From an American Mother

Dear Jay,

Two questions in your last letter prompt me to answer you more seriously perhaps than you expect, or maybe even want. "Are you," you ask, "sold on Soviet propaganda?" And, "Are you forgetting you are an American?"

NO, of course, to both your questions. How could I be "sold on Soviet propaganda," anyway? Because I actually live here, right behind the "Iron Curtain." I need no mysterious injection of Soviet propaganda to tell me how to judge what I can see for myself, or what I personally live through. I really have only to look around me.

Not that I see everything here as perfect, either. The State stores, for instance—the merchandise I can buy is still not as varied or luxurious as you are accustomed to see (but which most can rarely afford to buy) in the better U.S. stores. This difference used to be really glaring. But there is a very real meaning in "still not as varied etc.," because, living here, one expects and becomes used to continuous and almost uninterrupted improvement.

I say "almost" because there actually have been some slight upsets in the food supply lately, kind of teething-pains, I

guess, in the new drive towards socialism. I must say, however, that even this slight snag has been blown up and distorted in the Western papers to a point of pure ludicrousness.

But I want to tell you, even if only briefly, some of the advantages or compensations which I, along with millions of others, find in living here, and which you say makes us "sold on Soviet propaganda." I like, for example, the way my children are being educated. And not only through the school they attend where along with arithmetic, history, geography etc., they learn the meaning of true democracy; meaning that each child is treated, and treats others, equally, regardless of heritage, race, religion or economic background. This, I remember from my own childhood is by no means always true of American schools.

I like too, for my children, the general atmosphere around them. Since there are no comic strips, toys, books or movies available which are based on either cheap sex, brutalities, or the glorification of wars, they are completely uninfluenced by such things. I have seen children here play at everything even Indians, but never at war.

For myself, personally, and apart

ought to know to understand how socialism is being built in Germany today and how the transformation of the people in the German Democratic Republic took place. Among these special mention should be made of the Workers' and Peasants' Faculties which were created at all universities to give promising young people with inadequate formal schooling the opportunity to enter all institutions of higher learning. Another important development is the full cultural life which makes all phases of culture accessible to everyone.

Finally, there is the "East Steel

and Iron Works," the brand new steel industry which is being built right at the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland. It will produce steel and steel products out of iron ore from the Soviet Union and coal from Poland. Its workers and their facilities will live in a newly build city housing 25,000 people. This will be the first socialist city in Germany. Already some of the workers have moved into their socialist city, from the ruins left by the war.

This article is the first one of a series that will be devoted to the German Democratic Republic.

..... in the German Democratic Republic

from my children, I must admit I like the atmosphere too. I like especially what happens to people when some of their basic economic and social fears are removed: the new pride and self-respect among workers in being workers and the new humor, relaxation and understanding which is born through being secure in one's job and knowing that living standards for everybody are always and inevitably improving. Economic security here, based naturally on one's own efforts is never the result of either cheating or being cheated. The effect of this alone on human beings, must, of course, be obvious to you.

I like also, by the way, the fact that through full social insurance the only bill for medical treatment I've ever seen here was a veterinary's bill two years ago. Our dog was injected against distemper.

Am I forgetting I am an American? Again, how could I? And not only because I look, am, and feel very American. Living anywhere outside the U.S. these days but especially here in Germany, one is more than usually aware of being American. It's a kind of two-sided consciousness too; I'm conscious of our great traditions of freedom and

democracy which I know exist not only in our Constitution, but in the great bulk of the American people themselves. At the same time one cannot help but be aware of the contradictions of these same principles in what is being done here in Germany in the name of America. So I am forced to be ashamed of that part of America which is giving guns back to Nazis in West Germany, and which pays agents to come over to East Germany to interrupt the peaceful construction work here.

The great bulk of the German people, both East and West, are very strongly resistant to this policy of the U.S., but unfortunately it is, to them, a reflection of the whole America. So, far from forgetting I am an American, I feel very deeply the need to be American, and to try even in a small way to show and speak of that America and those Americans which I know still exist, and who stand truly for peace and for freedom.

I hope you are among them.

Sincerely,
Ruth Post

From the *Democratic German Report*, January 30, 1953.



German

A vital young republic,
American people because
of our press the German
Republic, some refer

Young meteorologist
reads the "sunshine
writer" at the Central
Weather Station
in Potsdam, one of
the 6 in the German
Democratic Republic



These children in the Thaelmann House
of Pioneers in Magdeburg study the
mysteries of wiring an electric bell

Hans Bleisch, 23, is the youngest
Hero of Labor in the German Demo-
cratic Republic. Children present
him flowers when his brigade of
miners completed their entire 5
year plan in about twenty months



German Democratic Republic

young republic, little known to the people because of the blackout of the German Democratic Republic, sometimes referred to as Eastern

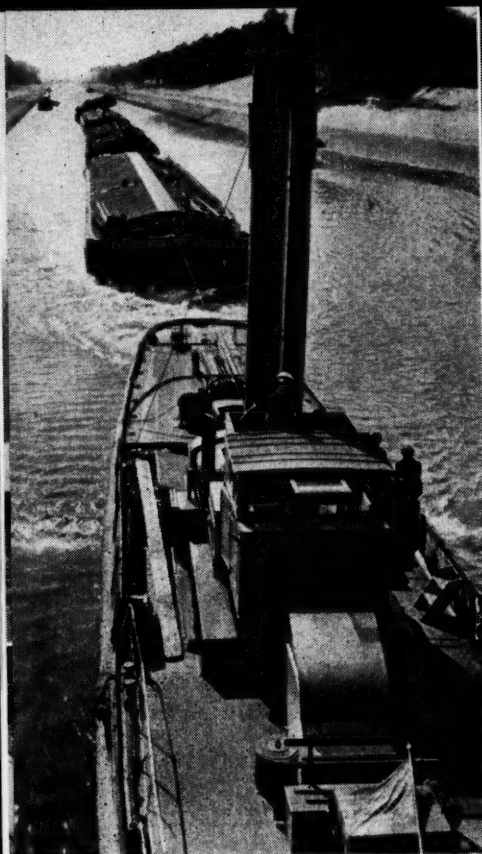
Germany. On these pages we present, in pictures, a glimpse of that thriving, progressive land that is building a new life on its own chosen path of socialism.



A brand new industry, East Iron and Steel Works, has been built on the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland

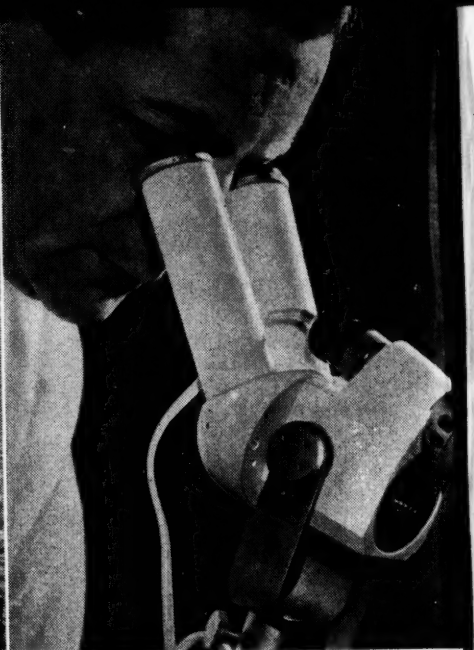
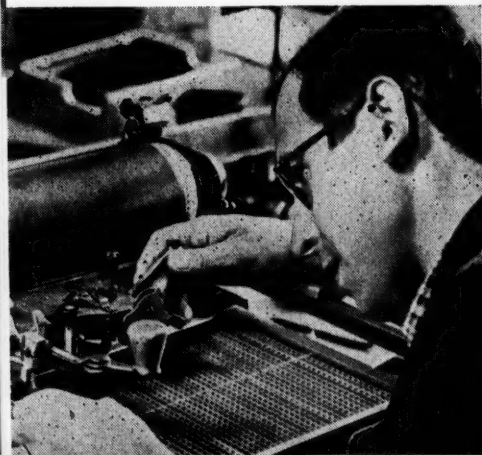
...easier together. With a new thresher from the Government, the peasants of Worin thresh their grain cooperatively





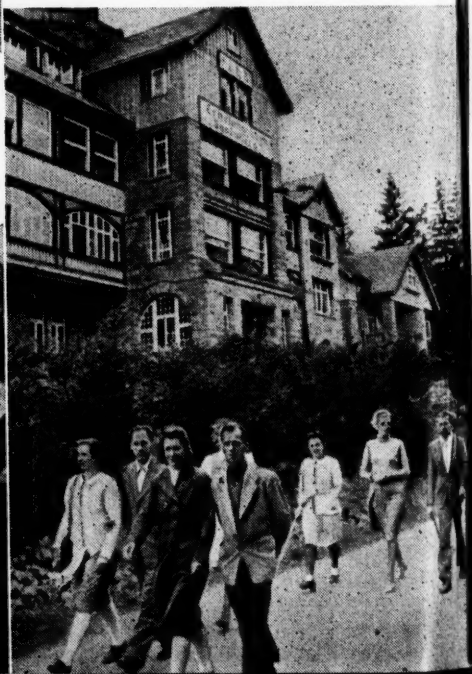
The 22-mile Oder-Havel Canal, longest built since the war, opened last June

Chinese typewriter made in Erfurt Factory contains over 2,000 characters



The Zeiss kelposkope helps detect cancer of the uterus at an early stage

Trade unions set up summer resorts as well as vacation trips for member



THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN HUNGARY

by NEIL STEWART

WHEN Dr. Gyula Czapik, Archbishop of Eger and head of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, took a leading part in the Third Hungarian Peace Congress last November his appearance and what he had to say symbolized the tremendous change which has taken place in recent years in the attitude of the Catholic Church to the new Hungarian State.

He was the second speaker to address the thousands of delegates. "To safeguard peace," he stated, "is the greatest interest of my fatherland, and is also the desire of all honest citizens. Our generation is spending its life clearing away the ruins, building something new in their place, and restoring living conditions.

"Every man can easily convince himself that this country and all its honest citizens want peace and are willing to make sacrifices for it. They will not start an aggression, but will stand guard over peace and always rise up to preserve it. In this spirit I ask for God's blessing for the successful deliberations of our Peace Congress."

He was not the only Catholic priest there. Many others attended as delegates, representing more than 3,000 Catholic priests who now support the Catholic Priests' Peace Committee.

Relations between Church and State in Hungary are better now than at any time since this predominantly Catholic country was liberated by the Soviet Army towards the end of the Second World War, the scars of which are still forceful reminders of the need to avoid another conflagration.

What is the attitude of the State to the Church? It is best summed up in the Constitution adopted in 1949, Article 54 of which declares:

1. The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the freedom of conscience of the citizens and the right to exercise their religion freely.
2. In order to be able to assure freedom of conscience the Hungarian People's Republic separates Church from State.

To this might be added the words of Prime Minister Rakosi at the time of the nationalization of schools:

"Hungarian democracy stands for the most complete freedom of religion. Communists especially have

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voiced this since the first moment of the Liberation; and, of course, we have not only voiced it but have also lived up to it."

It was two years later that the Bench of Bishops signed an agreement with the Government regulating relations between Church and State. The preamble stated the joint desire of the two sides "to promote the unity of the Hungarian people in its work of peaceful construction and to further the peaceful development of our country."

The terms are divided into two main sections—the undertakings of the Church and the undertakings of the Government.

The Bishops acknowledge the Constitution and declare they will take proceedings against any ecclesiastical person who acts against the laws of the Republic and the constructive work of the Government. They condemn subversive activity, and will

permit no exploitation of religious feelings for anti-State political purposes.

In addition, the Bishops declare full support for the program of national reconstruction, raising of living standards and realization of social justice. Finally, they support the Peace movement, condemn instigation to war and the use of atomic weapons.

For its part, the Government guarantees "absolute freedom of religion for the Catholic congregations" and "freedom of activity to the Catholic Church."

The Government approves the return of eight church schools to the Catholic Church and undertakes to see that in them are an adequate number of teachers of the religious orders. (It should be mentioned here that in the State schools religious instruction is given at State expense on the request of parents.)

Richard Horvarth (left), a Cistercian monk and Secretary of the National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests of Hungary, speaks at a peace meeting





Dr. Miklos Beresztoczi, head of the parish of Estergom, makes the chairman's report at the National Peace Conference of Catholic Priests

Finally, the Government undertakes to provide for the financial needs of the Church for 18 years (i.e. until the Church can pay its way from its own resources) by sums decreasing periodically. It adds: "Within the framework of the financial aid the Government will lay special stress on ensuring a suitable living wage for the clergy."

Financial help was by no means confined to the wages of clergy. War-damaged churches were being and are still being rebuilt. Even the bells are not forgotten. In 1948 hundreds of tons of much-needed bronze were diverted to cast bells for 778 parishes. As well as stipends for the priests, the State also pays the salaries of scripture readers and religious teachers. All get free health insurance.

In July, 1951, the Bench of Bishops met under the Archbishop of Eger to make a solemn declaration condemning "all deeds and efforts made against the People's Democracy and its security, and any kind of forceful or unlawful means."

This declaration also endorsed what had been said already in the Church-State agreement—that disciplinary action would be taken against Church people transgressing laws of the Republic.

Finally, it gave the first open approval of the Bench of Bishops to the rapidly growing "peace movement of the Catholic priests."

The viewpoint of this rank-and-file movement of priests is of some interest. It has probably never been better expressed than by Dr. Richard

Horvarth, a Cistercian monk, who is secretary of the priests' national Peace Committee.

"We stand at a point of change in history," he said. "The past will never return. The change of the Middle Ages into the Renaissance, or the Reformation and counter-Reformation, or the French Revolution, or the birth of capitalism, meant the happening of something new and very important in the history of humanity. Something even more tremendous and fateful has now started and is at the point of being realized, and our attitude has to be adapted accordingly."

In other words, the Church had to march with events and not resist social change.

He went on: "We have to live together, and we live together with people of different opinions. . . . We, priests and secular alike, have to search not for those points which divide us and which provoke violent disputes with other men, but those points which can unite us."

He added that the place of Catholic priests was with the people as they built a new country and a happier future.

"We must take God to where something new and good is being built. . . . When the new order liquidates poverty, abolishes the privileges of the few, ends human selfishness and exploitation, then it does that which, in the spirit of the Gospel, we all ought to do."

This concern of the priests with the peaceful development of their country is shared by Bishops. On

March 16 last year, Dr. Endre Hamvas, Bishop of Csanad, Apostolic Administrator of Esztergom, wrote in the independent daily *Magyar Nemzet* on a decision to reestablish the Army in West Germany:

"This event obviously disturbs the peace-loving peoples and increases war tension. . . . The rearming of Germany is only one of the symptoms of a great rearmament campaign which is being carried out in the West. . . . Once rearmed, a spark is enough for the outbreak of war.

"The German army cannot be reestablished without reviving German militarism and, what is more, without reviving the Hitler spirit. . . . The moral commandment demands 'Thou shalt not kill.' The moral commandment demands that we stand for peace. . . ."

And on July 15, 1952, Monsignor Lajos Shvoy, Bishop of Szekesfehervar, back from a tour of his diocese, wrote in a Budapest daily newspaper:

I was filled with pride and pleasure at the rapid industrialization of Fejer County. This is a new world. . . . An entirely new and tremendous construction is the town of Sztalinvaros, on the banks of the Danube. The large iron and steel works . . . is something every Hungarian can be proud of. . . .

"Unemployment, thank God, no longer exists. The greater part of my flock comes from this area and so the work of the clergy is closely connected with the work of construction. . . . On seeing these great achievements, we cannot help but feel what an important need is peace for the Hungarian people. . . . The maintenance of peace is sacred."

HUNGARY IS INDUSTRIAL NOW

BY THE END of this year Hungary will be a predominantly industrial country, Premier Rakosi recently announced. The ratio of industrial and agricultural production will be 60 to 40 per cent.

It's Better Together

***Experience shows Czechoslovak farmers
that agricultural cooperatives bring
high crops, security and a better life***

by GEORGE WHEELER

THE WEATHER was bad for the farmers of Czechoslovakia during 1952.

But it was a good year for the unified producers' cooperatives. The adverse weather emphasized the advantages of the scientific and mechanized farming that the cooperatives make possible, and partly for this reason there has been a great surge of farmers to join the co-ops. At the end of the harvest in 1951 there were 6,249 cooperatives of which 4,452 were of the higher type (with, as a minimum, individual plots of land pooled). A year later, on October 31, 1952, the number had increased to 8,366, of which 7,177 were of the higher types.

The greatest gains were in Slovakia. At the beginning of 1952 there were about 36,800 farm families in unified cooperatives in Slovakia. By the end of October the number had jumped to 87,423, and half of these were in cooperatives of the third and fourth types in which not only the land but the livestock was held in common and in which the income is distributed to the members according to the number of work units earned.

No single factor is responsible for

this great leap forward in 1952, but rather a culmination of forces which acted with greatest intensity in Slovakia. Among the first of these is the intense pace of industrialization of the entire country. Because the capitalists had left Slovakia undeveloped, and almost as a semi-medieval colony, the impact of the construction of huge units of socialized industry is sharper, the upheaval greater. When a huge iron and steel combine such as Huko is planted in the midst of fields still cultivated by hand and by ox, a social and economic revolution takes place. Right next door the peasants now have almost unlimited opportunities for work at wages much higher than what they could earn by the old methods on their own small parcels of land.

Along with the vast industrial development goes the great cultural

GEORGE WHEELER was formerly in U.S. Government service in Washington and later worked in the military government in Berlin. In 1947, together with his wife, Eleanor Wheeler, and their four children they went to Czechoslovakia where they are now working.

development that is taking place in the Slovak and Czech nations. With the renewed pride in their nation's past achievements and culture, and with the happy development of folk songs and dance, of the arts, and the cinema and radio, has come a changed attitude toward life itself. The farmers, and particularly the young people, are taught to think of life as an ever advancing process and not just a back-breaking struggle with the land and against continuous adversity.

When a farmer sees his neighbors in the cooperatives begin to apply scientific methods to agriculture the gains become obvious in the first crop year. Scientific farming touches the farmers in their most sensitive spots, pride in good crops and livestock—and in the increasing income from higher yields. The machine and trac-

tor stations can work effectively only on the pooled fields of the cooperatives—what can a tractor or manure spreader do on a patch of land the size of a tennis court or one that is five meters wide and stretches out of sight over the top of the hill? With these changes in methods, with higher yields, lower costs and greater efficiency in the use of labor, it was not unusual for farmers who had joined the co-ops to double the incomes that they had had as private farmers.

Then came the combines. The farmers had become accustomed to seeing tractors and to calculating their advantages. But the combines were a dramatic demonstration of the possibility of doing away with the worst drudgery on the farms. How could a farmer's wife be content to bind and stack grain by hand or to pull sugar beet when in the consolidated fields of the cooperative she sees machines rolling along taking in the same crops? Neither could she resist for long the stories her co-op neighbors told of how little time it took to do a washing on the new cooperative machines.

Another main factor in the sudden forward movement of the cooperatives here is that the Communist Party and the local National Committees have carried out an intensive educational campaign. Each farmer's case was considered individually and in talks with him and his family the specific advantages to them of the co-op were brought out. Now that the first cooperatives have been a success it is easy to demonstrate to the small farmers with facts and figures just how their standard of living will increase. The movement is entirely voluntary, but the educational work and the living examples prove very persuasive.

A Soviet self-propelled harvester combine gathers in the barley crop on a cooperative in Czechoslovakia





A farmer on an agricultural producers' cooperative in Czechoslovakia loads a cart of potatoes from their rich crops for shipment to the warehouse

For the middle farmers, for example those with 15 to 30 acres, the advantages can also be shown. The rise in production, together with lower taxes and prices of seed, fertilizer and lower rates for plowing and other services of the machine and tractor stations, make it clear to most middle farmers that it is to their economic advantage to join the cooperatives.

There remain some who have the idea that they would like to continue their kulak ways. Life is getting harder for them. They no longer are the kingpins of the village, exploiting their farm workers and charging usurious rates for the loan of machinery or seed to poor peasants. The opportunities for exploitation are vanishing—and at the same time their taxes and compulsory deliveries

are larger. The day of the kulak is cooperatives and are excluded.

Now well over half of all the rural communities of Czechoslovakia have producers' cooperatives and in about half of them the land is consolidated into fields suitable for working by machine.

•
WHEN I ASKED at the Kacice New Life Agricultural Cooperative what the main changes had been since 1951, the reply was, "Everything is better." I asked that the members explain in detail why they were so unanimous in their opinion.

We were eating a big and tasty meal—knedliky, roast pork and zeli (kraut), favorite Czech dishes—in the cooperative dining room. The tractor drivers, milkmaids and field workers were coming in in their work

clothes and stowing away an enormous amount of food. Their animated discussions kept the place in a hum.

"For example, when did you start this community kitchen?" I asked. "Oh, this is only a few months old. At first only a few wanted to eat here. Then when they found out how good the food is and how much time and work it saves, everyone wanted to eat here. So we had to limit it strictly to co-op members. Now the women wonder if we could also serve evening meals—at least during the harvest. Yes, this is a big gain, especially for the women."

"Do you have a kindergarten or nursery for the children while their mothers are working?" Everyone started talking at once to answer this question. One father calculated out loud how many pounds his two sons had gained in two months. Others told how much better the children ate than at home and how they had a special garden for the vegetables for the children's dining room.

But what of the work and the crops—after all co-op life is more than dining rooms and kindergartens. Here we cornered Bohumil Bures, the chairman, and Bohumil Leichl, the agronomist. I was assisted in my questions by Dr. Joseph Kolarik of the Ministry of Agriculture. These three are rather typical of the men who are now leading the new cooperatives. Each of the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture is the patron of a cooperative who sees to it that it gets help in solving its problems. This relationship benefits the Ministry official almost as much as the co-op, for it keeps him in touch with practical problems of the countryside. Dr. Kolarik was justly proud of "his" cooperative.

Bures had been a miner in nearby Kladno and had given up his other

work when his neighbors in Kacice elected him the chairman of the cooperative. He is obviously no "stuffed shirt," but a worker who likes to deal with people and their problems in bringing socialism to the countryside.

The agronomist Leichl, like 80 per cent of the rest of Kacice, had also worked in Kladno. He had had ten acres of land and had been elected to his present job. He, too, kept mud on his boots and his hands in the soil.

I was at first shocked when I learned that Leichl had only a month of formal schooling as an agronomist. "How can you do your work?" The answer is that he eagerly reads the material that the Ministry of Agriculture furnishes him, and has made a special study of Soviet collective farming. He regularly attends meetings with other agronomists and discusses his problems and shares his own experiences with them.

On the walls of the chairman's office at Kacice were charts showing how the cooperative had consolidated its fields in order to apply the Soviet experience of an eight-field system of crop rotation. The cooperative has about 2,700 acres which formerly were fragmented into over 4,000 bits. Now there are about 60 fields and when the few remaining individual farmers in Kacice join, as the cooperative members expect them to soon, the entire area around Kacice can be laid out in the way most suited to scientific, mechanized agriculture.

The fields are still spotty, showing the previous abuse of the soil by individual farmers. But the restoration is already under way with rotation being established and proper application of fertilizers and manure. They have experimented with cross sowing of grain as recommended by Soviet agronomists and found that the yield

increased by over 20 per cent. They also planted potatoes, three to a hill, in rectangles that permit cross cultivation. They fertilized with both natural and artificial fertilizer and obtained between 30 and 50 potatoes per hill. They estimated that they got between two and three times as many potatoes per acre as the average individual farmer in this area.

The cooperative has grown rich in cattle and pigs. They started with 81 pigs and now have 1,000. They had 46 cows and now have 210. But these are only the beginnings and yet productivity is already high enough so that earnings generally exceed those of individual farmers, even of the more well-to-do type.

The work units according to which members are paid, how they are set and whether the norm (amount of work assigned per work unit) assigned to one type of work is fair as compared with other work, are the

very heart of the work on a co-op.

This January, 1953, at the general meeting of the co-op the work norms or units for next year will be fully discussed. All over Czechoslovakia similar democratic discussions will take place. At the first general Congress of Unified Cooperatives final decisions will be taken and the Ministry of Agriculture will then issue work unit standards to guide the co-operatives in all parts of the country. This is real democracy where it counts for most, in determining working and living standards.

The Ministry of Agriculture has announced the opening in January, 1953 of a great new Czechoslovak Academy of Agricultural Science in Prague. About 2,000 men and women will work and study there. The main purpose of the Academy will be to assist in the expansion of socialist agriculture, to train scientific agricultural workers, to put science to

Future agronomists who are studying at the University of Agriculture at Brno. Scientific farming assures the cooperative farmers rich crops





At harvest time all-day care of children is especially important. Teacher seems to hold them spell-bound with a story

work in increasing the output and quality of foods available for the people of Czechoslovakia.

I WENT BACK to Kacice early in February and watched while the members of the New Life Agricultural Cooperative happily finished cutting and passing out their harvest pie. It was a big pie, more than 2,000,000 crowns for 152 members, many of whom worked only part time. And this was only the final 40 per cent of their earnings based on their work units. They had drawn 60 per cent of what they earned as they went along. In addition, during the year they had greatly increased their community wealth in new buildings, in machinery and in livestock.

One of the most impressive parts of the meetings at Kacice is their democracy. It reminds me of the town meetings of the pioneers in America which still persist in a few places in the small towns in the West. Those meetings had vitality because they

discussed and acted upon problems important to the life of the community, the schools, law and order, a new church, etc. The meetings of the New Life Cooperative have a real democratic vigor also because they are pioneering in building a better life and it is at the meetings that the people decide just what the next steps are in that building. Within the general policies which have been adopted by their representatives in the Government, and benefiting from the experience of other cooperatives, the members have wide latitude to determine what they will do.

Aside from the all-important decisions on the piece rates and work standards, they decide such questions as: Is a new barn more important than a new cultural center, or can we have both? Should the agronomist go to school? Who gets special vacations? Should we let outsiders eat at our community kitchen? Should X . . . be permitted to join the cooperative? Everyone has his or her say and then a vote is taken.



Children of China



by

ANITA WILLCOX

I SHALL NEVER FORGET the children of China; such laughing, friendly, spontaneous faces, glinting black eyes; round red cheeks framed in black, black hair; such warm, soft hands that reach out all eager to clasp, cling, draw you near, or to seize your own hands while the owner jumps up and down in unrestrained enthusiasm. It's that last, that gaiety and utter lack of repression or self-consciousness that warms me down to the tip of my toes, just remembering.

I don't understand it either. I've seen a good bit of children, one way and another. Brought up five of my own, and I now have a fast-growing crop of grandchildren to make friends with. But these Chinese children are really different from our children here in the West. I remember that first moment when our plane landed in Peking last fall. It was night and the spotlights shone on an excited group of little ten-year-old girls who came racing out to greet us, their hands full of flowers. I had never seen so many children so free of self-consciousness, so absorbed in just seeing—being—glad to see us and make us welcome. They really did grab our hands in both of theirs and jump up and down, the way my very own children might do after a long absence. And these little girls

were only a foretaste of hundreds and hundreds of children who greeted the Peace Delegates at one time or another; all, all, full of laughter and enthusiasm. I can remember no time or place in the rest of the world where children could be so spontaneous with utter strangers.

There were other things I noted too. We saw thousands of children and babies in our extensive tour of China. Almost never did I hear a baby cry. And fathers, all kinds of fathers—peasants, professors, storekeepers—carry tiny infants around in their arms. You almost never see that here in the United States, or in Europe either for that matter, possibly because baby carriages are used. Most American fathers are not accustomed to handle such brand new babies. But fathers do it in China.

I kept asking about it—how the children got that way. Asked the Chinese I met, and the Americans who lived a long time in China. Whatever the wonders produced by the Liberation, this could not really be one of them. This behavior had to

ANITA WILLCOX is a New York artist. Together with her husband, Henry, she toured People's China where they were delegates to the Peace Congress of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

be part of the whole cultural pattern of China.

I got various answers. Rewi Alley, that wise engineer and sensitive poet who loved and worked for China for a generation, said, "Chinese mothers and fathers take time to enjoy their children, to be with them, include them at all times of the day and night. A New Zealand father might work in his garden but he can't be bothered by Junior working with him. A Chinese father would just naturally include his son or his daughter."

Dr. Wu I-fang, the president of Gin Ling College for Women in Nanking, said, "You see our parents don't feel they must make their children do things. For example, they don't feel they must make them eat spinach." (Dr. Wu has traveled extensively in the U.S.) "Obedience is a valued trait, but it comes naturally. Little children, babies, are always with someone, never shoved off by themselves, never allowed to cry. They always feel loved and cared for, never have a chance to be lonely. They never have to demand attention for they get it by custom as a matter of course. In most families there is so little room that the child cannot be sent off to bed alone. They stay around the grownups and when they are tired they simply fall asleep. In terms of modern psychology this means that the child is always secure. He learns without personal problems or struggle to get on with other people. Consideration within the family group is a necessity when so many people occupy such a small space. Psychiatric problems are rare, suicide almost unknown."

For my part, I was a young parent of that unfortunate generation who were instructed to feed babies by the clock, and what agonies I suffered

waiting for the scheduled hour while my son squalled! Now my grandchildren are fed whenever they yip, Chinese fashion. The Chinese fashion seems to be traditional, part of a total attitude toward people, so that they simply don't have the kinds of behavior problems which occupy so much time of Child Study Groups here.

The new Chinese Government is greatly concerned with the problems of children; the fundamental ones of adequate food, proper diet, enough clothes, nurseries for babies of working mothers, elaborate child-welfare projects, primary schools, child clinics. If they have problems of child psychiatry, juvenile delinquency, I have never heard of them.

There was another phenomenon I marvelled at; this time the behavior of teen-agers. Mobs of youngsters came down to see us off when we were through with the Peace Conference and bound for a tour of China, leaving by train from the huge railroad station in Peking. When we were all on our train, our arms filled with flowers, hundreds of these kids lined the platform opposite our cars, separated from us by two railroad tracks. Some waved, some sang, some followed a sort of extemporaneous cheer leader yelling Ho Ping Wan Sui (Long live Peace), a noisy spontaneous demonstration, like teen-agers anywhere in the world. They stood, their toes exactly on the edge of the platform, four to ten deep, and the back ones climbing on shoulders to see, or on baggage trucks. And NOBODY pushed. Nobody was shoved off. For all their enthusiasm they seemed instinctively to remember there was someone in front. It could not happen here.

Now I suggest that babies who are not let cry, the laughing ten-year-



There's nothing like a stroll in the park with the kindergarten teacher

olds who are free from inhibitions, the teen-agers who remember the fellow in front and don't push; are all part of a fundamental attitude towards people that is part of the Chinese heritage, their pattern of culture. And I like it.

This distinctly Chinese attitude towards people is very evident in the new Government.

Take land reform. The landlords have been eliminated as a class, but the individual landlords are people too, and they are given every opportunity to reform themselves by work, given the average amount of land to work with, and in three years they may become full citizens.

Take the San Fan movement, where "squeeze," waste and bureaucracy are really being stopped by the method of self-criticism, rather than just passing laws and exacting penalties. Graft and waste are against the law, but the Chinese make the law effective by intensive public education through existing groups. Every organization, from university faculties to pedicab unions, conducts meetings

where mutual criticism and self-criticism is made on the subjects of squeeze, waste and bureaucracy, and there is no single Chinese who is not aware that these formerly universal patterns of behavior are now considered cardinal social sins. The results are utterly amazing. The Kuomintang, supported by the economically putrid landlord class, could only operate through neglect and violence, but the new Government is using and bringing out all the marvelous potentialities of the Chinese wisdom in human relations.

Other incidents, involving both Chinese and American attitudes toward people occur to me, which seem to me to be revealing. What kind of children had they been—these grown-ups?

Consider the attitudes toward prisoners in the Peking Jail (Feb. issue, NEW WORLD REVIEW). Solitary confinement and physical punishment or abusive language, against the law; use of uniforms or numbers for inmates, "incompatible with human dignity"; discipline of prisoners con-

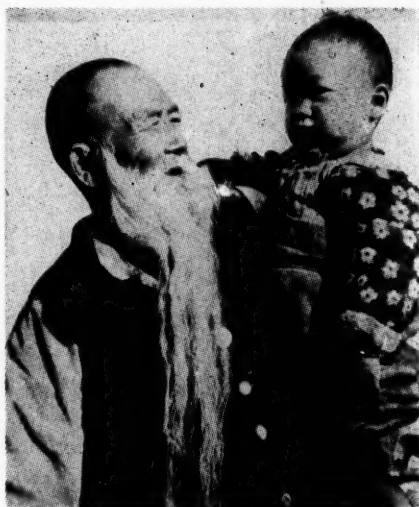
ducted by group pressure, "talking to" by the prisoners.

While in Peking we heard two tales about American POWs from Monica Felton, that intrepid and charming Englishwoman who received the Stalin Peace Award in 1951 after her trip to North Korea. She had visited the POW camps again in September, 1952, and was just back when we met her.

Some American POWs told how they had been surrounded, but held out for four days until their food and ammunition were all gone. The ground was bloody with the Chinese they had killed before they were forced to surrender, and they were afraid, for they had heard horrid tales of barbarism and brutality. They still, when Monica talked to them, were bewildered, even appalled, that their Chinese captors had shaken hands with them and offered them cigarettes.

Another group of American POWs told how they kept wondering what would happen to them, when would the torture begin. It was cold, and a corporal accidentally set fire to the house they were in when he started a fire to get warm. The Chinese put out the fire and a Chinese captain marched off the corporal. Well, that was the last they expected to see of that young man. Presently the captain marched the corporal back again, looking quite healthy, but very sheepish. The captain sat the corporal down in front of the other prisoners. "Now is time for self-criticism" the captain said.

Wilfred Burchett, former correspondent of the *London Times*, told us many stories of the POW camps in North Korea, and he said that some of the Americans were completely demoralized because of the break-up of their belief in their



Grandfather and grandson both face a new life. Chang Chia-cheng, 70, formerly landless, now owns his farm

white-skinned superiority. They had believed the Koreans sub-human, they knew what the Americans had done to Koreans, the shock of being treated with gentle humanity was too great. It shattered the structure of the only world they knew, and some, poor lads, could not eat, they would not even go to the toilet, they just lay there.

In this same connection I am impressed by the attitude of some of my own old and dear friends toward what I consider carefully objective reports of what I have seen and heard in China. They just cannot believe me when to do so requires an alteration in the picture they cherish of what Americans will and will not do. It is easier for them to believe I am deluded.

When I remember those lovely laughing Chinese children I only wish I could somehow make my friends realize the joy they are missing in not believing me.

Education in Hungary

by

BEATRICE KING

IN GATHERING material to present a picture of educational developments in Hungary since my visit in 1950, I have been deeply impressed by two things. One is the forthright and constructive criticism by the Minister of Education, Jozsef Darvas, regardless of personalities; the other is the realization that the general school (for ages 6 to 14 years) is the most important rung in the educational ladder.

In a speech delivered January 24, 1951, to the Conference of Educationalists, Darvas reminded his audience that two months previously the Ministry had held an education conference and had come to certain conclusions regarding the measures necessary to remove serious shortcomings in many schools.

As a result of that conference, the movement "For better education" was launched. It was a concerted attack by parents' organizations, educational organizations, and the newly formed local councils, against the undesirable trinity of absenteeism and leaving school before the required school period was completed, of unsatisfactory discipline, and unsatisfactory work.

Joszeff Darvas acknowledged that there had already been improvement, but not nearly enough, and in dealing with the cause, a failure to understand the depth of the problem, he put forward remedies.

Heads of schools must become the real leaders of the school. Consultations and discussions—most certainly—but final authority for the school must lie with the Head. "The Head is responsible for discipline among the teachers as well as among the taught. He is responsible for teachers' political and professional development. He is responsible for the creation of a community out of his teaching staff, that does first rate work. He is responsible for the orderliness and appearance of the school. He is responsible for the school's level of attainment, and responsible if this level declines. He is ultimately responsible for the DJSZ (youth) organization in the school. In short, the Head has to know about everything that happens

BEATRICE KING, distinguished British educator, has made a thorough study of the educational systems of Eastern Europe. She is known here for her books on Soviet education.

in the school, and nothing can happen against his wishes. "Teachers must not be burdened with extraneous duties," he added. In apportioning blame for the continued shortcomings, Joseph Darvas did not exclude his own Ministry.

The criticism and the advice and help, as well as the encouragement is due in the first place to local criticism and local concern, but because these ultimately come from the top, their acceptance is widespread. This, coupled with the economic development of the last two years, more easily explains the two years progress, which may be seen in every sector of education.

There has been a great increase in facilities for the pre-school child: the nurseries for the child up to three years, and the kindergartens for the child from three to six years. The increase in nurseries and kindergartens required an increase in the number of trained and qualified nurse-teachers and teachers. In 1951, thirteen new training colleges with a three-year course were opened to deal with this need. We can judge how nearly sufficient the pre-school provision is from the fact that in 1952, it was only necessary to open one training college for pre-school workers, at Balatan-füred. It is quite clear from evidence at hand that the sharp fall in the number of new training colleges for infants is not due to economies, or to educational cuts. It is due to the rapid and continued growth of provision since 1947 for this sector of education, so that it is now sufficient for the needs of the children.

The picture is the same for the primary schools. Whereas in 1951 five new training colleges were opened for primary (6-10 years) teachers, this year there will be no

new ones. The primary schools are now sufficient in number and adequately staffed, and the existing training colleges can therefore satisfy the normal demands.

It is in the field of high school education, post-fourteen years, that there has been the greatest development, for this field was the most restricted. The area from which children were drawn for high school and college was strictly limited to the ruling bureaucracy. Prior to 1945, 60 per cent of all children left school before twelve years old. Only 5 per cent continued their education in the high school, and of those only 4 per cent were children of workers or peasants.

With the increase in high schools in 1951-52 the number of these rose from 285 in 1937-38 to 425, while the number of pupils doubled.

The rate of building for high schools is rapidly diminishing because the greatest part of the task for the provision of this type of education has now been accomplished.

Last autumn ten new general high schools were opened, in remote provincial places barely known even to the ordinary Hungarian. There are today 110,000 pupils in high schools as compared with the 52,000 of pre-war. By 1954, the number will reach 162,000. Of boys and girls who graduated school at 14 in May-June 1952 over 50 per cent have gone on to some kind of high school. In Budapest 80 per cent of the graduates at fourteen, have entered general or technical high schools.

The drive for high school education is not limited to those at school. Workers over the age of 17 who for one reason or another were denied this education, are now having a chance to make this good. Over 70 adult high schools were opened last autumn. All that is required is that



English through activity. Several in the class engage in the activity; the others are called upon to describe it in English. The system is widespread.

applicants shall have completed the eight year (6-14) elementary school and that they shall provide their own text books. Tuition is free. These evening high schools give a general high school education with the addition of economics and some technical subjects. Evening high schools for training nursery-school teachers are to be opened, as will be the case with any other kind that may be required. Housewives, not at work outside the home, have also the right to attend these schools.

As a special concession, in the first year, workers over 20 years old with only five years previous education will be accepted.

Considerable development has taken place since 1950 in technical and vocational education. Many new four-year industrial technical schools and three-year agricultural schools were opened in September, 1951, and more new ones in September, 1952. The number includes high schools

for the fine arts and for music. For industry a new technical school was opened in Budapest for coach-builders and repairers. In Szombathely, Nagykanisa, and Ujpest, engineering technical schools were opened for the chemical engineering industry. A technical school for moulders has been added to the foundry school in Drosgyor. The first technical school for viticulture with cellar-laboratories for research, also opened in September, 1952, will train specialists who will travel the country to advice the vineyards and the wine-makers. Many girls have enrolled in this school. Again, the first technical school for public feeding was opened in Budapest in September. The rising standard of living, the demands of workers for better food and better preparation of food in canteens and restaurants, was the stimulus.

The first agricultural schools for cotton cultivation were opened in September, 1952 in Mohacs and in

Szentes. Cotton is a new crop for Hungary.

An interesting vocational school is the high school opened this year, for the training of cultural assistants in the field of adult education and recreation. The school, with a four-year course, takes pupils under 17 years who have completed the eight-year elementary school. The curriculum is such that pupils who matriculate successfully can go on to a university, to the Academy of Education, or to the Academy of Arts. The majority of pupils will however begin by serving as assistant librarians, assistant lecturers to the increasing number of trade union and municipal adult clubs, and leaders of other cultural organizations.

There has been similar development in the schools for the national minorities. Of the three general high schools, one is a Rumanian school in Gyula, another a Slovakian school in Bekescsaba, and the third, in Budapest, is for South Slavs. There is one Slovakian and one South Slav teacher training school in Budapest. The scope of all the national minority schools is to increase until they are on a par with similar Hungarian schools. The Education Institute in Budapest has Rumanian, Slovakian and South Slav departments for those who wish to continue educational training.

In the two years all existing technical schools have improved their accommodation and equipment. Some have added new departments.

There has been equal development in higher education. The Miskolc Institute for Heavy Industry is in the process of completion, with sections already functioning. There has been great expansion and reorganization of the technological institutions in Budapest. The country's rapidly ex-

panding industry and agriculture is demanding a far greater variety of highly trained specialists. A new university, part of which is already open, is under construction in Veszprem, and Szolnok is becoming another university town. Hungary with a population of nine and a half millions has 40,000 university students. As with high school education so with university education; a very real development is evening university courses for those at work.

To enable high school pupils and university students from distant small places, or with difficult home conditions, to have the full advantage of the facilities open to them, there has been increasing residential provision. By the end of 1954, there will be sufficient hostels to house 30,000 pupils and students. There have been opened a great number of study rooms in schools and clubs for private study.

The position of educationalists, particularly of teachers, has greatly improved in the period. On January 1, 1952, teachers were given a 20 per cent increase in salary, the same for men and women. Teachers with large classes receive extra pay, and all teaching above the statutory hours is also paid for. The Education Workers Union has holiday homes to which teachers can go either free or at reduced cost, with reduction for holiday travel. Further, teachers' work is recognized by the award of state titles of which the highest carries a cash award of 3,000 forints. The first Sunday in June is celebrated as Teachers Day when the government and the people combine to express public recognition of the profession of teaching. At the present rate of development Hungary will soon be one of the best educated countries in Europe.

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Rich Music of the USSR

Now Available on Records

by

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

A NUMBER of recordings have recently been issued by the American commercial record companies which offer a picture of the musical life of the Soviet Union, including both contemporary compositions and performances of older classics. That the cultural ice barriers of the "cold war" have thus thawed in some sections, due to the warm and friendly touch of art works, is a tribute to the artistic soundness and rich human appeal of Soviet music. There can be little doubt that granted a peaceful world and unfettered cultural interchange, the music of the So-

viet Union would capture the hearts of world-wide audiences, just as the works of the nineteenth century Russian masters, because of their deep affection for and ties to the common people, proved to be so universally popular.

Two recent big-scale works, *Song of the Forest* by Dmitri Shostakovich and *On Guard for Peace* by Sergei Prokofiev, prove conclusively the value of the critical discussions of 1947-48, for it is immediately apparent on hearing them how great a forward step Soviet music has taken. Without denying the great qualities of the earlier works by these composers, what we find here is a richer melodiousness, and through this, a deeper and sharper reflection of contemporary life.

It can be said that Soviet music, like its literature, depicts the life of its people, the forces that are in motion among them, and the life of the nation as a whole, to an extent that no other music has ever done. Both of these works are cantatas, or oratorios, employing orchestra, adult and children's choruses, and soloists.

Shostakovich's work is the more joyous and immediately approachable. It may be described as a great song-cycle, showing the people embarking on the projects of planting forest belts, changing arid into fertile land, which

* All are long-playing records.

SHOSTAKOVICH, *Song of the Forest*, Vanguard 422; PROKOFIEV, *On Guard*, Vanguard 6003; KABALEVSKY, *Cello Concerto*, and GLAZOUNOV, *Violin Concerto*, Vanguard 6005; PROKOFIEV, *Suite from Romeo and Juliet*, and SHOSTAKOVICH, *Ballet Suite No. 1*, Vanguard 6004; PROKOFIEV, *Winter Holiday*, and PEIKO, *Moldavian Suite*, Westminster 5132; GLINKA, *Ivan Sussannin (A Life for the Tsar)*, 3 records, Vanguard 6010-12; RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, *May Night*, 3 records, Vanguard, 6006-8; BORODIN, *Prince Igor*, 3 records, Period, 552; GLIERE, *Harp Concerto*, and RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, *Symphony No. 2*, Period 566; SHOSTAKOVICH, *Trio in E Minor* and PROKOFIEV, *Quartet No. 2*, Mercury 10045; SHOSTAKOVICH, *Symphony No. 5*, Vox, 7610, MUSIC OF POLAND, Vanguard, 6001.

is one of the many vast projects for transforming the face of nature that mark Soviet life following the end of the Second World War. The seven movements include an announcement of the plan, a happy acceptance of it by the people, a touching song of the old villages where people were helpless in the face of nature's catastrophes, a perfect little song of the young children going out to plant trees, a rousing set of songs of the youthful Komsomols, a tender "promenade into the future" which is really a love song expressing what human relations can be in a peaceful world, and finally a double fugue, culminating in a splendid anthem that has become the song "peace shall conquer war."

The melodies are the kind that can be immediately embraced by the hearers, to become songs on their lips. Yet, with great but unobtrusive artistry, Shostakovich has evolved them all from a few germinating themes. Thus the music attains a great architectural unity, and the separate songs, each describing a different side of the Soviet people, add up to a portrayal of the nation's life as a whole.

The Prokofiev work may be described as a gigantic tone poem for chorus, solo voices and orchestra, made up not so much of separate songs as of beautiful melodic phrases that reappear throughout the work in a continuous and complex fabric. It is a much sadder work, full of memories of the terrible human losses of the recent war, together with a determination that this must not happen again. Happy melodies often dissolve into sad chromatic phrases, or are punctuated by deeply poignant chords. Speaking voices and childrens voices are heard throughout, along with the adult chorus, and the entire work may be said to reflect the interplay between

bitter memories and the forces gathering for rebuilding, culminating in a powerful portrayal of the working people of the entire country combining their efforts for peace. Among its many beauties, perhaps its high point, is the



lullaby of the mother and dialogue with the child, certainly one of the most affecting pages in all Prokofiev's music.

Another recent work is a succinct and entrancing Concerto for Cello and orchestra by Dmitri Kabalevsky, played with the most astonishing brilliance and elan by a 29-year-old cellist, Daniel Shafran, who indicates that the new generation of Soviet musicians is threatening to surpass its elders. And one of the great "elders," the violinist David Oistrakh, is heard on the reverse of the record (it seems only a few years ago that he was a young prodigy winning international contests) in a superb performance of the Glazounov violin concerto.

Soviet ballet music is represented by the Suite no. 2 from Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet*, written in 1935, and one of his great masterpieces, while on the other side of the record there is a delightful surprise, a Ballet Suite No. 1 written by Shostakovich in 1950. Made up of waltzes, polkas, adagios and galops, it recreates the atmosphere of the ballet music of the late nineteenth century with charm, affectionate tenderness, and at the same time the most captivating wit. The touch of the mas-

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN has written extensively on art, literature and music. His books include "Art and Society," "Jazz: A People's Music," and "How Music Expresses Ideas."

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ter is as apparent here as in the bigger and deeper works.

A "light" work by Prokofiev, similarly full of fine and inspired touches, is the suite *Winter Holiday*, describing a children's excursion. On its reverse is a folk-style *Moldavian Suite* by Peiko.

An important group of recordings brings us nearly-complete versions of some of the nineteenth century opera masterpieces, performed by the famous Bolshoy Opera Company, with a splendor of voice, a unity of style, a perfection of ensemble, and penetration into the spiritual depths of the music, that are a revelation of how opera should be done. Of these, the earliest work historically, is Mikhail Glinka's *Ivan Susanin*, later renamed *A Life for the Tsar*, which was written in 1836. Full of melody and deeply moving throughout, it is a work which in its profound national character, its sympathetic recreation of village life and its portrayal of the tragic peasant hero, was a turning-point in opera. The performance of the title role by the bass, N. Mikhailov, belongs in the annals of legendary operatic achievements.

In a much lighter vein is Rimsky-Korsakov's early opera *May Night*, written in 1879, based on a Gogol story and combining village life with folk fantasy in music of a continuous rippling gaiety. This work gives an especially wide field to the talents of the renowned tenor, Serge Lemeshev.

Third is Alexander Borodin's great epic, *Prince Igor*, with its colorful and somber panorama of medieval Russia. Here major roles are taken by three of the outstanding male singers of the Bolshoy Opera, Pirogov, Ivanov and Reizen.

What gives these recordings added importance is that the operas are known here only by name and by meagre excerpts. Yet they represented a giant step in the development of music with their naturalness in depicting human relations and history, their combination of speech intonations with song, and their rich use of folk music.

The fine musicianship of Soviet conductors, orchestras and instrumental-

ists is apparent in other recordings. There is the Symphony No. 2 in A by Kalinnikov, who died in 1901 at the age of 36. It is a youthful and romantic work with many original touches. Another record brings together Reinhold Gliere's charming and lyrical Concerto for Horn and Orchestra, written in 1928, with an interesting and almost forgotten Symphony in C by Rimsky-Korsakov, in which the composer applies Russian folk melodies to a tight classic structure. Shostakovich is heard at the piano, with the violinist Oistrakh and the cellist Sadlo, in his Trio in E Minor, Op. 67. Written during the war years as an elegy for a friend who had died, and using Jewish themes, it is



one of Shostakovich's most haunting works. It is combined with Prokofiev's Quartet No. 2, in F, also a wartime work and based on Caucasian themes, performed by the American Fine Arts Quartet. Finally Shostakovich's Symphony No. 5, which since its appearance in 1937 has become a twentieth century classic, appears in a new and deeply sympathetic performance by Horenstein and the Vienna Symphony.

One of the loveliest folk song collections has come from Poland, consisting of seven Polish folk songs sung by the Mazowsze Choral Ensemble. It is combined with a Suite of Ancient Polish Airs and Dances by Panufnik, for string orchestra.

The Case of the Soviet Doctors

The text of the Pravda editorial on April 6, on the case of the 15 doctors.

In our press a communique of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs on the results of a thorough verification of all the materials of the preliminary investigation and other data in the case of the group of physicians accused of wrecking, espionage and terroristic activities against the active leaders of the Soviet state is published.

As a result of the verification, it has been established that the people implicated in this case, professors and doctors, were arrested by the former Ministry of State Security of the USSR incorrectly, without any legal grounds.

According to the communique of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the verification has shown that the charges against those persons were false and the documentary data on which the investigation workers based themselves were groundless. It has been established that the testimony of the arrested allegedly confirming the charges preferred against them, was obtained by workers of the investigation section of the former Ministry of State Security through the use of methods of investigation which are inadmissible and most strictly forbidden by Soviet law.

On the basis of the findings of the investigation commission, especially set up by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to verify that case, the arrested professors and doctors have been fully cleared of the charges laid against them and have been released from custody.

The persons guilty of the improper conduct of the investigation have been arrested and are held criminally responsible.

How could it happen that in the very inside of the Ministry of State

Security of the USSR which has been called upon to stand guard over the interests of the Soviet state, a provocative case was fabricated, the victims of which were honest Soviet people, outstanding figures of Soviet science?

This happened first of all because the leaders of the former Ministry of State Security proved not to have been at the level of their tasks. They broke away from the people, from the Party, they forgot that they were the servants of the people and that their duty was to stand guard over Soviet law.

The former Minister of State Security [S.] Ignatiev, displayed political blindness and inattentiveness. He proved to be on the lead of such criminal adventurers as the former Deputy Minister and head of the investigation section, Ryumin, who has now been arrested.

Ryumin acted as a hidden enemy of our state, of our people. Instead of working on the disclosure of the true enemies of the Soviet state, the true spies and diversionists, Ryumin embarked on the road of deceiving the government, on the road of criminal adventure.

Having trampled underfoot the lofty calling of the workers of government departments and his own responsibility before the Party and people, Ryumin and some other workers of the Ministry of State Security, led by their criminal aims, embarked on the most gross violation of Soviet law, up to the direct falsification of evidence, and dared to violate the inviolable rights of Soviet citizens which are inscribed in our Constitution.

The medical-expert commission, which was created in connection with the accusation against the group of doctors, proved also to be not at the level of its tasks and gave incorrect

conclusions on the methods of treatment which were applied at the time to [Alexander] Shcherbakov and [Andrei] Zhdanov.

Instead of analyzing the history of the illness and other material with scientific conscientiousness and objectivity, this commission yielded to the influence of the material fabricated by the investigation and with its authority supported slanderous and falsified accusations against a number of prominent medical personalities. At the same time it is necessary to note that the investigation hid from the experts some essential aspects of the treatment which had proved the correctness of the treatment given.

The Soviet people learned with a feeling of gratification that the accusations levelled against a number of prominent figures of Soviet medicine proved to be completely false and that they were a foul calumny against honest and respected figures of our state. Only the people who have lost their Soviet aspect and human dignity could go so far as to arrest unlawfully Soviet citizens, the outstanding figures of Soviet medicine, to the direct falsification of the investigation and to the criminal violation of their citizens' duty.

The despicable adventurers of the type of Ryumin, through their fabricated investigation, attempted to inflame in the Soviet society, which is forged by moral and political unity and ideas of proletarian internationalism, feelings of national antagonism which are profoundly alien to the socialist ideology. Aiming at these provocative ends, they did not stop at frantic slander of Soviet people.

It has been established, for example, by careful investigation, that in this way the honest public figure, People's Artist of the USSR [Solomon] Mikhoels, was slandered.

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According to the report of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the organs of the former Ministry of State Security have grossly violated Soviet law, permitted arbitrariness and

abuse of authority. Criminal actions of this kind could not remain undiscovered and unpunished for long, for the Soviet Government stands guard over the rights of the citizens of our country, defends those rights with care, and punishes severely, without regard to persons and ranks, those who permit arbitrariness.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government invariably demanded and demand that the work of all organizations and all state departments be under vigilant control by leading organs and the entire Soviet society. Now when the Soviet people feel so profoundly and realize the significance of the victory of socialism in our country, we must be particularly vigilant and particularly demanding with regard to the observance of Soviet Socialist law.

Discovering bravely the shortcomings in state departments, including the facts of arbitrariness and lawlessness permitted by individual workers of state departments, and eradicating those shortcomings with full determination and implacability, the Soviet Government openly and directly speaks about them to the people. This testifies to the great strength of the Soviet state and Socialist order. That strength lies in the fact that our government is closely and unbreakably linked with the people, bases all its action on the people and firmly and consistently pursues the policy which accords with the vital interest of the people.

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The country of socialism, permeated with invincible might and creative forces, confidently marches along the path to communism. In the Soviet Union the exploiting classes have long been liquidated. Therefore, foreign reactionary forces, in their attempts to carry out subversive activities against the Soviet state, cannot have inside the Soviet country any considerable social support. But the Soviet people know that while the capitalist encirclement exists, there are and there will inevitably be in the future the attempts to send spies and diversionists to us;

there will also be attempts to use for anti-Soviet ends individual renegades, bearers of bourgeois ideology and degenerates. Against those true, overt and covert, enemies of the people, the enemies of the Soviet state, the powder must always be kept dry. The Party teaches Soviet people to be always vigilant.

In the USSR Constitution the great rights of a citizen of the Soviet Socialist state are inscribed. Article 127 of the USSR Constitution has ensured the citizens of the USSR with the inviolability of the person. Nobody can be subject to arrest without the decision of the court or the state prosecutor. Socialist law defends the rights of Soviet citizens which are inscribed in the USSR Constitution and is a most important basis for the further development and strengthening of the Soviet state. Nobody will be permitted to violate Soviet law.

Every worker, every collective farmer and every Soviet intellectual can work peacefully and confidently, knowing that his civil rights are under the reliable guard of Soviet Socialist law. The citizens of the great Soviet state can be confident that his right, guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, will be solemnly observed and defended by the Soviet Government.

In this, one of the important conditions for the further close solidarity of the peoples of the USSR round their Soviet Government, the further strengthening of the might of our motherland and the continuous growth of international prestige of the Soviet Union lies.

On April 7, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR released Semyon D. Ignatiev, the former Minister of State Security, from his duties as Secretary of the Committee.

The Soviet Amnesty Decree

THE Soviet Government, in a recent decree, ordered a general amnesty which releases criminals sentenced to five years in prison and certain categories of others and lightens the prison terms of those serving longer periods.

The decree, issued March 27, orders:

Release of persons sentenced to terms up to and including five years and their freedom from other penalties.

Release of persons, irrespective of their term of punishment, convicted of malfeasance and economic crimes as well as certain military crimes.

Release of convicted persons, irrespective of the term of penalty, as follows: women who have children under 10 years of age and pregnant women; juveniles under 18; men older than 55 and women older than 50; persons suffering from a grave incurable disease.

To cut by half the term of persons sentenced to more than five years.

To drop all investigation of cases

and cases not examined by the courts regarding crimes committed prior to the decree as follows:

(a) Crimes for which the law provides imprisonment up to and including five years or other penalties;

(b) Malfeasance, economic and certain military crimes;

(c) Crimes committed by women with children under 10 or pregnant women, juveniles under 18, etc., as above.

In other cases of crimes committed prior to the decree for which the law provides imprisonment for more than five years, if the court finds it necessary to impose sentence of not more than five years, the defendant is released from penalty; if, however, the court imposes sentence of more than five years, it cuts the term of penalty in half.

To remove the conviction and deprivation of electoral rights from citizens who had been tried earlier and served

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their penalty or who are being released from penalty ahead of time on the strength of the present decree.

Not to apply amnesty to persons sentenced to a term of more than five years for counter-revolutionary crimes, serious embezzlement of socialist property, banditry and murder.

To instruct the Ministry of Justice of the USSR to study revision of the criminal law and elaborate corresponding proposals within a month's time.

The decree declares that the amnesty has been ordered because of the consolidation of the Soviet social and state

system, the advance of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people, their honest attitude toward the fulfillment of their civic duty, and the considerable decline in crime.

In these conditions, the decree declares:

"there is no need for further keeping in places of detention persons who committed crimes which do not represent a great danger for the state and who by their conscientious attitude toward work have proved that they can return to an honest life of labor and can become useful members of society."

Soviet Union Slashes Retail Prices

SHARP REDUCTIONS in the retail prices of a large number of foodstuffs and manufactured prices went into effect last month and resulted in considerable savings to the Soviet people. The decreases ranged from 5 to 50 per cent, effective April 1.

As the sixth price slash since 1947, the measure represented a consistent policy of the Soviet Government in accordance with the statement of Stalin's that "the aim of socialist production is not profit, but man and his needs, that is, the satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements."

These latest price cuts will mean a saving to Soviet consumers of 46 billion rubles a year in state store purchases alone. An additional saving of seven billion rubles will accrue to the consumer on purchases at collective farm markets where prices, though not included in the Government order, fell in response to the state store decreases. Among the 125 categories of retail products affected are:

Food Products: Beef, mutton, pork, poultry, canned meats, frankfurters, salami and other sausage items—15 per cent. Eggs, butter, edible fats, margarine, vegetable oils, mayonnaise and other sauces, ice cream—10. Fish, fresh, canned, frozen—average 10. Bread, cereals, macaroni, noodles, etc.—10. Po-

tatoes, beets, carrots, fresh cabbage and other vegetables, sauerkraut, apples, pears, grapes, tangerines, oranges, lemons—50. Canned fruit, dehydrated vegetables—25.

Clothing: Cotton dresses, blouses, underwear—average 14 per cent. Linen dresses, blouses, underwear—average 7. Same in natural silk—12. Knitted goods—average 5. Hosiery—average 20. Leather footwear—8.

Fabrics: Cotton prints, sateen, calico and other cotton fabrics—15 per cent. Natural silk fabrics—15. Worsted, fine woolen and other woolen and semi-woolen fabrics—5. Linen fabrics—8.

Cosmetics, etc.: Toilet soap—20, household soap—15 per cent. Perfumes, eau de cologne, other cosmetics—10. Hygienic rubber goods—20. Medicines—average 15. Vitamins—10. Cigarettes—5 to 10.

Household goods: Vacuum cleaners—25 per cent. Refrigerators and washing machines—20. Electrical appliances and fixtures—15. Sewing machines—10. Furniture—5. Factory-made carpets—5.

Miscellaneous: Musical instruments—average 10 per cent. Stationery—10 to 20. Wrist watches—5, pocket watches and clocks—10.

These are only a few examples. The decision also orders prices to be reduced accordingly in restaurants.

Women Unite for Peace

At its session in Vienna on December 20, 1952, the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation unanimously adopted a Call for a World Congress of Women to be convened in Denmark in June, 1953.

While the initiative comes from the WIDF, the call proposed a widely representative gathering with delegates and observers from all women's organizations concerned with peace as well as individual visitors. Wide interest is already being displayed in the Congress by women's groups in various parts of the United States.

The Call and Resolution on the convening of this world congress of women have been issued as a public service by American Women for Peace, 125 West 72nd Street, New York 23, New York. We feel that our readers will be interested in the Call, published below:

WOMEN OF THE WHOLE WORLD:

WE, who give life and who bring up our children, have always played our part, through our work, in the building of civilization.

To make our full contribution as mothers, workers and citizens to the creation of a better life, we must possess complete political, economic and social rights.

The dearest wish of all women is to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world.

Women of all countries: To meet the deepest needs and wishes of all women, to seek together a solution to the great problems which face them, the Women's International Democratic Federation is convening the World Congress of Women in June, 1953, in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Mothers, who want to bring up your children secure from the hardships intensified by war preparations, who want to see them well-fed, healthy and well-clothed, who are demanding more homes and more schools for them,

Mothers, who want to rescue your children from suffering and starvation, who have no rights at all, who, along with your children, are refused the possibility of education and who, together with your peoples, are joining the fight

against colonial oppression, this congress is your congress!

Women who work in factories, shops and offices, who are campaigning for an end to the wretched wages, unemployment and speed-up which are aggravated by war policies, who are demanding your right to equal payment for equal work, for equal opportunities for training and employment and the application and extension of industrial legislation,

Women who work on the land, who produce the world's food, who in so many countries live in bondage to the colonists and feudal landlords, perpetually weighed down by debts and taxes, you who want to enjoy the fruits of your labors and to see progress in the countryside,

Housewives, for whom the family budget is your daily worry,

Professional and cultural workers, who are demanding guaranteed employment and free entrance to all the professions—

This congress is your congress!

Women, who are demanding the right to take part in the political life of your country, your right to vote and be elected, your right to work and to knowledge, your right to motherhood;

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who want to see social security schemes introduced and developed, who want social services and cultural institutions: you who are fighting for your dignity as women and for democratic rights, for the independence of your country and friendship between the peoples,

And you who live in the countries where all children have a happy life and where women's rights are guaranteed,

All of us who want to live, and bring up fine children, in a world free from the atom bomb, where progress and science will make a rich and full life possible for everybody,

Women of all countries, opinions, beliefs and social backgrounds, whether or not we belong to an organization, whatever the color of our skin,

The World Congress of Women is our congress!

Let us set to work at once. Let us talk to every woman in her home, fac-

tory, office or shop, and in the field. Meet, elect and mandate our delegates. Send to the Congress thousands of messages, suggestions and proposed solutions to our problems.

Together, let us ensure the success of the world congress of women!

Women's organizations and movements, trade union and cooperative organizations, professional, cultural social and religious groupings and parents' associations, let your voices be heard at the World Congress of Women.

Women of the whole world:

Let us clasp hands across the frontiers! United we constitute an invincible force—

For the winning and defense of our rights,

For the protection of our children and homes,

For a peaceful world.

Support the World Congress of Women!

The Air Incidents

THE SERIES of plane incidents that took place shortly after Stalin's death were played up by the press with provocative, war-inciting headlines as evidence that Premier Malenkov was embarking on an aggressive policy.

The first of these incidents involved the shooting down of one of two American jet planes by a Czech plane near the border of Czechoslovakia. The American pilot parachuted to safety, landing in U.S.-occupied German territory. The United States violently protested the shooting as an unprovoked attack, claiming that the planes had not crossed the Czechoslovakian border. The Czechoslovakian Government, however, declared that the jets were twenty-five miles inside the border of Czechoslovakia. When they refused to land as requested in accordance with

international regulations in cases of border violations, the Czechoslovakian plane opened fire, whereupon they turned back to German territory.

The Czechoslovakian version was upheld by newspaper reports. The two American pilots refused to answer why they had failed to return the fire, which would have been the logical procedure had they indeed been subjected to an unprovoked attack. Their failure to return the fire was quite understandable, however, if they had violated Czechoslovakian territory.

The second incident, a few days later, involved a British RAF bomber, shot down by Soviet aircraft, with the loss of its seven-man crew. In answer to the British protest, General Chuikov, Soviet military commander in Eastern Germany, said that the RAF plane had penetrated seventy-five miles into the

territory of the German Democratic Republic. It refused to comply with the request of Soviet fighter planes which intercepted it to follow them and land at the nearest airfield, but opened fire to which the Soviet planes were compelled to reply. The bulk of the wreckage of the plane and the crew fell in Eastern Germany. Churchill himself subsequently admitted that the plane was over Eastern Germany.

In making these explanations in his answer to the British protest, General Chuikov expressed regret at the loss of life and proposed that talks be held to work out methods insuring the safety of Allied planes using the air corridors leading to Berlin from West Germany so that any further such regrettable incidents might be avoided.

The British agreed, and at General Chuikov's suggestion, the British-Soviet talks were broadened to include representatives of the United States and France.

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Thus, for the first time in almost two years, representatives of the Big 4 powers began conferring together. At the same time General Chuikov, in a letter to a West German newspaper, *Freies Volk*, proposed a new effort by the four powers to prepare a peace treaty for a unified Germany.

The third incident took place in the Far East on March 14 twenty-five miles off the coast of the Soviet Kamchatka peninsula, where a U.S. RB-50 exchanged shots with a Russian-built MIG-15, with no damage resulting. Again the United States protested violently, the Air Force claiming that the plane had a perfect right to be where it was, having taken off on a "routine weather flight from Alaska." The Soviet Union rejected the protest, saying that the plane had violated the border twice.

Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.), discussing the incident on the Senate floor on March 20, called the Air Force report "preposterous." He declared:

There is no need to go within twenty-five miles of Kamchatka to look for weather. There is just as much weather 50 miles out or 100 miles. Furthermore, the plane was way off the course of "routine weather reconnaissance" . . . routine flights are made from Bering Straits to Attu, the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands. This course does not bring a plane within 400 miles of Kamchatka. . . .

The Russians appear to have been discreet in warning it off. They fired on it from a distance and when our plane retreated did not follow it up. Had we done the same thing to a Russian plane 25 miles off the coast of California it would have been very considerate treatment indeed.

The serious thing about this incident is the false report given to the American people by the Air Force. It tended and probably was intended to influence public opinion by making the third incident into an act of aggression. In publishing this false report the Air Force has been guilty, in effect, of waging psychological warfare on the people of the United States. This must stop.

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