

AL SCIENCES ✓

NEW WORLD PU

JULY
1953

Review

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TOP LEVEL MEETING CAN SAVE WORLD PEACE!
Can We Live to 150? • People's Czechoslovakia



The Main Question

Blaine, Wash.—The question of peace and eventual disarmament should take precedence over every other question in our day. For if we should fail in finding a solution to that question, nothing else would matter much—the laws of Life (or Nature) would in that case step in and solve it, by the near, or perhaps complete, extinction of the human race. NEW WORLD REVIEW is doing invaluable service for truth, justice and humanity. I look forward to every issue with keen anticipation A. E. K.

Our Stalin Issue

Sedona, Ariz.—Your April number devoted to Stalin is the most illuminating, deeply moving, hope-inspiring material I have ever read in my long life—L. B. W.

Redondo Beach, Calif.—Your April issue was outstanding. It should open every reader's mind to the truth. The entire number is a triumph of Fact over Fantasy—C. H. Turvey

From Western Germany

Hamburg, Germany—The "People's Plan for Peace," presented to readers of NWR in the February issue by John L. Widner should find the whole-hearted approval of all whose sincere desire is for the establishment of world peace and good will among all races and nations, and who are courageous

(Continued on page 67)

NOTICE

We have had to omit our June issue. Subscriptions will be extended and subscribers will receive their twelve issues.

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

We Must Not Be Too Late Again!

WITH an armistice in sight in Korea, the evil forces which want continued war have made their desperate bid to block the peace.

Syngman Rhee acted for these forces in releasing the North Korean prisoners-of-war, in violation of the newly signed agreement. The American Military Command admittedly had advance warning of this action, yet made no move to prevent it. (See report in N. Y. Times, June 19.)

General Mark Clark has denied the collusion with Rhee charged by the North Koreans and Chinese, yet this charge was bolstered by the call of Senator Hendrickson (R-N.J.) for an investigation by the Senate of "the extent of American culpability."

Rhee's actions proclaim to the whole world that millions of lives have been sacrificed not to stop aggression, but to foster the aggressive designs of an evil old man to extend to all Korea the police state he has set up in South Korea with American aid.

The Chinese and North Korean negotiators have asked the United States to demonstrate whether the truce agreement will be honored, by recapturing the prisoners.

Clearly, it is up to the United States to show firmer determination than it has yet done that the truce must be signed and kept inviolate.

It was the insistent demand of the American people for peace which compelled General Eisenhower's promise to end the war, and the concessions which brought peace in sight.

But the voice of the American people has not been sufficiently strong and united to drown out the voice and influence of the McCarthyites and all those who want to extend,

not end, the war, and who acclaim the Rhee violation.

It is not too late for the American people to exert the necessary pressure.

Let the terrible lesson of the Rosenberg case be driven home to us all. The pressure of the people came close to saving the lives of this martyred pair but it did not develop on a mass scale until too late.

Throughout the world great forces were in motion, understanding more clearly than the American people themselves, that these two innocent young people, cynically charged by Judge Kaufman with responsibility for the Korean war, and by the President with bringing world war nearer, were themselves the victims of war hysteria.

Time was won by world wide pressure, by the voices of great world figures who spoke out, the great labor movements of other countries. But too many Americans were silent. The American trade unions, which should have been in the forefront of the fight against a fascist deed which threatens the deepest interests of labor itself, were silent. The time that was gained, the last minute stay of execution granted by Justice Douglas and over-ruled in such unseemly haste by the Supreme Court at the behest of the Department of Justice, were an indication of what might have been accomplished had the conscience of America been more fully aroused. We must not be too late again.

The American people must recognize their responsibility: to prevent further blood sacrifices, to bring peace in Korea, to demand without ceasing a meeting of the big powers to bring peace everywhere.

HOW DO LIVING CELLS ARISE? CAN MAN EXTEND HIS LIFE SPAN?

by ANDREW VOYNOW

HOW do cells arise? Can man extend his life span to, say 150 years? Through the painstaking researches of an eminent Soviet scientist, we are approaching the answers.

Pondering these questions, Professor Olga Lepeshinskaya reexamined the view propounded by Rudolf Virchow, German scientist, in his *Cellular Pathology* published in 1858, on the origin of the cell. His main

precept was that a cell must be preceded by a cell, that a cell arises only from a cell, that no living matter exists outside a cell, that the organism is a federation of cellular states. This theory has now maintained its position in science for nearly a century.

But, said Professor Lepeshinskaya, the theory leaves open a number of questions:

How did the first cell take shape?

Professor Olga Lepeshinskaya (right), whose discoveries in the field of precellular life are of enormous value, is shown here with her assistants



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OLGA LEPESHINSKAYA, eminent Soviet scientist, is now 82. She was born in 1871, in Perm, and her childhood passed in luxury, for her parents were wealthy mine, mill and factory owners. At the age of 20 she broke with her family and went to St. Petersburg to study medicine. She soon joined the early Marxist revolutionary circles and from that time devoted herself to revolutionary work. Struggle, privation and exile followed. It was only at the age of 39 that she was able to continue her medical education, graduating her institute with honors. She wanted to become a biologist, but the government organs of tsarist Russia barred her way and so she became a village doctor. The Revolution opened new opportunities. She organized new medical institutions, school-sanitariums for sick children, and a college in Central Asia. In 1926, at the age of 55, she headed a small group of research workers and opened a biological laboratory in the Timiryazev Biological Institute in Moscow. Here she began researches that were eventually crowned with the discovery of an entirely new field in biology—a pre-cell living world.

Today Olga Lepeshinskaya is a professor, a member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the head of the Department of the Development of Living Substances at the Institute of Experimental Biology of the Medical Academy, and a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR and to the Moscow Soviet. She has been a member of the Communist Party for more than 50 years. She has written more than 120 scientific works, 24 of them devoted to the origin of the cell. She has been awarded the Stalin Prize for her "The Origin of Cells from Living Substance and the Role Played by the Living Substance in the Organism." She has two daughters and seven grandchildren.

If one subscribes to the theory one must be prepared to admit that the entire world of living beings constitutes an unbroken chain of dividing cells. Where does the endless succession of parent cells begin? Why the diversity of cellular forms? What is the significance of the living protoplasm not organized into cells, and how is its existence to be reconciled with the doctrine that the body represents a sum of cells?

She sought the answers.

"What is hidden behind Virchow's conception of the cell as life's last frontier is nothing else but the 'unknowable idea,'" she declared. "The idea that certain fields of research are inaccessible to human knowledge must be discarded."

And so Professor Lepeshinskaya embarked on an amazing venture along uncharted paths. It began back in 1933 when the cytological laboratory that she headed proceeded to study the question of the origin and development of cells.

She started with the hen's egg. Heretofore, the yolk and the white which surrounds the germ cell, were considered merely nutritive substance for the germ and not possessing any life properties. Careful observation revealed the following:

"Both the white and the yolk consisting of yolk granules are not merely nutrient material but vital substance which develops and produces cells," she writes.

"These cells subsequently go to

build the embryo and form blood. At the initial stage of the development yolk globules—the most simple, pre-cellular forms, still without nuclei—evolve from the yolk. After a series of pre-cellular stages the globules turn into a cell having a nucleus. This cell thereafter divides precisely in the same manner as any living cell produced by division.

"In one experiment we photographed three yolk globules, and an hour and thirty-five minutes later produced another micrograph of the same globules. One globule had changed into a 'pre-cell,' another into a true young cell possessed of a nucleus, a nucleolus, and of granular protoplasm, and the third had begun to disintegrate—it evidently lacked metabolic capacity and proved to be dead."

Similar observations were made of the eggs of fish and frogs, with similar results.

Particularly convincing was the experiment with fresh water hydra. Several were ground in a mortar. The resultant mass was dissolved in water and centrifuged. The sediment was again crushed in a mortar and once again centrifuged. A drop of the substance was then placed under the microscope. At first it seemed to be an altogether non-living substance, not only lacking whole cells but even parts of cells. Then the drop was placed in a nutritive medium.

A Soviet writer who witnessed a moving picture of this experiment describes it as follows:

"Infinitesimal swiftly growing dots appear in the crystal-clear liquid. These are the future cells. Next, nuclei appear. They move and finally divide. If these 'parentless cells' are left in a nutritive medium for three to four months they can build up a whole layer of tissues, and under cer-

tain conditions rebuild anew the entire destroyed organism of the hydra!"

Experiments and research probed further.

Every injury causes a destruction of cells and the vital substance they contain is expelled. The role of this substance in the process of the healing of the wound had not yet been studied by anyone. Professor Lepeshinskaya focused her attention on this.

"As we watched wounds heal," she writes, "we observed that the destruction of blood corpuscles—that is, blood cells—results in nuclear granulation that is absorbed by other cells. These in their turn begin to disintegrate into a fine granulation which gradually becomes coarser, is surrounded by a layer of protoplasm and converted into lymphocytes—newly formed blood cells.

"We have thus shown once more that in the process of healing wounds of a complex organism, regeneration (that is, the restoration of the organism's injured tissues) is accomplished not only by cell division but also by their formation anew from fine granulations which arise from the disintegration of other cells in the wound.

"Thus experiments demonstrate that cells develop from vital substance destitute of cellular structure.

"Virchow will have it that no living matter exists outside of the cell. We, however, have seen that vital substance, which is far behind the cell in development, has life, as it is capable of metabolic activity, of development, and in the final analysis produces new cells after going through various pre-cellular stages."

Regarding Virchow's theory that the organism is the sum of all

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Her intensive scientific work and duties as Supreme Soviet Deputy do not prevent Professor Lepeshinskaya from spending time with her grandchildren

its cells, Professor Lepeshinskaya writes:

"Observation has convinced us that the organism is not the sum of all its cells but a complicated system consisting not only of cells but also of vital substance which has not yet assumed the form of cells, that the organism is an integral whole, all parts of which depend upon the whole and the whole upon its parts and the two together on the influence of environmenting nature. Each particle of the organism depends upon every other particle and is thus eternally in a state of interaction, motion and change."

Professor Lepeshinskaya's discovery has brought science closer to the borderline between living and non-living substances. It is difficult to overestimate its importance for it may cast brilliant light on problems of heredity, on understanding the nature of viruses and the causes of malignant growths, the secret of the transformation of microbes. In short, the science of life—biology—will be

enriched by a new approach to the origin of life.

CAN MAN extend his life span? This other question has also riveted the attention of the wise men of the ages. Man has long protested that many animals live longer than he. As one Soviet writer put it:

"It is surely an affront to the human being that his life should terminate at 60, that a Mozart and a Raphael should die without having reached the age of a tortoise."

The "elixir of youth" was sought by the alchemists of the Middle Ages, and the medieval legend of Doctor Faustus who, to regain his youth sold his soul to Satan, has been the source of inspiration for poets, artists and composers.

Aristotle thought that the vital cycle bore a relationship to the period of growth; five or six times the growing period. Thus, a cat's period of growth is a year and a half, and its life span is eight years; dogs take

four years to grow and live twenty; camels grow eight years and live forty. Man, who takes twenty-five years to reach complete maturity should therefore have a life span of 150.

There may be disagreement with the methods of computation, but many students of longevity believe that man could live to at least 150 years.

Last year in the Soviet Ukraine there were estimated to be some 2,700 centenarians, some of them more than 130 years old. It was thought that only those living in the countryside could attain such advanced age. But Soviet statistics show that this is not true: Before the war there were more than 50 centenarians in Moscow, and in the Stalino Region, with its coal mines and steel mills, there are today some 500 persons between the ages of 90 and 100.

Professor Lepeshinskaya's researches on vital processes have a direct bearing on the problem of prolonging life and youth. To understand the problem, you must understand the meaning of "old age" and how it sets in.

In an article on the subject she declares: "Life is the existence of protein bodies in a constant state of metabolic change. If the metabolic process ceases, so does the existence of the protein substance—it decomposes, dies.

"What causes the living body to age? In the cells there begins a process of condensation of the protein particles, a condensation of the protoplasm of living substance, and this first of all affects the metabolic exchange. It leads to the formation of solid connective tissue, in other words, to sclerosis of the organs, especially of the blood vessels.

"What happens is that when oppo-

sitely charged protein molecules of living substance collide, they merge in one, and in doing so, lose half their charge. Metabolic activity is reduced in consequence, and it is this that constitutes the aging of protein.

"To delay this aging, the thing is to hinder the condensation of the protein particles and the resultant reduction of metabolic activity. The agents to this end must be sought among chemical substances which will tend to increase the dispersion of the protein particles, heightening their electric charge and assisting metabolic exchange."

Professor Lepeshinskaya selected bicarbonate of soda as her chemical agent. Taking three drops of a one per cent solution and adding it to fifteen drops of an adult frog's blood she made microscopic examinations of the mixture every ten minutes. The longer the soda was allowed to act, the less solid became the erythrocyte, or red blood corpuscle, membranes. Eventually they broke down into tiny particles. Thus under the influence of soda the erythrocyte membranes of an adult frog become less solid, like those of a young one—in fact, they are rejuvenated.

Tadpoles were then selected. One group were placed in a solution of hydrochloric acid, another in pure water, and a third in soda solution. The first group were soon dead; the second developed normally; while those in the soda solution progressed at an accelerated rate, noticeably outstripping the second group.

Chicken eggs were next. Two drops of a one per cent soda solution were injected daily for ten days into each of ten eggs which were then placed in an incubator together with ten eggs not so treated. The chicks in the injected eggs took a day less to hatch than those in the control eggs. The

Though 82, Professor Lepeshinskaya takes regular exercise. She likes volleyball and suggests that sports are an important factor in keeping young



"soda" chicks were smaller, having incubated in a shorter time, but were tremendously active — not content with their own rations, they snatched food away from the control chicks and soon outweighed them. And when they reached the adult stage they proved considerably larger than the usual specimens of their variety.

But how do these findings relate to our own bodies? Professor Lepeshinskaya decided to experiment upon herself to find out.

She took a series of fifteen soda solution baths, two or three baths a week. Each bath contained 60 to 70 grams (2.1 to 2.4 oz.) of soda, the temperature between 34 and 35 degrees Centigrade (93-95 deg. F.), and the duration of each bath 16 to 20 minutes. Here is the way she describes the results:

"Urine acidity had dropped to neutral, there had been a general loss of weight, more particularly through the disappearance of fat on the stomach, and the pulmonary scars and adhesions left by an earlier tubercular condition had been resolved. These experiments were afterward repeated in several clinics, with very promising results.

"Our investigations have shown

that soda solution baths disperse proteins and thereby stimulate metabolism. Consequently they strengthen and rejuvenate the organism and also thin it down when excess weight is the result of faulty metabolism."

But Professor Lepeshinskaya issues a warning:

"Administration of soda baths still requires detailed practical investigation. I certainly do not regard soda solution as that 'elixir of youth' which the alchemists sought and failed to find. Let me caution, too, that their improper use may prove injurious, and that they may be employed only under a doctor's supervision."

The Soviet scientist's discovery opens up enormous prospects. She puts it this way:

"The fact that a method has been found of influencing the cell, of preserving it from premature senescence and stimulating its activity, opens up prospects of effectively counteracting the process of aging.

"But this method must be skillfully combined with other factors and influences, of which there are many."

The first of these factors is what she calls "functional activity," for,

she declares, "inactivity and idleness reduces the length of life." She cites numerous examples of people who lived to ripe old ages all of whom were vigorous and active to the end.

Personal hygiene, properly arranged recreation and sports are another factor that she considers important, and she points out that Tolstoy and Pavlov both liked vigorous sports and that she, herself, although she is now 82, likes exercise and even engages in an occasional game of volleyball.

Among the many other factors she mentions are a correct diet, moderation in eating, drinking and smoking, and the avoidance of the use of drugs.

She concludes her list with the following:

"I cannot close without speaking of something by which millions of lives have been cut short. I am re-

ferring to wars. Not only do wars carry off the flower of nations, they are also responsible for a sharp drop in the birthrate and the outbreak of epidemics. Even the propaganda of war works terrible ravages. Numerous clinical researchers have proved that great nervous shocks not infrequently bring cancer in their train.

"Thus the efforts of the searcher seeking to prolong man's life have a common denominator with the struggle to promote peace and understanding among nations. Here the work of the scientist is associated closely with the battle which all men of good will are fighting to secure peace the world over and happiness and long years of life for the human race."

The material in this article is based entirely on articles in the Soviet press written about or by Professor Lepeshinskaya.

POLAND COMMEMORATES COPERNICUS

POLAND is celebrating Copernicus Year. On May 24th, the 410th anniversary of the death of Nicholas Copernicus, the commemorative year was formally opened in Krakow. It started with an exhibition in 13 ancient halls of the Collegium Maius of Jagiellonian University where the scientist matriculated in the winter term of 1491-92 and studied for four years.

This autumn the Polish Association of Astronomers will convene a scientific meeting in Krakow at which Polish and foreign scientists will participate.

Another feature of the commemorative year will be a six-day gathering organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences during which Polish and foreign scientists, historians and philosophers will evaluate Copernicus' work and role in the development of human thought. Papers are already being prepared on his work in the fields of economics, mathematics, physics and the arts as well as those dealing with his contributions to astronomy.

At Torun, birthplace of the astronomer and home of the recently established Copernicus University, a permanent Copernicus Museum will be set up.

During the year two new planetariums and observatories, in Warsaw and in Stalinograd, will be established.

Physical Science In Poland Today

**An exclusive interview with
Professor Leopold Infeld**

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH



Prof. Leopold Infeld

Professor Leopold Infeld, Polish born physicist, is internationally known. He received his Ph.D. at the University of Krakow, received a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship at Cambridge, did research at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, and was a Professor of Applied Mathematics at Toronto. He is the author of a number of scientific papers on theoretical physics (some in collaboration with Albert Einstein and Max Born). He is the author of a number of books, including *The Evolution of Physics* (with Albert Einstein) and *Whom the Gods Love*.

We are doubly fortunate in being able to present this exclusive interview to our readers. First, because, through the words of so eminent a scientific figure we are able to present the progress that is being made in People's Poland in the physical sciences. Second, because our correspondent, Professor Margaret Schlauch, herself an eminent scholar, is known to many Americans as a former Professor at New York University, Chicago, and at Johns Hopkins. Professor Schlauch is now teaching at Warsaw University.

PROFESSOR Leopold Infeld's secretary waved me smilingly into the inner office assigned to the Director of the Institute for Theoretical Physics. This cheerful room, with its tea-table, pictures, books and decorative potted ivy, conveyed an impression of informal ease combined with studious labors and administrative efficiency. Behind his desk, the director twinkled at me with an expression of characteristic Infeldian humor.

"Now that you see the place at

last," he said, "can you blame me for being so proud of our Institute? Almost like a youngster with a particularly precious toy?"

"It's a beautiful place," I answered truthfully, "It seems scientific and learned and yet somehow—unpretentious." Looking at the pictures of Prime Minister Boleslaw Bierut and Professor Joliot-Curie on the wall, I thought, "It's an institute designed for scientists who also know about the struggles of humanity today, and take part in them."

Aloud, I put my first question as interviewer for **NEW WORLD REVIEW**: "Would you like to tell me, from your own experience, something of what is being done for physical science in Poland today?"

"Well, as you know," began Professor Infeld, "I am one of those research workers fortunate enough to be engaged in that particular field known as theoretical physics. My special group doesn't go in for experimentation, though of course we keep close to its undertakings and findings, just as the experimenters keep in close touch with us. We don't require laboratories, but we do need highly trained personnel, comfortable rooms for lectures and conferences, and a special sort of library. These things we have. And before I tell you about our situation and prospects, I think it would be useful to give you some impression of the status of physics in pre-war Poland."

To this I of course heartily agreed. Much of the significance of present achievement in all fields depends upon knowledge of what existed before, in the old days.

"Pre-war Poland had some outstanding physicists, of course," Professor Infeld said. "But their numbers and facilities were limited. Each of the five universities then serving a country of 34 million people had a single chair of physics and no more, with a single assistant attached to each of these five professors. That meant physics departments numbering two persons each. Qualified younger scientists—the assistants or persons bearing the purely honorific title of "docent"—had to wait (quite literally!) for one of the professors to die before they could even hope to get ahead in the academic world.

"When I returned to Poland about

three years ago, things had already improved considerably. Here in Warsaw alone there were already two professors of theoretical physics alone, and I became the third, although we were still housed in the already crowded and war-scarred building you can see across the garden."

"And now?"

"Now, after this short space of time, we have this entire new wing of 15 rooms, where 14 people work regularly. Six of them are professors, and the other eight are also doing independent scientific research. The development of personnel is going on fast. Soon we shall be able to keep pace, more or less, with the greatly expanding needs of higher education in our field."

"And what of the other needs of the country outside of education; what kind of role do you play there?"

"Ah, that too is a most interesting question! Theory and practice interplay obviously in physics, and each stimulates the other. The practical work feeds into our expanding industry. The theoretical study deepens our knowledge of the laws of nature. These are applied concretely to the control of nature, for instance in the industrialization of our country; and the demands of the practical workers in turn stimulate our theoretical investigations. We need the best that can be had in both areas."

"Can you indicate why such a rapid development has occurred in so short a time?"

"To do so would mean too long a dissertation, I'm afraid, for your purposes! You see, everything is related to everything else in our lives in a very meaningful way. A vigorous innovator, an original thinker or a creative administrator can help

enormously, but the realization of such progress depends also on the patient, self-sacrificing collaboration of many committees, many technicians and many planners on various levels."

Your interviewer turned next to the human side of science: the students whom a professor trains, the lay audiences whom he is able to reach. "What would you like to say about this aspect of your life in Poland?"

"I am constantly impressed and indeed sometimes overwhelmed by the evidence of a universal thirst for knowledge on the part of the people. Let me illustrate by a comparison.

"When I was in London recently I asked some colleagues there how many persons could be expected to attend an advertised public lecture, not for specialists, on some topic in modern physics. The estimates ranged from 25 to 100 people. How different from my own experience here! Recently I gave such a lecture in Gdansk, which had been advertised by the usual means (chiefly placards in the streets). Two weeks before the actual date of the lecture, all of the 1,200 tickets had been sold out. So great was the demand that additional tickets were sold for seats in another hall, to which the lecture was transmitted by loud-speaker. The place was already crowded two hours ahead of time. And don't think that this was an exceptional occasion, due merely to—to—"

"To your beautiful eyes, as the saying goes?"

"No, not to my eyes," replied my subject appreciatively, "nor the particular subject I was to treat, either. My lecture was one of a series, and the other speakers all had very similar experiences.

"This is the kind of general atmosphere in which we do our teaching and research: among a people who are curious and eager, and who are at last finding the opportunity to satisfy their curiosity about the world and the universe surrounding them. Have you noticed, for instance, how people *read* here, on all possible occasions?"

I had indeed. People read everywhere they can, in trains and cars, at health resorts and in parks; and what they read is informing or entertaining on a high level. The low price of good books helps to encourage them, just as the public lectures stimulate them.

"About the students," I continued:

A laboratory class of graduate students at Poland's Institute of Experimental Physics at Warsaw University



"what can you say about their social background and the way they live?"

"The largest number of them, by far, come from families of workers and peasants. A considerable number have parents whom we here call working intellectuals. Very few now come from families engaged in private enterprise."

"How are they financed?"

"About 70 per cent receive fellowships. This means that they are able to live on a modest but quite adequate scale as students. A number have outside work, and some are helped by their families. There are no fees for tuition, by the way. Money from fellowships is intended to meet living expenses exclusively."

"Have you found it easy to develop initiative among your students?"

"No need to develop it; it's already there! Of course, only those who have real gifts and real interest attain the level of research students. And those who qualify know that they will be used. Human material is not allowed to go to waste."

"Then I take it that you expect to widen your work still further. Are there other institutes in existence or being planned?"

"At present, all the advanced work in theoretical physics is being done here in Warsaw. That includes what we call the second level of undergraduate study—actually corresponding to senior and master's years in America—as well as graduate research. But by next year we shall have enough qualified persons with degrees to carry on instruction on the second level elsewhere, and it's quite likely that as more facilities are available in other places, this will be done. At present all of the universities in Poland give physics on the first level. An indication of

the increased activity and output of our department is the fact that three new people were made assistant professors among us this year. Compare that with the single professors per department before the war, and you can see the difference."

"There is another side of academic life that is important and interesting, and that is the problem of getting one's scholarly materials and results published. American university teachers who are ambitious and productive don't always find it easy to place their articles, and books are often a very real problem. Would you like to tell something about that side of research in physics?"

"Yes, that is an activity in which the universities are now supplemented by the Academy of Sciences. Through it, monographs are to be published as special topics, not only in Polish, but also a number in western European languages and in Russian. The Academy sponsors various scientific journals and it of course prints the reports of its own discussions and proceedings: the reading of scholarly papers and so on. Thus there are a number of outlets for the printing of new contributions by younger scholars as well as those by the old ones already established. And by the way, authors are paid, and well paid, for these contributions. They don't just publish for honor and glory and the hope of promotion, as in many western countries."

"The Academy of Sciences is still a rather young institution, I understand. As a leading member, would you like to say something about the way in which it functions?"

"Yes, it should be pointed out first of all that the Academy is a working institution, not a mere means of doing honor to senior

scholars. All members of it work on committees and special groups for planning and discussing the most advanced scientific work in the country. Among the activities being planned for this year is the celebration of the 410th anniversary of the death of Copernicus—a chief glory in the annals of Polish science. He died in 1543. Yes, I can see that you are wondering why we shall celebrate this anniversary rather than the 400th, which would be more logical, but—you've guessed it!—the Nazi hordes which occupied this country in 1943 were not, as you can well imagine, in any way inclined to commemorate a great Polish thinker like Copernicus."

A moment of silence followed upon this somber reminiscence. But Professor Infeld, whose temperament inclines him always to the positive and the constructive view of things, was quick to shift to a more hopeful subject:

"Speaking of our Academy and its work and its present building," he remarked, "you can imagine with what pleasure and gratitude we are watching the construction of that magnificent new Palace of Science and Culture being erected in Warsaw as a gift of the Soviet Union. There at least we'll have plenty of space for all our activity—lectures, conferences, demonstrations, editing, publishing—without any crowding. Every time I pass it I think to myself that here is the most splendid

and most welcome gift, surely, that any country could possibly give to another as a token of friendship and goodwill."

Time was running short, I could see, for the scholar-director, and so I asked only one more question. "What factor, would you say, makes you most fully aware of the changed circumstances in which you now work as a professor in People's Poland?"

"It is the awareness," replied Professor Infeld without hesitation, "that I am training students who are needed and wanted by the society in which they live. I had talented students in Canada, too, but there I constantly worried about them, for fear I could not find appropriate jobs for them after they had obtained their doctor's degree.

"Here, on the other hand, my problem is to keep enough of them with me to carry on research, since so many places are eager to get them. I need not tell you that there is no greater happiness for any teacher than to see a former student go ahead to success and fame; conversely, no greater source of distress than to see trained ability frustrated by insecurity or disuse."

Remembering as I did at that moment the unhappy prevalence of these evils in American universities of the 1930's—and again, to some degree, now—I could only give to Professor Infeld's words the tribute of a fervent if silent assent.

MAKING MINING SAFE IN CHINA

THE CHINESE Ministry of the Fuel Industry has opened a research institute devoted to mining safety in Fushun, Manchuria. It will train safety specialists for the fast growing mining industry.

World Peace in the Balance

by JESSICA SMITH

THE ATTEMPTS of Syngman Rhee and his backers to prevent truce in Korea and the serious events in the German Democratic Republic, both set in motion by the forces of reaction and war, raise new and grave threats to the peace of the world, which hangs so precariously in the balance.

But we firmly believe that the scales can be tipped for peace if the peace forces of the world, and especially among the American people, do not slacken, but intensify their efforts a hundred-fold.

Despite these set-backs there are powerful and growing allies in the work of peace. These allies are the disunity in the war camp itself; the unwillingness of the mass of the people in Europe and Asia to be the victims of a new world war; the unanimity in the world peace movement for big power negotiations, expressed both in the session of the World Peace Council held in Budapest, and the great World Congress of women held in Copenhagen in June; and the determined leadership of the Soviet Union in the struggle to replace the war drive with negotiations among the big powers.

The Administration has been in-

sisting on deeds from the Soviet Union before such negotiations can take place. The Soviet Union has provided those deeds. The Administration has mentioned peace in Korea as one of the touchstones of Soviet sincerity. The backing given by the Soviet Union to the efforts of the North Korean and Chinese negotiators at Panmunjom has provided that touchstone. It is from the United States that deeds are now required to prove whether it is able to prevent Syngman Rhee and his McCarthyite backers from blocking the truce.

The tragic events in the German Democratic Republic must not be permitted to obscure the realities of the Soviet peace policy. It can hardly be an accident that the events in East Germany took place at the same time the Rhee actions created such an embarrassing situation for the United States in the Far East.

Every move of the Soviet Union in relation to Eastern Germany, every move of the German Democratic Republic, has been designed to carry out the Potsdam agreement for the peaceful unification of Germany.

Robert S. Allen wrote in the *N. Y. Post* (June 18), that Ambassador Bohlen had reported to the United

States Government that the Soviet Union was about to make a new spectacular move for German unity. Was it to forestall such a move, which could mean the end of the plans for rearming Western Germany and integrating its troops with the NATO forces, that the riots were set in motion in Eastern Berlin, with the aim of discrediting the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic?

There was a clear desire on the part of the Soviet military authorities and the German Democratic Republic not to use force. There was no interference with the first demonstration. Increased work norms were withdrawn when the workers opposed them. While obviously there are dissident elements in Eastern Germany, there was strong evidence to back up the charges that the rioting which followed the earlier peaceful demonstration was instigated from the Western zone. The openly acknowledged official basis of U.S. policy in Europe is the stirring up of subversion and revolt in all governments friendly to the USSR.

Walter Sullivan, *New York Times* Berlin correspondent, reported to his paper June 23:

Many Western observers here believe that the United States propaganda station in Berlin, RIAS, played a vital role in the events of last week. Some even go so far as to say the uprisings would never have taken place but for this station's broadcasts, which both built up the spirit that precipitated the strikes and likewise, from 5 a.m. Wednesday, broadcast to all parts of East Germany details of plans for a general strike.

Both the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet military authorities have expressed regret that

force was necessary, have acknowledged mistakes in carrying out their policies and have taken measures to correct them. The Soviet authorities have declared that Eastern Berlin can be reopened if the Western governments can guarantee that the sending in of provocateurs will cease.

The announcement of new concessions to ease tensions among the people by the German Democratic Republic and the efforts of Soviet military authorities to avoid incidents give rise to the hope that order will soon be restored, and efforts for the peaceful unification of Germany resumed.

It was the series of determined Soviet peace moves following the death of Joseph Stalin which led to President Eisenhower's major policy address of April 16 to the American society of newspaper editors in Washington.

The Eisenhower Speech

THERE WERE POSITIVE statements in President Eisenhower's address of April 16, which every American longing for peace must welcome. But along with such statements were bows in the direction of war-spreading McCarthyism which seemed to negate the other sections.

Every American will agree with President Eisenhower's opening words that the "issue that comes first in the hearts and minds of all of us" is the issue of peace—"The chance for a just peace for all peoples."

The President made a powerful case against war fears and mounting armaments in telling us that the cost of one modern heavy bomber if turned to peacetime needs would mean a modern brick school in each of thirty cities, two electric power

plants each serving a town of 60,000, two fine fully equipped hospitals and some fifty miles of concrete pavement; the cost of one fighter plane is half a million bushels of wheat; the cost of one destroyer is paid for at the cost of new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.

But did the President hold out any hope to the people that the burden of war and armaments would be replaced by these things they so greatly need?

Instead, asking for "deeds" from the Soviet Union to prove the sincerity of its peaceful purposes, he placed conditions on the possibilities of reaching American-Soviet understanding, some of which, if held to, could only preclude any such understanding being reached.

The President asked as one of the tests of the sincerity of Soviet leadership:

Is it prepared to allow other nations, including those of Eastern Europe, the free choice of their own form of government?

This is a restatement of the Administration's "liberation" policy as embodied in the Mutual Security Act provisions for undermining the governments of the People's Democracies and the USSR. It is, in effect, a demand that the Soviet Union likewise intervene in the People's Democracies and use its influence for the destruction of the socialist regimes the people themselves have chosen and the return of the reactionary governments they have discarded. The President also suggested that peace in Korea be made dependent on suppressing the people's liberation movements in Indochina and Malaya.

Have not the American people and the people of the world the right to

ask of the United States Government, engaged in carrying out these Mutual Security Act provisions, and in encouraging the ousted dictator Chiang Kai-shek in his futile designs against the People's Government of China whether, in the interests of peace, it is prepared to "allow other nations . . . the free choice of their own form of government?"

Speaking to the same group of newspaper editors two days later, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles outlined a program that offered nothing beyond the continuing piling up of armaments and war alarms. More bluntly than Eisenhower, he spelled out the continuance of the liberation policy, stressing the importance of "making clear to the 'captive peoples' that we do not accept their captivity as a permanent fact of history." Nowhere in his whole speech was there a suggestion that negotiations to ease world tensions might replace a policy of force.

The Pravda Reply

On April 25, the Moscow *Pravda* and *Izvestia* printed the entire text of the Eisenhower speech and devoted their front pages to lengthy editorial comment. The *Pravda* editorial stated clearly that the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate directly, or through the United Nations, without any pre-conditions. Pointing to President Eisenhower's positive statements, *Pravda* declared:

President Eisenhower's words: "We seek throughout Asia as throughout the world, a peace that is true and total" were greeted with sympathy, as was his statement: "None of these issues, great or small, is insoluble—given only the will to respect the rights of all nations."

But why, asked *Pravda*, was it

necessary to attach so many threats and conditions to the possibility of peace? Agreeing with the President that deeds are more valuable than words, the editorial pointed to the concrete support of the Soviet Union for the new steps towards concluding a truce in Korea.

Pravda declared that President Eisenhower's speech, which ignored the Potsdam agreement on Germany, and endorsed the transforming of Western Germany into a militaristic state, offered no solution of the German question which took into account the interests of Germany's neighbors or of the German people themselves. It proposed as a positive policy the early conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, giving the German people the possibility of a united state, and the withdrawal of all occupation forces.

Pravda noted that in his review of world affairs the President had completely ignored the People's Republic of China and the restoration of its rights in the United Nations.

Referring to the President's references to Eastern Europe, the editorial said, "It would be strange to expect the Soviet Union to interfere in favor of installing the reactionary regimes overthrown by these peoples." Further:

At the same time the President simply sins against the commonly known historic laws when he "calls upon" the leadership of the Soviet Union "to use its decisive influence in the Communist world" so as to retard the liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in Asia against their centuries-old oppression and enslavement.

Regarding the Austrian Treaty, also one of the President's conditions, *Pravda* stated there was no reason

why this could not be solved on the basis of agreement reached previously and "with genuine regard for the democratic rights of the Austrian people."

Pravda expressed itself in agreement with the President's proposal that arms reduction should be connected with economic moves to fight poverty and need. This, however, would have to be on a different basis than Marshall Plan Aid or President Truman's Point Four:

Results will be different if the approach to such a problem is founded on really broad and democratic collaboration between countries, with full respect for the sovereign rights of the peoples and without imposing political conditions on the countries receiving help.

The editorial noted that many countries today were less interested in aid from the United States than in a lifting of the barriers to normal international trade.

Turning to the speech made by Dulles, the editorial commented:

Dulles' martial inclinations have been known for a long time. It may be that his utterance is a somewhat free interpretation of the President's speech, but one cannot disregard the fact that he heads the State Department of the United States and that his words willy-nilly link up with the official point of view of the government headed by Eisenhower.

In contrast to the conditions attached by the President to his appeal for peace, *Pravda* stated the unconditional nature of the Soviet Government's position in emphatic terms:

... Soviet leaders do not connect their appeal for a peaceful settlement of international problems with any pre-

liminary demands to the USA or any other countries which have or have not joined the Anglo-American bloc. Does this mean that the Soviet Union has no claims? Of course not. In spite of this, Soviet leaders will welcome any step of the U.S. government or any other country, if it is directed toward a friendly settlement of contentious questions. This testifies to the readiness of the Soviet side for a serious, businesslike discussion of problems both by direct negotiations and, when necessary, within the framework of the UN. . . .

The policy pursued by the Soviet Union cannot run counter to the interests of other peace-loving states. It corresponds with the aspirations of all countries which are ready to contribute to the development of international collaboration regardless of this or that social system. This policy of the USSR is at the same time an expression of the innermost striving of our people for the strengthening of universal peace.

Churchill Urges Top Conference

In a full dress House of Commons debate on foreign affairs on May 11, Prime Minister Winston Churchill called for a conference on the highest level among the leading powers without delay. Indicating that he had been deeply impressed by recent peace moves of the Soviet Union, he declared that the policy of the British Government is:

... to avoid by every means in our power doing anything or saying anything which could check any favorable reaction which might be taking place and to look for every sign of improvement in our relations with Russia.

Describing the conditions under which a top level conference should take place, he said there should be no rigid agenda, the smallest num-

ber of powers possible, and informality and privacy. He continued:

It might be that there would be no hard agreements, but they might do something better than tear the human race and themselves to bits. I do not see why anyone should be frightened at having a try for it. . . . At the worst, the participants in the meeting would establish more intimate talks. At the best, we might have a generation of peace.

Sir Winston said he thought it would be a mistake to assume that nothing can be settled with Russia unless everything is settled, and that settlement of two or three of our difficulties would be an important gain for every peace-loving country.

Declaring that he did not believe that "the immense problems of uniting the security of Russia and the freedom and safety of Western Europe is insoluble, Churchill said that "Russia has the right to feel sure that the terrible events of the Hitler invasion would never be repeated."

Of the situation in Indo-China, Churchill warned against being too hasty in concluding that the Viet-Minh advance was Soviet-inspired.

Cheers from both Laborites and Conservatives punctuated the speech.

On the following day Clement Attlee, leading the Labor opposition, heartily endorsed the proposal for a top-level conference.

In the course of his speech, he made several critical comments on United States policies. He called for a lifting of trade restrictions, for the entry of People's China into the U.N. He expressed the view that there were interests in the United States that did not want a cease-fire in Korea but on the contrary sought an extension of the war to all of China. Commenting on limitations on the power of the executive under the

American Constitution, he declared that today it was sometimes hard to tell whether President Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy wielded greater power in this country.

While favorable reactions to Churchill's proposals swept across the world, a number of U.S. Senators furiously denounced Britain over the Korean peace issue.

Senator William F. Knowland (R-Cal.) accused Britain of "urging a Far Eastern Munich" and of deserting the United States in the Korean peace talks. If they want us to go it alone, he said, "So be it." Senator Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.) urged President Eisenhower to make a public statement repudiating the Churchill and Attlee views. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) said that the U.S. negotiators had already "yielded too much" at Panmunjom.

Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.) issued a long vituperative blast directed chiefly against Attlee. He charged Great Britain with trying to blackmail us "with the threat that she will withdraw from the war."

"Withdraw and be damned!" howled McCarthy, and added, "Let's sink every accursed [British] ship that trades with China."

He declared that the "team of Attlee and Acheson" had worked for the "expansion of communism" and were trying to "compromise with treason."

McCarthy was echoed by Senator William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) and Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.). He was chided gently by Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky) and a few others in the House and Senate called for moderation.

In his May 19 broadcast, warning that "we live in an age of peril" because of Russia's tactics, President

Eisenhower asked the American people to continue to bear their staggering tax burdens for armaments because there is "no reason to believe that Soviet policy has changed its frequently announced hope and purpose—the destruction of freedom everywhere."

Yet that very same day, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson told a Senate appropriations sub-committee that the Soviet program for the building of fighter planes and not bombers shows that the USSR is concentrating on defense.

And the day before, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, General Matthew B. Ridgway, new army chief of Staff, while warning that any cut in the Eisenhower request for some \$6 billion in military and economic aid to our allies would weaken our defense, admitted "we do not see any indication of imminent hostilities in Western Europe." Ridgway had to agree when reminded by Rep. James A. Fulton (R-Pa.) that the figures given the committee on the magnitude of Soviet strength in ground forces *were the same as those in 1947*, and also to Rep. Fulton's question as to whether it was not a fact that Russia had never used her imposing military strength to make an aggressive war.

General Ridgway replied that while Russia's land strength had remained static since 1947, "This great military force even while inert is a continuing blackmail threat to Europe and the free world."

Meanwhile, reports were coming in from abroad that practically all America's NATO allies were indicating widespread agreement with the Churchill proposal.

On May 12, Pope Pius XII, in an unprecedented audience to the whole

foreign press corps in Rome, endorsed Churchill's proposal. Expressing the hope that discussions would be held, the Pope said:

Although this would not yet mean that peace is assured, it is at least the first and indispensable condition of peace, and if that is lacking one would not know how to take any step toward its attainment.

Italian Premier de Gasperi declared that Italy favored a top-level parley. In France, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Council of the Republic urged a conference. The foreign ministers of Norway, Sweden and Denmark issued a joint statement urging that big power talks be held.

In this country there were favorable reactions from Democratic Senators J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Mike Mansfield of Montana, Lester Hunt of Wyoming, Russell B. Long of Louisiana, and from Senator Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.), and a number of Congressmen. Adlai Stevenson endorsed the idea at a news conference at New Delhi, India.

Millions and millions of Americans want this parley to take place. An unpublicized Gallup Poll, following the Churchill proposal, gave 78 per cent of the people queried as favoring top level negotiations with the USSR.

The Bermuda Parley

President Eisenhower's answer was to invite Great Britain and France to a parley in Bermuda, excluding the Soviet Union, the latter part of June, "to develop common viewpoints with these friends on the many problems that must be solved cooperatively so that the cause of world peace may be advanced."

Britain and France both accepted with alacrity, both interpreting it as a meeting that would lead to one with the Soviet Union. (Premier Mayer's Government fell shortly thereafter, but on a different issue.)

Secretary Dulles threw cold water on the idea that there was any such intention by announcing at a press conference in New Delhi that he doubted whether any results could come of a high level conference including Soviet Russia "so long as the Soviet bloc is promoting war and aggression."

Raymond Daniell (*New York Times*, May 22) wrote that if the Bermuda meeting "does not lead to such a meeting it will create disappointment here and it could lead to something more serious for it is widely believed in Britain that the United States, for economic or other reasons, does not want a truce in Korea or a diminishing of world tensions."

The *Wall Street Journal's* Washington correspondent, Ray Cromley, wrote in that paper on May 22 that the United States' aim at the Bermuda meeting is simply to heal some of the difference with the British and French, notably on China policy. He said:

One thing the U.S. doesn't want now is a Big Four meeting with Malenkov; certainly it wouldn't even consider participating in such a conference unless the June huddle with Britain and France produces inter-Allied agreement on a firm and united policy.

Cromley said the Bermuda conference "might well founder on the rock of Red China," since Churchill thinks People's China should be admitted to the United Nations. He concluded:

Mr. Eisenhower will also want to use the talks to explain to Mr. Churchill why he thinks a talk with Malenkov would be wrong. He'll explain that it would raise false hopes, slow down defense preparations. The President will explain that delay, while Russia continued to build, could be disastrous. He will urge Sir Winston to wait until the Russians show they really mean business in Korea, Indo-China and Austria. Then, Ike will say, will be the time for a four-power conference.

In the light of all this, it is hardly surprising that in a new important foreign policy statement on May 24, *Pravda* should have taken the position that subsequent words and deeds of the U.S. administration have not contained "even a trace" of the President's peace gesture of April 16. This editorial, written, according to Harrison Salisbury, *New York Times* Moscow correspondent (May 25) "in firm, polite language, with an absence of invective" welcomed the positive aspects of Winston Churchill's foreign policy statement, but criticized his proposals for a new Locarno with relation to Germany, recalling that it was the Locarno Pact that had "opened the way to aggressive German militarism," resulting in World War II. It strongly stressed the need of a united, peaceful Germany. It declared that Churchill was now renouncing the spirit of his proposal for a high level conference in supporting the Bermuda meeting, which, it said, is designed to work out preliminary, fixed demands to be presented to the Soviet Union by the Western powers, and suggested that a meeting on this basis would heighten rather than ease current international tension.

The editorial ended on this positive note:

It is quite obvious that, however much the social systems of the various states differ, there are not a few vitally important instances in which the interests of the people of these states converge. Such a vitally important instance is, first of all, peace and the development of economic and cultural cooperation between the nations. The Soviet Union is ready in all seriousness and in all conscience to examine any proposals directed at securing peace and the widest economic and cultural connections between states.

The seriousness of the efforts of the Soviet Union to establish such connections was exemplified in the extensive Soviet efforts for increased trade made both at the recent meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce in Vienna and the meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva.

Sylvia Porter reported in the *New York Post*, May 25, on the tremendous impression made on the thousand top industrialists from the West who attended the Vienna Conference by the proposals of the trade experts from the Soviet Union and allied countries, who were invited casually and belatedly to attend. She wrote:

Our friends in the West . . . desperately want markets for their goods, and they recall with longing the pre-war days when there was a natural flow of goods from West to East and East to West. All over Europe, there is strong resentment against our rigid and broad curbs. The pull to revive trade if Russia is really serious is immense.

Gunnar Myrdal, Executive Secretary of the UNECE, described the Geneva meeting as the most successful and encouraging in the last six years, and said it had made a "good start toward progressive normalization of trade relations between countries of Eastern and Western Eu-

rope." Describing the sessions and the numerous bi-lateral trade talks that had followed them in the *New York Herald Tribune* for May 25, Don Cook wrote:

The Soviet Union and all the Eastern bloc countries spent two weeks here in mid-April talking in general terms with fifteen Western European countries. The conference proceeded in an unexpectedly business-like way, with no polemics over problems of the strategic blockade of the West and a surprising note of cheerful independence on the part of the satellite representatives in what they had to offer in the way of goods for export.

Here are deeds of the most important kind.

The insistence that the Soviet Union must show its good faith by a settlement of the question of the treaty with Austria must raise the question as to whether making this one of the conditions for top level negotiations was itself an act of good faith. The deputy foreign ministers have held 260 meetings on this question in recent years. After reaching agreement with the USSR on most of the clauses in the proposed treaty, the United States, Britain and France agreed separately among themselves last year on an "abbreviated treaty." The Soviet Union did not find this abbreviated treaty acceptable since it omitted important agreed upon articles guaranteeing the fundamental rights and liberties of the Austrian people, and providing for complete denazification. Since the Western powers had expressed unwillingness to return to the earlier draft, it was not surprising that the Soviet Union should have considered continuing the talks on the former basis useless.

In the reply of Mr. Jacob Malik, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, to the proposal for resuming the meetings

on Austria, he proposed that since previous meetings had yielded no results, it would be more expedient if such a meeting could be convened by the Foreign Ministers themselves, as provided for at Potsdam, since the Deputy Ministers do not constitute a permanent Four-Power organ. He proposed that the question be studied "through diplomatic channels by means of a relevant change of opinion."

This was followed by the abolition of the Soviet Control Commission in Austria, and the exchange of Ambassadors. Soviet authorities lifted travel restrictions between the various zones and turned over to the Austrian government a large hydro-electric plant held as a German external asset under the reparations agreement.

Other recent Soviet moves in Europe were a note to Turkey abandoning former claims to the Kars and Ardahan regions bordering on the USSR, and proposing a new consideration of the Montreux agreement governing passage through the Dardanelles. Turkey accepted eagerly a proposal to make water available to the cotton areas of its dry eastern regions from Soviet irrigation works on the border.

Full diplomatic relations are to be resumed between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

With regard to relations with the United States, visas have been granted to some of the Russian wives and children of Americans in the Soviet Union, as a result of Ambassador Bohlen's request.

This continuing series of deeds designed to relieve international tensions demonstrate the sincerity of Soviet efforts for peace, and point up the necessity of an early top level meeting.

Fromhovels to Homes

by

JULIAN SCHUMAN

SHANGHAI, China's largest city, has more than 1,000,000 workers. Before liberation the workers' shabby and run-down hovels ranked with the worst anywhere in the world. Under the Kuomintang workers had a saying: "If it rains for a day put on rubbers for 10 days." Shanghai's damp climate and muddy and unpaved lanes played havoc with their homes. No sunlight, electricity, no running water and a clogged sewage system, if any at all, were common in workers' districts.

At the beginning of last summer the first stage in a large-scale housing project, designed to accommodate 100,000 people, was opened on the outskirts of Shanghai—the Tsao-yang Housing Development. More than 5,000 people moved into new well-built two-storied brick houses. Each house has rooms for six fam-

ilies, three downstairs and three upstairs, with kitchens, lavatories and modern conveniences. In the project there is a kindergarten, primary school, cooperative store, bath-house, clinic, postoffice.

The significance of a housing project here is best understood by going to the people who have moved into Tsao-yang and hearing what it means to be able to have a decent place to live in and how they lived in the old days.

There is Wen Tsung-yao, a woman textile worker who for 30 years lived in a windowless straw hut which was never dry and into which the sun never entered. Cooking was done outside and when it rained, cooking inside filled the place with smoke. Of her seven children, three died; the others were constantly sick and unhealthy. For her present flat of two airy rooms with a bathroom and kitchen to share with two other families, Wen Tsung-yao pays rent which is 50 per cent lower than what she paid in her former hovel. The rent in Tsao-yang, she said, amounts to about 5 per cent of a worker's monthly income.

Chiu Yun-liang works in a weaving factory. For many years he lived with his family on a small wooden boat in

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crowded Soochow Creek in downtown Shanghai. When he tells about this and about his new quarters his face changes from frowns to smiles, depending on which aspect of his life he is talking about. The boat he lived on was 20 feet long and it was not easy growing up under conditions which saw a family of six trying to eke out a living whenever its members could find a job. The family has been workers for three generations, Chiu says with pride, and today is the first time any of them have had decent housing.

Then there is the mother of Chu Hai-mei, a model worker in a textile mill, who gave me a practical demonstration of before and after. While I was talking with her daughter the old lady went into the next room and came back with a small nine- to ten-inch high bench and she talked excitedly through toothless gums of how this was the sort of furniture the family had to use in order to sit down in the five-foot high old attic they lived in before moving into Tsaoyang. Eight people lived there before daughter Hai-mei got the chance to move here—and once again the old lady demonstrated how it was impossible to stand erect in their old place as she bent over and walked about the 120 square foot room we were sitting and talking in.

Today, the daughter and mother, along with a sister and one brother's two small children, share a modern flat with large rooms. The new furniture and radio all were bought after liberation and the little bench the mother brought out is kept as a reminder of the old days when such things and the floor was all the furniture the family could afford.

LIBERATION in China has not meant "pie in the sky" overnight and the heritage handed down by the Kuomintang is one filled with wreckage and filth which cannot be wiped out in one fell swoop. City slums are such a phenomenon. Yet the story of one small part of Nanking, the city where Chiang Kai-shek's officialdom were housed in magnificent dwellings, is one of how people, forced to exist in the most squalid surroundings in old China, have gotten together to make their community fit to live in.

Wu Lao Village is in the district. In the newly set-up reading room for the nearly 700 people who live here, Wang Wei-hua, who is in charge of the hygiene work, points with pride at the vivid posters on the walls depicting conditions before. In his own bitter words the area was dirty and "the ditch which ran through it was a great stinking pool." Knowledge of hygiene was something the old gov-

A section of the Tsaoyang Housing Development on the outskirts of Shanghai. When completed the modern apartments will house 100,000 workers





Shanghai textile worker strolls with his family on the grounds of the Tsao-yang Housing Development outside Shanghai, where they have just moved

ernment was not interested in spreading among the people.

Part of the cause for the former plight of those living here, chiefly food vendors, itinerant workers and pedicab drivers, was that Wu Lao Village lies in a low area and in rainy weather it became a muddy morass and water would get so high at times in and around the houses that very young children would be put in tubs to keep them dry and safe from drowning.

Before liberation the residents asked the municipal government for repairs and help in cleaning up and filling in the place, but nothing was ever done. More than 60 per cent of the people were malaria victims. Flies were a constant plague, bringing disease and much discomfort.

I asked Wang how all this had been

cleaned up, for as we walked about Wu Lao Village there were many large patches of ground with green cabbages and other vegetables. He stopped and pointed to a large cabbage patch and said that not long ago this had been a stagnant pool most of the time. It is owned by one of the residents here who before the ground was filled in and dredged was scarcely able to grow enough on it to make a living.

Turning back to my question, Wang said that the first thing that was done after liberation was the repair of the roads and installation of a sewage system and electricity. These steps by the new government were the first direct measures taken to improve the situation that any of the people living here had ever experienced.

It was in the spring of last year, however, when the nation-wide health drive got under way that the people in Wu Lao Village really went to work. By this time, classes and newspaper articles had brought home the fact that there was a way for them to clean up their surroundings. In a campaign launched to wipe out flies and mosquitoes, the "stinking ditch" was filled in. The result was that by summer infectious disease was cut to a minimum.

For the first time a nursery and kindergarten has been set up, caring for 130 children. In addition to games, singing and dancing, strict attention is paid to hygiene. Thus,

in some cases, where family members were still lax, the children have influenced their elders by telling them what they have learned about hygiene.

The improvements made in this small part of Nanking, though they affect few people, speak volumes. For here, as elsewhere in China, the people have made a new place for themselves and their children to live in. They have not created a "paradise" but here in a slum left over from the dark past they have shown that given a chance people no matter how badly they were oppressed by the old society can learn and make improvements in their lives.

CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL TARGETS FOR 1953

THE TOTAL value of industrial production this year—the first year of New China's Five-Year Plan—is scheduled to increase 23 per cent, with production in the state-owned sector going up by some 32 per cent above 1952.

The planned percentage increases over 1952 in some of the important products this year are as follows: pig iron, 13.3 per cent; steel ingots, 22.1; rolled steel, 34.8; copper, 28.6; lead, 34.6; zinc, 32; electric power, 18.3; crude oil, 29.1; machine tools, 4.6; power generators, 190.0; electric motors (in kilowatts), 41.8; nitric acid, 34.3; ammonium nitrate, 32; cement, 29.7; cotton yarn, 9.4; cotton cloth, 10.5; paper, 6.9.

Total investment in capital construction during 1953 will be 150 per cent above 1952. It is planned to complete the construction this year of a new steel rolling mill and a seamless steel tubing mill. Six large power stations will be equipped. At least ten large new machine building factories will be built or reconstructed. These will include automobile factories, shipyards, and plants producing heavy machinery, measuring instruments and cutting tools, industrial equipment and mining machinery, pneumatic tools, locomotives and textile machinery. Four new cotton mills and two flax processing mills will be built.

Labor productivity in state-owned industries is scheduled to increase 16 per cent, while production costs are to be reduced 6.4 per cent, and wages are to increase.

Last year, all main industrial production, with the exception of coal, exceeded the highest previous levels.

PLANNING VERSUS CRISIS

UN report points up successes of planned economy in socialist areas and threatened crises in the countries of Western Europe

by VICTOR PERLO

THE UNITED NATIONS report "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War" attests to the success of planned economy in the socialist countries, and the threatening economic crisis in the capitalist countries of western Europe.

To take a few basic facts:

Between 1938 and 1952 industrial production increased almost three times in the USSR, more than four times in Bulgaria, three times in Hungary and Poland, two and a half times in Rumania, and two times in Czechoslovakia—but only two-fifths in Western Europe.

Between 1951 and 1952 industrial production increased 11 per cent in the Soviet Union, from 17 to 24 per cent in each of the People's Democracies—and 1 per cent in Western Europe, with the number of declines exceeding the number of increases.

The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies all topped previously

planned levels of output in 1952. But in Western Europe, the more modest paper "plans" were forgotten:

"Thus, at the beginning of 1953, there was stagnation in production and shrinking trade in Western Europe, in sharp contrast to the one-and-a-half-year-old resolve of OEEC [Organization for European Economic Cooperation] countries to secure an increase of production of 25 per cent in five years."

Unemployment remained zero in the socialist countries, but increased during 1952 in *all* of the countries of Western Europe except Western Germany and Spain.

Reviewing the period since the end of World War II, the Report shows that reconstruction plans in the People's Democracies were successfully fulfilled or surpassed by 1949-50, and that all of these countries are now engaged in long-term development plans under a

VICTOR PERLO, a leading economist, is a frequent contributor to our magazine. His most recent book is "American Imperialism."

"... more uniform and determined policy of heavy investment expenditures in the interest of rapidly

achieving more balanced and powerful economies."

The USSR is now an industrial giant. The Report declares:

"With the growth of industry, the output of certain major industrial products in the Soviet Union has by now become comparable to that in seven Western European countries, which together contain about the same population."

By the end of their development plans (between 1953 and 1955), the People's Democracies will be producing 16 million tons of steel. Per capita production of steel, in this formerly backward agrarian area of Europe, will be two-thirds as much as in the highly industrialized west European area of the Schuman coal-steel cartel. Little Hungary will produce more steel than all Latin America; Rumania more than Africa; and Poland more than all capitalist Asia and Australia.

The Report attributes the success of long-range planning in the People's Democracies to the socialization of the key sectors of the economy, the adoption of flexible Soviet fiscal methods, and the development of statistics to provide the technical equipment for planning. It should be clear, however, that the first of these is really the decisive factor. The Western European governments have resorted to the most elaborate fiscal devices, and have collected reams of statistics. Because the economy remains under private ownership, directed towards profits, planning remains impossible, and all of the fiscal and statistical devices either fail, or if they succeed in the short run, create greater problems for the long run.

The latest economic reports of the

United Nations show the growing Washington domination of the U.N. Anti-Soviet propaganda no longer attempts the impossible task of hiding the growth of industrial might of socialist countries, but instead concentrates on charging that this growth is at the expense of people's living standards. Here is a typical slander in the Report:

"It was inherent in the decision to speed up industrialization to the neglect of agriculture that the consumer should for some years be merely the residuary legatee."

The Report even goes to the length of quoting the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, out of context, to give the false impression that he favored cutting living standards during the five-year plan.

These generalized charges are belied by the actual figures given in the report. The long-range plans in the People's Democracies in effect now call for increases in production of consumers goods of 111 per cent in Poland, 70 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 145 in Hungary, 173 in Bulgaria, and 224 in Albania. And these plans are being fulfilled. For example, Hungary in 1952 fulfilled the plan for light industry by 101.4 per cent, for food industry by 103.1 per cent. Country after country reported large increases over the previous year in consumer goods production and distribution.

In the USSR, in 1952, according to figures in the Report, production of meat was 205 per cent of 1937, butter 192 per cent, cotton fabrics 143 per cent, wool fabrics 194 per cent, and silk fabrics 401 per cent. In contrast the report shows declines in per capita consumption of clothing between 1938 and 1951 in each

of the three main Western European countries (United Kingdom, France, and Germany), and declines in per capita food consumption in two of the three (unchanged in France). Further declines in consumption took place in 1952.

Moreover, the report admits that by the end of the post-war reconstruction periods, that is—three to four years ago, pre-war living standards had been surpassed in all the People's Democracies save Rumania and East Germany. Subsequent advances obviously have raised average consumption to still higher levels. But *averages* of consumption are at best an indifferent indicator of working people's living standards. In Western Europe the small declines in official *averages* combine increases in luxury consumption by the wealthy with sharp declines in workers' living standards. In the socialist countries, according to the UN Report:

"The lower-income brackets, of course, benefited throughout the area to the extent that pre-war inequalities of consumption standards had been sharply reduced both by rationing and by the elimination of the income differentials enjoyed by the pre-war wealthier classes."

The main reference to the vast and expanding network of social services, provided without charge to the working people of the socialist countries, is relegated to a footnote. Here it is remarked that in 1951 social services added 26 per cent to the money earnings of the average Rumanian, and conceded that "Such communal investment provides tangible results for the mass of consumers."

But even this admission is tempered by the implication that this

is at the *expense* of agriculture and consumers goods instead of alongside of expansion in these fields also.

The Stakhanovite system is distorted to appear as a wage-cutting device, despite the admission that:

"energetic and intelligent workers in progressive enterprises have been able to improve their standard of life during the period of the development plans."

In the USSR where the Stakhanov system is most developed, average wages according to the Report increased 7 per cent in 1952. The sixth post-war price cut in the USSR, announced on April 1, 1953, provided twice as much savings to consumers as the 1952 price cuts.

These price cuts, and some which have been made in the People's Democracies, are possible precisely because of the increased productivity of labor achieved by the acquisition of improved equipment, and the application of advanced techniques by more and more workers.

The current Soviet Five-Year Plan calls for an 80 per cent rise in output of producers goods, 65 per cent in consumers goods. The UN authors are arrogant enough to give free advice to leaders of the socialist countries to change their plans, to increase consumers goods more rapidly. Such advice is likely to be ignored, since it indicates either ignorance or malice.

A faster rate of increase in producers goods is not at the expense of consumption standards, but necessary to achieve higher consumption standards.

A glance at the statistical records of every advanced capitalist country will show that output of heavy industry over the decades increased

far more rapidly than output of consumers goods industries.

This is necessary because of the economic laws governing expanding production. Karl Marx showed that producers goods industries must expand more rapidly than consumers goods industries, and Joseph Stalin in his final work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* showed that this principle must apply in the USSR also.

Only in this way can workers in industry and agriculture be supplied with more and better equipment, so that they can raise their individual production, and hence their individual consumption.

Zapotocky, in the speech cited in the U.N. Report, stated the aim:

"generally and permanently to raise and improve the living and cultural standards of our people."

He pointed out that failure to concentrate on heavy industry would lead, not to higher living standards, but to a crisis.

In the Western European countries there is priority in heavy industry also. But here it is directed to growing armaments output, and goes along with falling production of consumers goods and living standards, threatening to collapse in a general economic crisis. The Report states:

"... in 1952 the recessionary tendencies which had already made themselves felt in Western Europe thus appear to be a highly abnormal one: a period of relative stagnation coincides with a continuous increase in armaments expenditure and with a sustained boom in the United States."

The year 1952 was marked by a crisis in the textile industry through-

out the capitalist world, including the United States. In Western Europe: "the textile industry . . . was first and most acutely affected by the recession in consumer goods." Because of declining home and export demand, 1951 production levels, the Report admits,

"are unlikely to be reached for some years to come. In short . . . textiles must again be regarded as a declining industry."

The socialist countries of eastern Europe were immune to this slump, because their problem:

"is not one of over-capacity but of increasing production in order to provide for higher textile consumption capacity."

Agriculture is also stagnating in Western Europe, while the current Soviet Five-Year-Plan calls for an increase of 40 to 50 per cent in agricultural output. The Report complains that in the socialist countries insufficient funds are devoted to investment in agriculture, but concedes that in the USSR

"Great advances were made in mechanization, the use of fertilizers, seed selection, irrigation, agricultural organization and education."

that is, precisely in the fruits of agricultural investment. Soviet agriculture is now one of the most highly mechanized in the world. In the Soviet Union, and especially the People's Democracies, 1952 was marked by a great spurt in mechanization of agriculture, and in livestock herds. Before the war:

"In the rural districts of Hungary, Poland and Rumania, concentration

of the ownership of a third to a half of the land in a few hands had gone with neglect of the soil, and excessively unequal distribution of income and wealth and an attitude by the ruling class to the peasantry rarely seen in Western Europe since the French Revolution."

Now the peasantry have enjoyed enormous increases in living standards through gaining control over the land they till; and are turning increasingly to socialist collective agriculture as they see the practical advantages that brings them.

The complaints in one section of the Report about the relative neglect of agriculture are really answered in another section:

"the long-term solution to the problems of European agriculture is to be found outside agriculture in an expansion of industry. Only a large-scale transfer . . . to industry can pave the way to the radical transformation and rationalization of European agriculture, which is necessary to reduce labor costs in industry and raise the living standards of the European population. Such a transformation is badly needed . . . on the whole European continent."

It is being accomplished in the People's Democracies.

A very crude omission from the report is any mention of the decisive economic assistance given the People's Democracies by the Soviet Union.

Instead, there are passing references to German, Hungarian and Rumanian reparations payments to the USSR, and UNRRA assistance to some of the People's Democracies. The fact is that Soviet credits have supplied the equipment for the key projects of heavy industrialization in the People's Democracies, at a time when Western Europe, under

U.S. influence, has refused to supply most industrial goods.

The report does concede the development of integrated trading relationships among the socialist countries. The existence of a new world market is shown by the fact that all of these countries conduct 60 per cent or more of their trade with other socialist countries. The Report does not report the fact of a doubling or tripling of the total volume of foreign trade by individual socialist countries.

Socialist trade integration has been a great success. Capitalist attempts at trade integration, on the other hand, have been a failure, as described in considerable length in the Report. The volume of Western Europe and United States foreign trade is declining.

Tables in the Report compare the Marshall Plan countries' paper plans for imports of vital materials and exports with realizations. The bulk of the failure to meet import and export goals is accounted for by the decline below plan of trade with the socialist countries.

The latest meeting of the Economic Commission for Europe, held in Geneva, showed a growing tendency of Western European governments to attempt to correct this situation, despite the continued opposition of McCarthy, Dulles, etc. The United States is essentially in the same boat as Western Europe.

The *New York Times* financial writer Brendan M. Jones hit the nail on the head when he wrote:

"Bringing the huge Communist area with its resources and markets back into the area of normal international trade would set off a commercial boom. Lasting peace has been an economic need for a long time" (April 5, 1953).

A MESSAGE FROM CHARLOTTA BASS

We want to share with our readers, in part, a letter which came to us, unsolicited, from the great Negro woman leader, former editor of the California Eagle, who ran for Vice-President on the Progressive Party ticket in the last elections:

NEW WORLD REVIEW is a magazine that is needed desperately in this time of stress and confusion, when other magazines and the vast majority of newspapers of our day have fallen entirely by the wayside or are standing bewildered where two ways meet. . . .

They are afraid of the accusations of the McCarthys of the country, they are afraid of being called before the Un-American Activities Committee. They are afraid they will lose their prestige, their subscribers, their advertisers.

This is not true of NEW WORLD REVIEW. . . . Its subscribers are its friends, the members of its own family, as it were, who believe as it does, who fight for the same principles, who rally around it as a leader.

A magazine such as NEW WORLD REVIEW is needed especially today when the discussions for truce in Korea may spell a mere cessation of hostilities for a short time, a continued war on either the "cold" or the "hot" front, or a peace that will be enduring for all the world. They CAN bring permanent peace if we keep our eyes fixed on the bright star of peace, and refuse to be led astray. . . .

We need such leadership as NEW WORLD REVIEW and other like-minded magazines give us, a leadership speaking sanely and calmly, refusing to be swayed from the path of freedom and justice for all, willing to yield when necessary a point here and there to gain a point vital to the foundations of peace. God grant we will be willing to follow in the path it points out to us!

FROM CEDRIC BELFRAGE

I am allergic to curtains and seek to be informed—and out of 10,000 American publications NEW WORLD REVIEW is the only one consistently healing the disease of ignorance about half of mankind.

FROM PAUL ROBESON

NEW WORLD REVIEW is the only publication that tells the truth about life in the Socialist sector of the world and in the colonial lands. It's an indispensable weapon in the fight for peace.

FROM CORLISS LAMONT

NEW WORLD REVIEW is the only American magazine devoted to giving the dissenting view, the other side. Whether you agree or disagree, it is always informative and stimulating.

TO OUR READERS —

The Decision Is Yours

IT IS in your hands to decide whether NEW WORLD REVIEW is to continue.

The depth of your concern that this voice for peace should not be stilled is clear from the fact that you have responded in even greater numbers to our May appeal than to our February one. One-third of the \$10,000 which we must have to get through the summer period has been received. Over one-fourth of you have answered these two appeals. If the remaining three-fourths of our readers will respond, we will reach this immediate goal.

We on our part are making every possible retrenchment to lift the burden from those on whom we count for support. For technical reasons and for immediate economies, we have skipped the June issue — your subscription will be extended for an extra month so that you will receive the full number of issues.

We are determined to leave no stone unturned to continue our efforts for peace and international understanding. But the biggest stone is the \$6,500 that must be raised in July. For this, your determination must be joined with ours and expressed concretely in contributions from those who have not yet given, and further contributions from those who can give again.

Armistice in Korea would open the way to a settlement of many other issues that threaten world peace. Such a settlement can only come through a big power meeting, including the Soviet Union. The voice of the people will be the determining factor in bringing about such a top level meeting.

We know from your letters how vitally important you consider the facts we bring you, demonstrating that peaceful co-existence between the two world systems is possible and the only road to enduring peace. Such facts are necessary to strengthen your own peace efforts and create the greater unity among all those who long for peace that is required to transform that longing into effective action.

We are mindful of the sacrifices many of you have made to keep us going thus far. But the urgency of the situation compels us to ask for further help. We urge you, we count on you, to send your contribution, large or small, today.

JESSICA SMITH

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

In reply to your urgent appeal, I am enclosing \$.....
to keep NEW WORLD REVIEW going.

Name

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A People's Democracy

by

GEORGE and ELEANOR WHEELER

THIS SERIES of articles will sketch briefly what we have learned about Czechoslovakia in a five-year stay, starting with a clean slate full of ignorance and coming up now with a large fund of experience and a firm conviction that this future, like the future Lincoln Steffens saw in the Soviet Union, is working.

It has always seemed strange to us that "experts" so often discount the facts and figures issued by the People's Democracies and accept as true coin the gossip gleaned in cafes—preferably cafes in Vienna or West Berlin. We must admit at the start that we ourselves rely heavily on government documents to fill out our eyewitness account, as we have never found them to be falsified. May we add that we, too, have been in cafes on occasion, but even better, we have a son in a Czechoslovakian steel mill and have ourselves been in factories and on cooperative farms. We feel that we can honestly say that we have a clear picture of life in this People's Democracy and hope to re-

flect this picture in our articles.

When we arrived in November, 1947, having been released from American Military Government in Germany for having clung too long and persistently to the Potsdam Agreement directives, we spread ourselves in the Hotel Sokolsky Domov in the picturesque "Little Side" of Prague, under the Prague Castle. We were going to see something of Europe before returning to the States. Then George got a job teaching at a business college in English and Eleanor became Religious News Service correspondent, so the family looked for a flat and decided to stay a little longer. We all began to read up on the history and politics of this new and interesting People's Democracy.

One of the first things we learned was that the coalition government was pledged to carry out the so-called Kosice Program. This was a program for the reconstruction and governing of a liberated Czechoslovakia, which was signed over eight years ago at Kosice, Slovakia, on April 5, 1945.

Democracy was its keynote. The Kosice Program stated that "the people are the sole source of State power." To give effect to this, a sys-

MR. and MRS. WHEELER are both Americans who, since 1947, have been living and working in Czechoslovakia.

tem of national committees was envisaged, with representation accorded all political parties which "are showing genuine patriotic sentiment and democratic convictions."

War criminals and traitors were to be apprehended and all Sudeten Germans who could not show that they had been true to Czechoslovakia were to be resettled in Germany. As an act of justice and as a beginning toward nationalization, the property of traitors and collaborators was to be taken over by Government. Land reform was also begun with the confiscation of the property of German and Hungarian gentry and that of traitors and collaborators.

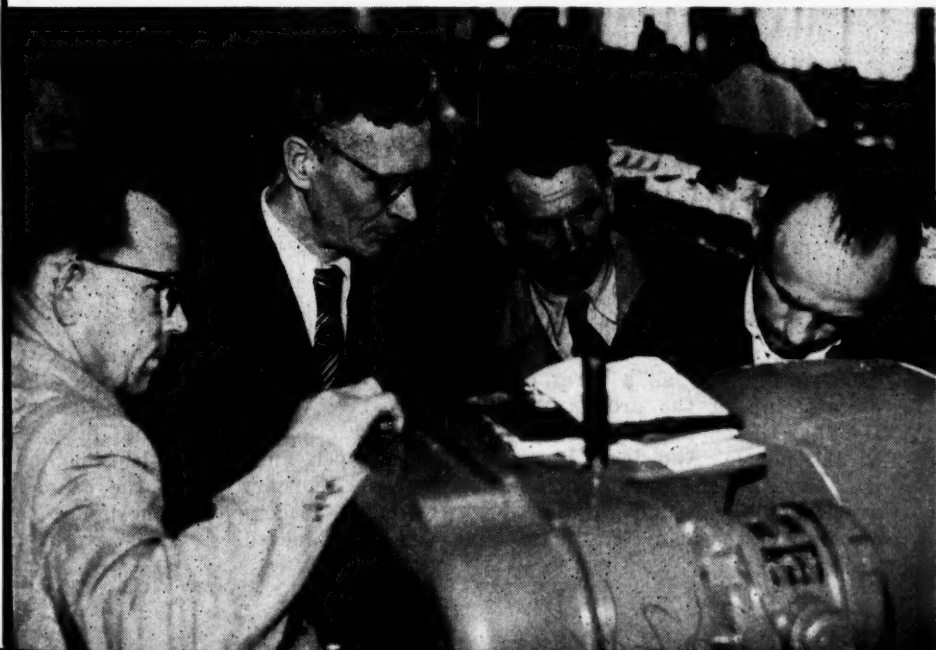
In addition the financial institutions, the key industrial enterprises, insurance companies, natural and power resources were to be put under the general supervision of the Government. With regard to social

welfare the program promised that "the Government will endeavor in every way to see that all able-bodied men and women have the opportunity to work and earn according to their performance. . . . Castles, summer mansions and palaces which were formerly places for lazy diversion for the gentry will be made to serve the health and holiday needs of our people. . . . Children of workers, farmers and other working people will be assured material aid for higher education according to their abilities and their way will be opened to a joyous life."

In regard to foreign policy, the Kosice Program made clear that it was to be built on a close, friendly alliance with the Soviet Union, the only country which had stood by Czechoslovakia at the time of Munich and the country chiefly responsible for its liberation from fascism. Close

Soviet-Czechoslovak mutual aid. Soviet workers explain their methods of economizing materials to workers in a Czechoslovak shoe factory in Zruc

—Eastfoto



relations were also envisaged with the other countries in the camp of socialism.

In conclusion the Program stated that "the new Government cannot hide from our people the fact that the path will yet be hard, thorny, full of sacrifice and arduous labor. But one thing the new Government can promise . . . it will according to its best knowledge and ability carry out the program it has undertaken . . . that it will never permit the exploiting interests of profiteering individuals and groups to prevail in the liberated Republic over the interests of the working people of town and country."

It is important to keep the main outlines of the Kosice Program in mind because every time there has been a crisis—as in February, 1948, or at the time of the Slansky trials—it has been because some of the very persons who signed the program and pledged to support it were in fact undermining it. As can be seen from reading the Kosice Program, it was aiming at a people's democratic form of government, i.e. a coalition of democratic elements led by the working class, pledged to destroy the basis of exploitation and to put the natural resources and heavy industry in the hands of the people, advancing toward socialism. All theoreticians (such as A. Sobolev, and M. Rakosi in his speech at the central Party school of the Hungarian Workers' Party on February 29, 1952) have stressed the fact that a people's democracy can come into being as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat only if it has the support of the majority of the people. And it is important that this majority should include the overwhelming majority of the workers, and of the army, and a distinct

majority of the working peasants.

It was clear that this was true in Czechoslovakia already in May, 1946, when the Communist Party which had led the resistance movement and had the confidence of the people and a positive program, received 38 per cent of the votes in the general elections, and together with the leftwing Socialists had a clear majority. Even more—popular support of the Kosice Program was so great that all parties included it in their platform, not daring to oppose it even in the cases when, for instance, many in the National Socialist leadership were not in agreement.

The great majority of the Czech and Slovak people either wanted major reforms of capitalism or wanted to advance as rapidly as possible to socialism. They were sick and tired of the deal that capitalism had given them, of unemployment, miserable poverty on the land and in the cities, of national betrayal and finally, war. Yet every time the Communist Party and left Social Democrats wanted to move forward to some implementation of promised reforms, the reactionaries, whether pretending to be "Socialists" or not, found some pretext for blocking the action. They were continually trying to link the Czechoslovak economy with that of the West and to destroy the resistance movement as the same forces were trying to do in Greece.

During 1947, little progress was made toward socialization of industry, although the need was clear since many industrialists were openly or covertly sabotaging the Two-Year Plan. The opposition of the reactionaries became increasingly open and in the last months before February, 1948, the cabinet was able to complete almost no progressive measures. The workers

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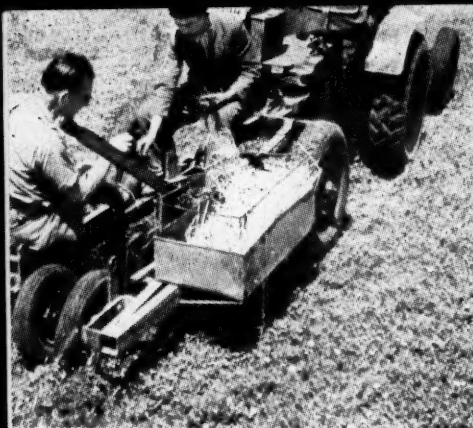
New moving picture house (foreground) in Gottwaldov. New large building behind it is a hotel, the roof garden of which is a trade union club

were particularly incensed by the delays in the social insurance program and the small peasants by the delay in land and tax reform.

The reactionaries felt that if they were to act they must do so before the Trade Union Congress and the Farm Committees Conference which were meeting in late February, as delegates to these gatherings were committed to push for carrying out of the Kosice Program. The pretext for the overt move by the reactionaries was the promotion by Minister of the Interior Nosek of eight progressive police (called here SNB or National Security Corps), to captains, passing over the heads of reactionary police officers. This was following the Kosice Program provisions in regard to democratizing the army and police, but it was some-

thing the reactionary parties could not tolerate. The reactionaries proceeded from their tactics of slow-down and slander campaigns to open provocation. They voted to censure Nosek at a meeting which he could not attend because of ill health. When Premier Gottwald refused to put the censure on the agenda in Nosek's absence the ministers of three right-wing parties resigned.

This was on Friday, February 20, which we remember clearly because we were having coffee with right-wing acquaintances in Slavia Cafe (here is that authentic cafe touch) and wondered why they were so disturbed. A resignation of ministers did not mean anything very much to us. But to them, knowing the behind-the-scenes talk in reactionary circles, this signaled the beginning of an



Planting trees for a shelter belt to ward off winds that parch the soil and freeze the early crops

attempt at a right-wing coup. And they knew it could only fail, as the majority of the people were supporting Premier Gottwald and the Communist Party. Fortunately this majority was so overwhelming that the suppression of the coup was bloodless—even cheerful, as we remember the huge crowds that gathered in the biting cold to hear Klement Gottwald speak in Old Town Square on Saturday, and then again on Wednesday, February 25, jammed Vaclavske Namesti from store window to store window and from one end of the long square to the other, and heard him announce that President Benes had yielded to the pressure of public opinion and had accepted the resignation of the ministers and agreed to appoint others who, although of non-Communist parties, would uphold the Kosice Program and repudiate this attempt at a coup.

Friends wrote anxiously to find out whether we were getting enough to eat during the “revolution” and whether we were in danger. In an old letter dated March, 1948, we wrote “The children each got their two-

thirds quart of milk a day and it was then that Toby found the first bit of lettuce on the market. . . . Fish, meat, butter, bread, potatoes, margarine, jam, frozen and dehydrated (as well as some fresh) fruit and vegetables were all in the house for our meals that week.” In answer to the question whether I was terrified, I wrote, “Who wouldn’t be after losing an eight-year old girl in a crowd of 300,000? We were all packed in Vaclavske Namesti so tightly that I couldn’t lift my finger to scratch my nose, let alone look for a child.”

(This was at the February 25 demonstration.) “Calling home, I found that she had ‘fallen into the hands of the police’ and they had taken time to escort a little foreign girl home in the midst of the demonstration.”

Josef Lettrich, former president of the Slovak National Council, so reactionary that he had fled the country before the February events, spilled the beans about the planned coup in an interview for the *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 20, 1948. He revealed that “It was planned to create a political crisis. The non-Communist ministers were to resign. President Benes would then dissolve the parliament and call for new elections.” Lettrich complained that when Benes was deluged with hundreds of deputations, telegrams, resolutions, “he broke his promise” and followed the will of the majority!

This mandate from the majority of the people was further affirmed in the May, 1948 elections. With real rejoicing the working people went ahead, relieved that the deadlock had been broken, elected Klement Gottwald, the leader of the Communist Party, President, and expected the new leadership to carry out the Kosice Program promptly. We

toured the voting centers with other foreign journalists. The governmental slate had been drawn up as the result of country-wide discussions and meetings. The voting was secret and those who wanted to protest were free to do so with a blank ballot. The overwhelming majority voted for the Government, giving their approval to the course of events.

Thus was "open reaction" defeated, as President Gottwald described it in his speech to the Communist Party Congress in December,

1952. This did not mean its complete extermination, however, he warned. Then, said Gottwald, began the danger from secret agents, the enemy within the ranks who caused so much damage to the economy. Their leadership came to dock in November, 1952. The story of their attempts to turn the country back into the arms of capitalism and how they failed to brake the Five-Year Plan will be the topic of the second article in this series, which will also deal with the question of the recent currency reform.

AMNESTY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE PRESIDENT of Czechoslovakia declared a general amnesty on May 3rd. Corrective punishments other than imprisonment were revoked. Prison sentences were reduced by one-third but not by less than a year. Sentences up to and including one year (and in the case of juvenile offenders, two years) were revoked.

Sentences imposed on pregnant women or women who care for a child under ten years of age were revoked if they did not exceed two years, or the remainder of the term was revoked if it did not exceed this period.

Life sentences were reduced to twenty years.

Persons suffering from serious incurable illness had their sentences revoked. Likewise, men over sixty, or women over fifty-five, had their prison sentences revoked.

Investigations already under way, and cases not yet brought before the courts were dropped if they involved offenses for which the law provides a punishment of not more than a year's imprisonment, or in the case of a juvenile, a pregnant woman or a woman caring for a child not over the age of ten, two years'.

The amnesty does not apply to persons who committed high treason, sabotage, espionage, or who violated the law on the protection of peace. It also does not affect those convicted of damaging national property or the property of people's cooperatives if they were sentenced to more than five years.

In his capacity as Supreme Commander of the Czechoslovak Army, the President issued an amnesty order on administrative violations committed by members of the armed forces.

Economic Growth in the USSR

Fact and Fiction

by MAURICE DOBB

TWO recent events in the Soviet economic field, even though they have received little advertisement in our Western press, have no doubt made a telling impression upon thoughtful persons on both sides of the Atlantic. They are the publication of the details of the new (fifth) Five-Year Plan and the announcement (on April 1) of price cuts on foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods—the sixth such round of price reductions since wartime rationing was ended in December, 1947.

Neither of these fits at all into the picture, fostered by Western propagandists, of an economic system dominated by rearmament and war production. Both of them are evidence of the increasing shift of emphasis in Soviet economy towards the production of consumer goods, and towards that "maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society" which Stalin defined as "the basic law of socialism" shortly before his death in his pre-Congress communication, reprinted as *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*.

Many people, even among those not always taken in by the cold war propagandists and their strident nonsense, were doubtful whether the in-

crease in output of consumer goods of recent years would be maintained sufficiently for the price cuts of recent years to be repeated; especially in view of the fact that last year's price cut applied, apart from books, only to foodstuffs (and some people were so foolish as to suggest that even this was done only to impress the delegates to the International Economic Conference). In view of the interval which had elapsed between the completion of the fourth Plan and the appearance of the new one, some "expert" commentators on Soviet affairs had produced the theory that planning was in eclipse and that there were to be no more Five-Year Plans (e.g. Mr. Edward Crankshaw in *The Observer*, Nov. 4, 1951).

Ever since the first Five-Year Plan appeared, journalistic comment in the West has been predominantly hostile. True, nothing quite so monstrous as the "nationalization of women" canard of 1919 has been per-

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petrated (perhaps its successor is still to come from the McCarthy stables!). But in 1930 the consensus of "expert" opinion, so far as this appeared in print, was that the Plan was breaking down; and this was the dogmatic opinion on which newspaper readers were generally fed. For example, one of the chapters in an imposing looking two-volume *Economic History of Soviet Russia*, published in the early '30's by Messrs. Macmillan and Co. was headed the "Failure of Planning." When, in face of the successes of the first and second Five-Year Plans, such judgments became impossible to sustain, they were replaced instead by talk of "slave camps" and "forced labor"; universal compulsion, it was said, was the basis of economic successes; and in this sense the Soviet economy was "a giant with feet of clay." When the war brought evidence of unexampled morale of a people which could snatch victory from defeat and drive the enemy all the way back from the Volga to beyond the Oder, the professional denigrators were silenced for a while.

Not for long, however. Soon after the USSR had started on her campaign of reconstruction from the invaders' ravages, a new campaign was launched by the gentlemen of the typewriter and the pen. It could no longer be denied that Soviet economic life had made huge strides in the pre-war decade, under the first and second Plans and the three years of the unfinished third. The propaganda line had now to be a double one.

The first and more sophisticated version (as launched in academic journals such as the *Harvard Review of Economics and Statistics*) was that official Soviet statistics of industrial output were biased and untrustworthy; and as a result one could say

nothing for certain about the rate of progress that had been achieved. This was the technique of the intellectual smoke-screen, obscuring vision and spreading doubt and uncertainty as to whether anything could be confidently said.

The second line of attack was the bald assertion that such progress as there had been was almost exclusively in heavy industry and had benefited the Soviet people not one whit—if anything it had been at their expense. Thus writers like Messrs. Jasny and Schwartz produced price data to show that average real earnings in 1938 were little more than a half 1928, and threw about such assertions as: "The consumer is the forgotten man in the Soviet Union." (H. Schwartz)

The main facts are plain for anyone who cares to look for them with sober eyes. Over the pre-war decade 1928 to 1938 and since the end of the war (i.e. over the period of Soviet planning hitherto, with the exception of the war years and the post-Munich years of hurried rearmament) industrial output in the USSR, on a conservative estimate, has increased at a rate which represents a doubling each quinquennium; or at nearly three times the American rate of growth between 1885 and 1913, and at four times the American rate of growth between 1899 and 1937.*

It is true that the output of capital goods (metals and machinery, etc.) increased twice as fast (or rather more) as the output of consumers' goods. This was because the former provides the basis upon which the rest of the economy can grow; and investment in expanding steel or en-

* The detailed evidence for these statements can be found in an article by the present writer on "Rates of Growth Under the Five-Year Plans" in *Soviet Studies* (University of Glasgow), April, 1953.

<i>Product</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>1940 Actual</i>	<i>1950 Actual</i>	<i>1952 Actual</i>	<i>1955 Planned</i>
Coal	mil. tons	166	260	300	372
Oil	" "	31	37.8	47.4	70
Electricity	bil. kwh.	48	90	116	162
Pig-iron	mil. tons	15	19.4	25.2	34
Steel	" "	18.3	27.3	34.5	44
Rolled Steel	" "	13	20.8	26.8	34
Copper	th. tons	161	255	334	485
Cement	mil. tons	5.8	10.3	14.1	22.7
Paper	th. tons	812	1194	1457	1740
Cotton Cloth	mil. meters	3886	3815	4933	6142
Woolen Cloth	" "	120	167	204	257
Silk Fabrics	" "	77	134	232	—
Leather Footwear	mil. pairs	205	205	250	318
Grain	mil. tons	119	125	129	175-187
Sugar	" "	2.15	2.52	3.06	4.30
Margarine	th. tons	118	192	248	350
Butter	" "	206	322	355	554
Vegetable Oil	" "	724	775	946	1372
Fish	mil. tons	1.4	1.8	2.4	2.8
Meat	" "	1.1	1.2	1.6	2.3

gineering capacity determines the *rate of increase* of output that is possible in the future (because this rate of increase of output throughout industry depends upon how much new machinery, building materials etc. industry can turn out). Even so, it had been the intention of the second Five-Year Plan to reverse the priority assigned to heavy industry in the first Plan, and to increase consumers' goods production by 18 per cent per annum (or by more than double from 1933 to the end of 1937). It was only the growing war danger in the middle and later '30's which caused a revision of these intentions and an assigning of priority once more to heavy industry (which increased in these years by considerably more than had been originally planned). As it was, the output of industrial consumers' goods increased by some three times or more between 1928 and 1940.

Now in the new Five-Year Plan, although the lead is still held by the capital goods industries, the gap between their rate of increase and that of consumers' goods is considerably narrowed; and the latter are planned to increase by 11 per cent per annum, or by 65 per cent between the beginning of 1951 and the end of 1955. In addition there are to be large investments in housing construction (which is running at present at the rate of about a million dwellings, both urban and rural, a year), and substantial increases in food production, especially in higher-valued food-stuffs such as fruit and dairy produce.

And what signs are there that these aims are likely to be fulfilled? May not the targets for consumers' goods be revised in the course of the quinquennium as were those of the second Plan? We are now in the middle of the period of the new Plan,

and we can go some way at least to answer such questions.

First, there is the answer provided by the recent price cuts which I have mentioned. These represent reductions on a wide range of goods, from 5 per cent on woolen articles, furniture and cigarettes, and 10 per cent in the case of bread and cereals and fish and butter and eggs and sugar and bicycles, to 50 per cent for vegetables and fruit; with such things as tea and coffee, socks and stockings, toilet soap, fountain pens, electric bulbs, wallpaper, refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and gardening tools coming in between with price-cuts of 20 to 25 per cent. The estimated aggregate saving to consumers is considerably larger than that involved in the price cuts of the two previous years, and may represent an increase in real wages of 14 to 15 per cent.

Secondly, we have the output results for last year, the second year of the new Plan. These show that, with one or two exceptions, output of standard products, in the case both of consumers' goods and of capital goods, are fairly well up to schedule (i.e. roughly two-fifths of the way between the 1950 level and the 1955 targets), as the table on the opposite page shows.

It is significant that (according to a much-quoted speech by Beria on November 6, 1951) the USSR was already by the end of 1951 producing "about as much steel as Great Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden combined" and more electricity than Great Britain and France combined; and her annual increase of steel of recent years has amounted to some 4 million tons, of coal some 24 million, of oil 4.5 million, and electricity 13 billion kilowatt hours.

ONE MILLION APARTMENTS A YEAR

IN THE SEVEN post-war years from 1946 to 1952 new housing was made available in Soviet towns and factory areas with a total floor space of 1,668 million square feet (this area does not include kitchens, pantries, bathrooms, lavatories, halls or passageways). This would be equivalent to some 3,870,000 two-room apartments, not counting kitchens, baths, etc.

And in the same period more than 3,800,000 houses were built in rural areas.

New housing is being constructed in the Soviet Union at the rate of about 1,100,000 apartments a year.

Under the present Five-Year Plan (1951-55) Soviet people in the towns and cities and factory housing developments—in new State-owned housing alone—will move into the equivalent of some 2,625,000 two-room apartments. In addition, a large number of private houses will be built by workers at their own expense, with the help of State loans. Tremendous housing construction is under way in the villages as well.

Rentals in the Soviet Union are low, usually between 3 and 5 per cent of the earnings of the tenant.

The Truce Talks in Korea

Background of the negotiations for the ceasefire agreement which Syngman Rhee and his supporters have sought to torpedo

THE TRUCE TALKS, broken off by the United States over six months ago, were opened up again on April 26 at Panmunjom, following the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners-of-war. General Nam Il of North Korea, senior delegate of the North Koreans and Chinese, introduced a plan implementing the Chou En-lai proposal to solve the unsettled prisoner-of-war issue. General Nam said the plan was presented as "a basis for conciliation and discussion."

The new plan proposed that all prisoners of war in Korea insisting on repatriation should be returned to their respective countries within two months after an armistice agreement has become effective; Within one month after the direct repatriation has been completed, the remaining prisoners to be sent to a neutral state agreeable to both sides; after their transfer to a neutral state, representatives of the home countries of the prisoners of war would have access to them to carry on discussions "so as to eliminate their apprehensions about going home"; Within six months after their arrival in the neutral state, and after such explanations had been made, those prisoners requesting repatriation should be returned home speedily; The disposition of those prisoners of war still unwilling to be repatriated to be settled at a political conference to follow the armistice.

The previous position held by the North Koreans and Chinese had been that all prisoners should be repatriated immediately following an armistice, as provided for by the Geneva Convention of 1949 on prisoners of war, while the United States had held to the position, contrary to the Geneva Convention, that those prisoners not desiring repatriation should not be sent home "by force." The other side held that the only reason such large numbers of prisoners had expressed themselves against repatriation was that they had been terrorized into this position by methods of forcible screening used in the prisoner-of-war camps administered by the United States, with the help of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek elements, and made to believe that they would be punished as traitors if they went home.

This new proposal marked a big concession in proposing that repatriation be carried out in two steps. It emphasized, however, the importance of transporting the prisoners to a neutral country where it would be possible to carry on discussions with them free from the atmosphere to which they had been subjected in the South Korean prisoner-of-war camps, and of the necessity of allowing ample time for such explanations to be made.

Hardly calculated to create a friendly atmosphere for the reopened negotiations was Far East-

ern Commander General Mark Clark's offer, reported in the press the day after the talks were resumed, of \$100,000 and political asylum to the first pilot to deliver a MIG jet fighter or other modern Soviet-made jet fighter to the United Nations forces, and \$50,000 to any who might subsequently do so.

The ill-considered offer to bribe pilots to desert caused consternation among America's allies. The British, who had not been informed, were concerned at what it might do to hinder the armistice negotiations. The *London Times* said on May 8 that many people in England "think the offer repugnant, stupid and ill-timed."

Nor did statements like that of Senator Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), ranking member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, contribute to peace prospects. Echoing the statement by General MacArthur in his letter to Senator Byrd, Senator Bridges, suggesting that the negotiations would fail, advocated in this event a tight naval blockade of China, hot pursuit by United States pilots into Manchuria, and the bombing of the Chinese mainland "including the use of atomic weapons if necessary."

General Harrison's answer to the six-point Chinese-North Korean proposal was a flat rejection as "unreasonable and obstructive," and a threat to break off negotiations. He stated that the American position was adamant that the prisoners of war should be kept in Korea. He proposed Switzerland as the neutral state to take custody of the prisoners, and insisted that the period of explanations should be limited to sixty days.

The other side rejected Switzerland as the neutral custodian, but

made clear that their proposals did not represent an unbending position. They signified willingness to have the prisoners of war sent to an Asian country, and to negotiate further on the length of time permitted for explanations.

General Harrison at first declared no Asian country would be acceptable because "All Asian nations are located very close to countries dominated by the Communists and might therefore be subjected to Communist military, economic or political influence." He then proposed Sweden as the custodian, but later modified his objection to an Asian nation by offering Pakistan as a substitute.

With the United States refusing to budge from its position that the prisoners must remain in Korea, the North Korean and Chinese negotiators on May 7 offered further concessions.

They agreed that the prisoners of war should remain in Korea. They proposed that those not insisting on immediate repatriation be released from military control and the custody of the detaining side, and turned over to the care of a neutral repatriation commission, to be composed of an equal number of representatives appointed by five nations, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and India, each also to provide an equal number of military forces. The previous period of six months suggested during which explanations could be made to the prisoners not wishing to return home was reduced to four, the disposition of those still not wishing to go home at the end of this period to be submitted to a post-armistice political conference.

General Harrison stated that these new proposals were "so important that any major decision must be

made by the governments themselves." They were sent to Washington for study, where the press reported that "officials said cautiously that the Communist proposal might be a step forward." But soon new objections began to be heard and General Harrison was quoted as calling them "simply not workable" and "no solution at all."

Around the world, outside of Washington, the new proposals were hailed as offering a basis for settlement and a hope for peace.

UN circles welcomed the new proposals and pointed out that they were very close to the Indian Resolution as first introduced, which had left the disposition of the prisoners after a ninety day period under a similar neutral commission to the disposition of a political conference. In its final form, however, as amended under U.S. pressure, the Indian Resolution had provided that final disposition of the undecided prisoners of war, if not settled by the political conference, should revert to the United Nations itself. This was the main point to which Chinese and North Koreans had objected since, as the war against them is being carried on under the banner of the United Nations, it would have meant agreeing to turn their nationals over to the enemy side.

In his speech of May 12, Winston Churchill declared that the new conciliatory proposals required "patient and sympathetic consideration." Prime Minister Nehru of India took a similar position, as did many other government leaders and millions of people throughout the world.

But Washington came up with a new plan, brought to Panmunjom by General Mark W. Clark, said to have been framed in conferences with

other UN powers involved in Korea, which instead of making any attempt to meet the new concessions, took a position considerably behind the one on which the new negotiations were opened.

The counter-proposal suggested the immediate release after a truce of the 34,000 North Koreans said to have refused repatriation. The remaining 14,500 Chinese prisoners refusing repatriation would be turned over to a neutral commission of the composition suggested by General Nam Il, but with India as chairman and only Indian troops to be brought in as guards. A period of two months only would be allowed for explanations to the Chinese prisoners by their own people, after which any not choosing to go home would also be released. The plan for leaving their final disposition to a political conference was flatly rejected.

This position led to a protest from the Canadian Government that it differed substantially from the position taken by the UN, and sharp criticism from many quarters.

Certainly nothing in this counter-proposal, which it was clear in advance could not be acceptable to the North Korean-Chinese side, seemed to provide a workable basis to reach an agreement and to stop the shooting in Korea. It also reflected the bellicose attitude of Syngman Rhee who had been issuing incendiary statements and organizing public demonstrations against any possibility of peace in Korea, insisting that the South Koreans would not accept a truce and would take the forcible reunification of Korea into their own hands if any truce were signed.

Pressure from its allies and worldwide public opinion then compelled the United States to offer a new plan which, with minor changes, proved

acceptable. The text of the Prisoner-of-War agreement signed by both sides on June 8, contained the following main points:

- Within a period of two months after the armistice agreement becomes effective, all prisoners insisting on repatriation to be handed over to the side to which they belonged at time of capture.

- Remaining prisoners to be handed over to a Neutral Repatriation Commission in Korea, consisting of one member each appointed by Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and India.

- India alone to furnish the required armed forces, the Indian representative to act as umpire and chairman of the commission, with staff assistants in equal number from each of the other four powers.

- No force or threat of force to be used against the prisoners of war to prevent their repatriation, and no violence to their persons or affront to their dignity to be permitted for any purpose whatsoever.

- All prisoners not having exercised their right of repatriation following the armistice to be released from military control and the custody of the retaining side within 60 days of the armistice to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

- Within ninety days after the Commission takes custody, the nations to which the prisoners of war belong to have freedom and facilities to send representatives to explain to all prisoners of war their rights, inform them of all matters relating to their repatriation, "particularly of their full freedom to return home and lead a peaceful life."

- The number of such representatives not to exceed seven per thousand of the prisoners of war held in custody, or be less than a total of five.

- All explanations and interviews to be conducted in the presence of a representative of each member nation of the Commission and a representative from the detaining side.

- Representatives to have necessary personnel and facilities for wireless communication.

- Prisoners of war to have freedom and facilities to make representations and communications to the Neutral Nations Commission and inform them of their desires on any matter concerning themselves.

- Applications for repatriation to be considered and acted on at once.

- At the expiration of ninety days after their transfer to the custody of the Commission, the disposition of the prisoners of war who have not exercised their rights of repatriation to be submitted to the political conference provided for in the draft armistice agreement, which shall endeavor to settle the question in thirty days. Thereafter, and within 120 days of the Commission having assumed custody, prisoners of war who have still not chosen to be repatriated to be released to civilian status, and, if they wish, sent to a neutral nation within another thirty days. If any of these prisoners of war later choose to return to their homeland, the authorities of the localities where they are shall assist them to do so. (Note that in this point the provision for final custody being in the hands of the United Nations is eliminated—*Ed.*)

- Red Cross services during custody to be provided by India; freedom of press and other news media to be observed during entire operation under regulations issued by the Commission.

Final agreement on the prisoner-of-war issue, opened the way for an armistice.

There remained only the delineation of the cease fire line. This was completed, and the truce agreement pronounced ready for final signature by both sides.

It was at this point that South Korean President Syngman Rhee violated the prisoner-of-war agreement by ordering the release of the North Korean prisoners held in South Korean camps who had been reporting as not wishing repatriation, by this reckless action placing the whole question of truce in jeopardy.

First American POW's Come Home

ALL decent Americans share in the rejoicing of the families of the 149 sick and wounded prisoners of war who returned to their homes under the exchange agreement with the North Korean and Chinese representatives at Panmunjom.

Yet there were those who sought to make the return of the prisoners an occasion for whipping up sentiment for the continuance of the war.

To condition the public mind against accepting the reports of the POW's themselves, and to reconcile such reports with their own earlier stories of atrocities to which American POW's had presumably been subjected, the Pentagon issued a "Fact Sheet" in advance of the prisoners' arrival, which began:

While their use of brutality and physical mistreatment of people is well documented and widely understood, the Communists have attempted to use deceptively soft and ingratiating treatment if that promises to serve their purpose. These "leniency" and "good treatment" methods are less well known or understood.

The Fact Sheet went on to say that while in the beginning "the story of Communist treatment of prisoners was one of crude brutality," after the Chinese entered the conflict, "apparently the order was spread throughout the Communist armies that captured prisoners were to be treated with kindness and leniency."

The Fact Sheet stated that of more than 29,000 letters received from American POW's "virtually all have contained Communist propaganda in some degree." Apparently any reference to good treatment or expression of senti-

ments of peace were placed in this category. Accusing the Chinese and North Koreans of "unremitting efforts to convert United States prisoners to Communism," the Fact Sheet described this as being done by some mysterious process whereby the "thoughts and philosophies of a lifetime can sometimes be swept out of the mind." Implying that prisoners who had succumbed to this process would be considered as mental cases, army plans were announced for a program of "psychological and political readjustment" for the returned prisoners.

Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and brother of the Secretary of State, took part in this effort to counteract the effects of what the returned POW's might have to say. In a speech to Princeton Alumni on April 10, printed in part in *U.S. News and World Report* for May 5, he gave a fantastic account of "brain-perversion techniques" which he claimed were being used by the Soviets and their allies:

... they take selected human beings whom they wish to destroy and turn them into humble confessors of crimes they never committed, or make them the mouthpiece for Soviet propaganda. Here new techniques wash the brain clean of the thoughts and mental processes of the past and, possibly through the use of some "lie serum," create new brain processes and new thoughts which the victim, parrotlike, repeats.

As preparations were being made to receive the released POW's at "Freedom Village," General Mark Clark stated that those who had been "undergoing torture of body and mind would not be judged," that they would, in



—Eastfoto

Music helps these U.S. prisoners of war pass the time until an armistice returns them to homes and families. These POWs are in a camp in N. Korea

effect, be considered mentally ill, and that no Americans who were Communists, or who had been "indoctrinated" would be permitted to talk to the press.

The first prisoners to come through said they had been treated well, had adequate food and medical attention, had been permitted to hold church services and Bible classes, to play baseball and hold sport contests, that there was no forced labor, they just worked for themselves. But it was clear that they were being carefully processed and screened, and only a few were permitted to talk to the press. Lindsey Parrott reported in the *New York Times* of April 21 from Tokyo that "The identity card of one American was marked 'no interviews,' presumably because of pro-Communist leanings."

Meantime it was announced that the South Korean prisoners of war who had been released would not be permitted to go to their homes, but would be reimprisoned and given a six month re-indoctrination course under the Syngman Rhee regime before being released.

The *Chicago Sun-Times*, of April 30, published a report by Ruth Newhall of the arrival of the first 35 POW's at the Travis Air Force Base in California. She told how Air Force officials went aboard to interview the men and "brief them on their processing" before the men left the plane, and then emerged to say that by their own choice the men would give no interviews to the press. Later, five gave interviews at the base hospital. Miss Newhall described the bedlam as 300 reporters, photographers, television and newsreel camera operators milled around the beds. They all shouted at once to airman Robert Weinbrandt to "talk right into the mike." One of them screamed, "Just talk about the Communists and brutality!" And another:

Bob, now Bob. Just say slowly and loud into the mike: "All I had to eat was rice." Can do?

Bob stared at him and shook his head. "No can do," he said clearly.

He told reporters briefly that he had lost his legs from frost bite. Then they



During last November the POW camps in N. Korea held an inter-camp olympics meet. These P O W s represented Camp No. 2

surrounded another litter case, Marine PFC Alberto Pizarro of Puerto Rico. Someone stuck a microphone in his face:

"Tell us, Private Pizarro, who amputated your legs?"

Pizarro answered, "A Chinese doctor."

The man with the microphone pulled it back to his own face.

"Did he do it for torture or punishment?" He moved the mike back again.

"He did it to save my life," Pizarro answered simply.

Other newspaper accounts said that the returnees had summed up their treatment as "usually about as good as could be expected under the circumstances."

To counter the effect of all this, the press for a few days was filled with wild reports of "mass executions," "death marches," etc. The Scripps-Howard papers, the Hearst Press and others carried lurid headlines about wounded Americans being pushed over cliffs and other supposed atrocities.

The *U.S. News and World Report* of May 1 gathered all the atrocity stories together and came up with a story of over 6,000 Americans having met death in the prison camps, declaring that their report was based on "eye-witness" accounts. A careful reading of their round-up indicated not a single detail authenticated by an eye-witness.

After the scare headlines, more sober stories began to appear. The *Christian*

Science Monitor correspondent, writing from Munsan, Korea, described the questioning of the prisoners and advised the discounting of much that was published. He wrote:

In many cases the returnees appear to have been speaking about the same marching incident—yet they cited different dates, different places, different numbers of men involved and different numbers of casualties.

In the *World-Telegram* for April 25, Jim Lucas admitted that those who had told the atrocity yarns had not been too sure of their facts, and were merely repeating what others had told them. He suggested remembering in evaluating the stories of forced marches, starvation and so on, that:

Most of this happened in 1951, when the Reds were in serious trouble. They had no medicine and little food. Chinese and North Korean soldiers went days without adequate food. There is no evidence yet that the Reds conspired systematically to mistreat prisoners. They simply were unable to care for them.

Correspondents also noted that many American soldiers had not received proper winter clothing from the United States in those early days and that the North Korean troops lacked means of transport. Others recalled the deadly effects and complete devastation of North Korea by the ceaseless U.S. air

attacks and the flaming napalm bombs.

Stories from London (*New York Times*, May 3) report that the 23 British returned prisoners of war all scoffed at the suggestion of bad treatment or atrocities, and paid tribute to their captors' treatment of them and food and conditions. Corporal William Greenaway told the press:

I had good treatment. There was plenty of food. The morale of the boys still out there in the camps is high. But they are all fed up with the Korean war. They all want to get home.

The air mail edition of the *London Times* for April 21 reported:

No British prisoner of war complained of unduly harsh treatment by the Chinese; the consensus was that they were treated as prisoners, with occasional good will gestures by their captors. . . . Hospital treatment was generally fair, and the prisoners spoke well of their doctors and nurses.

The British POW's bringing home such reports were not treated as mental cases or sent to psychiatric wards, but allowed to go to their homes unless their physical condition required hospitalization. In sharp contrast was the incident of the plane which arrived in

this country under the cloak of military secrecy carrying men described as "Victims of Communist propaganda" for taking a similar position. Most of these men were sent to the Valley Forge Hospital at Phoenixville, Pa., where it was said they would receive "reorientation" treatment. This whole episode aroused such popular indignation that army spokesmen later backtracked, and said they had been sent for physical, not mental treatment.

Robert S. Allen reported in the *New York Post*, May 6, that behind all this is a very serious concern on the part of the army, that the problem is much bigger than anticipated, and that 33,000 letters sent home by POW's revealed that large numbers of American servicemen have indeed succumbed to "Red propaganda" (meaning, apparently, that they consider they have been well treated and that they want peace). Allen wrote:

Army authorities now consider this POW problem so serious that special measures may be employed to deal with it. One under consideration would set up a body of prominent civilian specialists who would examine each case individually and prescribe necessary treatment—or whatever else is deemed necessary. In some cases it is highly likely that disciplinary action may be required.

HUNGARIAN BISHOP ELECTED M.P.

AT THE recent general elections in Hungary, Bishop Janos Peter, of the Hungarian Reformed (Protestant) Church, became a Member of Parliament. While in England on a visit to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland he was asked what experience he had of the policies of the People's Front in his Church and how he judged its program.

"I can sum it up in two words—constructive endeavor," he replied. "A new life is developing in which a small wealthy strata no longer commands all goods and the fate of the poor. The members of our church are living evidence of the results of rebuilding a new country on the ruins of the old."

In his diocese live 1,300,000 of the two million Protestants of Hungary.

The UN General Assembly

"If we dig the tunnel of friendship from both ends, we are likely to meet earlier half way. One cannot just wait at one end hoping the tunnel will reach you. You have to dig."

ANDREI VYSHINSKY

THE ABOVE statement was made by Andrei Vyshinsky on his return from a trip to Moscow following the death of Joseph Stalin, to take up his new duties as permanent Soviet representative at the United Nations. While this statement is illustrative of the renewed determination with which the Soviet Union has been conducting its drive for peace in recent months, these efforts were apparent during the entire second half of the UN General Assembly, February 24—April 23. And this despite the violent anti-Soviet attack which marked the debut of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. as Chief American delegate under the Eisenhower administration.

On the Korean Issue

At the beginning of the session, Mr. Vyshinsky again offered the Soviet proposal for an immediate cease fire in Korea, marking the sixth effort of the USSR along these lines. Mr. Vyshinsky made clear that there were no preliminary conditions whatsoever attached to this proposal.

Further evidence of the sincerity of the Soviet peace efforts was given by the agreement reached with the United States soon after Mr. Vyshinsky's return on Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden, as Secretary General of the United Nations, to succeed Trygve Lie. Mr. Vyshinsky also made a strong effort to break the deadlock on the disarmament question, leaving the way open for the Disarmament Commission to proceed

with its work, even though the Soviet Union does not feel that the American plan which has been the basis of its work offers an effective solution.

The Korean question came up again during the discussion on the Polish resolution. This resolution embodied a number of the peace proposals made previously by the Soviet Union, including a one-third reduction of the armed forces of the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic; a Five-Power Peace Pact; immediate prohibition of atomic weapons under international control.

In the meantime, however, the new proposals of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and North Korean Premier Kim Ir Sen, had been received and Mr. Vyshinsky supported them in a major speech on the Polish resolution.

On April 14, Brazil offered a substitute resolution on the Korean question. Noting the communication from Chou En-lai containing new proposals on the prisoner-of-war question, the resolution expressed satisfaction over the agreement on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners and expressed the hope that this exchange "will be speedily completed and that the further negotiations at Panmunjom will result in achieving an early armistice in Korea, consistent with the United Nations principles and objectives." The preamble expressed confidence "that a just and honorable armistice in Korea will powerfully contribute to alleviate the present international tension."

Thereupon, Poland withdrew completely the section of its resolution referring to the Korean question, reserving the right to reintroduce the remaining clauses at the next session of the Assembly. Mr. Vyshinsky supported



—Unations

Representing the USSR at the UN General Assembly. Right to left: A. Y. Vyshinsky, now First Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative to the UN; Andrei A. Gromyko, and Valerian A. Zorin

this move, saying that the debate had shown that the Polish peace proposals would require "broader and perhaps deeper explanations in an improved political atmosphere" and that at this juncture the Brazilian resolution on the Korean question "was good and appropriate."

The Brazilian resolution was passed unanimously.

Czechoslovak Resolution

During Mr. Vyshinsky's visit to Moscow, Mr. Andrei Gromyko took his place as head of the Soviet delegation to the UN. At this time the General Assembly took up a Czechoslovakian resolution on the appropriation of funds by the United States under the Mutual Security Act of 1951 and the Act of June 20, 1952, to arm and pay anti-Communists, war criminals and traitors engaged in subversion and espionage in the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies. Czechoslovakia asked the Assembly to condemn such actions as interference in the internal affairs of

these states, and to recommend their cessation.

Mr. Gromyko supported the Czechoslovakian charges with a whole series of quotations from United States sources confirming such activities. Mr. Lodge responded lamely that the people quoted by Mr. Gromyko (although they included such persons as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Mutual Security Administrator Harold Stassen and many Congressional figures) were not in public office when the statements were made and it could not be maintained that they spoke for the United States.

Mr. Gromyko based his argumentation on the danger of such activities to the cause of peace. "Coexistence," he said, "serves the cause of peace. But coexistence demands a policy of non-intervention. Nobody tries to tell the United States how to run the United States." Referring to Premier Malenkov's statement that there were no outstanding differences which could not be settled, Mr. Gromyko declared:

"This statement serves the best interests of the American people as well as the Soviet people."

While the vote against this resolution was 41 to 5, there were 14 abstentions, mostly members of the Asian-Arab group.

Germ Warfare, Other Issues

In the debate before the Political and Security Committee on the question of bacteriological warfare, Soviet delegate Valerian Zorin declared that the widespread belief that United States forces had used germ warfare in North Korea and China could not be brushed aside by calling the charges propaganda. He said that documents circulated to UN members, and including the testimony of two high ranking United States marine officers, provided the evidence. He went on to say, however, that rather than considering the details of such testimony—

It is much more important for the United States to respond to the appeal addressed to it in the Security Council and the Disarmament Commission, the appeal finally to ratify

the Geneva Protocol [on banning the use of bacteriological weapons] which, incidentally, has already been ratified by 42 states.

The United States had previously stated that it would not ratify the Geneva Protocol. The Soviet Union opposed the resolution that there should be an inquiry on the charges, on the ground that North Korean and Chinese representatives had been denied an opportunity to state their side of the case in the United Nations.

The statement made by Secretary Dulles to the effect that the United States would not sign any general covenant on human rights, even before such a covenant was drafted, proposing merely a worldwide study of the question, made a very unfavorable impression in UN circles. Delegates of several countries, including India, Chile and Uruguay, expressed regret that the United States should take this position.

The chief accomplishment of the Commission on the Status of Women was the acceptance by 18 governments of a new international "Convention on Political Rights of Women," binding rati-

Stanislaw Skrzesezewski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, talks with A. Y. Vyshinsky, Permanent Soviet Representative to the United Nations

—Unations



fying states to grant women the right to vote, run for political office and perform official duties on equal terms with men. It also urged all governments to grant wives the right to work outside their homes, to acquire and dispose of property, and to promote the principle of equal pay for equal work. The Assembly opened the convention for signature.

The Commission on the Status of Women adopted a resolution by a vote of 14 to 1, with only the United States voting against it (Britain and Nationalist China abstaining), deploring the failure of the United States to grant a visa to Mrs. Ray Lucock, of Canada. Mrs. Lucock had been delegated to attend the session by the Women's International Democratic Federation, one of the non-governmental organizations eligible to take part in the Commission's work.

The Aggression in Burma

The vote on a mild version of the resolution offered by Burma condemning the presence on her territory of Chinese Nationalist troops which have been terrorizing and ravaging the countryside and trying to overthrow the Burmese Government, was unanimous, with Nationalist China abstaining. While the final resolution omitted the charge of aggression by Nationalist China, referring merely to the presence of "foreign troops," it called on all states on the request of Burma to provide assistance in facilitating their evacuation and to refrain from aiding them in their hostile acts.

The killing, raping, arson and destruction of the Burmese people and Burmese territory, and attacks on the Burmese army by these Chinese Nationalist troops, now numbering about 12,000, has been going on for years.

These troops, commanded by the well known Nationalist General Li Mi, were driven out of the Yunnan Province of China in 1948 by the Chinese People's Army, and escaped across the border into North Burma and Northern Thailand. Under international law, they

should have surrendered arms and placed themselves at the disposal of the Burmese Government. Instead, they were supplied with arms and equipment from Formosa through Thailand, and evidence of American support of their activities, despite repeated denials, was extensive. This support was revealed by Joseph and Stewart Alsop in the *New York Herald Tribune* of February 11, 1953.

The Alsops declared that after the escape of the remnants of General Li Mi's troops into Burma, they continued to be supplied from Formosa, and that "The clandestine air supply system was set up with the assistance of our Central Intelligence Agency."

They said that both Chiang Kai-shek's intelligence agency and their American collaborators had been gravely misled as to the strength of the Chinese People's Government and their army in Yunnan Province, for:

In the summer of 1951 . . . General Li Mi's army was ordered to march back into Yunnan Province, still with C.I.A. assistance. The attempt was made late in the summer, with catastrophic consequences. A large part of Li Mi's army was destroyed or scattered, and several American liaison officers were lost.

The remnants of the routed army again took refuge in North Burma, where the general and his troops have remained.

Despite this failure, there have been further attempted raids against Yunnan, reinforced by additional troops from Formosa, but for the most part these Nationalist troops have subsequently turned the edge of their aggression against Burma, living by plundering the Burmese people.

With the accession of the new Administration and its encouragement of Chiang Kai-shek's aggressive aims against the mainland of China, these troops in Burma stepped up their depredations. On March 29, the Burmese Government announced that it was dropping further United States aid.

Reporting this action in the *New York Herald Tribune* of March 29, Homer Bigart wrote from Rangoon:

The Burmese Government renounced tonight any further American aid in protest against alleged American support of Chinese Nationalist troops in northern Burma. No reason was given, but there was absolutely no doubt as to its motivation.

During this period Washington announced that it was urging Chiang Kai-shek, who insisted he had no control over these troops, to intervene against their aggressive actions. On March 31, Bigart reported:

The apparent failure of the United States to exert strong pressure on the Formosa Government has resulted in the loss of confidence regarding American intentions. . . .

American Ambassador William V. Sebald has time and again warned

the State Department of the danger of losing Burmese friendship unless the United States took action in halting Nationalist aggression against a friendly government. Mr. Sebald continued the urgent tone of his dispatches after the change of Administration in Washington. Ambassador Sebald's accurate reporting was apparently ignored.

Even as the debate was on in the United Nations, dispatches from Rangoon reported that the Nationalists were now using "a new and superior weapon—the 77 mm. recoilless cannon, of American make," and that supplies and reinforcements continued to be flown in by planes identified as American.

While the Soviet delegates strongly supported Burma in the debate and attacked the aggressive actions of the Chiang Kai-shek forces, they refrained, as did the Burmese, from making direct charges of American aid.

BULGARIA GOES INDUSTRIAL

THE ORIGINAL goals of the Bulgarian Five-Year Plan (1949-53) were actually achieved toward the end of 1952—in three years and ten months—according to a detailed Government report on the Plan.

By the end of 1952, industrial production was 20.1 per cent above the plan's goal for the *following* year, 1953. Industrial production is now 2.3 times what it was in 1948, and 4 times the 1939 level.

When the plan was launched in 1949, Bulgaria was still a predominantly agricultural nation. In 1952, despite increase in agricultural production, the volume of industrial output exceeded that of agricultural production.

Consumer goods production last year was twice that in 1948 and three times the 1939 output. Back in 1948, Bulgaria had a very small machine building industry. Now, for the first time, the country is producing such things as 30,000 kilowatt transformers, compressed air hammers, diesel motors, irrigation pumps, telephone switchboards, metal drills and high pressure steam boilers.

Grain yields in 1951 and 1952 were nearly a third higher than the yields of 1939.

By the end of 1952 six new railway lines and three airlines were put into operation. During the period of the Plan 283 schools and 41,000 houses with a total living space of more than 26 million square feet were constructed.

Opera and Ballet on the Screen

Two Soviet Films Reviewed

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

CONCERT OF THE STARS, directed by A. Ivanovsky and H. Rappaport, cameraman, S. Ivanov, produced at Lenfilm Studios, Leningrad and distributed by Artkino.

THE FILM "Concert of Stars" is in the pattern of "The Grand Concert," a selection of striking scenes from classic Russian opera and ballet, here performed by artists of the Leningrad Kirov Opera House, along with folk song and dance numbers that are equally wonderful. If this series continues, we have a prospect of music lovers on these shores becoming quite blasé about Soviet musical life, and discussing the relative merits of Mikhailov's recreation of Ivan Sussanin, as against Reizen's, or whether Lemeshev's high notes are getting stronger, as if they were waiting in line for tickets at the Leningrad or Moscow opera. Let us look forward to the time when we will be able to see these great musical companies in the flesh; in other words, when there will be a thriving cultural interchange among the nations of the world, each presenting to the other the best of its national artistic achievement. It was, we regret to say, our own State Department which, shortly after the end of the anti-fascist war, put a stop to such interchange by demanding that visiting Soviet musicians register as "foreign agents."

Opera and ballet are done in "Concert of Stars," as in its predecessor, with a



One of the ballet numbers in the Soviet film "Concert of the Stars"

scenic splendor, a naturalness of representation of milieu and history, a self-effacing merger by singers of their talents with the demands of their roles, that are simply not seen on the music stage elsewhere.

The operas represented, both by scenes of considerable length, are Glinka's "Ivan Sussanin" and Tchaikovsky's "Queen of Spades." The first fills both ear and eye with its vivid historical panorama, its beauty of music, and the performance by Mikhailov, whose combination of acting and singing rivals the legendary Chaliapin. From the Tchaikovsky opera we are given the love scene between Herman and Lisa. Audiences not familiar with the opera, or with Pushkin's story, are likely to

miss the diabolical undercurrent of this scene. It would pay them to brush up on the libretto, for it is a tragic scene of great depth and subtlety, beautifully interpreted, especially by the renowned tenor Lemeshev.

The ballet scenes likewise present a combination of technical polish and ensemble splendor, brimming over with vitality. The great ballerina, Ulanova, is seen only briefly, in a Chopin waltz. However, there is an amazing dancer, N. Dudinskaya, in the title role of Glazounov's "Raymonda," with a sparkle and brilliance that are unforgettable.

The folk dances that follow are stunning, and they aptly lead up to scenes from Khachaturian's ballet "Gayne," which has a strong folk character.

Finally we hear sections of Shostakovich's oratorio, "Song of the Forests," and as the great peace anthem which closes this work rings out, the camera shifts to views of cultivated fields, rich harvests, and great construction works. The lesson is unmistakable, although not a word need be spoken. It is peace that we need; peace that will bring the fullest development of art and music for all; peace will enable mankind to use the already available scientific knowledge to make the earth into a garden; peace that is kept from us by the machinations of a relatively few, who look upon the earth's resources as their own private possession, to be turned into profit. And peace we will get.

MAN OF MUSIC, directed by Gregory Alexandrov, scenario by Peter Pavlenko, Cameraman, Edouard Tisse. Produced at Mosfilm Studios, Moscow. Released by Artkino Pictures.

APPARENTLY not having trained a galaxy of script writers like our beloved Hollywood, able to turn out quantities of gruesome plots and erotic situations, the Soviet film studios are forced to turn to nothing other than real life. A few years ago they made a fine film on the life of the composer

Mikhail Glinka. Now they have made another one. And it is far better, not only in its sumptuous color but in the greater span it covers of the composer's life and the richer portrayal of the social and cultural world about him.

Like the earlier film this has scenes of Glinka's Italian journey, in the 1830's. But where the other film only showed his rejection of Italian music for Russian, this one, in its resplendent Venetian episodes, portrays the stifling effect of the Austrian overlords on Italian music, and the resentment of the people against them. It shows that in Italy, also, there was a rich stream of people's music, which would be explored by great composers, as indeed Verdi did, raising the banner of a truly national art in Italy even while Glinka, back in Russia, was writing his "Ivan Sussanin" and "Ruslan and Ludmilla."

The film portrays the sources of Glinka's art in the life as well as the music of the Russian peasantry, with many beautiful examples of folk music, and a particularly splendid scene of the peasants in a village, under the leadership of a local blacksmith, moving a church rather than allow it to be torn down to make way for a highway ordered by the tsar.

The earlier film ended with the triumph of Glinka's first opera, "Ivan Sussanin," in 1836, which the tyrannical tsar permitted to be performed only if passages were erased and its name changed to "A Life for the Tsar." His hope was to turn this depiction of the patriotism and courage of the peasantry, the real defenders of the country against invaders, into a glorification of himself.

The present film goes on to the later Glinka of "Ruslan and Ludmilla," showing the same tsar angrily stalking out of the opera house at its presentation. For within this folk and fairy tale opera, the tsar glimpsed an unwelcome portrayal of the cultural riches of the many oppressed nationalities of old Russia, and resented its dedication to Pushkin, at whose death the tsar himself had connived.

Showing Glinka in what was appar-

ently the defeat of his last years, the film brings out magnificently how imperishable was the stream of national art he had set moving, an art that was a glorification not of the ruling class but of the working people who were the major part of the nation.

Thus this art became, as all truly national art must be, a contribution to the world treasure house and to the brotherhood of peoples. In a touching scene Glinka learns that his music had been sung by the soldiers at Sevastopol, again defending the land against foreign invasion, and the bearer of the information is the young officer, Count Tolstoy.

In line with the deeper problem raised here, the portrayal of Glinka by the actor Smirnov is more grave, serious and searching than that in the earlier film. There are also wonderful portrayals of other personalities of the time, such as the poet Pushkin, and the pianist and composer Liszt, remarkably true to their actual appearance, and also bringing them to life as artists and personalities.

The film is of course saturated with music, splendidly performed by singers and instrumentalists. A profound lesson permeates it. It is that all people must love their country and prize its cultural traditions and resources. And this love of country, this real patriotism, means a struggle for the development of the people, and for a truly



Glinka and his sister, as portrayed in the Soviet film "Man of Music," about the great Russian composer

democratic culture representing their mind and heart, against those who oppress and exploit them, and pervert culture to their own greedy ends.

It raises a challenging question. Do our own films really prize our culture? Have we ever had a film like this on a comparable figure, Walt Whitman for instance, showing the awakening of his poetic art, his ties to the movement for the abolition of slavery, his relations to Emerson, Whittier, Douglass?

The rather silly title, "Man of Music," was invented by the exhibitors here to distinguish the present film from the earlier one.

INFANT DEATH RATE DROPS IN CHINA

A PHENOMENAL decline in the mortality rate of both mothers and babies has been achieved in People's China. Statistics of the hospitals in Peking show a maternity mortality drop from 7 per thousand to 0.7 per thousand. In rural areas, the decline in infant mortality is even more striking: In one county of Shansi Province, the rate fell from 50 per cent to 4.8 per cent.

Nearly 30,000 maternity hospitals, children's hospitals and maternity and child health centers have been set up throughout China since liberation. Nearly 270,000 midwives have been either newly trained or retrained. In 1952, there were 22 times more nurseries in factories, mines and other organizations than in 1949.

It DID Happen Here!

A VICIOUS MOB, some five hundred strong, marched through the city. Four blocks they marched. Then, under the benevolent eyes of the police, they surged into the peaceful meeting hall, wielding heavy clubs against old men and women who had gathered for a solemn and historic occasion. A 73-year-old woman's wrist was fractured. An 83-year-old man was beaten over the head with a chair.

Flags, revered by people throughout the world, were despoiled.

Then the mobsters began their evil ritual. In the street outside they made a bonfire of books that had been displayed in the hall, and on top of the fire they threw one of the flags.

Was this in Nazi Germany?

No!

This was America! This was Chicago! This was only a few months ago on the peaceful Sunday afternoon of April 12!

What was the meeting? A gathering honoring the memory of Roosevelt who had died on that date eight years ago. Its purpose was to discuss the contribution two of the greatest and most controversial figures of the century had made to the cause of world peace — Roosevelt and Stalin. The Soviet leader had died the month before. The Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship had called the meeting as a double memorial to these great men and as an affirmation of their expressed belief in the possibility and necessity for peaceful coexistence between the two great countries.

What were the flags that were despoiled? A Soviet flag acquired in 1943 at the time of the victory in Stalin-grad—a victory hailed by American leaders as one of the greatest in military history and as the turning point in the war against the Nazis—a flag that the Chicago Council therefore cherished. It was this flag the goons

burned. The other? An even more beloved flag, the Stars and Stripes. This the mobsters dashed to the floor.

What were the books? Volumes purchasable in any city in the United States, telling the truth about the Soviet Union, explaining the necessity for peace, urging friendship and amity between the two great nations of the world.

And who were the mobsters? D.P.'s from the fascist cesspools of Europe hoping to win approval from reactionaries in this country who have so tirelessly whipped up anti-Soviet hysteria. As the books burned, they danced and laughed, and boasted, "For this we will get our American citizenship!"

The police had been warned in advance that four blocks away the mob was gathering. The police replied there was nothing to fear for twenty police were stationed in the area. But eighteen of the twenty never showed up. Instead—once the gangsters had done their damage—two club-wielding members of the riot squad yelled: "There'll be no meeting here!" And they urged the sergeant in charge to arrest the Director of the Council for "disturbing the peace."

None of the real disturbers of the peace were apprehended. But the Executive Director of the Council was taken away in the police van.

When the Nazi book burning shocked the world in the '30's, voices in this country were heard to say, "It couldn't happen here."

But it *did* happen! And it has aroused the righteous indignation of the country. The *Sun-Times* carried an editorial: "Un-American Vigilante Tactics." That paper and other organizations registered official protests.

These organizations include the Chicago Civil Liberties Union, the Quakers, F.O.R., the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, the Methodist

Commission on World Peace and individual ministers and rabbis. And the list is growing.

Dr. Corliss Lamont, author and scholar, whose book *Soviet Civilization* was among those burned, in a letter to Senator Robert C. Hendrickson, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Liberties of the Senate Judiciary Com-

mittee, summed up the Chicago outrage as follows:

"The great American democracy in which both you and I believe, Mr. Senator, will not long endure if this sort of thing can happen with immunity."

As a result of these protests and mass support a successful, well-filled memorial meeting was held later.

Georgescu the "Hero"

LATE IN MAY the press had a field day over the cloak and dagger story of the supposed efforts of a Rumanian diplomat to "blackmail" a naturalized American citizen of Rumanian descent into becoming a spy in return for the safety of his two sons, still in Rumania.

There were columns of tear-jerking eulogies of this noble father who after a soul-wracking struggle, decided to "sacrifice" his sons, and took his tale to the State Department. Mr. V. C. (also known as "Rica") Georgescu made out affidavits, and self-sacrificingly provided signed personal stories for the Hearst press. Radio Free Europe broadcast over twenty transmitters the mother's message to the sons, explaining why they had to be "sacrificed." There were prayers for their safety in New York churches. The First Secretary of the Rumanian Legation, Christache Zambeti, charged with the "plot" by Georgescu, was expelled by United States authorities as persona non grata.

How carefully do most Americans read beyond the headlines, and take note of the less-emphasized angles in such sensational stories, that would save them from being taken in by the Big Lies so constantly being used to stir up international tensions?

Mr. Georgescu's story was that Mr. Zambeti had come to his home, flashed a photograph of his sons before him with a message from them appealing

for help purportedly written across the back, and "offered a deal" that he could see them within a year if he would "agree to collaborate politically with us."

Now Mr. Georgescu is very well known indeed in Rumania. Before and during World War II he was General Director in Rumania of Romano-American, subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. He fled Rumania in 1947. He renounced citizenship in his own country and became an American citizen. He got a very good job in this country as an executive of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Mr. Zambeti told the press that Georgescu had been a main figure in the spy trial in Ploesti, Rumania, last February, involving former employees of the Romano-American Oil Company. The Rumanian note protesting the expulsion of Mr. Zambeti, said that Georgescu was a well known traitor to the Rumanian People's Republic and had been "exposed in several trials as a spy, saboteur and plotter against the Rumanian People's Republic."

Living in the same house with Georgescu was General Nicolae Radescu (who died early in May), former fascist premier of Rumania, who fled Rumania at the same time Georgescu did, and from the same New York address directed wrecking activities against People's Rumania as head of the "Rumanian National Committee" and the "League of Free Rumanians."

This much could have been discovered by a careful reading of the press. Does it make sense that any diplomat of a People's Democracy, knowing these things and undoubtedly a great deal more that did not find its way into the general press, would consider such a person as a likely candidate for "political collaboration"? In charging that the whole thing was a frame-up, Mr. Zambeti declared flatly: "I have never seen Georgescu, I have never seen the children. I have never seen the photograph."

Let's look further. Mr. Georgescu, building himself up as a hero in the Hearst press, said that the ordeal of deciding "betray your country or never again see your children" was even greater than his ordeal "as a Nazi prisoner in my native Rumania during World War II."

But what was this supposed hero of the anti-Nazi underground actually doing in the war years? Before the war he promoted trade in oil with Hitlerite Germany. During the war, and under Hitlerite occupation, according to *Romanul American* of June 6, 1953, as Director General and President of the Board of Romano-American Oil Company, he was producing oil that aided Hitler's war machine in its fight against the Allied democratic nations. After Hitler's defeat, he turned to other masters, and the Romano-American Oil Company, as brought out in several trials, became a center of espionage and subversion against the new People's Republic.

The same issue of *Romanul American* cited above quotes defendant Fotesescu, a Romano-American employee, as testifying in the February trial:

In the domain of espionage, my role was to give monthly and annual reports to V. C. Georgescu, and after he had left, to Christodulo Anastasie.

This was verified by Anastasie himself, who testified:

I took the provisional management of the company to replace Rica

Georgescu. I continued sending reports. These reports I sent to 'Standard Oil' through the *American Military Mission*. . . . Rica Georgescu had arranged (before he left the country) that copies of these reports should be sent to the *Military Mission*. . . . (italics added)

Some of the early attempts to bring the reactionary leaders of the so-called National Party and Liberal Party of Rumania into power and block the development of people's democracy, and the way in which they were discovered by the Rumanian government, were revealed by Frank Gervasi in an article in *Collier's* for November 6, 1948, entitled "What's Wrong With Our Spy System":

CIA men have pulled several colossal operational boners. Secrecy, of course, covers them, but enough is known about one of their flops—in Rumania—to give substance to the charges of the agency's critics. Two former O.S.S. men, taken into the CIA when the O.S.S. was disbanded, after V-J day, established contact with Rumanian anti-Communists.

They helped these elements form an anti-government group. But they violated practically every rule in the spy book. They kept written records of everything they did, including the names of the Rumanian conspirators and transcripts of what happened at meetings in which they participated. The Russian secret service easily uncovered the plotters.

The Americans escaped, but the Rumanians landed in the clink. The Russians made excellent propaganda use of the material they captured. It helped them prove America's 'imperialistic ambitions' in Europe and to send Juliu Maniu, anti-Russian politician, to jail for life.

Testimony at the February trial brought out that Georgescu had a close political connection with this Maniu, exposed organizer of fascist bands in Rumania and convicted spy, as well as with many of the other reactionary political figures who attempted to crush the Rumanian People's Democracy.

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Dear Friend:

I am writing to you as an artist who has devoted more than thirty years of his life to the American principles of freedom of expression, to help in the development of a great American art, and where we can live in a world of peace to be enjoyed by everyone.

I strongly feel that art should be accessible to every person and not alone to the few who can afford luxuries. Great artists of the past have suffered indifference and poverty, only to be acclaimed as masters after their death.

What is happening to the creative artist today is unmentionable.

In order to carry on my creative work I am offering you a portfolio of ten lithographs, in color, of American Folklore: Paul Bunyan, John Brown, Johnny Applesseed, Joe Magarac, Finn MacCool, Mike Fink, John Henry, Rip Van Winkle, Davy Crockett, the Headless Horseman. Each litho plate size is 9 by 14, suitable for framing, an ideal gift. Individual prints are \$1.50, all ten prints in an attractive folio \$10.

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(Continued from page 2)

enough to come to the defense of the principles of liberty and fair play.

However, Mr. Widner's plan lacks one most important point: Outlaw all German rearmaments, and all German- and foreign-sponsored efforts for the revival of Nazism and Prussianism.

We who have had to go through the German wars, and who have had to experience the beastly terrorism as exercised by political criminals and master racial "Me-and-God" fanatics, refuse to share the much propagated idea that a rearmament would be for the protection of our country, and to the benefit of the world! Once before the world had trusted such doctrines and promises, but the results of this gullibility were broken treaties, destruction, death and the elimination of all democracy—P.

Peace Library

Chicago, Ill. — All peace organizations, committees, and peace-active individuals are invited to send their publications and releases regularly and to include all past items, if free, to Peace Library, U.S. Committee Against Militarization, 6329 S. May St., Chicago, 21—Albert Bofman.

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