

NEW WORLD

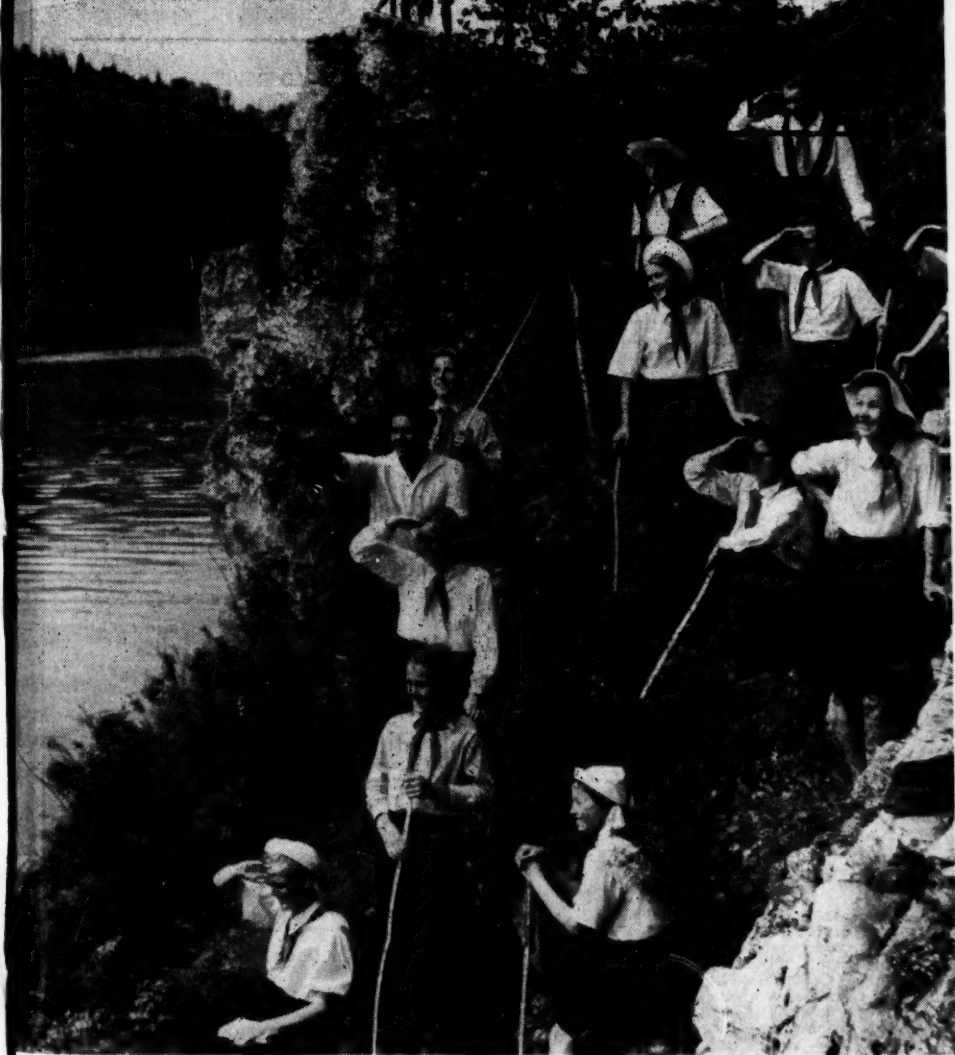
AUGUST
1953

Review

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KOREAN TRUCE POINTS WAY TO WORLD PEACE

NEW WORLD *Review*

AUGUST 1953

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—Sovfoto

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Dear Reader:

"WHERE IS MY JUNE ISSUE? I cannot afford to miss a single issue, since your magazine is the only source I know where I can get the truth of what is happening in the Soviet Union, the Eastern European People's Democracies, Germany, China, Korea—and the chances for peace."

This, from a California reader, is just a sample of the hundreds of letters that came pouring into our office when we were compelled to omit our June issue.

On a single day similar letters came in from Cleveland, O.; Calico Rock, Ark.; Christine, S.D.; Fort Myers, Fla.; Marshall, Tex.; Willard, Ont., Can.; Stanley, N. Y.; Portland, Ore.; Puyallup, Wash.; Comstock, Neb.; Oak Bluffs, Mass.; Appleton, Wisc.; Providence, R.I.; Ketchikan, Alaska; New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and many other towns and cities across America.

The reduced number of pages and pictures in this issue indicates the further necessary economies we are making. We have also been compelled to let valued members of our staff go. But the final answer as to whether we shall continue publication rests with YOU. Responses are coming in to the appeal in our July issue, but not yet enough to guarantee our future.

The decision is yours: first, whether we can continue publication at all; second, whether we can in time resume our regular size, and the fuller information on world issues essential to all concerned with peace.

Many of our readers whose budgets do not permit large contributions at one time, have voluntarily offered monthly contributions of one dollar or more.

We now propose this method for all our readers. . . . A sustaining corps of contributors sending \$1.00 or more each month. Please figure out what you can do on this basis and let us know at once.

The single greatest purpose of our magazine is to provide the facts to answer the Big Lies about the third of the world against which war is being waged or prepared. These facts are proof that no war need be against this world, and that NEGOTIATIONS to ease world tensions are possible and essential as the only road to the peace all people of good will desire.

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Jessica Smith

KOREAN TRUCE POINTS WAY TO WORLD PEACE

THE TRUCE in Korea is a great victory for the forces of peace.

Let us guard this victory. Let us make sure no more blood flows, that no more American homes are desolated by renewed casualty lists. Let us see to it that the tortured land of Korea becomes again the Land of Morning Calm, that its people may start rebuilding their shattered lives and homes, safe now and forever from guns and napalm bombs.

Let us guarantee that truce in Korea shall be followed by a permanent peace settlement and by negotiations among the big powers for the easing of world tensions everywhere.

The great lesson of Panmunjom is that *the method of negotiations succeeded*, demonstrating that agreements can be reached around the conference table on the most complex issues.

They succeeded despite the desperate attempts to block them by Syngman Rhee, with powerful backing by those in the Administration and the Pentagon who oppose the principle of negotiations, and by Senators McCarthy, Knowland and others.

While the pressure of the American people played a major role in achieving the truce, they must also share some of the responsibility that it was so long delayed. Had they spoken out more unitedly and vigorously against the attempts to continue and spread the war, Rhee might have been less bold in his attempts to wreck the peace.

The dangers to world peace which require unslackening vigilance are

shown by the way the war forces have gone into action in attempting to prevent peace in the Far East, in stirring up provocations in East Germany, in intensifying the "liberation" policy, and in trying to use the Beria case as a new pretext to avoid top-level negotiations.

But the very desperation of these provocations is a measure of the strength of the possibilities for peace.

These possibilities arise first of all from the steadiness and vigor with which the Soviet Government, the Chinese People's Republic and the Eastern European People's Democracies pursue their peace initiative.

The USSR continually reiterates and implements its position that there are no international issues which cannot be settled peacefully. Among the most recent Soviet peace moves are the renewal of diplomatic relations with Israel, and establishment of more normal relations with Yugoslavia and Greece.

Steady advances are being made in trade relations with Western European and other capitalist countries, on terms described by Michael Hoffman (*New York Times*, July 22) as being "without any sacrifice of principles or policies on the part of Western Countries."

The door is open for negotiations on Germany and Austria, despite Soviet criticism of the conditions and limitations which the United States has placed on them.

The Soviet Union initiated the

moves for truce negotiations in Korea, and backed the North Koreans and Chinese in their numerous conciliatory efforts. It consistently seeks to strengthen the United Nations. It encourages all efforts of the world peace movement.

At the meeting of the World Peace Council in Budapest, June 15-20, unprecedented unity was achieved by representatives of over 70 nations on the launching of a world campaign for the replacing of force by negotiations. This campaign has the support of the majority of the world's people.

The demand to follow through the Churchill proposal for a top-level meeting has been voiced by millions of British workers through their leading trade unions. It was backed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. At the Socialist International Conference in Stockholm representatives of 31 countries called for four-power negotiations before next September. In the Italian elections 10,000,000 voters cast their vote for peace. In France a great national conference called for negotiations.

The will of the women of the world was expressed by the 1,863 delegates and guests, representing 135,000,000 women, who met in Copenhagen June 5-11, achieving unprecedented strength and unity in the demand for the defense of women's rights and peace.

Fifteen hundred young people from 100 countries are expected at the World Youth Festival in Bucharest, August 2-16, where a great program of cultural events and youth games will be held. These young people do not want to die. They are meeting to plan a world where they can devote their young creative energies to enriching the

store of human knowledge and culture and happiness.

Our government makes it difficult for Americans to participate in these movements which in mobilizing world actions for peace can bring only benefit to our country. Therefore it is essential that Americans find ways of bringing greater unity and strength to the work for peace here at home.

It is welcome news that the American Peace Crusade (125 West 72nd Street, New York City) has launched an emergency campaign through Labor Day for a permanent peace settlement in Korea and for over-all negotiations to ease international tensions. The APC announcement declared:

An overwhelming expression of the will of the American people for peace will strengthen the Administration in keeping its pledge and will weaken the efforts of those who reject negotiation and reconciliation for peaceful settlement of the differences between nations. We urge Americans of all political and religious views, of every walk of life, to make this coming month a month of decision for peace.

The plan of the APC calls for demonstrative actions for peace in every community, a flood of messages to the President and members of Congress and proposes that all organizations and individuals concerned with peace take whatever parallel action they see fit to help guarantee the permanent silencing of the guns in Korea and the triumph of negotiations over force.

Let there be no barriers to a firm peace settlement in Korea.

Let the Korean truce be the prelude to peace everywhere!

Only the Peoples...

Having won a truce in Korea, the peoples of the world must exert unceasing effort to win the peace in the coming political negotiations

by **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

THE PEOPLE of the world have won a truce in Korea. They have brought such pressure to bear upon those groups which wanted the war to continue that their will, the people's will, prevailed. This is a great victory. It is a step forward on the long and difficult road to peace. Our rejoicing is not tarnished by the half-heartedness and foreboding warnings with which the truce was officially greeted by the top leaders of our nation.

The people of the world can, and must, now win the further steps towards peace which are to be fought for in the forthcoming political negotiations.

Americans of all walks of life shared in the partial victory that has been won. It was their overwhelming sentiment, together with that of the masses throughout the world, which made it mandatory for President Eisenhower to overrule the powerful pro-war elements in his administration and in the military over the cease-fire issue.

Pressure from the people, pressure for peace, for negotiation, pressure against war, against diplomatic blackmail, pressure for mere moral decency in human relations, pressure that is organized and clear in

its purposes—only such pressure can force any kind of real settlement of the Korean issue. Such pressure won the armistice. It must now organize itself to win the political negotiations.

Senator Sparkman, a Democrat who has from time to time spoken out mildly against the pro-fascist elements among the Republicans, said a few weeks ago that in his opinion if a Korean truce finally became effective "our troubles will only have started." This idea was the theme of the grudging statements made by Dulles, Clark, Taylor and others on the historic occasion of the cease-fire agreement. To them, of course, the trouble will come from the North Koreans and the Chinese. But this is not so. The trouble will come, as it has throughout the truce negotiations, from the American side. It will come from the powerful minority within this country for whom General Van Fleet spoke when he said "There had to be a Korea, either here or somewhere else in the world. There had to be a Korea to put our defense in good shape."

The key to a prevailing peace in Korea, as in other parts of the world, lies in the fine slogan put forward

by the World Council of Peace in its recent meeting in Budapest: "Only the peoples, by unceasing action, can make negotiation, agreement and Peace prevail." With the same thought in mind, General Nam Il, the chief North Korean negotiator at Panmunjom, in accepting only "at face value" the assurances regarding an armistice given by the UN side, warned that the terms of the agreement might continue to be obstructed following the signing of the armistice. "This," he declared, "is what must be seriously watched by the governments and people of the nations throughout the world."

In the May, 1952, issue of this magazine we ran a carefully documented article on the Korean negotiations under the title "Who Is Stalling in Korea?" It was written by Maud Russell, for twenty-seven years a YWCA worker in China who since her return home has been laboring insistently for a democratic American Far Eastern policy. Any one who was surprised at Syngman Rhee's treacherous sabotage of the truce negotiations in June would do well to go back to that article. He would learn that the only new thing in the release of 27,000 North Korean POW's was that it was an act of obstruction which occurred when sabotage of peace could no longer be carried out in the more concealed and demagogic forms of previous occasions. It had to be openly defiant, admittedly treacherous to the United Nations. It outraged the entire world—with a few notable exceptions.

McCarthy declared "Freedom-loving people throughout the world should applaud the action of Syngman Rhee," a judgment which he embellished a few days later by saying "I think Rhee is one of the greatest patriots of all time. He is doing

a tremendous job to protect the rights of his country. I think Rhee is absolutely right."

Senator Knowland, the acting majority floor leader, known in the Senate galleries as "the Senator from Formosa," on the one hand cautioned Rhee not to disturb the truce negotiations and on the other expressed the view that Rhee was justified in his action because he had not been sufficiently consulted by either the Truman or Eisenhower administrations. Reporters covering Capitol Hill agreed that the majority of Republican Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee were in sympathy with the South Korean puppet because they objected to the concessions, so-called, made to the other side by the Administration.

Just as Rhee's forcible expulsion of 27,000 North Korean POW's from the prison camps (at least one thousand of them broke away from their military escort and voluntarily returned to their camps) could be foretold from the previous history of the truce negotiations, so this act of sabotage casts its deep shadow over future efforts to resolve the Korean question. It bears looking into.

It is well established that the release of the prisoners was a planned stratagem of the UN Command which had been under consideration for many weeks before Rhee was either actively encouraged or at the very least permitted to employ it. On May 2, the newly appointed Director of Public Affairs of the State Department, Orland K. Armstrong, in the course of a speech predicted that one of the major moves of the Eisenhower Administration would be "the immediate release of all our Korean prisoners of war, and all Chinese prisoners who desire to fight for the U.S." On May 13, the American ne-

gotiators at Panmunjom formally proposed a modified form of this strategem, the release "on the spot" of all objecting POW's immediately after the armistice. On the previous day General Mark Clark had conferred privately with Syngman Rhee. On June 8, however, the American negotiators gave in on this point, the final one holding up the armistice, and signed with the other side the clause calling for repatriation and disposition of war prisoners under a neutral commission.

On the very next day the Rhee Cabinet recommended and the South Korean National Assembly in open session approved a resolution calling for "immediate release" of all POW's not wishing to be repatriated.

British and European newspapers quickly warned of the imminent danger that Rhee would carry out this threat in spite of the apparent position taken by the UN command. They suggested that steps should immediately be taken to prevent the anticipated event. On June 18, Rhee had his guards and police escort some 25,000 POW's out of the camps left under his control, instructed local officials to protect them from recapture, and through his military personnel began to impress them into his army. Despite immediate protests from the UN High Command and from all the western capitals denouncing this treacherous act no effective action was taken to prevent the "escape" of several more thousand in the ensuing days.

A *New York Times* correspondent, Robert Alden, reported (June 19) "That a release was imminent had been clear for some time. Several newspaper reports even had been published that the South Korean guards at the camps were encouraging prisoners to break out of the

stockades. Yet despite this advance information and despite the fact that there were sufficient American troops available for guard duty, in reserve areas in Korea and Japan, there had only been a token change in the procedure for handling prisoners in the camps."

The evidence indicates that far more numerous and powerful forces than simply the notorious McCarthy minority in this country find it useful to arrange things so that the obdurate old Korean dictator carries out and takes public responsibility for the dirty work that has to be done to stall a settlement in Korea. His value to them is not over. He has openly declared his intention to sabotage the post-armistice negotiations if they do not go the way he wants.

As this article goes to press it is uncertain how far this threat will be carried. But one thing is certain and that is that powerful forces on the American side plainly intend to throw in every possible obstacle to the successful administration of the armistice and, most importantly, to the more difficult process of reaching a general political settlement in the post-armistice discussions. Already before the signing of an armistice Secretary of State Dulles had dictatorially announced that the admission of China into the United Nations cannot be included in the post-armistice discussions. How can there possibly be a political settlement unless such a crucial issue is considered? Has not Mr. Dulles in effect bluntly declared that the American government proposes to enter the political negotiations under conditions which guaranty their failure?

And immediately following the signing of the armistice Washington leaked to the press the ominous in-

formation that it had assured Rhee that the American Government, too, would walk out of the political negotiations after ninety days, if it did not like the direction they were taking. Dulles officially confirmed this in a press conference on July 28.

If those in charge of the UN negotiations in Korea were so reluctant to achieve peace as it seems to me the evidence plainly indicates, how is it that the first great step, the cease-fire, was actually reached? The answer is to be found in the very pressures more of which are required to bring the entire Korean issue to a final settlement. Since the beginning of this frightful war increasing pressure has been brought to bear upon the American government not only to stop it but to cooperate in rectifying the conditions out of which it arose. The pressure has been world wide and during the last twelve months it has increased to such gigantic proportions that the American government has found itself threatened with complete isolation, to say nothing of militant hostility.

It is of the utmost importance to recall that even in the United States where the peace sentiment is most confused and least organized the feeling against the Korean horror was so powerful that Eisenhower, late in his presidential campaign, was forced to pledge an end to it. Similarly in the various sessions of the United Nations not only has the active peace bloc shown a constantly increasing strength but even those

who are habitually the most slavish yes-men to the dictates of the State Department have manifested a growing impatience in their speeches, in their voting abstentions, and in their efforts to work out some sort of viable compromise between the forces of war and those of peace. These are the reasons why the American negotiators have been forced, literally forced, step by step to make progress.

Only by continued and increased public pressures will our government, however unwillingly and haltingly, be forced step by step to give way to the overwhelming desire for a lasting political settlement of the Korean issue.

Even before the armistice had become effective the World Council of Peace issued an appeal which we Americans would do well to adopt in the crucial months ahead. "A great hope has been born," they declared. "Everybody now sees that agreement is possible. The slaughter can be ended. The Cold War can be stopped.

"In this hour we solemnly call upon the peoples to demand of their governments that they negotiate and agree.

"It is for us all to support every move—from whatsoever government it may come—to solve disputes by peaceful means. It is for us all to frustrate the efforts of those who prevent or delay agreement.

"Peace is within our reach. It is for us to win it."

WORDS TO REMEMBER

"And so at long last the carnage of war is to cease and the negotiations of the conference table are to begin. On this sabbath eve each of us devoutly prays that all nations may come to see the wisdom of composing differences in this fashion before, rather than after, various resorts to brutal and futile battle. . . ."

President Eisenhower on Korean truce, July 26, 1953

A CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS

**Adopted unanimously by the
World Council for Peace**

THE EVENTS of recent months have convinced the peoples that settlement of all international differences by peaceful means is possible of attainment.

The peoples have come to realize that Peace can be won by patient and persistent effort on their part.

The World Council of Peace, meeting in Budapest from the 15th to the 20th June, 1953, calls upon the peoples to redouble their efforts to help forward negotiation for international settlement.

Every people has the right to free choice of its own way of life, and the duty to respect the freely preferred choice of other peoples.

The peaceful co-existence of different social systems that is necessary can, by adoption of this principle, be made possible and relations between the peoples become beneficial to all.

Such co-existence requires that all disputes and arguments be settled by the method of negotiation.

The armistice in Korea, leading to a Korean peace, must be signed forthwith on the basis of the agreements already arrived at. Each new delay adds to the bereavements, the destruction, the suffering.

All other wars now being waged and aggressive actions against the independence of peoples must likewise cease. The use of arms against any movement of national liberation constitutes a factor of international tension and may give rise to a center from which war will spread.

The German people has the right to reunification and national sovereignty with due regard to the security of its neighbors and the prevention of the rebirth of militarism and the spirit of revenge.

Japan must recover her full national sovereignty, on the basis of a Peace Treaty recognized by all interested countries and guaranteeing the security of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific.

By safeguarding respect for their sovereignty, by opposing foreign interference in the conduct of their foreign affairs, by refusing to allow establishment of military bases and any form of occupation by foreign troops, the peoples can guarantee their security and the protection of Peace.

The gradual achievement of security will make it possible to halt the arms race, to begin arms reduction by way of negotiation, and to devote the resources, hitherto used for works of death and destruction, to raising the standard of living for all.

Economic and cultural exchanges between all countries must be established on a basis of equality and non-discrimination, profitable to all.

Negotiations will fundamentally change the course of events. The United Nations can become the instrument of this change, by keeping faithfully to the spirit of its Charter. It must admit the countries which have applied to enter. China, like other nations, must be represented by the government of her choice.

It is on these grounds that the World Council of Peace has decided to launch a world wide campaign for negotiation.

In this campaign the peoples will express in a variety of organized ways, their demand that all disputes and differences shall be settled by peaceful means.

Only the peoples, by unceasing action, can make negotiation, agreement and Peace prevail.

BEHIND THE EVENTS

In Eastern Germany

by GORDON SCHAFFER

IN THE West German Republic today we see the forces which created Hitler fascism back in power.

The cartels whose links with the great monopolies of the United States, Britain and Japan, made Hitler's war possible, again dominate West German economic life. The great landowners have not been disturbed.

West Germany, backed by vast capital resources from America, presents the classical picture of a capitalist economy in which productive resources are completely monopolized. On the one side, there is wealth and luxury; on the other, mass poverty and unemployment. Rearmament is welcomed, not only by the section which plans aggressive war, but by the industrial and business interests who demand new sources of profit and war contracts to keep their factories at work.

GORDON SCHAFFER, until recently assistant editor of the London "Reynold News," is an expert on Eastern European affairs and frequent contributor to this magazine.

In the East German Republic, there is no dispute that the power of the cartels and trusts has been broken. The great factories formerly owned by I. G. Farben, and other trusts are national property. In some cases as in the synthetic oil plant, the Soviet occupation authorities took possession for reparations. This was done not so much as a measure of justice to the devastated Soviet land, but because a four-power decision in the early days of occupation deprived Germany of the right to make synthetic oil. The East German authorities rightly decided that this decision was demanded by the Western powers as a device to cripple their economy. The plant under Soviet control fulfilled the agreement, but made synthetic petrol available to Germany.

The estates of the Junkers have been divided among the peasants, and their power broken.

The war factories left by Hitler have been destroyed in the Eastern Republic. This was vouched for by a four-power commission in 1947. Mr. Bevin himself admitted at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers that year, that no inspection

had taken place in the West, and that the war factories had not all been destroyed.

Thus the basic fact as far as the world situation is concerned is that in the German Democratic Republic the economic basis of Nazism was destroyed. Fascism is not a question of brown shirts or black shirts; it does not rest on individuals. It is a system created by monopoly capitalism with the purpose of maintaining and increasing its power, and destroying the threat to its domination by the people, particularly by the organizations of the working class.

There is no basis for the rebuilding of fascism in Eastern Germany, and that is why the German Democratic Republic can without danger draw back into the stream of democratic development the millions of Germans who formerly backed the Nazi regime.

In the Federal Republic, the basis for fascism remains, and that is why the rearmament of Western Germany and its integration into a war alliance of the West presents such a deadly danger that the forces which supported Hitler, and whose only quarrel with him is that he lost the war, will lead the world back to catastrophe.

All this was clear in 1948 when the unilateral currency reform imposed by the Americans on the Western Zone cut Germany in two. From that moment the West steadily threw overboard the Potsdam agreement which provided for the destruction of the economic base of the Hitler regime. The East also could not stand still, and on the basis of nationalization and land reform moved steadily towards a planned economy. In doing so, it repaired war devastation at a much faster rate than the West, and provided for the people

social services well in advance of the quite substantial standards of the Weimar Republic. And it did so without doles from abroad.

The Soviet Union, while in the early years taking reparations from current production, provided capital equipment on generous trading terms for both industry and agriculture, which Eastern Germany could never have got from the West.

But all the time the dilemma remained that Germany is not two nations, but one. Unity of their country is still a much more dominant ideal in the minds of tens of millions of Germans in both West and East than conflicting ideologies.

From Potsdam onwards the Soviet Union has recognized that German unity is essential not only to Germany but to Europe. The political parties in Eastern Germany, in particular the Socialist Unity Party, have always put the unity of Germany in the forefront of their program.

Last summer, however, the countries of the socialist world, including the Soviet Union, reacted sharply to the open threats of sabotage by the United States. The severe security measures in the various Peoples' Democracies were a reflection of this sense of danger.

Eastern Germany is more susceptible to sabotage than any of the other countries. Western Berlin, in the heart of the German Democratic Republic, is a constant center of espionage, subversion, and provocation. The Berlin and West German radio stations pour constant streams of propaganda into East Germany.

The German Democratic Republic reacted to these threats by speeding up economic development. The Socialist Unity Party declared in favor of building socialism. Moreover, be-

cause of the threat of rearmament in the West, it decided to prepare the groundwork for its own rearmament.

Socialism cannot be built without hardship for those who have shared in the exploitation of capitalism. All sorts of people who enjoy lucrative posts in a capitalist economy, may be forced to take on less enjoyable and less remunerative jobs under socialism. Private traders of various kinds are pushed out by state or cooperative enterprise. In the countryside, cooperative farms are necessary in order to make full use of mechanization provided by industry.

The difference in Eastern Germany was that the drive to socialism was not the result of a people's revolution as in the other countries of Eastern Europe. And because it was taking place in only half a country, the capitalist remnants preferred to flee to the West rather than accept their place in the new scheme of things.

That was why so many refugees left the Republic.

In the West, the capitalist system dealt with the same type of problem by forcing up prices, and throwing millions out of work. In the East, the result was not in increased living costs but in shortage of goods. (Incidentally, food supplies were certainly no worse than in Britain.)

If the German Democratic Republic had been a single country these problems could have been corrected. But in half a country, they resulted in widening the gap with the rest of Germany.

That was why the Socialist Unity Party, and the Government of the German Democratic Republic, decided to retrace their steps. I was there in Eastern Berlin when this

decision was taken. I discussed the new measures with leaders of the various parties and with members of the government, and there is no doubt that they acted with the sincere intention to open the way for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

By inviting the return of owners of factories, and shops, and peasant farms, and offering them credits for the re-establishment of their businesses, the government showed their realization that a united Germany will not in this period at least, be a socialist Germany.

They showed by deeds as well as words that they were anxious to prepare the way for the union of the two separate economies.

Ever since 1945, this problem has loomed over Germany. In my book "The Russian Zone of Germany," published in 1947, I wrote:

A great deal of hard thinking will be necessary before ways and means are found for getting over the unequal development which has already taken place between the Zones. These difficulties will increase, the longer the settlement is delayed.

How are the lands and provinces in Eastern Germany which are planning their economic development, and which have incorporated the duty to plan in their new constitutions to fit into a united economy with other provinces still based on the old ideas of private enterprise? How can the two parts of Germany work together when in one, shop-stewards are taking part in management, while in the other they are still vainly fighting for this right? The land reform in the East can never be undone, and any policy based on the belief that it is temporary is the sheerest fantasy. But if the present farm holdings in the East are to be part of a unified German agriculture, they must be fitted into a national German econ-

omy, with the Western agricultural areas in which land reform, if and when it comes, is visualized in quite a different form.

These questions are still at the heart of the German problem.

The Americans in 1948 made the gap wider by forcing through unilateral currency reform, thereby dividing Germany with the definite purpose of making Western Germany a bastion of Western capitalism. The inevitable result of that decision was to restore economic power to the very same forces that created the Hitler regime.

When the German Democratic Republic announced its concessions to private enterprise, it tried to narrow the gap. The answer of the Americans was to attempt to overthrow the East German government by using the various sabotage organizations which have been built up over the last few years. It is true that there was discontent in Eastern Germany, but it is laughable to suppose that the Americans who have publicly boasted of their policy of introducing saboteurs into the Eastern European countries did not make use of the opportunity.

It is against this background that the present situation in Germany must be studied. The Russians are

ready to accept the sort of Germany which the German people will build if they are left to work out their own destiny, provided always that the four powers accept the basic principles of the treaties to which they have already given their signatures. That is to say, the Potsdam and Yalta agreements stipulating the new Polish frontiers and guarding against the re-emergence of Nazi aggression must be observed.

The Americans want to throw overboard their war-time pledges. They want to carry up to the Oder-Neisse and beyond, a Germany on the pattern of the Krupps and Adenauer. They want to give the strongest armed forces in Western Europe to Nazi generals who are already baying for war.

At the moment, they are trying to disguise these realities by diverting attention to the events in East Germany.

But the countries of Western Europe are too near the danger to be deceived. They are not particularly interested in the sort of Germany which emerges from Four-Power talks. All they demand is a Germany which does not lead them for a third time to war.

Syngman Rhee has taught the world a lesson which will be applied in Europe as well as Asia.

EVEN THE "TIMES" CAN'T HIDE IT

UNDER the headline "Former Hitlerites Bolder in Politics—Aggressiveness Tied to Their Knowledge of Price U.S. Will Pay for European Army," the *N. Y. Times* reported from Bonn, on July 24:

"Competent observers are being more and more impressed with the growing boldness of the neo-Nazi splinter groups, numerous nationalistic war veterans associations, and the overt efforts of Government coalition leaders to court the latter as the campaign for the Sept. 6 general election approaches."

The Beria Case

by

JESSICA SMITH

THE ATTEMPTS to depict the Beria case in terms of a "palace struggle for power" in the Soviet Union, all the crude and vicious speculations about the supposed juggling for control of the Communist Party, the Soviet Army and the internal security forces, are a deliberate part of the anti-Soviet war strategy of poisoning the minds of the American people with an utterly false picture of the nature of the Soviet state.

If there were indeed a struggle of personalities for power going on, there would be a noticeable effort to build up loyalty to certain individuals. On the contrary, all the emphasis in the Soviet press and periodicals is on collective rather than individual leadership, on collective decisions as against one-man decisions, at all levels, on the need of all party ranks, from the highest to the lowest levels, to exercise constant self-criticism, to guard against all manifestations of bureaucracy and arrogance, and above all to maintain the closest ties with the people at all times.

Cutting away all the crude distortions, here are the facts of the Beria case that are known at the present writing.

On July 10, *Tass*, the Soviet News Agency, published and broadcast over the radio two communiques. One announced that a recent plenary meet-

ing of the Central Committee of the Communist Party had decided to remove Lavrenti P. Beria from the Central Committee and to expel him from the ranks of the party "as an enemy of the Communist Party and of the Soviet people." This action was taken, the communique stated, "After listening to and discussing the report of the Presidium of the Central Committee by G. M. Malenkov as regards the criminal anti-party and anti-state activities of L. P. Beria intended to undermine the Soviet state in the interests of foreign capital and manifested in the perfidious attempts to place the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs above the Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

The second communique was from the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. It announced the decision to remove Beria as First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and as Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, and "to refer the case of Beria's criminal actions for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Court." It said this action was taken after hearing a report of the Council of Ministers bringing to light "criminal anti-state actions of L. P. Beria intended to undermine the Soviet state in the interests of foreign capital."

On July 10, *Pravda*, organ of the

Communist Party, published an editorial giving further details.

The editorial opened with a positive, confident statement of the mighty creative advance of the USSR in all fields of national economy, emphasized the ever-increasing extent to which the Soviet people were rallying around the Government, and the steady advance in the well-being of every section of the Soviet people.

Pravda reiterated the Soviet Government's position "that all unsolved international questions can be solved by negotiations between the interested countries."

The editorial spoke of the great upsurge of the international peace movement, and along with this, the weakening of the war camp and the resulting sharp intensification of the activities of the reactionary imperialist forces which, it said, were seeking support among renegade and depraved elements to undermine the camp of socialism.

It was to such activities of international forces hostile to the Soviet state that *Pravda* attributed the recent "intensification of Beria's criminal activities." It said that previously his anti-state and anti-party activities had been deeply concealed "but lately—having become arrogant and letting himself go—Beria started to disclose his real face." *Pravda* then listed the following charges against Beria:

That he had maneuvered to seize power by putting the Ministry of Internal Affairs above the party and the government, using the Ministry's central and local organs against the party and its leadership, selecting its officials on the basis of personal loyalty to himself.

That it had been established that under various pretexts Beria had im-

peded decisions on urgent agricultural measures, with the aim of undermining the collective farms and creating difficulties in the country's food supplies.

That by various crafty schemes Beria had sought to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, to disseminate hostility among them and to activize bourgeois-nationalist elements in the Union Republics.

That he had intentionally impeded and distorted the Soviet Government's instructions for the strengthening of Soviet legislation and the liquidation of some instances of lawlessness and arbitrary action.

That irrefutable facts proved that Beria had lost the character of a Communist and changed into a bourgeois renegade, in actuality becoming an agent of international imperialist forces.

That Beria had hatched plans to seize the leadership of the party and the country with the aim of actually destroying the Communist Party and of changing the policy elaborated by the party into a capitulatory policy which would have brought about ultimately the restoration of capitalism.

Pravda declared that the main political lessons and conclusions to be drawn from this was that "the strength of our leadership is in its collectivity." It continued:

Only the collective political experience, the collective wisdom of the Central Committee, supported by the scientific basis of the Marx and Lenin theory, can safeguard the correct party leadership of the country, the firmness and consolidation of the ranks of the party and successful Communist construction in our country. . . . The party organizations must successfully check the work of all organizations and the administrative activity of all leading workers.

Calling especially for checking of

the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Pravda* warned its readers that it must never be forgotten that "As long as the capitalist encirclement exists it will send its agents into our ranks for undermining activities."

In conclusion, *Pravda* stated:

... The force and invincibility of our party lies in its close and indestructible links with the masses of the people. Its task is to strengthen and develop this relation, to consider with profound feeling the workers' demands, to exercise daily concern for the all-round improvement of the living standards of the workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all the Soviet people.

The sacred duty of the party is the strengthening of the friendship of our party lies in its close and indestructible links with the masses of the USSR, the strengthening of our multi-national people's state, the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. . . . Mobilizing the creative forces of our people, the party, Soviet trade unions and Komsomol organizations must guide these forces in such a way as to utilize fully our reserves and possibilities for the successful implementation of the tasks set by the Nineteenth Party Congress.

The tasks set by that Congress were to forge ahead toward the completion of the transition from socialism to communism, creating the conditions for the full satisfaction of all the material and cultural needs of all the Soviet people, and to work indefatigably for the peaceful relations with the rest of the world which alone can assure the achievement of this goal.

No police state, no power struggle among a few top personalities, could achieve such aims. The Soviet people well know this, and would support only those leaders pursuing

these policies. Meetings of all sections of the population throughout the USSR have expressed their full confidence in their present party and government leadership.

That the decisive role in history belongs not to individuals but to the masses of the people is one of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, stressed constantly by Soviet leaders and understood deeply by the Soviet people. It is this that precludes a "power struggle." No leader lacking faith in the people could count on their continued support. It is from the confidence of their government in them that the confidence of the Soviet people in their government is derived.

THE TREASON trials in the Soviet Union in the late thirties signaled the growing danger of new world war. Trotsky and the other traitors, who found no support for their policies among the Soviet people, calculated that their only chance to come to power was through a war in which their country would be defeated. Thus they began to make deals with the fascist enemies of the Soviet Union to weaken the country from within, expecting in return to become the leaders of whatever was left of their country.

This is not the world of 1937 and 1938. But thoughtful people, with some basic understanding of the nature of Soviet society, will draw certain parallels with the case of Beria today, both from the nature of the charges against him and from the officially expressed purposes of today's enemies of the Soviet Union to destroy it from within. They will see in this episode, drawing a lesson from history, a new and terrible sign of the gravity of the war danger that hangs over the world, and of

the lengths to which those bent on the destruction of the Soviet Union are prepared to go. They will also recognize that the timely discovery of Beria's treachery, and the removal of such a threat from within, will result not in the weakening but the strengthening of the Soviet state, as was the case on the eve of World War II.

Joseph E. Davies, former American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, after describing the treason trials of 1937 and 1938 which he attended, wrote in his *Mission to Moscow*:

"There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941. . . . The purge had cleansed the country and rid it of treason." (p. 280)

The manner in which the news about Beria was received in certain Washington circles (reported in the *New York Herald Tribune*, July 11) is revealing.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told the French and British Foreign Ministers:

We meet at a time of great opportunity. . . . Within Russia itself. . . . a new convulsion is under way. The old system may remain and may continue to threaten, but inherent weakness is disclosed. . . .

Senator Alexander Wiley (R.-Wis.) Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, declaring the Beria incident would be followed by "the inevitable blood bath," said:

. . . This may be one of our greatest opportunities in postwar history. We should intensify psychological warfare to exploit the boiling tensions inside the Iron Curtain. This would provide new hopes for the enslaved peoples.

Senator Robert S. Kerr (D.-Okla.) declared:

This is another evidence that the foreign policy of the last Administration which in the main has been carried forward by the present Administration, is bearing fruit and that if we continue steadfast in our purpose and endeavors, the rotten spots that have appeared in the Soviet apple are liable to develop and become fatal.

Senator Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.) said:

I hope it means a big internal explosion in Russia.

No convulsions or explosions have occurred. *New York Times* correspondent Harrison E. Salisbury reported to his paper on July 11 that diplomats in Moscow believed that Premier Malenkov and Foreign Minister Molotov would continue unchanged the Soviet Government's present foreign policy of seeking relaxation of tensions with the West and its internal policy of further efforts "to improve the material well-being and promote the security of Soviet citizens under Soviet legal safeguards." He reported that Moscow and the country generally were quiet following the news, and that while there was obviously great interest among the people, there was no sign of any sort of panic or disorder or of any unusual precautions by the government.

The campaign for peace, for higher living standards, for concentration on projects of peaceful construction and cultural activities, for giving full scope to the inexhaustible creative energies of the people in all spheres—all these things continue unabated, expressing the reality of Soviet life.

I Saw for Myself

**American YWCA worker with many years
in old China gives an eye-witness ac-
count of her impressions of New China**

by TALITHA GERLACH

ON a Shanghai street not long ago, I saw a cart, loaded with iron rods, get stuck crossing the tracks. Many such carts constantly thread the streets of Shanghai because construction is being pushed in every part of the city. Without a moment's hesitation, the policeman on duty stepped forward, grasped a spoke in each hand and, straining in unison with the workers, helped the cart across the bumpy tracks.

I had spent many years in China at various times but had never seen anything like this. Before the liberation, that policeman would have cursed the carters, and quite likely struck them. "Where in the old society," thought I, "could one run into an officer of the law putting his shoulder to the wheel to help workmen with their load?"

This was one of the many things I saw for myself, as a member of the United States delegation touring China after the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions last autumn. Because I have known the country under many circum-

stances and can get along in the language, no one can say I only saw what "they" had wanted me to see. I walked around a great deal, through places I had long known.

Let me give another example, again from Shanghai: a visit to the world-famous Willow Pattern Tea House, the name and general appearance of which are familiar to everyone who has ever eaten off a blue-and-white "willow pattern" plate.

One day, two of us set forth unaccompanied by an interpreter, for the tea house with its picturesque "bridge of nine turnings." We had already heard that the shallow pond in the center of which the tea house stands had been dredged and cleaned. Sure enough, we found the formerly stagnant water now flowing gently, the bridge and tea house all neat and tidy, and the old gentlemen sunning their pet birds on the bridge.

We wandered into the adjacent City Temple (Cheng Hwang Miao) where individual worship and burning of incense was going on as of yore. But something new had been added. Several of the formerly vacant rooms now housed a primary school from which merry youngsters poured forth at the end of their school day. Then we strolled near the wall of the beautiful Nei Yuan

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garden just to peep over it, for it was my recollection that this garden used to be closed to the public except for two days in the year.

To our surprise the gate was wide open, and had a sign reading "People's Court of Shanghai, South District (Temporary Quarters)." We stood in front of it undecided, for a moment, but the friendly gateman ushered us into the garden itself. The stately, venerable pine trees were there, the graceful bamboos, and the rock garden; and every room in the long building around the edges of the garden was occupied by serious groups around tables. They were intently discussing, arguing. This was the People's Court in session.

But it was on the Huai river that our group saw what is really a great human epic—the greatest of the water conservancy and flood control projects of the new China. The aim of this project is to free one-seventh of China's cultivated land, with 80 million people, from the scourge of recurrent flood.

In addition, this network of irrigation canals, dams and controlled waterways will open new means of interior communication and make possible electrification for a very wide section of China.

The Huai project has been described often, and we ourselves had seen a film about it. But it was something very special to find ourselves at the site of earthdigging itself—the San Ho Cha sluice gate project in north Kiangsu, begun September, 1952 and scheduled to be completed by the end of June, 1953.

As our party reached the summit of the road leading to the site, we were struck by the amazing sight of 40,000 men and women working together in the basin where the sluice

gate would soon rise. Some were digging earth with pick and shovel, loading it into shallow baskets. Others slung the baskets on the shoulder-poles, hurrying to an embankment some distance away where the earth was dumped to build a temporary dyke until the concrete dam was finished.

Forty thousand persons, moving, moving, moving, each team working in its appointed place marked by gay fluttering banners, yet with no confusion, no disorder, no clamor of strident voices, and no clanging of machinery, because there wasn't any. One could hear only the soft murmur of musical chants as the workers carried their loads, walking swiftly, with lithe, sure steps as team after team dug—loaded—carried—dumped, over and over again.

Occasionally a voice over the public address system relayed instructions to a distant team; at other times music sang out over the loud speakers, the workers joining in.

We climbed back to higher ground to see the preparations under way for the later stages of construction—lumber, and wood, cement and sand, steel rods and iron parts. Then we looked over the facilities for health instruction and first aid, educational classes, cultural activities and recreation grounds.

When the loudspeakers announced that we were leaving, the 40,000 people broke off work for a short time. Some moved in from the more distant locations; all listened attentively as workers and visitors exchanged greetings and best wishes for success, often interrupting with applause and shouts of approval. As we returned to our waiting auto caravan down the road, team after team which had already resumed work burst into song. Many people

crowded to the roadside to clasp our hands in friendly farewell saying: "We must work together for peace, so that we can carry the harnessing of the Huai river to completion."

What sort of peasant had made all this possible? We had the privilege of meeting one of them; his name was Hsu Pao-ho, and he said he came to the Huai river project, because back home, "the bank of the river is higher than my stove-top." In other words, Hsu had never been free from the fear that the swollen river would spill over the bank, sweeping away both home and crops. If not for the liberation, he would have had to reconcile himself to fearing the river, and taking its blows, as long as he lived. But now a miracle had occurred. Together with other peasants, he was matching his strength against the ancient enemy—and winning.

A former poor peasant, Hsu Pao-ho had with the land reform received five acres for himself and his family. "My father had only one thin garment," he told us, "but today I have a suit of clothes for normal weather and warm clothes for winter. I can also change to a holiday suit when I wish."

"While this job is going on," Hsu explained, "our mutual-aid team at home is looking after my crop. Some day, we shall have a tractor and electricity to make the land give more grain for less hard work. As my own life gets better, I know it is also getting better for all other peasants in my village and in the country."

That was Hsu Pao-ho, a new kind of peasant in the new kind of China we were seeing.

In Tientsin we saw another example of the Chinese approach to life and work today. Only five months prior to our visit, the present site

of the Tientsin Engineering College had been a bare tract of land—some 250 acres on the city's outskirts. Yet the October classes were in session, and when we went there the basic buildings had not only been put up but were already in use—even while the inside finishing, the installation of machinery and the construction of roads were still in progress.

How had this college taken form in such a short time? The answer lies in cooperation. Instructors and students, engineers and engineers-to-be, had worked together to draft the blueprints. In the actual construction, the faculty and student body worked alongside the building workers. This was a good beginning for a technical university based on the unity of theory and practice, a school which will graduate no student who has not had practical experience. What a far cry it is from the days when university students considered that engaging in manual labor was "soiling one's hands!"

In accordance with China's new educational policy, special emphasis is placed on admitting students from peasant and worker families. Today they comprise about 20 per cent of the student body at Tientsin Engineering College. A pre-university school offers courses for those who need special preparation before entry. At present the student body totals 4,200, of whom 500 are taking the "prep" courses.

In the laboratory workshops we noticed many women bending intently over machines. Engineering has become a woman's profession as much as a man's.

Everywhere, literally everywhere, new homes for workers are arising.

For fully thirty minutes before our arrival in Shenyang (Mukden), our train sped through districts

where buildings were going up on both sides of the railroad track. Some were factories, but most were new housing developments.

Earlier, we had seen the homes for textile workers in Tientsin and Shanghai, and the cottages of jute mill and paper factory workers in Hangchow. Here in the Northeast—in the Fushun coal area and the machine tool plants of Shenyang—we saw housing projects equally well planned, if not better, with regard to layout of buildings, recreation facilities, marketing, bath-houses and clinics, modern plumbing and easy access to nurseries and schools and other public utilities, provided by the modern city. Such housing projects are usually located near the factories; in cases where they are not, transportation is made easy and inexpensive. For most workers' families, many of peasant origin, these new houses represent the difference between night and day.

"I began as a peasant in Shantung province," said a Fushun coal miner. "There I had no land, no food, no clothes, and when floods and drought came I had no crops. At one time I was reduced to begging. Then I heard there were jobs in the coal mines in the Northeast, and I moved up with my family. But life wasn't much better: long working hours, poor pay, and often only bean cakes, tree bark and acorn flour for food."

The miners were so poor and beset by debts that they had a song: "Coming to Fushun, a man sells his blankets, changes new clothes for old and old clothes for a gunny sack."

"Today," the coal miner continued, "I work only eight hours a day and my family has rice and white flour to eat. We have a warm,

comfortable house on the hillside overlooking the valley."

Four out of every ten Fushun miners have moved from their old shacks into many of the good houses built for the mine owners and engineers under the Japanese and the Kuomintang. An additional 50 per cent live in newly constructed brick hostels or bungalows.

Not only the workers, but also the peasants are incomparably better off than before.

Under the Kuomintang, Little Red Gate Village near Peking used to be controlled by the 32 landlord families who owned 654 acres of land. The 360 poor peasant families held only 81 acres among them and rented additional land from the landlords, for which they paid more than half their crop as rent. There were other fees and taxes which went to the local headmen, such as special payments to keep the young men from being conscripted into the army. All this left very little for the poorer peasants to live on.

I shall never forget the villager whose neat tidy little home we visited. How proudly he pointed to a large glass window pane which he had installed to replace the old paper covering. Yes, he could now afford glass, which gave better light! What was more, instead of one thin blanket on his bed in the winter, he now had two new thick ones. And instead of a single inadequate padded garment for winter wear, he now had a new warm two-piece suit plus a furlined winter coat. Every member of his family, he announced happily, had a similar outfit.

The village head beamed as he took us to see the clinic staffed with a resident doctor, two nurses, a midwife and other assistants. He told us that the clinic sees thirty to forty

patients daily, babies are delivered in their homes and the seriously sick patients are taken to hospitals in nearby Peking. The village school now has an attendance of more than 380 children; before liberation less than 100 children, chiefly from the landlord and rich peasant families, went to school here. Evening classes and winter schools, during the agricultural slack season, provide adult education. The new rapid method of learning to read and write Chinese is eradicating illiteracy from the countryside.

The village cooperative was extremely orderly and clean, with well stocked shelves and storage bins for flour, rice, corn, wheat, beans, cooking oils. The dry goods section carried 280 different items, everything from handkerchiefs, soap and flashlights to many varieties of cloth, in plain and gay patterns.

The peasant leader told us that some landlords still live in the village and till the land allotted them in the re-distribution. No landlord can, however, stand for election to the village council until three years after the time of the land reform.

Today a former poor peasant or landless laborer, the kind of man who was so oppressed that he could not open his mouth in the old days, stands upright and confident before, visiting delegations from all over the world, such as ours, speaking his mind. It is a man of this sort—once a destitute rural toiler—who is now the village head of Little Red Gate. As he easily answered every question we put, citing facts and figures without referring to any notes, one thought came to my mind. The Chinese peasant, for the first time in history, has become "captain of his soul and master of his fate."

CHINA'S BOOM IN SPORTS GOODS

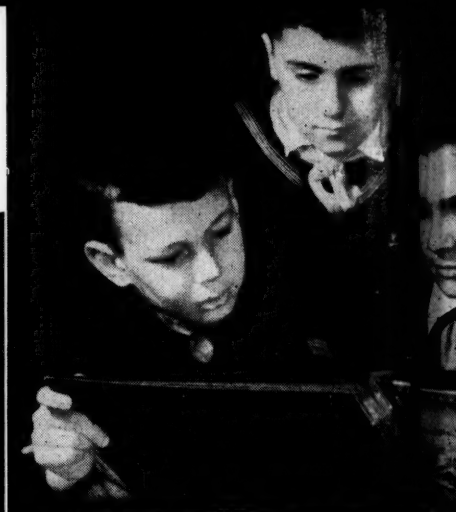
MANUFACTURE of sports and athletic equipment in Shanghai has boomed as the result of mass athletic activities among the people since liberation. There are 180 such factories and workshops in Shanghai today, compared with only 50 in 1950.

Table tennis, badminton, basketball, volleyball and football are the most popular.

Basketballs, volleyballs and footballs sold in the entire year of 1952 reached only 48,000. Now the monthly sale is above 18,000, sometimes reaching 22,000.

Other equipment, such as parallel bars, horizontal bars, vaulting horses and such gymnasium facilities are now being produced in increasing quantities.

A repairman, rate setter, electrician and a fitter in the physics lab of the branch of the Kuibyshev Industrial Institute at the construction site. While building, they are studying to become engineers



Children of the cotton
a new school built for them



The nursery in the new city of Komsomolsk that has sprung up at the Kuibyshev development. These photos were taken last winter.

at the Kuibyshev

Just above the city of Kuibyshev, Soviet people are building the largest dam in the world—capacity 20,000 dams, reservoirs and canals. The 2,500,000 acres of arid land open for full operation in 1955. New towns have arisen where—before—there were none—the builders already have many families.

Ten-year school, in the city named, for children of the builders



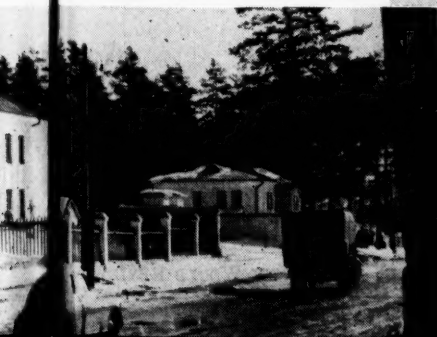


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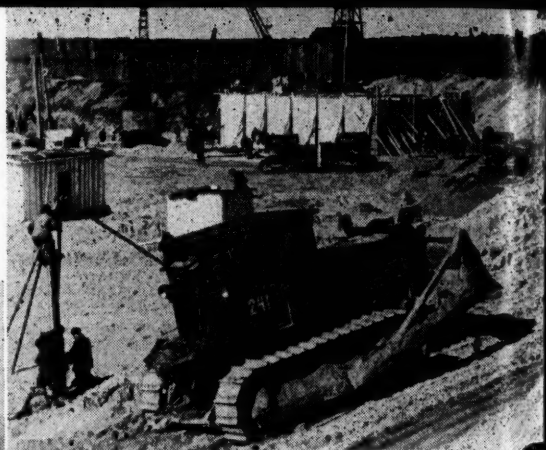
This is a drafting class of future hydro engineers. All the students work on the giant construction and study in their spare time at the branch of the Industrial institute established near the building site.



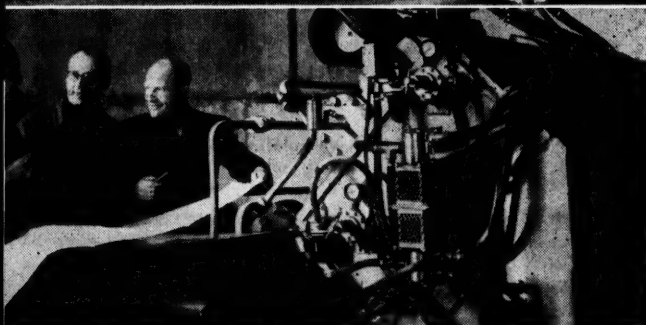
Street scene. This town has no name as yet, but it does have comfortable homes, stores, clubs, nurseries, schools and libraries.



Construction site. In the background can be seen the sheet-pile wall that protects the foundation pit for the power station from inundation by the Volga waters.



This automatic concrete plant on the site makes 140,000 cu. ft. of concrete in a 24-hr. period.



A Leningrad expert explains the fine points of a new automatic butt-welding machine to some of the workers on the project. It is used to prefabricate the steel structures.



A worker marks off the steel members for welding the prefabricated elements of the big project.

Why I Am a Friend of the USSR

by

ESLANDA ROBESON

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, along with other national organizations, is being prosecuted under the infamous McCarran Act, for allegedly subversive activities. Patriotic Americans understand that the work of the Council for American-Soviet cooperation advances the highest interests of our country and the peace of the world. Former President Truman branded the McCarran Act as unconstitutional in a veto over-ridden by Congress. NEW WORLD REVIEW readers will help serve the cause of peace by protesting to Attorney General Herbert Brownell and the Subversive Activities Control Board, Washington, D.C., against this unwarranted attack on the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and urging that the charges against it be dropped.

—The Editors

I WENT ALONG to the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Council of American-Soviet Friendship at the Club Cinema in New York last month.

I am co-chairman, with Virginia Epstein, of the Committee of Women of the Council; this Committee put on a most interesting and beautiful exhibition of photographs, posters, publications, and quotations which told some of the story of the fine constructive work of the Council during the ten years of its existence.

Celebrated citizens of our country, including Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Corliss Lamont, Rev. Howard Melish, spoke about the importance of building friendship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

I spoke my little piece, too.

I have been a friend of the Soviet Union for many years now, ever

since my first visit to that amazing and wonderful country in 1936.

My friendships are important to me. I cherish and take very seriously my friendships with individuals, with organizations, and with nations.

My friendship with the Soviet Union and the Soviet people began as all my friendships have begun. I *liked* them, and I think they liked me. The friendship grew, became solidly grounded in mutual interests, tastes, values, and I hope, in mutual respect and affection.

I *like* the Soviet people, their warmth, their expansive and thoughtful hospitality, their practical realistic approach to the facts of life, their courage in discarding old useless traditions and building sturdy new useful ones; and most of all, I like their human attitude toward human beings.

As a young mother with an only

child, I had discovered that a parent can be friends—good friends—with children of any age, even with babies, if one treated them with respect and dignity and interest, as equals. In the Soviet Union I discovered that a whole Government and a whole people treated children, even babies, as equals.

As a woman and a Negro who has always worked and fought for my full rights as an equal human being, I discovered that the Soviet Government and the Soviet people accepted women and minorities as equals, and treated them as such, officially and unofficially.

So as a mother, a woman and a Negro, my friendship with the Soviet Union took root in good soil and grew and flourished. This friendship is built to withstand storms, and cannot be uprooted by rumors, official pronouncements, prejudice, stupidity, hysteria and fear.

For many years my Government took no interest in my friendship with the Soviet Union. This was normal, because for many years my Government took no interest at all in me and my Negro people. We just did not, and still do not, exist as first class citizens.

But now, suddenly, in these last few years, my Government and my State Department take note of this friendship, arrogantly order me to discontinue it, and brand me as subversive and a traitor when I refuse to do so.

Well, I'm not going to break off my friendship with the Soviet Union, and that's flat. As a Negro, I'm used to being called names, so that doesn't bother me. I'm very sure I'm not subversive nor a traitor.

And furthermore, it's no good my

Government telling me, at this late date, who I can be friends with. First let my Government be friends with me and my Negro people. First let my Government stop discriminating against, segregating and persecuting us. First let my Government tell me and my people that we are first class citizens, AND MAKE US KNOW IT. Then, and not until then, will I believe my Government wants to be friends with us, and then I will feel it is proper for me to listen to advice and suggestions. In fact, then and then only, will I KNOW that my Government IS my Government.

Meanwhile I will do the best I can, honestly and sincerely following my own considered judgment, after arming myself with all the available world facts and information. After weighing all these facts and this information I have come to the sober conclusion that my friendship with the Soviet Union is so well grounded that it is worth defending against great pressures.

From the depths of my experience as a Negro, I can respectfully offer some practical constructive advice and suggestions to my Government:

We need friends. People and nations need friends. We cannot maintain a 24-hour vigil against enemies for long without ruining our physical, mental, political, economic, and moral health. The only way to prevent our destruction is to build friendship with people and with nations. Having made friends, we can then sleep peacefully, relax, turn our backs occasionally, and go cheerfully about our normal business, without fear.

Simple, isn't it? I find it so. And I mean to go right on maintaining my friendships.

How Moscow Spends the Summer

by

RALPH PARKER

OF ALL THE MONTHS of the Moscow year June, it seems to me, is the most fully charged with excitement. After the long, cold winter and the violent spring thaw, June finds nature restored and the man-built city spick and span. To one accustomed to more moderate climate the Russian early summer creates a strong impression of violent rebirth. Not the soft hesitant steps of an English spring but a veritable upheaval of nature. The carpets of flowers are unrolled, the verdure hastily hung on the trees, the floodlights switched on and the stage is set so fast that I've often expected to see the scene-shifters darting into the wings when strolling through the city parks in June.

This cataclysm of a season arouses in people a feeling of exalted joy. They pour out of their homes on to the broad pavements under the lime trees, into the parks aglow with the pastel shades of the most Russian of flowers, the peony, and the most Russian of shrubs, lilac. They discard

their drab winter clothes and in white, yellow or pale blue make Moscow look like a southern city. They pack the stadiums and open air theaters. One Sunday in early June this year there were 40,000 of them watching the European basketball championships at the Dynamo stadium.

June sees the beginning of the vast trek to the countryside. On June first shrill bugles summon the Young Pioneers from their homes. All sorts of Volodkas and Petyas, Lenochkas and Svetlanas, come racing down the stairs with bundles in their hands, to assemble in the schoolyards. They line up and to the tap-tap of a kettledrum proceed to the bus terminal on the first stage of their journey to the Young Pioneer Camp.

The word camp is, perhaps, misleading, for it may suggest the children live in tents or cabins. In fact, the Young Pioneer Camps, which come under the control of the trade unions, are permanent holiday centers, very efficiently run with strict though unobtrusive medical supervision. They are an essential part of the health service which, in the Soviet Union, is based on preventive medicine. Parents are not, of course, obliged to send their children to Young Pioneer Camps, but there is one strong inducement to do so—the

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fact that it is usually cheaper to send your children on holiday than to keep them at home. The cost of a month in the country, all told, is low even when parents are paying the full rate, and many pay only half rate, and some nothing at all.

As the buses speed along the highways towards the Green Belt, they overtake trucks piled high with sundry furniture, camp stools, folding beds, wicker chairs, samovars, family pets, rubber plants . . . for June also sees the annual move to the dachas or summer houses outside Moscow. The dacha habit is now so well established as part of Russian working class life that no study of Soviet living conditions is complete unless it takes account of it. Rents are so low in the city—rarely more than 4 per cent of the family income—that people can afford to rent rooms or small houses outside Moscow for the three or four summer months. Another important contribution is the cheapness of transportation. Travel on the electric trains that run for a distance of some twenty to thirty miles out of Moscow is amazingly cheap, the season ticket fares being based on a modified flat-rate system. Thus a worker spending the summer 20 miles out of Moscow and traveling into the city and back six days a week will spend the equivalent of about 20 cents a week on rail fares.

Steelworkers at the Hammer and Sickle Works in East Moscow have their own station on the electric line near the entrance to the works. In half an hour they can be in the heart of the Green Belt, at a village where they have a cooperative summer settlement—chalet type houses each with about an acre of garden. This settlement was built before World War II, in the clearing in the forest

within five minutes walk of the station.

It was to a village nearby that we moved early in June. To a typical Moscow dacha, a log-built cottage raised a couple of feet above the ground with a plank dado round it, painted corn-flower blue outside but the timber left natural indoors; three rooms and a large glassed-in veranda. There is electricity and tank gas. Water we draw from a well outside the wicket gate. In the village there are about ten streets of dachas, few of them alike because they were mainly built before prefabs or standard frames were available and grew according to the owners' fancy.

The gardens are well kept. Dacha dwellers are mainly self-supporting in fruit and vegetables and expect to take back to Moscow enough potatoes and pickles to last them through most of the winter. Milk and eggs are bought from the local inhabitants, other provisions from the three or four state and cooperative shops near the station or at the market in the next village.

This market is one of those where trade greatly expanded after the introduction of new regulations a few years ago. This encouraged small-holders to bring their produce to the market by offering them stands, aprons, scales, butcher knives, etc. for the payment of very low charges. State shops were opened in the markets where the small-holders could buy hardware, textiles and so on. Now, a very brisk trade is done in these markets, which provide a vivid example of the way commodity relations continue to exist side-by-side with socialism. The private producer is still selling his commodity at prices governed by the law of values and then going straight into a state shop

and buying the products of socialist industry at fixed planned prices.

The coexistence of two systems is a temporary phase and you can detect signs of its gradual passing if you look a little harder at the scene of a Moscow country market. You will notice, for instance, that fewer people are buying fish and meat in the market than a year or two ago and that their shopping baskets now contain canned food bought at the State shop. You will see a stream of small-holders going into the *Selmag* (Village Cooperative Store) and getting merchandise in exchange for vouchers showing that they have sold so many eggs, liters of milk, etc. to the co-op. They are being induced to do this by the fact that though the prices of consumer goods in state and cooperative retail shops were steeply reduced last April (for the sixth year in succession) the prices paid by the State and cooperatives to producers for their produce were not reduced. This among other things has contributed to the great boom in spending that has swept the country during the past three months, raising sales of silks and woolens, furniture and luxury goods by 20 to 40 per cent.

In this respect June saw an important meeting in Moscow—one that affected the work of some 200,000 people in the Soviet capital alone and which will affect the lives of every citizen. The Moscow City Soviet held a session devoted to the output of the local and cooperative industries. The meeting was called for by the recent noticeable rise in purchaser demand. The last two price cuts have had somewhat different results than previous ones. People started to replace low grade goods with better quality ones, to go to the shops asking not for the cheapest but for the

best. The stores found they couldn't sell low-grade merchandise.

The Moscow Soviet met and discussed these questions and its deliberations resulted in the withdrawal of over 500 ranges of sub-standard goods, that is, merchandise that has become sub-standard because of the rising purchasing capacity of the public. It also decided to advise local and cooperative industry to manufacture many new lines, aiming especially at quality and variety. It should be mentioned that local industry is responsible for the manufacture of about one-fifth of all consumer goods sold in Moscow, ranging from refrigerators to toys, from garments to letter boxes.

June too saw the first big rush of holiday makers to the sea, through the distribution of what are known as *putyovkas*. This is a warrant issued at the place of work entitling the holder to board and lodging at a sanatorium or rest home. They can be purchased at full price, which is far less than the actual value received, but only after the requirements of those workers getting them free or at one-third cost have been met.

In the passage at an office where my work takes me there hung a notice offering *putyovkas* at holiday centers outside Moscow, near Riga and on the Green Cape near Batumi. Though not everybody working in this organization will go to one of these holiday centers, those who do will represent a cross-section of the whole collective. And that is true everywhere you look in the Soviet Union. In the Hammer and Sickle settlement the chief engineer's dacha lies next door to that of a furnaceman; in the stalls of the Bolshoy Theater you will see the wife of a

deputy minister, but you will also see a loom operator from Ivanovo and a railway worker from the Far East. And if you visit any of the magnificent health resorts on the Black Sea Coast you will find not an exclusive privileged public but a broadly representative sample of Soviet society—with one proviso, they are all working people. June saw a record number of workers leaving for the coastal resorts of Georgia and South Russia. In Georgia health resorts alone some 200,000 visitors are expected this season in rest homes and sanatoria, not to mention the people who go there "wild" as the saying is, that is, without advance arrangements.

No description of June in Moscow would be complete without mention of school and college exams. For most of the month school children and students are cramming, usually in groups. Most exams are oral. The examinees are provided with the com-

plete list of questions long before the examination itself, but they only discover what questions they have to answer a few minutes before facing the commission, when they draw a card with a number on it. On the face of it, the system may seem a somewhat arbitrary way of testing knowledge but in practice the examiners ask supplementary questions and also take the examinee's term marks into account when they mark.

All the same the system means that the days before exams are given over to intense memorizing and this puts a special expression on the faces of those of the USSR's 57 million people studying who face exams in June, an expression no less characteristic of this exciting month than that of the fellow looking forward to his holiday by the sea, of the kids marching off to camp, or of the dacha dweller anxious for the fate of his strawberries or cucumbers.

200,000 YOUNG SOVIET SPECIALISTS

WITH the close of the academic year in the Soviet higher educational institutions on June 30, nearly one and a half million young men and women passed their examinations. More than 200,000 skilled specialists were graduated, these included over 40,000 engineers, 65,000 teachers, and 17,000 agronomists and other specialists in agriculture.

Moscow's colleges, universities and institutes trained more than 30,000 specialists. Among the graduates of the Lomonosov State University there were nearly 2,000 mathematicians, physicists, chemists, biologists, geographers, historians, philologists and economists. Among the graduates of the country's oldest higher educational institution were representatives of 43 nationalities.

The 800 graduates of the Bauman Higher Technical School—which include engineering technologists, foundrymen and designers—have already received appointments and gone into their jobs. Also utilizing their newly learned skills on new jobs are the many graduates of Moscow's Timiryazev Academy of Agriculture, the Molotov Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture, and the Surveying Institute.

The Polish People Change

A former lecturer at the University of Southern California describes the broad cultural renaissance in Poland

by ZENON KOSIDOWSKI

TO UNDERSTAND present-day Poland it is necessary to imagine the enormous construction that is taking place. We are building new industrial towns, new settlements, thousands of schools, houses of culture, hospitals, beautiful parks and theaters, sport stadiums, railroads and highways. We are creating mighty steel combines, new mines, power stations, water dams, canals, and, as in chemicals, entire new branches of industry.

Electric light, the theater, radio and books today reach the Polish village that was formerly so plunged in stagnation, backwardness and misery. Hundreds of thousands of peasants have gone into industry. A huge percentage of country youth flow each year to the vocational schools and universities in the towns, and in the village itself the backward

small-scale husbandry is being transformed into modern machine tilling.

In the towns, workers freed from exploitation move from the old damp slums to bright sunny housing settlements. While their children find care in kindergartens and study at universities and polytechnical institutions, they themselves study while working.

The most profound revolution is thus taking place in Poland in man himself. Poland, building socialism, is a country of regained human dignity. People look into the future with confidence not menaced by unemployment, assured as to the future fate of their children. They feel that society needs them, they are the co-creators of the happiness and prosperity of their country. The masses of the Polish people liberated by socialism are spontaneously seeking to enjoy a cultural life. The theater, music, literature and the arts are passing through their spring season in Poland. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Boleslaw Bierut, said: "We shall not bring about the economic revolution without a cultural revolution."

This revolution is particularly striking in the publishing sphere. In People's Poland the book has become an article of general necessity.

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This is seen in crowded book-shops and libraries, in trains, buses and trams where people going to and from work are engrossed in reading some book. A few figures will illustrate this profound transformation.

During 20 years of bourgeois Poland 400 million books were issued, while in the course of only 8 years of People's Poland 550 million books were published, and it should be noted that according to the census of December 3, 1950, Poland's population was 25 million, 10 million less than before the war. In 1937, there was less than one published book per each inhabitant; today there are four books per each inhabitant.

In 1937, there were 47 scientific books published per thousand of population; in 1951, the figure was 594, or 12 times the number. In works of fiction, there were 193 per one thousand of population in 1937, compared with 1,180, or 6 times the number in 1951. In 1937, there were 864 textbooks for children and youth per one thousand of the population; but in 1951 this number had increased ninefold to 7,185.

This spontaneously growing tendency to read, this hunger for knowledge and beauty, developing and spreading more and more among the Polish community, is supported by the Government through a wide-scale publishing and education campaign. State publishing houses and publishing cooperatives specializing in particular fields publish ever cheaper and more beautiful books. The entire country has been covered with a thick network of bookshops.

The campaign reaches the remotest villages and settlements. Book fairs, exhibitions and festivals are held, and lectures are organized at which authors discuss their latest works with the public. The press and radio

give ample space and time to new publications, and colorful posters, leaflets and catalogs are used. Love for good books is instilled in children from the first grade. At work establishments and in village cooperatives special canvassers try to bring books closer to large masses of the working people.

People's Poland from the very beginning of its existence has paid close attention to libraries. A law of 1946 created, for the first time in Poland, legal and financial bases for the operation of libraries. It has established uniform management and expert care, laid down organizational principles for a system of public libraries available to every citizen. As a result there have been organized 31,200 school libraries and a complete system of public libraries including 19 provincial libraries, 268 district libraries, 699 municipal libraries, 2,947 village libraries, and 24,000 small book lending centers in villages and settlements. In addition there are 1,139 libraries specializing in scientific works; the trade unions have 12,376 library centers, the Union of Peasant Self-Help has 7,889 libraries and book collections, the Women's League has 250, and the Union of Polish Youth, 426.

Polish literature has long and beautiful progressive traditions. Beginning with the great sixteenth century poet Jan Kochanowski through seventeenth and eighteenth century writers, through the national poets of romanticism Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Sowacki, up to the great nineteenth century novelists Prus and Zeromski, runs a noble thread of revolutionary ideas.

In publishing, first place is taken by complete editions of the classical works of Polish progressive writers. Works by Kochanowski, Krasicki,

Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Prus and Zeromski, though published in large issues, quickly disappear from the bookshops.

Modern Polish novels, poems and plays are issued in editions undreamed of before the war. The minimum edition is 10,000 copies, whereas in bourgeois Poland an edition of 3,000 copies was the rule even with the works of outstanding writers. Today an edition of several hundred thousand copies is by no means an exception.

Publication of foreign classic and modern literature is particularly extensive. Over one hundred classic works of French literature have so far been issued and the greatest popularity is enjoyed by the works of Moliere, Stendhal, Balzac, Flaubert, Maupassant, Zola, France and Romain Rolland. English literature is strongly represented with Shakespeare, Scott, Thackeray, Dickens and Shaw heading the list. Of American literature one should mention Fenimore Cooper, Poe, Mark Twain, London, Dreiser and, extremely popular, Howard Fast.

An honorary place in translated literature is taken by the literature of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Translations of the works of Russian classic and modern Soviet literature appear in huge editions and are quickly sold out. In these translations, poems and plays are well represented, but pride of place is taken by novels realistically portraying the past and present of the Soviet Union, and giving at the same time a picture of the new man of the homeland of socialism, creating by his effort and enthusiasm an ever better future.

Against the background of these profound economic and cultural transformations the writer's role in Peo-

ple's Poland is particularly important. Writers hold an outstanding position in the community, they enjoy the respect of the public and the solicitous concern of the State. Boleslaw Bierut thus defined the writer's role: "It is necessary that our modern artists remember that their works should shape, delight and educate the nation. It is necessary that our artists, our literature, our theater, our music, our film be linked as closely as possible with the community, with its difficulties and desires, with its efforts, its work, its dreams, that they show the road ahead, that they mobilize to creative work, that they bring out the people's most noble traits, that they become a stimulus to the community's progress."

For the first time in Polish history the writer is not exposed to misery and slight. His creative effort does not encounter indifference as it used to formerly. Literary prizes awarded each year by the People's Government encourage them to further creative efforts. Young talents are given special care and attention and are not wasted in the hard struggle for a livelihood.

Writers are organized in the Union of Polish Writers which has at its disposal a beautiful building in Warsaw, where there is a club, a reading room, a library and an auditorium. At all Union centers, writers hold regular meetings where they criticize published works, discuss the most essential problems of socialist realism and the writer's role in a country building socialism. This process of the writer's ideological development is taking place in a friendly and comradely atmosphere and gives ever better results, finding expression in published works of a high artistic and ideological level. The Polish writer, not only of the young

STEEL MAGNATE CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR

ERNEST T. WEIR, head of Weirton Steel, has issued a new pamphlet "Notes on the Foreign Situation Based on a Trip Abroad." The trip was in April and May of this year. Mr. Weir found Europeans universally convinced that there is no imminent danger of war, unwilling to continue the large contributions for defense required of them by the United States, and desirous of a positive approach to peace.

"I have been unable," he writes, "to see the logic of the position of those persons in the United States who have been so critical of Europe and so opposed to any attempt at negotiations with Russia. . . .

"It amazes me that there are some people who actually seem afraid of peace. . . . We have become so accustomed to a war economy that some people think we must have it to sustain employment and production. The plain fact is that war production is economic waste. . . . If peace can be established, the prospects for development of the world economy are so great that there is not an individual anywhere who will not benefit. . . ."

Mr. Weir ends the pamphlet with a strong plea that we should do our part to negotiate with the Soviet Union:

"This is what the European countries want to do and want us to do. We should make no advance commitments of our own nor seek to exact advance commitments from Russia. We should enter the meeting with open minds, in a spirit of give and take, prepared to negotiate a peace on a fair and honorable basis. Such an attitude on our part would have a unifying effect on the countries of Europe and greatly stimulate their morale. . . .

"Peace is the great fundamental issue. Now and in the immediate future we may have an opportunity to obtain it which, if not taken, may slip through our fingers. I believe we should actively seek peace. Certainly, I intend to do everything in my power toward that end."

but also of the older generation, takes part in the building of socialism with a continuously growing enthusiasm. He comes increasingly closer to the community, drawing his strength from the rich traditions of Polish folk art, from the age-long traditions of progressive classic literature and from the heroic efforts of the nation building its better future.

The great national poet—Adam Mickiewicz—dreamed that his books would one day find their way to the village hut.

The poet's dream has come true, with this difference, however, that not only his books, but all of Polish literature reaches the village—and not only the hut—but the beautiful, modern village houses built in the producers' cooperatives.

Planning a Socialist Economy

In People's Czechoslovakia

by

GEORGE and ELEANOR WHEELER

THE SUCCESSFUL struggle of the Czech and Slovak working people to consolidate their political power, to prevent the Czechoslovak and foreign monopolists from seizing control of the state and betraying the people's democracy was described in our previous article. In the economic sphere, the struggle centers around the transformation of the economy from monopoly capitalism to socialism.

Monopoly capitalism had treated the workers and small farmers to a series of crises, with prolonged and heavy unemployment, disastrous prices for the farmers, growing repression of democratic rights, national betrayal, fascist occupation and brutality and finally, war.

Anyone wanting a political career in Czechoslovakia after World War II had to reckon with the determination of the people not to return to this situation. Benes, himself a di-

rector of the huge Skoda works, declared in London on February 3, 1944:

"Our state will carry out a number of economic and social changes and will adopt the principle of a 'planned' political and economic policy."

It is generally recognized that "planning" an economy requires that its industries and financial institutions be under the control of the planners. Nationalization is the prerequisite of planning and the Nationalization Decrees of October, 1945 were the first big step in the transformation of the economy. These decrees nationalized the larger firms (varying from 300 to 500 employees and up) in most industries and all of the firms of certain key industries such as mining, iron and steel, and electric power. The banks and insurance companies were also nationalized (the railways had been publicly owned before the war). Printing and construction were exempted from decrees, but printing had to be sponsored by some organization.

These decrees, together with those confiscating the property of war criminals and fascist collaborators, had the effect of bringing under pub-

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lic control industries employing between 65 and 70 per cent of all workers. This was generally regarded as "decisive" and sufficient to permit successful planning for all of industry.

It was not until October 28, 1946, however, that the Two-Year Plan of Economic Reconstruction was published. This was a plan prepared by the Communist Party under the leadership of Klement Gottwald, then Prime Minister. The plan so fully represented the wishes of the majority of the people that not even the most reactionary of the politicians in the coalition government dared to vote against it. But there was strong opposition to the whole idea of socialism and planning, not only on the part of the capitalists whose property had been nationalized, but, as became known only later, within the Communist Party and the Central Planning Commission itself.

At the beginning of the Two-Year Plan in January, 1947, industrial production was at about 75 to 80 per cent of the pre-war (1937) level. The main purpose of the plan was to restore capital equipment and manpower and raise industrial production to 110 per cent of 1937—which had been a "boom" year for capitalism in Czechoslovakia. This program was regarded as "ambitious" by most Western commentators, and there were many predictions that the targets could not be met. One reason for this skepticism was the knowledge that in 1937 German workers had totaled 400,000 or nearly one-third of the total labor force, while in 1947 there were only 71,000 German workers left in Czechoslovakia.

This difficulty was overcome, women entered industry, many partially fit persons discarded by capitalism went back to work, and the "reserve"

of unemployed was absorbed in industry. By the end of 1948, the labor force was back at pre-war levels despite the decline of the population by a fifth. It was also found that the capitalists had been very inefficient in some branches of industry and that there was much room for increasing productivity even with existing equipment.

By these means the targets of the plan were generally met, and in some cases substantially exceeded. The level of iron and steel production, for example, was 10 per cent above pre-war, mining 18 per cent, engineering 30 per cent and electric power production 33 per cent above pre-war. Production per capita at the end of 1948 was 22 per cent above the 1937 level. This achievement reflected the devoted efforts of thousands of workers and their leaders. They had taken over disorganized industry, much of it with obsolete or worn out machinery, and within two years had mastered its management and brought it to levels of efficiency never attained under capitalism.

But in the midst of this success there was also obviously something seriously wrong in agriculture, in the construction industry and in wholesale and retail trade. In agriculture there was the good excuse of the catastrophic drought in 1947. But why had there been such a serious lag in investment in heavy industry, why were so few houses built where workers could live in them, and what happened to the textiles and many other consumer goods that were produced? Why were some kinds of food in the shops disappearing without replacement? Why was so little progress being made in essential legislation, such as social insurance?

Now we know the answers to these

questions. It was not only the resistance and sabotage of the capitalists and their political allies, but very clever and ruthless betrayal by dozens of traitors planted by Slansky and his co-plotters within the Communist Party. They confessed at their trial that they deliberately held back the development of heavy industry and mining.

The difficulties in construction, aside from this sabotage of investment in basic industry, appeared to most workers to be due to the fact that construction had not been nationalized and therefore houses were built for those who could pay the most. In the Brno region (where the confessed spy and saboteur Sling was then regional secretary of the Communist Party) more than half of all the housing was built for the black market. In nousing generally only 47 per cent of the plan was completed! The solution of the workers was to press for the nationalization of all construction.

Similarly, in the cold winter of 1947-48, the black market in retail and wholesale trade seemed to be growing daily, and all attempts at control seemed only to make matters worse. The prices, of course, were above the reach of the workers.

At the same time the monopolists were coming out from under cover. They hoped to build up a crisis and then offer the return to capitalism and a shift in foreign policy to one of dependence on the United States in return for aid in solving the crisis. This was why the Minister of Foods took no step at that time to order grain and other foods from abroad to replace those lost in the drought. In this sense the February crisis was not because of the *failure* of the Two-Year Plan, but because the capitalists saw that it was succeeding

and that if they were to stop the transformation of the economy to socialism they had to act without delay.

The workers gave their answer with an overwhelming show of strength and unity in the February events. The monopolists were routed and the ensuing nationalization of construction, of wholesale trade and of the larger retail stores gave a firmer basis for the First Five-Year Plan of Czechoslovakia for the years 1949-53.

In introducing the Five-Year Plan to the National Assembly, Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky said:

The purpose of the Plan is the development and conversion of the Czechoslovak economy. Its aim: raising the standard of living of all sections of the working population. The means thereto: raising the productivity of labor. Its consequence will be: the restriction of the remaining capitalist elements and their elimination from all sectors of the national economy, and further progress toward socialism of the People's Democracy of Czechoslovakia.

The Five-Year Plan set a goal of a 48 per cent increase in the standard of living and a 57 per cent increase in industrial output. Engineering was scheduled to increase by 93 per cent. These gains, Zapotocky emphasized, would be based on heavy investments and increasing productivity of labor and not on foreign loans:

We might borrow; there was, for instance, the tempting offer of the Marshall Plan. We refused this offer because we will have nothing to do with money lenders. The interest demanded on the loans under the Marshall Plan took the form of a surrender of our political sovereignty

and economic independence. . . . And this involves the final surrender of all plans of industrial expansion and of raising of living and cultural standards.

The correctness of this decision, and the harsh judgment on the purpose of the Marshall Plan have been fully vindicated by the experience of each of the countries that did accept the "tempting offer."

Before the end of 1949 it was found that the targets in heavy engineering and other vital industries could be met with ease. The new Minister of Planning Dolansky reported to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party: "On the whole we can say that the original Five-Year Plan will be completed in an average of three and a half years." He therefore proposed that higher targets be established so that at the end of 1953 industrial production would be 98 per cent above the 1948 level and for some of the key industries the level of output would be even higher—heavy engineering being raised to 130 per cent of 1948, or four times the pre-war level.

In the new targets emphasis was again placed on the industrialization of Slovakia. The industrial targets for Slovakia were *doubled*! By the end of 1953 the generations-old difference between the more industrialized Czech lands and the primitive agricultural economy of Slovakia will be wiped out. In one great leap Slovakia is being transformed from a poverty-strangled nation (whose people for half a century had fled in thousands to America) to a prosperous, socialized economy where all can work with security and the satisfaction that they are not being exploited.

Many of the formerly unproductive strips of land have been amalga-

mated into cooperatives whose broad fields are plowed by tractors from the machine stations that serve the Slovak farmers. And there is a new kind of beauty in the hydroelectric stations with their placid lakes and humming wires that bring light to the farthest village. There is now the beauty of giant combines pouring out enough grain for all from a rolling field of wheat, and the beauty of healthy children, and old people serene in their security.

The Five-Year Plan has made considerable progress in the countryside. It is succeeding because of the repeatedly demonstrated superiority of the scientific agriculture now possible here through the unified cooperatives.

It is significant that the Slansky conspiracy was more successful in holding up the development of the State farms than of the cooperatives. The cooperatives selected their own local leaders and these followed with enthusiasm the directives of the Five-Year Plan. The reactionaries could not stop the surge forward of the peasants united in their agricultural cooperatives, tasting for the first time the fruits of cooperative methods of work and scientific farming. By the end of 1952, there were 8,858 unified cooperatives compared with 5,115 a year before. Together with the State farms they owned 47.3 per cent of all farm land.

The State farms, which should have been centers in which the new Michurin science flowered, centers of enlightenment and aid to all farmers, were turned by Slansky into a warren for criminals and saboteurs—thousands of them selected by the Slansky-sponsored head of the State farms, Smrkovsky.

In industry the Slansky circle specialized in subtle forms of sabotage

—such devices as forcing too fast a tempo—for example, starting too many hydroelectric projects at one time so that the completion of all was delayed; the starting of new industrial plants on land without firm foundation or over valuable mineral deposits, or the erection of more capacity than could be supplied with the planned amount of raw materials. Such sabotage, and that in foreign trade, did an immense amount of damage, and meant billions of crowns in losses for the people.

But so great is the inherent strength of a planned economy, so much stronger the determination and loyalty of the workers and the great majority of their leaders, that the saboteurs were isolated and their true character increasingly exposed. Finally one after the other was brought to justice until the core was cut from the conspiracy.

The generators of four of the "too many" hydroelectric stations are now singing and completion of the other dams and power houses is proceeding. The vast coke and steel combine at Kuncice, the biggest project of the Five-Year Plan and one of the largest in all Europe, is already pouring out its steel. The progress of the workers in raising their productivity is illustrated by the pace of construction there. It took 23 months to complete the first blast furnace (the local Communist Party secretary had been in league with Slansky) and only six and a half months before iron flowed from the second. The first Martin oven was finished in seven and a half months—and the third in only three months.

In some branches of industry the targets were not met, and this was quite justly regarded as very serious. For example the fuel branch achieved only 98 per cent of plan—but coal

output was 10 per cent above 1951. Similarly the metal mines reached only 94 per cent of their target in 1952, but iron ore output was 118 per cent of 1951 and manganese 128 per cent. But with entirely new concepts in regard to the mineral resources of the country even these gains were not enough. So when U.S. papers headline "Czech Mines Fail to Fulfill Plan," look first to see what the target was. And you can be certain that proper steps are being taken to get back on schedule. This, we may add, involves no mysterious process, but simply the more intensive application of technique and labor-saving machinery. During 1952, 60 per cent more machinery, equipment and tools were imported from the Soviet Union than in 1951.

The foreign trade of Czechoslovakia is now secure. Before World War II more trade was carried on with Nazi Germany than with any other country—thus delivering Czechoslovakia into the hands of its main enemy. By 1952, trade with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic reached 71 per cent of the total. That market with its allies in the camp of peace is now self-contained and can supply all raw materials and capital equipment needed for the construction of socialism—as well as a limitless market for the products of Czechoslovak industry.

For the first time since Frejka, Outrata and Goldmann established the incorrect policy of wages rising faster than productivity, 1952 saw a healthy relationship between the increase in output and the increased income of consumers. Not that wages stood still, they increased by 11 per cent on the average, but productivity increased even more, by 15 per cent. Industrial output was up by 18.3 per

cent—that is quite a leap, but it was still 1.5 per cent short of the target. Such an increase was made possible by the high level of productive investment, which was 16.7 per cent above the already high level of 1951.

Now 70 per cent of the national income is consumed by the people in material goods and cultural benefits, while the remaining 30 per cent is allocated for further expansion of socialist production and other essential needs of the country.

In the midst of this progress a drastic currency reform was announced, effective June 1, 1953, and at the same time all rationing was abolished.

Why was this reform made? Usually currency reforms in capitalist countries are made only in a weakening economy to curb inflation. Here the reform was a measure of social justice more than an economic necessity.

The currency reform of 1945 had left large accounts in the hands of wealthy individuals, many of them Nazi collaborators and war profiteers. These accounts, and the funds of individuals whose enterprises had been nationalized were nominally frozen. But in practice it was possible to draw on these accounts for many reasons. In addition, the Slansky gang had arranged for the illegal withdrawal of huge sums. In all, since 1945, billions of crowns had been released to people who did no work. The workers were carrying a big load of parasites on their backs. This they could have continued to do, and in time, with increasing productivity and continued use of the free market, these funds could have been absorbed. There were continuous budget surpluses going into the government's treasury, internal planned economy transactions and

foreign trade were largely on an accounting or exchange basis. These did not require the reform.

But plain justice did require that in a country building socialism the remnants of the capitalist class should cease to live off the workers. In 1945 and even in 1948 the workers did not have the strength to settle accounts fully with the capitalists. Now they have.

The frozen accounts were wiped out. All citizens were allowed to exchange 300 crowns in cash on a par value basis, that is five of the old for one of the new. Above that, cash could be exchanged only at a fifty to one basis, that is, at one-tenth of the old face value. Savings accounts were treated more gently. The first 5,000 crowns could be exchanged without loss, that is for 1,000 of the new crowns. The next 5,000 crowns were at a six to one basis—and above 30,000 crowns the rate was 50 to one. At the same time the gold content of the new crown was fixed and tied to the Soviet ruble at the rate of 1.8 crowns per ruble. That means that it must steadily increase in value.

In abolishing rationing the prices were adjusted down by about a third from the free market levels, and up in most cases from the rationed prices. To compensate the workers with families which had relied most on the rations, the allowances for workers' children were doubled, while those of government employees were increased by 50 per cent. Pensions were increased. Prices paid to co-operative farmers were also adjusted upwards.

This is legislation that hit hard at the idle rich, the gamblers and the speculators. Now they will have to do productive work. This is a long leap in the direction of socialism.

It was not an easy one because there was a larger bourgeois class in Czechoslovakia than in any country that has taken the course to socialism. But now the rewards will go to those who work, and it is certain that output both on the farms and in the factories will increase even more.

There are still high prices of some consumer goods—and there is a healthy grumbling about it. But the workers realize that the cure for this is higher productivity and that now they will get the full benefit of increased output.

There are still shortages of some

essential consumer goods and raw materials—and there is a healthy grumbling about this too. The best workers are those who criticize most severely, and insist on satisfaction of their complaints. Such criticism is regarded as an essential main-spring of progress toward socialism—and woe to the bureaucrat who tries to stifle it. But do not mistake such criticism for a desire to return to capitalism! The mere mention of such a possibility will evoke an outraged outburst. They complain only because they want to get on to socialism even faster.

SOVIET INDUSTRY UP TEN PERCENT

SOVIET industrial production for the first half of this year showed output to be 10 per cent above last year, according to the Soviet Central Statistical Administration as reported in the *N. Y. Times*.

Production goals have been fulfilled 100 per cent as a whole, although six categories of industries were slightly below plan. These categories and the per cent of plan fulfillment are: metallurgical industry, 99 per cent; transport and heavy machinery, 99; construction materials, 97; timber and paper, 93; public health industry, 95; producers' cooperatives, 99.3.

Heavy steel and metallurgical industries showed a strong rise over last year: pig iron was up 12 per cent, steel 9 per cent, rails 15, and steel tubing 14.

Copper production increased 3 per cent, zinc 14, lead 19, coal 6 and oil 11. Output of electric energy was up 14 per cent, automobiles 13, ballbearings 12, oil equipment 27, metallurgical equipment 11.

Output of cotton cloth increased 6 per cent, wool cloth 9, silk 52, meat 5, soap 13.

The number of cows on collective farms increased 4 per cent, pigs 7, sheep 11, horses 7.

Retail trade was up 15 per cent. The total number of workers employed in the national economy increased 1,150,000.

China's New Electoral Law

***For the first time in her history,
a system of universal, democratic,
free elections has been instituted***

by BETTY CHANDLER CHANG

THE CHINESE people for the past few months have been concerning themselves with the educational program on the New Electoral Law in preparation for general elections to be held on all levels throughout the country this fall. The law, promulgated March 1, is a further great step forward in consolidating People's Democracy in China.

It is said that the elections are as important politically as the Five-Year Plan is economically. For it is the first time in China's long history that a system of universal, democratic, free selection of people's deputies has been instituted.

I remember only one "election" in Kuomintang times. It was a farce. I don't know of anyone who voted. One woman friend of mine, an able school superintendent, thought she could serve the cause of education in Tientsin by attaining one of the government posts. She worked hard and used her own personal funds to conduct her campaign, only to be informed on the eve of the "elections" that since she was not a Kuomintang party member she was not eligible for candidacy.

In the case of those candidates who

were KMT members, the wining, dining, threats and bribes were fantastic. People had no interest in the "elections" in the old days, for they had nothing to offer them but deeper oppression.

With such a background, the People's Government realized that any attempts at popular elections in 1949-50 would have failed. But the four years of people's rule have seen the developments necessary for such mass elections on all levels, with the completion of land reform, substantial progress in urban economy, the growth of popular education and the mass involvement of the people in the solution of the problems affecting their daily lives. Also by now people have very largely organized themselves into effective working units for expressing their demands. Such for instance are the Women's Democratic Federation, and the labor unions embracing over ten million of China's workers.

The New Electoral Law is peculiarly suited to the conditions here at this time. According to an article by Huan Hsiang titled "Special Features of the New Electoral Law" which appeared in *People's China*, No. 9, 1953, four aspects of present conditions have been taken into consideration in drafting the law:

1. The peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie are the overwhelming majority of China's population. The working class, though the leading class

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and though rapidly growing, is still small in numbers. The national bourgeoisie, which continues to play a definite role in the new democratic society, constitutes only a tiny fraction of the entire population. Representation based purely on numerical weight would ignore the leading role of the working class and its development; the role of the national bourgeoisie would likewise be overlooked.

2. China is a multi-national country in which the Hans (which was used synonymously with "Chinese" in the old days) are an absolute majority, whereas the fifty-odd national minorities form only one-fourteenth of the entire population. If the number of deputies from the national minorities were distributed according to population, the interests of the national minorities would be ignored, and in those cases where the groups are particularly small, representation would be lacking altogether. Every one of the minority groups must have at least one representative to the All-China Congress.

3. The Communist Party of China is now the leading political party and also the one with the greatest number of members. Other democratic parties are comparatively smaller. To distribute the number of deputies according to the size of the parties would be undesirable, for the smaller democratic parties also represent certain social strata and have to be given consideration in the apportionment of representation.

4. There are 12 million Chinese living abroad in many countries who are patriotic supporters of their fatherland. Suitable representation is given to these overseas-Chinese.

Special features of the New Electoral Law are universality; genuine electoral equality; emphasis on representation for minority peoples; provision for both direct and indirect voting; two different methods of voting according to the prevailing educational level in the area concerned, i.e. secret ballot and show of hands; nominations may be made by any political party,

organization, or individual; and finally, election expense is borne by the State.

According to the above-mentioned article the New Electoral Law "is the most universal system of election possible under the present circumstances." Citizens 18 years of age have the right to elect and to be elected with no restrictions on the basis of nationality, religion, sex, political affiliation or view, term of residence, education, occupation, etc. Exceptions are counter-revolutionaries, criminals and the insane.

Electors will vote either where they work, or in the case of those, such as housewives, whose main interests center about the home and the neighborhood, will vote in their community.

While representation is based on proportion of population, consideration is given to different electoral districts and units, to the relative strength between cities and countryside. Thus, in elections to the local people's congresses, one deputy will be elected for every 2,000 of rural population in a county, and one deputy will be elected for every 500 in cities and towns and in important industrial and mining districts within the boundaries of a county.

In provinces where the population is exceptionally large, a system of proportionate increase in the number of persons represented by a deputy has been adopted. Provinces with exceptionally small population receive special consideration.

Thus, by fixing a definite minimum of deputies for small provinces, Ningxia Province, with a population under a million, is guaranteed three deputies to the All-China People's Congress. But as deputies from the national minorities of Ningxia will also be elected, the province will in fact have more than three deputies. For the law states that if people of a national minority group be elected as representatives from their area, they are not to be included within the number stipulated as national minority deputies.

Thus genuine representation is guaranteed the minority peoples. Also

"provision has been made so that the number of persons represented by each deputy of a national minority may be less than the number represented by every other deputy to a local people's congress though the number may not be less than half." "Furthermore the Electoral Law makes concrete and reasonable stipulation concerning the number of deputies to be elected from the people's armed forces (150 deputies), to the All-China People's Congress."

Since China is a vast land with communications still not fully extended to every region and with many sections of the population not yet experienced in large-scale direct elections, the system provides for indirect as well as direct elections.

Voting will be done by secret ballot above county level and by show of hands at the basic level where illiteracy may be still prevalent. This is a step forward from the method used in newly liberated regions during the anti-Japanese and civil war days, when electors would vote by simply dropping a bean into one of the bowls representing the various candidates. As illiteracy

is wiped out the secret ballot will be adopted throughout.

Not only may the chief political parties nominate lists of candidates but all democratic parties, the people's organizations and individual electors may nominate these jointly or separately. Also an elector may vote for the list, or he may nominate any other candidate. Such freedom of nomination provides the people with a means of supervising their public servants. Any deputy whom the people consider not properly serving their interests may be recalled and replaced with one of their choice if the majority of his electorate so desires.

Finally, all election expenses are borne by the People's Government. Candidates can represent none except people's interests.

While the New Electoral Law will need revision as China develops toward socialism, it is well adapted to present conditions. It enhances the people's power by restricting the rights of anti-popular elements and by giving full reign to the people's choice of their representatives at all levels of their country's governing circles.

GRUENTHER DOUBTS WAR WITH RUSSIA

ACCORDING to a *New York Times* dispatch from Washington (July 27) General Alfred M. Gruenther, commander of the NATO forces in Europe, is convinced Russia will not start a European war. "I do not think war is ever going to come," the dispatch quoted him as telling the Senate Appropriations Committee at a closed session July 15.

THE NAZIS BEST FRIENDS

A RALLY of thirty neo-Nazi splinter groups meeting at Mannheim to put up candidates for the forthcoming German elections was addressed by an American citizen, Edward A. Fleckenstein, a lawyer active in German-American organizations in the U.S. According to the *New York Times* of July 20, Mr. Fleckenstein told the Nazi delegates:

"... that Germany's true friends in the United States were Senators Joseph McCarthy, Pat McCarran, Everett M. Dirksen and William E. Jenner."

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