

NEW WORLD

JANUARY
1954

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Review



PEACE IS THE MAIN GOAL IN 1954
Children in USSR • China Conquering Illiteracy

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NEW WORLD *Review*

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OUR COVER shows little Shih Yu-chun as she attended a children's camp last summer at Dairen, in the Chinese People's Republic. Photos in this issue are from Eastfoto.

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Vol. 22, No. 1, January, 1954. Re-entered as second class matter June 27, 1951, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription \$2.00 per year. \$1.00 for 6 months (Canadian, \$2.50; foreign \$3.00 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York). Published monthly by the S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: Murray Hill 3-3855.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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CLINCH THAT VICTORY!

Our initial victory over Post Office censorship makes it urgent that our magazine reach ever wider circles with its information to promote international understanding.

And you can bring this about!

Let every reader get at least one new reader in 1954. Obtain a subscription from a friend, or subscribe for a friend yourself.

New readers are urgent. But we also continue to need funds. If you have not yet sent us your contribution, please do so at once, and make it as generous as possible.

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I am enclosing \$..... to cover subscription(s) for the name(s) attached on a separate sheet, and/or a contribution to further your work for peace.

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A Note of Victory!

WE rejoice that we can begin the New Year on a note of victory.

Our December issue was mailed out by the post office without delay.

Whether this means an end of the harassment to which we have been subjected in the last few months we have no way of telling. In any case, this episode has demonstrated that the people can win against McCarthyism on particular issues when they fight back vigorously enough, and points the way to victory on a wider front.

No doubt whoever was responsible for the unwarranted interference with the mailing of our magazine thought by these methods quietly to destroy us. But it did not work.

There were three main reasons for our victory.

First, the part that you, our readers, and others who supported us, played in it.

Your letters to the post office were a lesson in Americanism in the best and noblest sense. Many of you were good enough to send us copies. We want to take this opportunity to thank you for your support.

These letters must have brought a startling breath of fresh air into the fusty offices in Washington where sit the men with shrivelled souls who have forgotten the bright dreams that gave our country birth.

They were full of indignation at this attempt to shut off information about the vast socialist world with which our country must find a way to live in peace, to deny not only our right to publish such information, but the people's right to read it. Some of the letters supported **NEW WORLD REVIEW** because their writers agreed with what they find in our pages. Others expressed disagreement with our views, but insisted on their right of access to varying viewpoints. Most were written by native-born Americans, proud of their American ancestry, and determined to uphold our precious traditions. Some were written by foreign-born readers, disillusioned with this and other betrayals of all that America once meant to them.

Some upbraided the Postmaster General for not performing his duty as a servant of the people, and requested that he stop interfering with the United States mails. Others tactfully suggested that some subordinate was no doubt responsible, and should be reprimanded. The height of bureaucratic absurdity was reached when, on a subscriber's complaint to a California post office that she was not receiving the magazine, the New York post office sent an inspector around to us to make inquiries as to why we were not fulfilling our obligations to our subscribers!

To the effect of these letters should be added that of a number of newspaper stories written by journalists who understood the implication of the action against **NEW WORLD REVIEW** in relation to the whole American press, and queries received by post office officials on the issue of censorship.

The second reason for our victory was our preparation for legal action.

We retained Mr. Sidney Schreiber, an expert in the field of postal law, to defend us. He informed the post office of our intention to bring suit. Everything was in readiness for this action had the December issue been delayed. It will still be taken if any future issue is held up. Apparently the postal authorities were not prepared to have such a case submitted to a court test. Obviously the logic of continuing their action against NEW WORLD REVIEW would mean moving against a whole series of other publications, and eventually against all dissident opinion, ending all semblance of a free press in this country. The growing intensity of the outcry against the burning of the books and all other aspects of McCarthyism has warned them they cannot go that far.

And the third and final reason for our victory lies in the contents of the magazine.

We never have, do not, and never will publish anything of a treasonable nature or contrary to the highest interests of our country.

The post office has in fact admitted that it could find nothing of a treasonable nature in our magazine by releasing the September issue after holding it for sixteen days and the October issue after holding it for twenty-eight days. And someone must certainly have been trying very hard to find something.

However, though we have won a victory and our position has been vindicated, great damage has been done by this unwarranted attempt at censorship and continued vigilance is required that it shall not be repeated.

Two issues were virtually destroyed by the delay, and we were forced to omit a third. Our whole publishing schedule has been thrown off, so that we are still several weeks behind. Much valuable material that should have been reported in this period has been denied to our readers. An inordinate amount of time has had to be spent in defending ourselves against this harassment. Our legal expenses were close to what they would have been had we been compelled to go to court, since all preparations for that eventuality had to be made.

But here we are, and here we intend to stay!

We intend to continue our work for international understanding and peace, and we know we can count on our readers for the continued and increased help and support we must have to do so.

We urge our readers first of all to renew subscriptions promptly. We urge that you help in getting subscriptions from others, or in subscribing for others, so that the information in our magazine may reach wider circles. And we need a continuing flow of contributions to meet the extra expenses post office action has burdened us with as well as our regular publishing costs. We are, as you see, continuing for the present the economies that we had to institute this summer, but hope that in time we may be able to return to our full number of pages and publish more photographs. The extent of your help will decide this.

By helping in these ways, you will be helping us to consolidate the victory already won, and to play our role more effectively in the struggle to defeat McCarthyism in all its evil forms, to restore a democratic America, and to strengthen peace and friendship among all peoples.

The Editors

Peace the Main Goal in 1954

An Editorial Article

IT IS within the power of the people to make sure that 1954 will mark new advances along the road to peace, fulfilling the bright hopes with which it has begun.

As the year turned, the heartening phrase "easing of international tensions" was heard around the world—in the press, in statements of government officials, on the lips of the people everywhere who long for the end of the cold war and the wars that still continue.

The relaxation that is now beginning is a great victory for the people's struggle to replace force with negotiations in world relations.

This past year has seen the triumph of that principle in the negotiations that stopped the bloodshed in Korea, in the agreements reached on the convening of a four-power foreign ministers' conference on Germany, and for negotiations with the Soviet Union on the question of atomic energy.

There are no final settlements. A long and difficult road lies ahead before the questions growing out of the Korean war are settled, before final peace comes to that ravaged land and the whole Pacific area. It will be no easy matter to reach agreement on a unified Germany, on a peace treaty that will give full sovereignty to that divided nation on terms that will preclude its rise as an aggressive power. Nor will it be a simple matter to reach agreement on the question of atomic energy.

But the fact that negotiations are

proceeding or projected on these matters is in itself a mighty deterrent to new world war, however arduous or lengthy the negotiations may be.

However desperately some circles in our country may cling to the war policies, the will of the peoples of the world and the realities of the world situation are compelling some revisions.

The Bermuda Conference and what followed pointed this up. Until that time the psychological warfare strategy in Washington had been constant reiteration of the impossibility of negotiations with the Soviet Union, and up to the eve of the conference, Secretary Dulles had been questioning whether the direct and unconditional acceptance by the Soviet Union of the proposal for a foreign ministers' conference on Berlin really meant a desire to negotiate. But the British and the French did not share this skepticism, and no other decision than to go ahead with the conference was possible. It was also clear that despite the affirmation expressed in the Bermuda Communiqué on the "unity of purpose of our three countries," and emphasis on NATO as the foundation of their common policies, no further progress had been made toward securing ratification of the European army treaty.

President Eisenhower's speech before the United Nations immediately following the Bermuda Conference, without doubt marked a great victory for the forces of peace. It showed

PREMIER MALENKOV'S REPLIES

To Questions of Kingsbury Smith, Manager of International News Service, Broadcast by the Moscow Radio, January 1, 1954

Question: "What are your wishes for the American people in 1954?"

Answer: "From the bottom of my heart I wish the American people success in the development of friendly relations with all peoples and fruitful results in the noble cause of the defense of peace and wish them success in the prevention of all attempts to violate peace."

Question: "Do you hope that the New Year will be marked by a strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the United States and Russia?"

Answer: "The first thing to desire is betterment of relations between our countries. I believe there are no objective obstacles to an improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA in the New Year, nor to the consolidation of the traditional bonds of friendship between the people of our countries, and I hope it will be so."

Question: "How do you evaluate the possibilities of maintaining world peace and lessening international tension in 1954?"

Answer: "All peoples are eager for lasting peace. There are favorable opportunities to further weaken the international tension in 1954. Governments, particularly the Governments of the great powers, cannot fail to heed the voice of the peoples and to reckon with the growing desire for lasting peace. As for the Soviet Government, it has done, is doing and shall continue to do everything towards enabling people to live in peace, towards relaxing international tension, towards establishing normal relations between states."

Question: "What do you consider as the most important step which could be taken in 1954 in the interest of peace in the whole world?"

Answer: "Such a step would be an agreement between the powers and states under which they would pledge themselves to the solemn and unconditional obligation not to use the atom or hydrogen bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction.

"Such an agreement would facilitate the possibility of agreeing on the complete banning of atomic weapons and on the establishment of strict international control over the implementation of the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for war purposes.

"At the same time the Soviet Government would consider it necessary to reach an agreement to reduce considerably all kinds of other armaments and the number of armed forces. All this would undoubtedly reduce the state expenditures for military needs and would ease the economic condition of the population."

a recognition of the set-backs American foreign policy has received, of the low state of American prestige throughout the world, and the need to counter this with some dramatic move which would capture attention and bring America forward as a champion of peace.

Americans could only rejoice to hear from the lips of our President, instead of the customary doubts as to the possibility of negotiations, such words as:

"Let no one say that we shun the conference table. . . . My country wants agreement, not wars among nations."

And in place of the attacks on the Soviet Union that have characterized so many utterances of Administration spokesman, it was a relief to hear words like these:

"We will never say that the people of Russia are an enemy with whom we have no desire ever to deal or mingle in friendly and fruitful relationships.

"On the contrary, we hope that the coming conference may initiate a relationship with the Soviet Union which will eventually bring about a free intermingling of the peoples of the East and of the West—the one sure, human way of developing the understanding required for confident and peaceful relations. . . .

". . . The gravity of the time is such that every new avenue of peace, no matter how dimly discernible, should be explored."

With the acceptance by the Soviet Union of the President's proposal to open discussions on his proposals for setting up an international agency to explore the peacetime use of atomic energy, the way is open for a new start in settling the single most vital question of our times.

Limited though the President's

proposal may be, its importance is that it does open the way for new negotiations and, though carrying certain features of the Baruch plan, would now seem to recognize that this plan on which the United States has so long stood adamantly, is not workable and must be abandoned.

The Soviet Union, in its reply, which we publish in full elsewhere in this issue, reiterates the position it has always held firmly that the main problem is the absolute banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, with simultaneous strict international control over this prohibition. Since no provision is made in the President's proposal for such prohibition, and since, as the Soviet note points out, the President's plan would in fact sanction the continued production of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union makes the following interim proposal for consideration during the negotiations, namely, that

"The states participating in the agreement, guided by a striving to lessen international tension, undertake the solemn and unconditional pledge not to use atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass extermination."

With the United States seemingly prepared to abandon the Baruch plan, and the USSR prepared to consider as an interim step something less than complete prohibition, a basis for negotiations exists.

It is therefore all the more unfortunate that so many efforts to torpedo the success of such negotiations should be continued through the repeated falsifications of the position of the Soviet Union.

Almost automatically, every press story on the question, and statements by leading persons who know better,

repeat the lie that the main obstacle to agreement on banning atomic weapons is the refusal of the USSR to agree to adequate inspection. The Soviet Union, having demonstrated its readiness to make concessions for the sake of reaching agreement, has repeatedly proposed that any agreement on prohibition of atomic weapons be accompanied by a simultaneous agreement for strict international control over this agreement, including the right of continuous inspection. This is spelled out again and again in the records of the debates in the United Nations.

Now it is being said that the Soviet proposal for a pledge not to use atomic or hydrogen weapons, is merely a device to tie the hands of the United States, and that the USSR itself could not be trusted to keep such a pledge!

This is to ignore completely the vigorous support given by the Soviet Union to the Stockholm petition for the banning of atomic weapons, and for the branding of the first nation to use them as a war criminal.

Would the Soviet Government have encouraged the Soviet Peace Committee's campaign to get the whole adult population of the country to sign the petition, as they did, with the intention of subsequently taking action which would make them war criminals in the eyes of their own people and the entire world?

The time has come for the American people to resist more vigorously the poisonous campaign to depict the Soviet Union as an aggressive power, which is the chief weapon of those who see in continued militarization and war alarms the only way out of the depression all the economists were predicting at year's end.

There is another way, the way of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet

Union and the whole socialist world, and the development of the mutually beneficial trade relations that world is offering us, and which are already being taken advantage of by many other nations.

In this connection, the welcome news was published on January 6 of the projected trip to Moscow for consultations on European economic problems of Gunnar Myrdal, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, through which concrete advances in East-West trade relations have been made during the past year.

Again and again the Soviet Union has given demonstrations of the sincerity of its desire for peace and trade. The concern of the American people must be with the policies of our own government and the sincerity of its statements.

We want above all else to believe that President Eisenhower meant what he told the United Nations and is ready to implement his words. We could have more faith in such words were they not so quickly followed by the warlike utterances of John Foster Dulles who, as Secretary of State, carries the main responsibility for our government's foreign policy.

Much of the good effect of President Eisenhower's UN speech was dissipated less than a week later at the NATO Council meeting in Paris when, as the press widely reported. Secretary Dulles shocked the people of France with his ultimatum to the French that they ratify the European Army Treaty and thus help resurrect the German military power so feared throughout the Continent. In his statement to the NATO Council and later to the press, Mr. Dulles was compelled to declare that "Soviet armed aggression is less likely than it seemed several years ago." And

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yet at the same time, he tries to force on France and the rest of Europe the new army based on a new Nazi Wehrmacht which creates a real threat of aggression in place of the mythical one it is supposed to counter. It is these pressures, increasingly resisted by the people, that have caused the continued government crises in France and Italy.

In a year-end article in *Nation's Business*, published on the eve of the negotiations on Germany, Secretary Dulles repeats all the old threats and slanders against the Soviet Union, as well as against the Chinese People's Republic. Ignoring the real content of the exchanges that preceded the final agreement to negotiate on Germany, and the many Soviet offers that have been refused, Mr. Dulles wrote arrogantly: "We have . . . chased Soviet Russia across the map of Europe and Asia in our efforts to get its rulers to negotiate. Now it is beginning to look as if we had caught them."

There is room for some difference of opinion as to who has been chasing whom for negotiations. But a statement like that hardly seems calculated to create a warm and friendly climate for successful negotiations.

Premier Malenkov made a constructive contribution in his New Year message urging more friendly relations between our countries. Let us, on our part, do everything possible to bring such relations about, and to urge on our government continued, patient and constructive negotiations until agreement is won on the main issues affecting the peace of the world.

The rising tide of the people's anger against McCarthyism must be turned equally against its fascist repressions at home and its aggressive purposes abroad.

It is not in the interests of the people of America any more than of the people of Europe to continue a policy based on the rise of an aggressive Western Germany, with German remilitarization already forging ahead as the Nazi generals take over and the Krupp iron and steel empire is reborn.

It is not in the interests of the people of America any more than it is of the peoples of Asia to rebuild Japanese militarism, to keep the fighting going in Indochina instead of the negotiations offered by the Viet Minh forces, to build armies of native mercenaries to fight for imperialist interests, to seek new military agreements, as with Pakistan, to encourage the mad ambitions of Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, and to continue to threaten war against China.

It is to be hoped that the United Nations will again take up the matter of the Korean political conference, and find a way to agreement on the kind of conference that will be effective. Syngman Rhee's wild calls for new world war make all the more necessary the participation of neutral nations who are concerned with the peace of the Far East and will help prevent the new outbreak of war Rhee threatens.

May the New Year bring a final peaceful settlement in Korea, and in Indo-China too—may it see a recognition of the role in the United Nations and in world affairs of the great Chinese People's Republic. May it see progress toward a peaceful solution in Germany, toward agreement on the use of atomic energy for peace, and a new strengthening of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the key question affecting the peace and well-being of the people of the world.

Soviet Plans Surge Ahead

Plans to bring about an enormous rise in living standards demonstrate the USSR's confidence in the prospects for peace

by RALPH PARKER

DURING six weeks I traveled widely in the southern regions of the Soviet Union from near Turkey in the extreme south, along the coast of the Black Sea as far as the Crimea, with trips deep into Georgia, and remote parts of the Caucasian mountains, and then across the Ukraine through Dniepropetrovsk and Kharkov up to Moscow. I met countless people, some of them holiday-makers from all parts of the USSR, others local inhabitants—workers, collective-farmers, fishermen. . . .

I went to places where foreigners had not been seen before and talked to many people for whom I was the first foreigner they had met. I talked to people in their own language, usually alone.

What did I discover as I traveled by plane, train, bus and mule? That the Soviet Union is passing through a phase no less pregnant with consequences for her own people and for the world than the changes that took place at the time of the launch-

ing of the early Five-Year Plans for developing heavy industry.

Just before I left Moscow the Soviet Government had announced increases in the prices paid to farmers for meat, poultry, vegetables, milk and butter ranging between 25 and 550 per cent; and had assured the consumers that the prices would, in fact, continue to fall.

New decrees envisage the volume of retail sales of consumer goods, which were to have gone up 70 per cent in 1955 compared with 1950, to rise 72 per cent by 1954 instead. New targets are established for increases in the marketable stocks of goods in 1955, as compared with the goals that were set down in the Five-Year Plan for that year. Thus, meat, which under the Plan was to have risen 90 per cent in 1955 (compared with 1950) will now, under the new targets, rise 130 per cent in 1955. Similarly, butter which was to have increased 70 per cent, is now scheduled to rise 90 per cent; furniture was originally set to rise 200 per cent, but now it is 300; clothing was to have risen 80 per cent, now it is 140; and refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners, which were scheduled to increase several times over under the Plan, are now to increase more than tenfold.

RALPH PARKER formerly represented the "New York Times" in Moscow and now covers the Soviet Union for newspapers and periodicals in Great Britain and the United States

And while I was traveling I heard speeches broadcast that went with the greatest detail into plans for raising the quality and variety of merchandise and food, and for increasing the number of shops by another 40,000, and the number of restaurants, canteens, and cafes by 11,000. There was a speech by the Minister of Trade, Anastas Mikoyan, which gave figures for the production of all kinds of household articles, kitchen utensils, metal bedsteads, bicycles and so on by the Defense Industry of the USSR.

If ever there was a clear demonstration of willingness to beat swords into ploughshares the moment there is even a hint of a lessening of international tension it lies in the following figures:

	1955 production	To be produced by Defense Industries
Bicycles	3,445,000	500,000
Refrigerators	330,000	200,000
Bedsteads	16,500,000	4,800,000

Wherever I went I saw the new decisions being put into action. I saw new food-processing plants being built near the highly-productive state and collective farms on land reclaimed from mosquito-haunted marshes near Sukhumi in Georgian Abkhazia. On the pebbly beaches of the Black Sea I talked to men and women who were giving up factory or office jobs to work as agronomists and mechanics on agriculture. At a historic place where, according to legend, Jason and the Argonauts landed, we watched Soviet motor-fishing vessels bring in their first catch to a new fish-cannery. In a sixty-mile long natural park of subtropical beauty new sanatoria, new rest homes and hotels were being built.

I do not wish to say that all we saw was perfect. If it had been there would have been no need for the new measures. A rapidly expanding society which is constantly shifting its goals forward, where the people are all the time being called on to master and apply the new techniques invented by a science that works hand in hand with the productive forces—in such a society you will find nothing “perfect,” no standard that is ultimate.

One example. The delightful stretch of coast where the stupendous mountains sweep down to the Black Sea was “discovered” as a holiday resort by wealthy Russians at the beginning of this century. Merchants, oil-kings, members of the royal family, and a number of artistes who were the spoiled darlings of the bourgeoisie, built villas at Sochi, Gagri, Sukhumi. . . .

After the Revolution, Lenin signed a decree making the holiday resorts the property of the people. At first it was a matter of using existing buildings as sanatoria and rest-homes. At Gagri, for example, you can see the former summer residence of Prince Oldenburg now used by workers on holiday; but it has long since ceased to be the pride of Gagri, being completely put in the shade by the sumptuous and glittering new buildings—veritable palaces—that have been built during the past few years by various trade unions for their members.

Now hundreds of thousands of Soviet workers visit the Caucasian coast—some coming by plane, others by sleek, all-metal pale blue trains, and others driving their own cars from distant industrial centers and collective farms. These people's holiday requirements have grown enormously since this region was first

opened up to ordinary men and women. It is because they are richer, because their cultural standards have risen.

Today there are millions of people who want to have comfortable healthy holidays by the sea and who can afford these holidays. As a result, as you drive between Sochi and Sukhumi along a magnificent marine drive over one hundred miles long, you see building-site after building-site where, with the help of tower-cranes and bulldozers, new hotels, theaters, bathing beaches and so on are being built.

The young Soviet worker of today spends his holidays in places far better built, far more healthy and comfortable than the tsarist bourgeoisie did when it went to the sea-side; but he is far from being fully satisfied with that standard. He wants more sports facilities, more excursions, more cinemas to brighten his holidays, and his requirements are so pressing that they fill these regions with an atmosphere of rapid construction.

The series of government decrees, announcing measures to build hundreds of new light industry factories, food-processing plants, tens of thousands of shops, made everyone feel confident that in two or three years the country would have an abundance of food and manufactured goods.

This feeling of confidence in the government's ability to fulfill its plans has to be met with personally to be believed. But is it really surprising that the Soviet people would have no misgiving about the authorities' plans? The Soviet people know very well what they are capable of. Every child knows how rapidly a powerful industrial system was built up as the USSR achieved the fastest

rate of industrialization in world history. Big as the new light industry and agricultural targets are, they cause not the slightest alarm. And the reason for this is obvious. The thousands of young people who faced the rigorous living conditions, the piercing gales, the lack of modern machinery of the site of the Dnieper Dam; the men and women who built Magnitogorsk and opened up the Donbas; those who laid the Turksib railway and built the ports of Komsomolsk and Magadan worked without the knowledge that behind them stood a great modern industry.

Today the workers who are bringing to life the new plans for developing light industry and food have behind them a great body of heavy industry producing 21 times more steel, 19 times more coal, and 45 times more electric power than it did in 1924-1925.

Confidence in the new plans also stems from the reputation that Communists have gained since the Revolution for carrying out their promises, for meaning what they say. And I think even the most jaundiced foreign diplomat in Moscow believes that the Soviet Government does mean to do what it says when it announces plans for raising the material well-being of the people.

Lastly the plans are popular because so many people are involved in drawing them up, as in carrying them out. When the nation launches a three-year program of consumer goods production the public is a constant adviser, critic, consultant on production.

During the last few months much more consumer research has been done in the Soviet Union. Shop assistants in stores near the harbor in busy little Sukhumi, on the promenade at Yalta, in Kharkov and Sim-

feropol, told me that never before had the public been so forthcoming with suggestions about the type of goods they wanted.

Every shop in the Soviet Union is expected to keep a suggestions book and to hand it to the customer when requested. Every such book has to be examined by the organization responsible for supplying goods to the shops. What do these suggestion books show? Their contents can be summed up by one word "Better." Soviet consumers by the millions are demanding fine quality garments, brighter clothes, better finished furniture. Their incomes are soaring, prices falling.

The changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union are not to be measured only by the material yardstick. You cannot get people used to working on a great project to improve living-standards without their reaching the conclusion that the prospects of peace are brighter. One of the strongest impressions I returned with from this journey of many thousands of miles was of a singular serenity among the people; they believe that peace will win.

And perhaps the most convincing proof of this was that wherever I, an Englishman, went I was received with open-hearted friendship and lack of suspicion.

HOWARD FAST RECEIVES 1953 STALIN PEACE PRIZE

OUR WARMEST congratulations go to Howard Fast, distinguished American novelist, for the high honor bestowed on him as one of the recipients of the International Stalin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations," for 1953.

This recognition of Howard Fast's great contributions to the cause of human progress and peace, by the international committee of awards, is a symbol of the appreciation of the people of other countries for the work of progressive Americans. We are proud of this recognition, as we were when last year's Stalin Peace Award went to Paul Robeson, and the Peace Award of the World Peace Council to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

In a statement to the press on receiving news of the award, Howard Fast, declared:

"Now, more than ever before in all human history, the need for peace is the imperative need of the whole human race; and the highest patriotism is that patriotism which calls for the peaceful intercourse of all nations."

Other recipients of this year's Stalin Peace Prize are: Pierre Cot, Deputy of the French National Assembly; Sahib Singh Sokhey, Indian Member of Parliament and health expert; Andres Gaggero, Italian priest; Isabelle Blume, Belgian Member of Parliament; J. D. Bernal, British scientist, of London University; Leon Kruczkowski, Polish writer; Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet; Andrea Andreen, Chief Doctor of the Clinical Laboratory of Stockholm; Nina Popova, Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, USSR.

Where Kids Get All the Breaks

by JOSEPH CLARK

ONCE in Moscow I met members of an Italian delegation of scientists, professional people, educators. They had made an intensive tour of the Soviet Union, inspecting many types of institutions. But their sharpest impression, Professor Donini, teacher of comparative religion at the University of Rome, told me, was of the children. "What they have here," the professor said, "is a dictatorship of the children."

The attitude of Soviet people to children was brought home to me very soon after my two little ones joined me in Moscow—my daughter was 10 months old, my son going on three. The whole family used to walk down Gorky Street, our little girl in a stroller we had brought from home. Occasionally her head would nod and she'd doze off and her head would be bent over and her chest lean forward. We'd no sooner walk a few steps but some passer-by would stop us, point to the child and ask us to straighten her out, or make her com-

fortable. We'd try, proceed once more, her head would fall forward again, and again we'd be stopped. Nor were the women, and sometimes men, who stopped us on the streets at all bashful. Once a group of women even threatened to call a militiaman unless we made our child comfortable.

Came the frost of our first November in Moscow and we caused additional grief for Moscow's citizens. We had brought what we considered warm and serviceable snow suits for our children. But we'd be out with our children and women would stop us, shake their heads sorrowfully and ask us why we didn't get warm coats for the kids. We'd show them the quilted linings of the snow suits, but to no avail. We soon had to give up and get both children the warm little fur coats and fur hoods which almost all the kids wear during the long winter months.

Ordinarily you don't see very many children on the streets of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad or the other big cities. But the Soviet child population is enormous, the birth rate high, there's a very sharp decline in deaths at birth. So where are the children?

You have to look elsewhere than in the streets. And you begin to

JOSEPH CLARK, together with his family, spent three years in the Soviet Union where he was correspondent for the Daily Worker of New York. This article is from a book soon to be issued by International Publishers

discover the children's world—in the nurseries and kindergartens, in the school and the Pioneer palaces, in the apartment house playgrounds and the children's parks, in the children's theaters and children's movie houses—in the children's world within the Soviet world.

You can see the children's world best during the winter holidays. From New Year's Day to the 11th of January the cities of the Soviet Union are just about given over to the kids. The big thing is the "Yolka"—the New Year's or Christmas tree. But the Yolka is not only the gaily decorated fir tree in the homes, or the big revolving one with the changing lights downtown—mostly the "Yolka" is the party and show for children. I mean the party at the Hall of Columns of the Trade Union House, the party at the Circus, the party at Tchaikovsky Concert Hall, at the Grand Hall of the Conservatory of Music, at the Stalin Auto Plant Palace of Culture, at the Railroad Workers Club and many other places in Moscow. I say "party" but of course it's plural. For example the "Yolka" at the Hall of Columns has five performances a day for 13 days with about 2,500 kids at each performance. My kids are veterans of the "Yolka" and here's what they saw when fairyland came down to earth at the Hall of Columns.

This enormous and beautiful trade union building is decorated and used exclusively for the carnival and parties during a 13-day period. In the center of the big hall is the tree itself reaching up 70 feet or so to the ceiling, decorated very much like the Christmas tree at Radio City. The performance starts with a playlet featuring Grandpa Frost, the Russian Santa Claus, and the Snow-

maiden. Following this jolly presentation festivities begin around the tree. The children form a huge circle around the tree and under trained leaders they are shown a dance or learn a song which they perform then and there. When the kids finish they move to the sides and a professional act is performed. It can be a group of dancers from the famed Moisseyev folk dance ensemble or top dancers from the Bolshoy ballet. Then the kids perform again around the tree. And then another professional act, say a bicycle circus number. And so they alternate for about an hour and a half.

But that's far from all. In the long corridors and big rooms of the building dozens of performances are going on. In one room Durov, the famed animal trainer, has set up his show. In another, children's cartoon films are being shown. In another a dance group performs, in another a magician. The kids ride on the back of a huge grey goose, they swing, they roll down slides, they enjoy the merry-go-round, they test their skill at various games.

The impressive thing is that this fairyland is for all the kids. When you add up all the concert halls, palaces of culture and clubs where this kind of fairyland is available you realize why there is no such thing as a child who hasn't participated in at least one such holiday carnival. Meanwhile all the twenty-odd theaters in town are putting on special matinee performances for the children. Year-round there is the children's puppet theater, and the central puppet theater also puts on regular performances for children, and similarly the movie houses devoted to children's films. But during the holidays *all* the theaters, from the Bolshoy on are turned over in great

part for the kids. Posters go up all over town announcing what plays are most suitable for the third grade children, the fifth graders, and so on. Again, the impressive thing is that all the kids get to these performances.

The holidays are when you see the children's world all about you.

But again, where are the kids—if they're not dodging traffic—during the day, any day of the year? If two parents are working and if school is out say at 2 p.m. where can the school-age children go?

I spent a long afternoon with several thousand school children after school hours. This was the Leningrad Palace of Pioneers—the Pioneers being the organization of children from the ages of 9 to 14. And a Palace it was indeed. More than 200 years ago the daughter of Peter I, Empress Elizabeth, had a grand pleasure palace built for herself by the famous architect Rastrelli. Later Catherine. II presented that enormous Anichkov palace and its spacious grounds to one of her favorites, Prince Potemkin.

After the Soviet revolution the palace was turned into a museum. Then in 1934 Leningrad's youth and children's organizations petitioned Kirov and other of Leningrad's government and Party leaders to give them a palace as a Pioneer center. The petition was granted. A big reconstruction job was done and a city-wide holiday was proclaimed when the Palace became the city's major children's center.

I was three hours going from room to room, auditorium to gymnasium and still could cover only half of the activities going on in the Palace on a single afternoon. The first room I entered was unusually quiet for a children's recreation cen-

ter. Boys and girls from about 7 to 12 were bent over chess games.

The next big room was a fully equipped planetarium. Shrill children's voices were stilled as the lights went out and the "heaven" above lit up. An electric arrow shot across the sky and stopped at a constellation. The kids chorused the answer.

Then we rushed on to what was once a ballroom and now a game and playroom. There must have been over a hundred different kinds of games, using manual dexterity, alertness, powers of observation, puzzles and the like. From there to an auditorium where a chorus of 200 girls was singing. And to one of the reading rooms, to art exhibits with works of the children themselves, to a hothouse where young biologists were at work, to craft and shop room, miniature planes, movies and radio rooms. In a puppet workshop the kids rehearsed a puppet play with dolls they had fashioned themselves. There were piano lessons, violin lessons, folk instrument bands, musical gymnastics. Then up in a big gym some 16-year-olds were boxing, others punching the bag, others just fighting their shadows.

In all there are 189 full-time teachers and a total staff of 300 at this Pioneer Palace. Besides, special teachers, visiting artists, musicians, masters of sports, chess masters come here to help out with the work. Among the types of sports sponsored by the Palace are track and field, boxing, wrestling, tennis, basketball, gymnastics, swimming, water polo, fencing, ice skating (speed and figure), ice hockey, volley ball, soccer football, crew racing, checkers and chess.

Fifteen thousand children participate in the clubs and circles of the

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Palace. During the summer the grounds and gardens are used for summer theater and sports. In winter they're frozen over for skating and hockey.

Anna Rizhova, the enthusiastic young assistant director who showed me the Pioneer Palace also described other activities conducted by the Palace. Such as the concert trips, theater outings, classes, clubs, film showings, natural science outings, visits to historical places and tours, scientific activities, lectures, music events and many others. And she also told me how they continued their activity during the 900 days that Leningrad was besieged by the Germans. "Our main concern then was health and nutrition, but the circles and recreation also went on," she said. And in one room she showed me the clean hole pierced in a tall mirror made by a high velocity shell.

There are Pioneer palaces like this in the various capitals of Soviet republics and other large cities. But once again these are important primarily as models and an aid to the activities of the neighborhood Pioneer houses. Every neighborhood has at least one. The idea is service for all the children. This Leningrad Palace is open to all children from 7 to 17—that is the ages covered by the 10 years of school. Children come from all parts of the city, with some 15,000 involved in its activities. But each school has its pioneer center and each neighborhood its pioneer house.

In the wintertime, more than during the summer you'll also find children playing in the courtyards, without which no apartment house or project is complete. Usually a section of the courtyard is frozen over. And the resulting rink is the scene of a hockey game or just skating.

As for the younger children, from two-month-old infants to the age of seven—school starts then—working parents can leave them all day at the nursery or creche, and then kindergarten. The nurseries take them from two months to three years, the kindergartens three years to seven. These are based primarily at factories, and I found them at places large as well as small, in big towns as well as small. They vary in degree of facilities but all provide three hot meals a day, and one or two snacks besides; all have close and constant medical supervision; play and recreation is supervised all day. Besides the factory nurseries and kindergartens they have them in the neighborhoods too. The very first one I visited, No. 157 in the Timiryazev district of Moscow, before my boy began to attend one, was pretty typical, though somewhat bigger from point of attendance than many others.

The 220 children in this nursery are divided by age group. Each has its play room, dining room and sleeping rooms—the walls were mainly windows. Furniture and facilities are built in lilliputian size. The play rooms were filled with huge play pens, push wagons to help children get around and learn how to walk, dolls, balls, painting equipment, construction blocks, wagons, doll houses, and what not.

A staff of 70 takes care of this nursery. This includes the teachers, two full time doctors, two trained nurses, cooks, cleaning women, maintenance workers and the motherly looking director who has been working there for 21 years, Vera Davidova. Child care institutions spare no personnel. The kindergarten where my boy attended (No. 219, downtown) was smaller, having

only 60 children. It didn't require as big a staff, not only because it had fewer children, but it didn't have facilities for the children to remain all night. In nursery No. 157 and in the majority of nurseries and kindergartens, especially those connected with factories, parents can leave the children all night if necessary, with no extra charge. This means that the mother and father can on occasion attend late evening affairs together, knowing their children are completely safe and with no baby sitter worries. Still the kindergarten where my boy attended had four teachers, four cooks, cleaning and maintenance workers, and an office worker besides the director.

My little boy once had a minor operation at the Morozov Children's Hospital in Moscow. In his ward we noticed several women employed, not as nurses or maintenance workers, but with the sole responsibility of mothering the children. Their job was to read to the kids, play with them, make their stay at the hospital more pleasant.

In my visits to factories and various communities from Yalta in the sunny Crimea to Leningrad, from

the Volga area to the Caucasus, I found that the nursery-kindergarten facilities were universal. And I also learned that the one my boy attended was far and away one of the poorest—by comparison. It had a fairly crowded courtyard for the kids to play in. The building was old, although kept spotlessly clean. But when I saw the kindergartens and nurseries the auto workers' kids had in Gorky, I realized that there was no limit to what was lavished on the kids where the money was available because the enterprise supporting it was more profitable. Nevertheless, profit was not the criterion for deciding whether the kids are well taken of. The enterprise sponsoring my boy's kindergarten operated at a huge deficit—it was the famed Bolshoy Opera and Ballet Theater—but even there the children had excellent care, the best medical supervision, well-trained teachers and a happy environment. It was as happy a group of healthy, lively children as can be seen anywhere. To an American it was a revelation how children can have so few tantrums, present so little behavior and "adjustment" problems.

USSR AIDS EAST GERMAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THIRTY-THREE engineering, chemical, metallurgical and other enterprises situated in Germany and which had previously passed to the USSR in lieu of reparations payments, have been transferred to the German Democratic Republic as of the first of this year. The transfer to the GDR was made without requiring any compensation and was in accordance with a protocol signed on August 22, 1953, on the termination of German reparations payments and on other measures for lightening the financial-economic obligations of the German Democratic Republic connected with consequences of the war.

The enterprises which have been transferred have been vastly improved by the Soviet Union which expended large capital investments in them to convert them to modern, up-to-date establishments.

The USSR Agrees To Discuss Eisenhower's Proposals

On December 7, American Ambassador Charles Bohlen visited Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov to call the attention of the Soviet Government to the proposals on atomic energy to be made the following day by President Eisenhower before the United Nations. Mr. Molotov assured him that serious attention would be given the proposals. Subsequently Mr. Bohlen forwarded to Mr. Molotov extracts from the President's speech, which were reported widely by Soviet press and radio.

Through the radio and the press the American people have had an opportunity to become acquainted with the President's UN address containing his proposals for setting up an international agency to explore peaceful uses of atomic energy. Few, however, outside New York City (where the press published a somewhat garbled version received from London) have had an opportunity to read the Soviet answer, delivered on December 21, agreeing to the President's suggestion for discussion of his proposals. We are therefore publishing herewith the official text of the Soviet Government's reply.

SOVIET STATEMENT ON ATOMIC PROPOSALS

IN HIS SPEECH in the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, President Eisenhower of the United States dwelt on the problem of the atomic armaments race.

The President of the United States justifiably emphasized the danger arising for the peoples of the world from the impending situation, should the governments fail to adopt measures against the armaments race.

This is all the more correct today, when along with the atomic weapon there already exists the hydrogen weapon with a much greater power of destruction. Nor should such new types of armaments be omitted as the rocket weapon, the range of which can, with modern technique, be extended to thousands of kilometers without the use of aircraft, as well as atom-charged torpedoes, etc.

The discovery of the practical possi-

bility of using atomic energy is the greatest achievement of modern science and engineering. The possibility of using atomic energy for military purposes has been discovered along with the possibility of using it for peaceful purposes. Until this very moment efforts have been concentrated mainly on the use of atomic energy for the production of armaments. And yet mankind is interested in the exclusive use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and in preventing the use of atomic energy for purposes which are incompatible with the honor and conscience of peoples, such as the mass annihilation of people and the barbarous destruction of cities.

Almost 30 years ago the governments of 49 states reached an agreement and signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925, prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, recognizing the

use of these weapons of mass destruction of people as a crime. This agreement among the governments, signed in due time by the Soviet Union also, yielded positive results.

It is generally known that during the First World War extensive use was made of such weapons of mass destruction of people as asphyxiating and poison gases and other chemical weapons which were vigorously condemned by the peoples. Even at that time there was a danger of the use of injurious germs for the purpose of infecting civilians in cities with serious diseases, which could not be tolerated by the conscience of the overwhelming majority of people. And this created the need for international agreement in the form of the aforementioned Geneva Protocol, which condemned and prohibited the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in war.

If it had not been for this protocol signed by 49 states, although not yet ratified by all states, there would have been no restraining factor for the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the Second World War as well. The fact that in the Second World War no government dared to use chemical and bacteriological weapons indicates that the aforementioned agreement among the states directed against chemical and bacteriological weapons was a positive factor. It is, of course, also impossible to underestimate the fact that, relying upon this international agreement, the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition firmly declared that a crushing rebuff would be given to any attempt of the enemy to use chemical weapons in the war.

The considerations mentioned also apply fully to atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is known that the United Nations do not classify these weapons among conventional armaments, regarding them as special types of weapons, as weapons of mass destruction.

One can appreciate the fact that President Eisenhower, who is known as one of the outstanding military leaders in the last World War, emphasized the

destructive power of atomic weapons. It should also be borne in mind that the importance of this problem will increase as time passes.

It would have been entirely incomprehensible if states possessing atomic or hydrogen weapons did not attach proper significance to the question of banning atomic and hydrogen weapons, as well as other weapons of mass destruction, or if they postponed to the indefinite future the reaching of international agreement on this question. There would be no justification whatever for such an attitude toward this important and urgent problem.

The Soviet Union is conducting a consistent struggle for the prohibition of atomic weapons and also for a considerable reduction in all other armaments. This accords with the policy of the Soviet state, which is aimed at preventing another war and at promoting peace and cooperation among nations.

In his speech on atomic weapons on December 8, the President of the USA noted the great importance of the problem of lessening international tension and creating an atmosphere of mutual peaceful confidence. This too is in harmony with the views of the Soviet government, which consistently works for the relaxation of international tension and for strengthening peace throughout the world.

In order to achieve success in this direction, it is necessary to combine efforts for the purpose of removing the causes which interfere with the easing of international tension. As for the Soviet Union, we are doing everything to concentrate the labor of Soviet people as well as our material resources on accomplishing new and gigantic undertakings for furthering the progress of the peaceful economy and culture of the country, and for promoting international economic cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. The Soviet Union is among those states which are working for the development of sound international trade and resolutely condemn the policy of discrimination against and pressure upon eco-

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nomically dependent countries, a policy which has discredited itself in this field. The interests of the Soviet Union's foreign policy do not require the creation of military blocs and alliances directed against one or another state; nor do they require the establishment of military bases on the territories of other states. The Soviet Union considers the policy of implying support of subversive acts in other countries or the financing of subversive agents incompatible with normal relations between states. The desire for improving relations between states is bound to lead to mutual recognition of these principles, which cannot be at variance with the national interests of any state and are at the same time in full harmony with the interests of safeguarding peace and international security.

It is for this very reason that the Soviet Union considers important not only the forthcoming conference in Berlin, but also a conference of the Five Powers, with the participation of the People's Republic of China, inasmuch as under existing conditions only the concerted efforts of all the Great Powers, together with the efforts of other countries, can secure a relaxation of all international tensions and a corresponding settlement of specific urgent international problems. This also accords with the United Nations Charter, under which special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security rests with the five countries: the United States, Britain, France, the USSR and China. Furthermore, it is perfectly obvious that precisely the People's Republic of China should represent the great Chinese people in the United Nations today.

If there is the desire to assist in raising the role and prestige of the United Nations in strengthening general peace, special insistence should be exerted toward bringing closer the positions of the Five Great Powers on the question of ending the drive for atomic and all other armaments. Every move toward agreement between these powers with regard to eliminating the

threat of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and with regard to ending the arms drive in general would undoubtedly have the unanimous support of all the United Nations. This path primarily affords important possibilities for reducing international tension and for strengthening peace.

After stating his opinion on the significance of atomic weapons, President Eisenhower declared that corresponding confidential or diplomatic negotiations between the interested states would be desirable.

Moreover, President Eisenhower put forward the proposal that respective states should begin at once and continue in the future to transfer for use in peaceful endeavors a certain portion of their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international agency on atomic energy which would function under the United Nations. This proposal indicates, furthermore, that an international agency on atomic energy could be made responsible for the collection, maintenance, and protection of fissionable and other materials placed at its disposal.

It is necessary to consider what this proposal means.

Firstly, this proposal means that of the existing and newly built-up stockpiles of atomic materials it is proposed to set aside for peaceful purposes only "some" small portion. It follows that the main bulk of atomic materials will continue to be used for the production of new atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the full possibility therefore remains for continuing to accumulate atomic weapons and to produce new types of this weapon of even greater destructive force. It follows that this proposal in its present form gives a free hand to states possessing the possibility of producing atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Secondly, President Eisenhower's proposal in no way restricts the possibility of utilizing atomic weapons. Adoption of this proposal in no way restricts an aggressor from using atomic weapons for any purpose and at any time. Consequently this proposal in no way

lessens the danger of atomic attack.

The conclusion should, therefore, be drawn that in its present form the proposal submitted by the United States does not stop the growing production of atomic weapons and does not restrict the possibility for the utilization of these weapons. This must be borne in mind in appraising the real significance of the given proposal.

This proposal would have had another meaning if it had proceeded from a recognition of the necessity to prohibit atomic weapons, which are weapons of aggression. But the speech of the President of the United States does not mention the necessity for prohibiting atomic weapons. The question of the prohibition of atomic weapons is overlooked in this speech, despite the fact that President Eisenhower stresses the special danger that atomic weapons constitute for the peoples of the whole world in the present atomic epoch.

The question arises: Can one speak of the necessity of reducing international tension and at the same time overlook the problem of prohibiting atomic weapons? There cannot be two different replies to this question. All those who strive for easing the tension in international relations and for promoting peace cannot fail to demand that the governments reach a speedy positive solution of this problem.

It is well known that the anxiety felt by peoples is mainly connected with the possibility of an outbreak of atomic warfare, a danger that cannot be eliminated without prohibiting atomic weapons. This was recognized at the very beginning of the existence of the United Nations, which came out for the necessity of prohibiting atomic weapons.

Nobody can deny the difficulties of the solution of this task. But it cannot be said that sufficient efforts have been made by the United Nations and primarily by those states especially concerned to reach an international agreement on the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons and on the establishment of effective international control over the implementation of this

prohibition. For this reason it would be impossible to justify to the peace-loving peoples any further postponement of the solution of this question or the by-passing of this question despite its extreme urgency at the present time.

That is why the Soviet government, as before, considers that the most important and urgent problem is the unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons as well as other types of weapons of mass destruction, with the simultaneous establishment of strict international control over this prohibition. All peace-loving peoples are interested in the speedy solution of this task.

If this whole matter is reduced to the fact that some small portion of atomic materials will be used for peaceful purposes and the bulk of these materials, the quantity of which constantly grows, will be used for the production of more and more destructive atomic weapons, then the danger of atomic warfare will not decrease in any way. This can only serve to lessen the vigilance of the peoples in relation to the problem of atomic weapons, but it cannot help to lessen the real danger of atomic warfare.

If agreement between the states is reduced to the fact that only some small part of atomic materials is allocated for peaceful purposes while production of atomic weapons will continue not to be restricted in any way, then this international agreement would actually sanction the production of atomic weapons. International sanctioning of the production of atomic weapons would play into the hands of aggressive forces. Such a state of affairs, far from facilitating the attainment of agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons, would, on the contrary, constitute a new obstacle in the way of reaching such agreement.

As long as we strive for the consolidation of peace, we cannot lessen vigilance in relation to the danger of atomic warfare or give international sanction to the production of atomic weapons. It is precisely for this reason that it

is necessary to recognize that the task of all peace-loving states is not limited to allocating some small portion of atomic materials for peaceful purposes. It is necessary that not some part but the whole bulk of atomic materials be fully used for peaceful purposes, thus opening up unprecedented possibilities for the progress of industry, agriculture and transport; for the application of valuable atomic discoveries in medicine; for the perfection of techniques in many fields where it is applicable; and for further and higher progress in science.

It should also be borne in mind that prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and utilization of all atomic materials for the peaceful aims of the peoples, with proper attention paid to the requirements of economically less developed areas, would at the same time also make it easier to reach agreement on the question of a decisive reduction of conventional armaments. This, on its part, would lead to considerably lightening the tax burden borne by the peoples because of the existence in many countries of inflated armies, military aviation, and navy, i.e., because of the armaments race now going on.

All this demands recognition of the necessity for the prohibition of atomic weapons together with the establishment of international control over this prohibition, and an unconditional pledge not to use these weapons. For this reason the Soviet government will continue to insist on the urgency of achieving appropriate international agreement on this question.

As to President Eisenhower's statement about confidential or diplomatic talks on the proposal he made, the Soviet government, consistently pursuing its peace-loving policy, expresses its readiness to take part in such talks.

The Soviet government has always attached great significance to direct talks between states for reaching mutually acceptable agreements on controversial issues, in the interests of promoting universal peace.

At the same time, the Soviet government expects that the government of the United States will, in conformity with its statement, give the necessary explanations, since the proposal of the United States in its essential parts contains provisions which are not clear and does not provide for the necessity of prohibiting atomic weapons. Nor does it provide for a pledge not to use these weapons.

The Soviet Union is deeply convinced that mankind can and must be spared the horrors of atomic warfare. Special responsibility in solving this task falls upon those states which already possess the power of atomic weapons.

As for the Soviet Union, its stand is perfectly clear. It consists of directing this great discovery of the human mind not against civilization, but for its all-round progress; not for mass extermination of people, but for their peaceful requirements; for all-round improvement in the well-being of the population.

The Soviet government proceeds from the fact that in the course of these negotiations the following proposal of the Soviet Union will be considered at the same time:

The states participating in the agreement, guided by a striving to lessen international tension, undertake the solemn and unconditional pledge not to use atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass extermination.

The attainment of international agreement on this question would be an important step on the path to a complete withdrawal from the armaments of states of atomic, hydrogen, and other types of weapons of mass extermination, with the establishment of strict international control ensuring the fulfillment of the agreement on prohibiting the use of atomic energy for war aims.

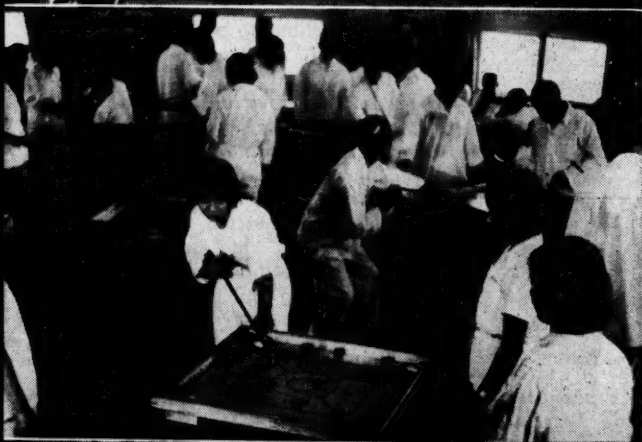
The Soviet Union, deeply concerned with protecting mankind from lethal atomic and hydrogen weapons, will exert every effort so that these weapons will never be directed against the people.



China's textile workers trade union has organized a beautiful rest home near the beach at Tsingtao, in Shantung Province, where formerly only the wealthy merchants and officials could afford to spend their vacations. Here textile workers and their families enjoy bathing at the beach



After mid-day lunch a stroll on the terrace of the rest home is pleasant and relaxing



The rest home's game room is a gathering place for fun and for making new friends



As at any summer resort, chatting and writing letters home is part of the routine

Chinese Textile Workers' Summer Resort

Miao Yu-hsiang, a textile worker from Tientsin, and Lan Shu-fang, from a mill in Tsingtao, are spending their vacations at their union's rest home





A view of the rest home (above and below, left) showing the broad balconies, spacious windows and ample terraces at the disposal of the textile workers. Below, right: Two textile workers enjoy some music on one of the balconies



School in a Chinese Waterworks

by GRACE LIU

IN ORDER to wipe out illiteracy in China, as well as to raise the technical and cultural level of the people, every factory and industrial enterprise has organized classes for its workers. The Tientsin Waterworks, for example, has two types of educational projects: the literacy and technical classes, and a regular spare-time technical training school whose graduates receive technical diplomas.

In the days of the Kuomintang, 419 of the Waterworks' 631 workers were illiterate. Today there are only 35 who still are unable to read and write, and they are the oldest workers, men up in their sixties.

Workers with less than a fourth grade education attend literacy and technical classes one and a half hours a day, five days a week. The men are divided into groups according to their work and are first given a picture of the entire production process so that they may better understand their own place in the production of pure water for all the people of the city. Each group is

then taught the general principles of its specific type of work.

The men who make and repair spare parts for meters, jobs that they formerly learned purely by rote, now study the basic units of measurements, how to measure volume of water, what water pressure is and how to measure it. They learn about the different kinds of meters and their characteristics. These studies have led to greater efficiency and more personal satisfaction in their work.

The purification group is composed of three smaller groups—the slow sand-filter, rapid sand-filter and coagulation tank attendants. The principles of purification, sedimentation, filtration, coagulation, chlorination, and how to measure turbidity are studied. Whereas each little group formerly did its work separately and mechanically according to the chemist's directions, adding so many pounds of alum or chlorine per hour, they now have gotten together and learned to coordinate their work, so that the whole process of purification runs smoothly as one operation.

In the distribution group are the men who lay water mains and install pipes and meters. They learn the general features of the distribution

GRACE LIU is an American who has been living and working in China. Her husband is Director of the Tientsin Public Utilities Union

system for the whole city, something they never knew before. They are taught measurements and units, the functions of meters. They also learn the computation of water volume and how to compute the area of pipes and tanks. They learn how a pipe is made, and of what different materials.

The boiler and engine men learn the principles of boilers and steam engines and how to read blueprints.

The regular technical training school is for workers and staff members who have been through the fourth grade, or higher. This is a regular school with a president, vice-president, and two deans: one in charge of the curriculum, planning and teaching, the other in charge of marks, leaves of absence and the organizing of mutual help groups.

The school is arranged in three divisions, the first equivalent to junior middle school, and the third equivalent to two years of a technical college. Each of these three divisions is in three grades, and the whole course takes about five years, although so far there are only the first and second grades of the first division, with classes every morning. There are sixty students in each class, and as they advance new classes will be formed and the lower grades refilled from the literacy and technical classes and from newcomers to the Waterworks.

First division subjects are mathematics, chemistry, physics, the general features of water supply, politics and the history of the Chinese revolution. The more advanced grades will study more advanced subjects along the same line, with increasing emphasis on water supply. Graduates will receive technical training school diplomas and be qualified waterworks engineers.

The workmen students include pipe fitters, engine attendants, trench diggers, sand carriers, filter and boiler attendants and machinists. From the staff there are meter readers, bill collectors, accountants, storekeepers, draughtsmen, telephone operators and typists. The four telephone operators and six typists are girls.

The dean of studies is one of the senior engineers and also one of the teachers. He did post-graduate work at the Sorbonne and speaks excellent English, French and Russian. The president is the deputy chief engineer of the Waterworks, and a Columbia graduate. There are eight teachers in all, five engineers, two political instructors and the wife of the chemist, who teaches physics.

At present the two classes are divided into mutual-aid groups who help one another and strive to progress together, not individually. One who excels in any particular subject helps his mates who find it difficult.

Most of the technical school's students are between 20 and 30 years old, but four are over 40, and one, Chang Sheng-nien, is 50. This man, now deputy superintendent of the main pumping station, was formerly just a mechanic, a typical old-style workman who had learned his trade when young by blindly following the directions of an experienced engineer.

"Tighten this screw." "Put oil here." "Start the engine." He carried out instructions without knowing the whys and wherefores, but he was clever and hard-working and eventually became a foreman. After liberation, he became more enthusiastic to learn and improve his work, and when the technical training school was started, he was eager to join although nearly 50. He has

never been late or absent, and applies himself so diligently to learning what he is taught that he has been able to make a number of improvements in the waterworks' diesel engines and increase their efficiency. He has also made apparatus for the water purification works.

Last year he was selected a model worker, and about six months ago was made a deputy superintendent.

Results of educating the workmen for even this short length of time have been amazing. Now that they have acquired enough technical knowledge to read mechanical drawings, use slide rules and handle surveying instruments, and have gained some scientific understanding of the work they are doing, the workmen have the confidence to undertake tasks that formerly would have been completely beyond their ability. These include laying a 30-inch steel pipe across as big a river as the Hai Ho, and a 48-inch steel pipe across the Grand Canal and the making of 48-inch low pressure reinforced concrete pipes.

But the greatest accomplishment and the one the workmen are the most enthusiastic and happy over, is the modern, up-to-date purification plant with mechanical filters, having an output of 100,000 metric tons, or 25,000,000 US gallons of water a day. This was finished within 10 months including the bitter winter. This plant is automatic.

The workers rightly consider that this is a splendid example of what can be accomplished when their natural capabilities and talents receive encouragement and training. They know that the building-up of new China industrially depends in large measure upon them and their fellow-workers all over the country. Just this initial step in technical education has been enough to show them what they are capable of doing when they begin to acquire scientific knowledge. They have caught a glimpse of what it will mean when all China's innumerable workers are skilled technicians.

It is an exciting and inspiring vision!

A NEW SINO-JAPANESE TRADE AGREEMENT

A NEW Sino-Japanese trade agreement for purchase and sales amounting to 30 million pounds sterling in both directions was signed in Peking on October 29 following negotiations between the China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and the Delegation of the Japanese Diet Members' Union to Promote Japan-China Trade. The agreement was signed on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and on lines similar to the previous Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement concluded on June 1, 1952.

Trade is to proceed on a barter basis and its value calculated in terms of pounds sterling. Among the exports from China are: Iron ore, coal, bauxite, tung oil, asbestos, bristles, antimony, rugs, cotton and silk waste, licorice, medicinal herbs. Exports from Japan include: Copper, aluminum ingots, steel plates, steel pipes and tubes, railways equipment, ocean-going vessels, textile machinery, automobiles, agricultural machinery, watches, sewing machines.

MODERN FARMING

Comes to Eastern Europe

by LEMENT U. HARRIS

THOUGH generally ignored by our press, the development of a modern, scientific agriculture is taking form in Europe's New Democracies. Countries like Poland, Hungary, East Germany have now had seven years in which to recover from the shock of war and rebuild on new, socialist lines. Czechoslovakia has had less time, since the socialist direction of its development was not assured until the February days of 1948, when the industrial workers and peasants gave their support to the Gottwald government.

Yet in those few years, we witness the beginnings of a radical transformation in which old, outmoded forms are discarded and a new rural society emerges.

First step in this process was the elimination of all the remnants of feudalism which had managed to hang on in spite of the greater efficiency of up-to-date methods. This meant the elimination of the old landlords who looked upon their estates

as their personal domain and the peasants who lived on them as mere chattels. Central and Eastern Europe was ridden with such landlords, whose income was derived from the virtually unpaid labor of peasants. Their aim was to accumulate more land and more dependent families, caring little about the inefficiency of hand methods employed by peasant labor.

In addition to being a brake on any kind of progress in the villages, this landlord class has always played the most reactionary role in national politics. It was the Junker landholders of Prussia that, together with the largest industrialists, gave consistent support to the Nazi party. The Junkers, too, were the backbone of the Prussian military clique which for a century before Hitler advocated aggressive expansion, preached national chauvinism of German supremacy, Aryan supremacy and anti-Semitism.

We see the same pattern in the clique of colonels of old Poland, the land barons of Rumania and Bulgaria etc. Of course, many other parts of the world are still landlord ridden. Our own South has its Dixiecrat plantation owners who, too, live

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on the unpaid labor of peasants, called sharecroppers, whose representatives are the most vocal advocates of aggressive military policies, and who practice the most outrageous racial policies against American Negroes.

Recognizing that progress required the elimination of the landlord class, all the New Democracies enacted legislation expropriating the land of large holders. The principle was established that arable land has a social quality requiring that it be used for the benefit of the whole of society. Hence it was made illegal to hold more land than an individual family could till, and especially it was made illegal to have tenants on a sharecropping relationship.

Rather than face the loss of their holdings and be forced to work and live on the scale of a small farmer, most of the landlords tried to flee the country with the idea of living on their foreign securities. With comparative ease, the different governments took over these estates and proceeded to divide them amongst the smallest peasants or else assign them for socially useful purposes. Thus the holdings of the big land owners, the high Catholic Church dignitaries and the land speculators were all eliminated.

But while eliminating the useless landlords, there was much of the old society which could be put to immediate and expanded use in the new democracies. All the modern farm equipment from the more modernized estates was overhauled and turned over to tractor stations. The few tractors available were equipped with headlights and during the busy seasons, ran day and night.

Then, too, there were throughout this area not a few village cooperatives which in the old society had

been run for the benefit of the richer farmers.

In all these central European countries there has been a long tradition of farm marketing and buying co-operatives running back over the past hundred years. On the whole these cooperatives played a progressive role in so far as they protected farmers in the market place where they are confronted with the big food processors. But more and more, these cooperatives which were formed for the purpose of defending the farmers' interests were taken over by the big landowners and rich farmers. This is an observable fact in all countries during the period of emerging monopoly capital.

Therefore it was necessary to change the character of the existing cooperatives, or rather to see that the original role was restored of serving the smaller farms, operated by working farmers.

With this purpose in mind, the first step taken by the new cooperatives was to organize one Unified Agricultural Cooperative in each community. This was something quite new, since there were many villages which formerly had as many as a dozen different cooperatives, most of them with but a handful of members. Then, too, in the areas of largest landlord holdings, there usually were no cooperatives at all. The announced objective today is the single Unified Cooperative in each village, which handles the purchasing of supplies and equipment, and directs field operations, marketing, construction of new facilities, and many social services.

A second feature of the new cooperatives is the exclusion of rich farmers or large landholders from membership. Actually in the years following the collapse of Hitler,

many rich farmers took the lead in organizing Unified Cooperatives which were sham cooperatives aiming only to get government subsidized farm machinery at low prices. Strong measures were adopted to eliminate such members and especially to remove them from positions of authority in the new cooperatives.

Today, in Czechoslovakia for example, four-fifths of the posts of management have been reserved for the small and middle sized farmers by the statutes of these cooperatives. Actually the working farmers represent about 98 per cent of the total number of farm holders. In the struggles against rich farmers, the members of the cooperatives have had the assistance of the rest of the rural working population, consisting of factory workers who live in the village. This close relation between farmer and industrial worker is the key to the solid democratic front now developing in these New Democracies.

Furthermore, the new Unified Cooperatives have a far more serious purpose than the old self-help societies under the old regime. Buying and marketing are no longer big problems. Implements, fertilizer, seed, etc. are all available from the State on favorable credit terms. Marketing is even less of a problem. The farmers know in advance of planting what they will get for their products—there is no bargaining, no speculation, no garnisheeing of crops to meet debts, no sharecropping.

The new cooperatives' main objective is to step up production and thereby raise the living standards in the village. The shift from small-scale to large-scale production, the supplying of better seed, ample credit for increasing amounts of modern implements, are changing the basic

character of the village. In actual fact, the Unified Cooperatives are bringing socialism to the village and openly announce that is their goal.

The last few years have seen a great rush into the new cooperatives. Czechoslovakia has been the pace setter, probably because her highly developed industries have been capable of furnishing many thousands of power implements to work the consolidated fields. As recently as 1949, the average size farm holding in that country was a half acre. Many thousands of "fields" actually measured 11 by 11 yards, scarcely room for an onion patch.

The rush into the cooperatives got under way in 1950. By January 1953, there were 8,900, which means that there are now such Unified Cooperatives in two-thirds of all the villages of Czechoslovakia.

In Hungary, about 25 per cent of the plowed land is in the cooperatives, and another 13 per cent is in state demonstration farms and tractor stations.

In Poland, one out of eight villages now has its agricultural producers' cooperative. There are 5,600 of them operating two and a half million acres.

East Germany has 1,300 producers' cooperatives uniting 13,700 farms on 285,000 acres.

In Bulgaria, farm cooperatives have now become the dominant form of agriculture, the amount of arable land in cooperatives rising from 6 per cent in 1948 to 60 per cent in 1952. Of all the farms in Bulgaria, 52 per cent, a little over half, are now cooperatives.

Though the reports from all these New Democracies indicate that cooperative agriculture is firmly established, there is also ample indication that the course of development has

not been entirely smooth. While encouraging the organization of producers' cooperatives there have been numerous warnings against the use of high pressure methods on the farmers. Such a warning was issued by Matyas Rakosi in his 1953 budget speech when he was Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary. He stated:

In the development of the producer cooperatives care was taken to keep this growth from being too rapid. The main emphasis was laid on the development and consolidation of existing cooperatives, the better training of their leaders, the better organization of work processes, and the improvement of work discipline. We shall continue this policy in the future too.

Similarly, the report of Dr. Ing. Jiri Kotatko, Czechoslovakian Vice-Minister of Agriculture, delivered in 1951, has this to say:

A further indispensable part of the ideological basis for the initiation and development of the activity of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives is a strict and scrupulous adherence to the principle that farmers freely decide whether a Unified Agricultural Cooperative should be formed, and voluntarily approve every step in its development. Big industrialists and mine owners, bankers, wholesale traders and big landowners—all these formed innumerable small groups of unproductive elements inimical to the democratic people's regime, while small and middle farmers are a million strong mass, a working and productive element who ensure the food supply for the entire population. They were the first and most important ally of the working class in its struggle against reaction in the years 1945-47, in its glorious February, 1948, fight with the plotters against

the security of the State and its building up socialism.

Therefore, the only correct method of winning the sympathy of this million strong mass of small and middle farmers is rational and patient persuading, an effective support of progressive forms of farming adopted by farmers on their own initiative, and the creation of model institutions serving as convincing examples of the advantages and superiority of cooperative large scale agriculture. Any attempt at solving the problem of the transformation of agricultural production on a cooperative basis by bureaucratic methods and any form of vulgar pressure must be eliminated and the repetition of any such cases that might have occurred firmly prevented.

Only cooperatives which come into being by a free decision of the farmers, taken after a prudent and wise deliberation, can be sound cooperatives. Only those cooperatives in which the decision to adopt higher forms of farming is made voluntarily, without any pressure, by the farmers themselves, will be able to develop successfully and to show to other farmers, who have remained outside, the way towards progressive cooperative large scale farming.

Additional assurance to farmers who are venturing on the new path of cooperative farming has been supplied by the outside assistance that was received when unfavorable weather damaged the 1952 crop. In May of that year, Hungary experienced heavy frosts, followed in June and July by a drought and heat wave that lasted seven weeks. Then in October nearly twice the usual amount of rain fell. The early frosts and drought damaged the grain crop; the fall rains interfered with the harvest, and the preparation of the fields for the next Spring's planting.

These same adverse conditions ob-

tained in Yugoslavia, and actual hunger and distress resulted.

In the old reactionary days, the same would have occurred in Hungary, but prompt measures were taken. First the State sharply reduced food exports and at the same time purchased considerable quantities of fodder grains from friendly countries, especially the Soviet Union. This made possible the reducing of the collection of grain and potatoes from the Hungarian farms, thus avoiding any food or fodder shortage. Grain reserves of the previous year were made available and farm credits to the value of 300 million forints were renewed in order to ease the farmers' condition. This was followed by new loans for seed and other needs of the 1953 crop.

During the course of the year, a delegation of agricultural experts from East Germany arrived in Hungary to help in any way they could. It was their opinion that barnyard manures were wastefully handled on most Hungarian cooperatives. Old time methods permitted leeching of the manure resulting in loss of most of its plant nutrients before being applied to the fields. The German advisers thought that correction of this one factor would increase yields by as much as 25 per cent.

But despite warnings and measures for special aid, by mid-1953 it had become apparent that the building of cooperatives had proceeded too rapidly while too much of the various states' resources had been assigned to heavy industry. Individual farmers who had not joined the cooperative were rapidly becoming the forgotten men.

In July, 1953, Hungary's new Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Imre Nagy, called public attention to the problem. First he warned

that the whole economic plan, industrial and agricultural, had set "tasks which are beyond the strength and ability of the country" and because they are "too great a strain on our resources," have "led recently to a definite lowering in the standard of living."

Accordingly the rate of development of heavy industry is being slowed down. But "with the reducing of capital investments in industry," there will be a "considerable increase in the capital investments of agriculture."

"The sole correct way to build Socialism," said Nagy, "... is the way that ensures the rising well-being of the population..." Thus, "by means of considerable capital investments we shall greatly improve the utility services in town and village." "Veterinary service, for instance will be free of charge, thus... enabling the peasantry to economize considerable sums."

On the same occasion, Matyas Rakosi, as the Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party, enlarged on this theme:

One of the aims of our revised plans is to invest more capital in agriculture. Especially must we reassure the individual working peasantry, reassure them in every respect. We must give them more help, enable them to obtain more mineral fertilizers, the help of the machine and tractor stations, and when they have fulfilled the obligatory deliveries, let them freely dispose of their products as they deem fit... As a result of the proposed measures, the individual working peasants... will understand that the Party and the Government are conscious of the things that worried them in the past and want to help them quickly and vigorously.

Everyone will understand that our

proposals and also the slow-down in forming producer cooperatives aim not at weakening but at strengthening the producer cooperatives.

In Poland, too, Premier Boleslaw Bierut has called for a decrease in the proportion of the national budget that goes to heavy industry and an increase for light industry and agriculture. It is expected that there will soon be a big increase in articles of consumption in both cities and villages "without which it is impossible to achieve a quick and fundamental rise in the living standards of the working masses."

Here, too, the individual farmers will be getting more help for increasing their productive capacity, "by surrounding them with care in the satisfaction of their health, educational and cultural needs."

For 1954, it is announced that "while agricultural production will grow because of extended state assistance, the level of quota deliveries in the next few years will not rise." There will also be increased credits made available to individual working farmers, especially for the purchase of livestock, the building of sheds for livestock, etc. It is estimated that with average growing conditions, the sum of these measures will result in an increase in farm income of \$750,000,000.

Meanwhile in all these countries, mechanization of agriculture is being steadily advanced. Czechoslovakia has its own growing tractor industry, which not only supplies its own farms but is exporting a certain number to the other People's Democracies.

Poland reports 45,000 tractors in the field and mass tractor production developing momentum in the Ursus Tractor Plant. A big new harvester

plant is under construction in Staroleka near Poznan. There are new plants nearing completion for the production of self-propelled combines, a fertilizer plant and nitrogen works.

Rumania reports 218 Tractor Stations, with 9,650 tractors. In addition, the State farms have 4,400 more tractors.

Bulgaria reports 12,295 tractors and 1,363 harvester combines.

Hungary is making its own tractors, combines and binders. Plans are well advanced for starting to produce a 50 h.p. caterpillar type tractor. By the end of 1954, their plans call for the production of 26,100 tractors and 2,600 combines.

Thus, step by step, Central and Eastern Europe is moving on its planned course—toward a socialist society. Developments that used to require centuries are now being packed into a few years. Feudal remnants have disappeared. Individual farmers have received land but are learning that in a modern world small scale operations are outmoded. The state is well aware of their attachment to the land but holds before them the perspective of prosperity and a level of living beyond their rosiest dreams when all sections of society cooperate for a common end.

With this purpose of convincing a land hungry farm population, the city workers are called on to conduct educational visits to the villages. Often factories send volunteer workers to the village harvests. The whole population concerns itself with the welfare of the farmers who but recently were peasants considered unworthy of anyone's attention.

This is a technical and cultural revolution which can only be welcomed by all people of good will.

How the McCarran Act Threatens You

by JESSICA SMITH

AN URGENT aspect of the people's struggle for an American foreign policy based on negotiations instead of force and the restoration of our democratic liberties here at home is the need for a stepped up drive for the repeal of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, generally known as the McCarran Act.*

This Act represents one of the main instruments of reaction in its efforts to establish an American brand of fascism and unleash a new world war.

For just as in Hitler Germany the outlawry of the Communist Party was the prelude to the outlawry of all democratic organizations, so the provisions of the McCarran Act for the outlawry of the Communist Party are intended to pave the way for the outlawry of a wide variety of organizations whose activities are not to the liking of the McCarthys and McCarrans. The prosecution of a whole group of such organizations is already under way.

The fascist essence of the Act is further revealed in its propagation of Hitler's Big Lie about the nature of the Soviet Union and of Communism.

* Not to be confused with the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which is directed against aliens and under which thousands of foreign born are being driven from these once hospitable shores.

This Big Lie, as utilized for the purposes of the cold war, has two main elements. One of these is the myth of threatened Soviet aggression. This myth, invented to justify the cold war and the militarization of our country, depicts the Soviet Union as an expanding, aggressive power, striving for world domination by force of arms, with whom successful negotiations are impossible and against whom it is necessary to organize and arm the whole capitalist world.

But the Soviet Union, steadfastly pursuing its policy of peace, has failed to provide an iota of evidence to back up this myth. There has been no Soviet aggression, and no sign of any preparations for aggression, as the top military leaders of the United States have been compelled to admit again and again.

Therefore it has been necessary to bolster up the Big Lie of threatened Soviet aggression by another Big Lie. Since there are no examples of direct Soviet aggression, the myth has been created of "indirect" or "internal" aggression, supposedly carried out on behalf of the Soviet Union by Communist Parties everywhere.

Thus the first section of the McCarran Act "finds" that the Commu-

nist movement . . . "is a world-wide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of world-wide Communist organization."

The Act then goes on to "find" that, in the United States as in other countries, the Soviet Union makes use of so-called "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations to achieve these purposes. A "Communist-action" organization is defined as an organization that is "dominated and controlled" by the Soviet Union to carry out these objectives, and a "Communist-front" organization as one that is "dominated and controlled" by a "Communist-action" organization to promote the seditious conspiracy in which the latter is said to be engaged.

The provisions of the Act for the registration with the Attorney General of both types of organizations amount, of course, to a sentence of outlawry which no organization could be expected to accept, since registration would be acknowledgment of guilt for the crimes defined by the Act, and would expose the organizations and their members to prosecution under the Smith Act. Refusal to register is punishable by a \$10,000 fine and ten years in prison for each day the refusal to register continues; this applies to all members of a "Communist-action" organization, and to the officers of a "Communist-front" organization. Other penalties, once an order for registration has been entered, apply whether or not the order has been complied with. These include denial

of freedom of speech and press by requirements for labelling of all literature, mail and broadcasts, denial of employment in a wide category of jobs, and denial of passports.

The Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington, set up to administer the Act, after fifteen months of hearings last spring found the Communist Party to be a "Communist-action" organization, acting on behalf of the Soviet Union to overthrow our government by force and violence, and ordered it to register with the Attorney General as such.

It must be remembered that no overt acts of force and violence have been charged against any of the Communist Party leaders imprisoned or now on trial in the various Smith Act cases. What they were charged with, because there were no such overt acts, was "conspiracy to teach and advocate" the ideas of Marxism-Leninism which, on the perjured testimony of stool pigeons and through the distortion of quotations from the Marxist classics torn from their context and referring to other countries and other periods, were twisted into meaning the violent overthrow of the United States Government at some future date.

Since, as in the Smith Act cases, there was no evidence of any actions on the part of the Communist Party directed toward the overthrow of the United States Government, or of domination and control by the Soviet Union to achieve this purpose, extraordinary means were resorted to by the Attorney General in order to "prove" his case under the McCarran Act.

The writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were brought in as "directives" to the Communist Party of the United States from Moscow—including, for example, the Commu-

nist Manifesto written in 1848! Again the main government witnesses were renegades and stool pigeons. But the government rested its case mainly on the provision in the McCarran Act that one test of an organization's character as a seditious Soviet agent is "the extent to which its views and policies do not deviate from" those of the Soviet Union. Thus the mere fact that the Communist Party of this country has on certain issues held the same views as the Soviet Union, whether its views were announced before or after those of the Soviet Union, was held to be proof of control and domination by Moscow. It did not matter whether many of these views were held by United States Government officials or by some of the most conservative world figures; it did not matter whether certain of these views were adopted by our government in its official policies; it did not matter whether these views were proven by history and events to be correct. The mere fact of "parallelism" was enough.

The appeal of the Communist Party, which will decide the constitutionality of the law, will be argued in the Court of Appeals this winter, and if it should lose there will be carried to the Supreme Court.

The McCarran Bill represents such a legal monstrosity that former President Truman, recognizing its unconstitutionality, called it a "clear and present danger to our institutions" in his message of September 22, 1950, vetoing the bill, which was passed nonetheless. In a message to Congress on August 8 of that year, during the debate on this legislation, Truman declared:

"... Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the

voice of opposition, it has only one way to go, and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures, until it becomes a source of terror to all its citizens and creates a country where everyone lives in fear."

President Truman has recently felt the full import of his own words. For the McCarthyism of the present administration is a direct outgrowth not only of its counterpart in the Democratic Party, McCarranism, but of the whole system of repressive measures set in motion by Truman's own administration.

While the constitutionality of the McCarran Act is being tested in the case against the Communist Party, the Subversive Activities Control Board is already proceeding against a group of other organizations. Using the Attorney General's list of "subversive organizations" as the basis of the prosecutions, proceedings to require registration as "Communist-front" organizations have been initiated by Attorney General Herbert Brownell against the following twelve organizations (three of which are defunct):

Labor Youth League, International Workers' Order, Inc., Civil Rights Congress, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Jefferson School of Social Science, United May Day Committee, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Council on African Affairs, Inc., Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and the American Slav Congress.

Proceedings are being planned against additional organizations, and under the Butler and Goldwater-Rhodes Bills, which will come up before Congress this winter, the provi-

sions of the McCarran Act would be extended to trade unions.

Just as the "extent to which its views do not deviate" from those of the Soviet Union was the test applied to prove that the Communist Party acts on orders from Moscow, so the same non-deviation test is applied to the so-called "Communist-front" organizations in relation to the Communist Party. If they hold parallel views on certain issues, this is sufficient, under the terms of the Act and the attitude of the Board which administers it, to prove that they are dominated and controlled by the Communist Party.

Thus it is clear that the McCarran Act could be applied to any liberal, humanitarian or even religious organization advocating higher living standards, better housing, Negro rights, civil liberties, peace—or anything else also advocated by the Communist Party.

While we are deeply concerned with this threat against the democratic rights of all Americans, we have a special concern with the case of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship which falls particularly within the sphere of interest of NEW WORLD REVIEW.

This case is a striking illustration of the twin purposes of the Act to silence those who work for peace and to bolster the myth that the Soviet Union utilizes the Communist Party and in turn, "Communist-front" organizations as instruments to carry out its alleged aggressive and seditious purposes.

The petition of the Attorney General for an order requiring the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to register as a "Communist-front" organization contains a whole series of allegations to the effect that the Council has through-

out its existence been "substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party, and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party, a Communist Foreign Government, to wit, the USSR, and the world Communist Movement."

The same totally unsupported charges were made by the government when the Council took legal action against being placed on the Attorney General's list. The Council won a victory when the Supreme Court decided in 1951 that the Attorney General's action had been arbitrary and capricious since the organization had been given no opportunity to meet the charges made against it or to defend itself, and the listing was thus in effect declared invalid until the Department of Justice could establish by due process the justification for labelling the National Council as subversive. The case resulted in a stalemate because when it was reopened in the District Court in Washington the Government insisted that it had information of "a confidential nature" which justified the listing, but failed to produce any evidence.

Obviously the government has no evidence of its charges which would stand up in court, and will not be able to produce any when the hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board come up. Therefore, as in the case of the Communist Party, its main dependence is on "non-deviation."

Declaring that the Council has never knowingly "deviated from the positions taken by the Communist Party" it gives as illustrations that the Council has "supported the position of the Communist Party," regarding the policy and action of the

United States in Korea, regarding the foreign aid program of the United States, with respect to the international control of atomic weapons, in its opposition to the North Atlantic Pact, in its attitude toward the Committee on Un-American Activities, and in urging the recognition of and trade with the Chinese People's Republic.

In its answer to the Attorney General's petition, the National Council has categorically denied the charges, asserting that it acts as a wholly independent organization in its efforts to strengthen friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and "that its aims, purposes and activities are in the best interests of the United States and in accordance with democratic American traditions."

When the hearings are held, the Council will have an opportunity to support its position in detail with the help of its lawyers, and to call witnesses, for the hearings have all the trappings of legality. But it is certain, judging by the experience in the case of the Communist Party, that all the evidence presented by the Council showing that widely differing circles have held similar views, including, for example, the fact that the Administration itself finally agreed to the truce in Korea long advocated by the Council, will be thrown out by the Board. It will be enough for them that views held by the Council on these issues were similar to views held by the Communist Party to "prove" their "domination and control" by the Communist Party and hence by the world Communist movement and the Soviet Union.

Thus the result is a foregone conclusion under an Act which contains a built-in verdict of guilty against

the organizations called, and under a Board which reaches its decisions on the perjured testimony of stool pigeons and the fantastic test of "non-deviation" and whose jobs and the fat salaries they carry with them depend on their reaching the decision required by the Department of Justice.

But the final result, when the case is appealed and finally reaches the Supreme Court on the issue of the Act's constitutionality, is not foregone. It depends on the amount of activity developed in the meantime by the American people in opposition to the McCarran Act.

The Mundt-Nixon bill, which originally embodied the main provisions finally enacted in the McCarran Act, *was defeated by the people's opposition when it was before Congress in 1948.*

At that time, wide sections of the American people understood the implications of this fascist legislation and developed a powerful movement of resistance to it.

Its defeat was accomplished through resolutions and vigorous action on the part of both the AFL and the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the NAACP, the American Jewish Congress, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Veterans Committee, the Quakers and other religious organizations, twenty leading newspapers, numerous community groups and thousands of individuals representing the most varied viewpoints, and finally a great people's mobilization in Washington.

It was only in the wake of the new wave of anti-Communist hysteria set in motion in connection with the outbreak of the Korean war, that the reactionary forces were able to push the bill through Congress in its

present form, over a presidential veto.

Now is the time for a new mass movement to repeal this legislation. The time is ripe because of the lessening of international tension following the truce in Korea, the scheduled Big Power conferences, and the growing recognition among trade union and religious groups and many other sections of the population of the fascist threat of McCarthyism in all its manifestations.

The first necessity for effective participation in this campaign is to be fully informed on the meaning and effects of the McCarran Act. For more detailed information than it is possible to give within the space limitations of this article, a list of references is appended below.

We have dwelt particularly on the case of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship because of our own work in the field of American-Soviet understanding through the pages of *NEW WORLD REVIEW*. But the defense of all the organizations involved is essential to the defense of any one of them. And especially must it be recognized that the defense of the constitutional and democratic rights of the Communists, the first to be attacked under the Smith and McCarran Acts, is the first line of the defense of these rights for the whole American people. Therefore the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party under this law must be protested as well as the

attempted outlawry of the so-called "Communist-front" organizations.

The Attorney General should be urged to dismiss the pending cases against the twelve organizations. The Butler and Goldwater-Rhodes Bills which would apply the McCarran Act to the labor movement must be defeated. And finally, and most important for the restoration of our Constitution and Bill of Rights, pressure should be brought on all members of Congress for the repeal of the McCarran Act.

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"Red Tape and Barbed Wire," by Sender Garlin. Pamphlet published by Civil Rights Congress. (The CRC also has available Fact Sheets and other materials on the McCarran Act).

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts, Room 204, 2 Stone Street, New York 4, New York—issues statements and other material.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, New York—for material on its own case.

WHAT TRUMAN SAID ABOUT McCARTHYISM

"IT IS THE corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of the 'due process' of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society." (*Truman's radio and television broadcast, Nov. 16, 1953.*)

The Beria Case

ON DECEMBER 24, announcement was made in the Soviet press of the execution for high treason of Lavrenti P. Beria, former Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR and six co-defendants, V. N. Merkulov, V. G. Dekanozov, B. Z. Kobulov, S. A. Goglidze, P. Y. Meshik and L. E. Vlodzimirsky.

The sentence was carried out following a six-day trial before the Supreme Court of the USSR, under a law of December 1, 1934, providing for a closed trial.

The Supreme Court's finding stated that the court investigations had fully confirmed the evidence in the preliminary investigations and established that Beria had betrayed his country and set up a "treacherous group of conspirators hostile to the Soviet state."

It declared that "the conspirators intended as their criminal aim to use the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs against the Communist Party and the Government of the USSR, to place the Ministry of Internal Affairs above the Party and the Government for the purpose of seizing power, for the liquidation of the working peasantry, for the restoration of capitalism and the restoration of the control of the bourgeoisie."

The court decision stated it had been established that Beria's treasonable activities went back to the time of the civil war in 1919 when Beria occupied the post of secret agent in the intelligence service of the counter-revolutionary Mussavet Government in Azerbaidzhan, which acted under the control of British intelligence organs, that in 1920 he established secret connections with the police of the Georgian Menshevik Government, also connected with British intelligence, and that such connections with foreign intelligence

had been continued up to the time of Beria's arrest.

The finding continued:

"In the course of many years, L. P. Beria and his accomplices carefully concealed and camouflaged their hostile activity. After the death of J. V. Stalin, staking their hopes on a general activation of reactionary imperialist forces against the Soviet state, L. P. Beria began an intensified action for the realization of the anti-Soviet, treacherous plans that permitted, within a short period, the exposure of L. P. Beria and the putting to a stop of their criminal activities.

"Having become Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR in March, 1953, the accused L. P. Beria was preparing to seize power and began stepping up the promotion of participants in his conspiratorial group to leading posts in the central apparatus of the Ministry, as well as in its local organs."

It was stated that among the measures utilized to carry out their treasonable aims, the group had encouraged the activities of bourgeois nationalist elements, had sought to sow hostility between the peoples of the USSR, and that with the aim of causing food difficulties, they had sabotaged the carrying out of measures directed toward improving the economy of the collective and state farms and increasing the well-being of the Soviet people.

Further, the Supreme Court found that:

"It is established that in the concealing and masking of their criminal activities, the accused L. P. Beria and his accomplices committed terrorist acts against the people who they feared would expose them."

The Supreme Court declared that the guilt of all the accused was fully proved

in court by genuine documentary data, personal notes of the accused, evidence of numerous witnesses, and the admissions of the accused both during the investigations and in court that they were guilty of committing a series of serious crimes against the state.

* On the basis of these findings, the court sentenced the accused to the highest measure of criminal punishment, shooting, as provided by the Soviet criminal code for high treason.

The members of the Special Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR which tried the case were: Chairman of the special session, Marshal of the Soviet Union, I. S. Konev; N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions; E. L. Zeiden, First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR; General of the Army, K. S. Moskalenko; N. A. Mikhailov, Secretary of the Moscow Provincial Committee; M. I. Kushava, Chairman of the Council of Trade Unions of Georgia; L. A. Gronov, Chairman of the Moscow City Court and K. F. Lunev, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR.

For an understanding of this case, it should be borne in mind that under the procedure in the Soviet Union and in Europe generally, exhaustive investigations in which the accused is confronted with and given an opportunity to answer all the evidence, take place before the trial, and major cases of this kind are brought to trial only when guilt has been established.

The fact that the trial was a closed one has led to all sorts of wild specu-

lations in the press of this country.

In the previous open treason trials in the Soviet Union, the confessions of the defendants were supposed to have been induced by drug or hypnotism or what not. Now it is said that the trial of Beria and the others was closed because it was not possible to get confessions from them. Strange that the miracle drug which has wrought its wonders so frequently and in so many different cases should suddenly have lost its power!

We have no information other than the facts that have appeared in the press, which we have summarized above. It seems likely that more detailed information will not be forthcoming in the near future, at any rate, for the very same reason that determined that the trial should be a closed one.

As to what that reason may have been, we can only assume that since the nature of the charges involved foreign intelligence connections and exposure of international as well as internal intrigue, that it was felt a public airing of these questions at this time when the Soviet Union is bending all its efforts to contribute to the easing of international tensions, would be inadvisable, and especially on the eve of the forthcoming important international conferences.

It will be remembered that the treason trial of Marshal Tukhachevsky in 1938 was also a closed one—and that that was a period when the Soviet Union was also doing everything in its power to avoid a new world war and to promote negotiations among the democratic powers to this end.

STRICT MEASURES AGAINST ILLEGAL ARRESTS

IN AN ARTICLE in Moscow *Pravda* for January 4, General Roman Rudenko, Chief Prosecutor of the USSR, declared that illegal arrests or methods of investigation were serious crimes under Soviet law. He wrote that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government had adopted measures insuring unremitting control over all branches of the Soviet apparatus, including organs of the MVD, to insure against violations of this law.

The Growth of a People's Leader

A review by SUSAN WARREN

BORN OF THE PEOPLE: An Autobiography by Luis Taruc. International Publishers, New York, 1953. 286 pp., hard cover, \$3.00; paper cover, \$1.75.

AMONG the many books written are the rare few which can change the lives of those who read them. *Born of the People*, the autobiography of Luis Taruc, leader of the Hukbalahap, People's Liberation Army of the Philippines, is one. Not so much a book as a powerful segment of life, it is the deeply moving account of how a young Filipino peasant came to understand himself and the world into which he was born—the world of a colonial people living in the enforced misery, poverty, ignorance and corruption through which imperialism maintains its rule.

Learning came hard to the young Taruc. It was not easy to shed the illusion that he could individually escape the unending toil and bitter life of the peasant. With the reverence of the oppressed for learning he strove desperately for an education and discovered that "the more intelligent one wished to become, the higher the rates were." He met and loved a girl who returned his love but her wealthy parents were horrified at the prospect of a penniless son-in-law. Recalling this painful episode Taruc remarks that "For me, even love was a conflict of classes."

The crisis years of the early '30's brought devastation to the Philippines. For the young Taruc it was no longer a question of "a degree and a worthy job" but of survival. He was unerringly driven back "to the peasantry I had tried to leave. . . . I was studying to escape the narrow confines of my class, but my efforts only led me to the conviction that my class was all important and I was secondary to it."

The real education of Luis Taruc had begun.

Returning to Central Luzon and the barrio, or hamlet, of his boyhood he saw that ". . . the problems were ages old. The people were land hungry. The land was there but it did not belong to them. The few were fabulously rich; the many were incredibly poor. It had been that way under the Spanish regime for centuries. When the Americans came they made boasts about having brought democracy to the Philippines but the feudal agrarian system was preserved intact."

Taruc served his apprenticeship in the Socialist Party and the League of Poor Laborers. The strike and the mass demonstration were his school. No longer seeking to escape the people he plunged deeply into their lives. "The people are like a sea. Beneath their surface run great tides. It is easy to be mistaken about the people because the currents that move in them are not always visible. But nothing can hold back the tide that moves in the sea."

Throughout 1936-37 the tides were running strong. Successes were scored against the enemy from within—the feudal landlords. The League of Poor Laborers grew and became a part of the people. By 1938, a strong, unified peasant movement had spread across Central Luzon and the world anti-fascist spirit born in the struggle against Hitler, Franco, Mussolini and Hirohito was reflected even in the remote barrios of Luzon.

When the storm of the Japanese fascist attack broke in December, 1940, the resistance movement that sprang up in Central Luzon was unique. Taruc defined this difference from all the others who fought back: "The decisive element of difference lay in the strong peasant unions and organizations of the people that existed before the war. It

gave the movement a mass base and made the armed forces indistinguishable from the people. Under such conditions . . . the resistance was magnificent." The armed forces of the people was the Hukbalahap. Its commander was peasant born Luis Taruc.

The story of the Hukbalahap is one of the great epics of our time. Though heroic in proportions it is told by Taruc with simplicity, with love for the people and their leaders, with endless devotion to the cause of Philippine freedom. It is rich with glimpses into the everyday life, the humor, the creative initiative and boundless heroism of the common people.

For the American reader it is painful and enlightening to learn how this people's army—whose unrelenting offensive against the Japanese cleared the way for the returning Americans and Brig. General Decker, Chief of Staff of the Sixth Army, to describe it as "one of the finest fighting units I have ever known"—was rewarded. After a few months of the basest chicanery and double-dealing the iron fist was openly revealed. "The Americans," said Taruc, "had come back not to liberate us but to reclaim us. . . . MacArthur and the other American imperialists were not the only group that considered the Hukbalahap dangerous . . . the compradore-feudal landlord group that had always been the backbone of American rule in the Philippines, that had in the main automatically switched to the Japanese masters when they arrived were now ready to accept American rule again. Always they followed their narrow class interests and were ready to sell out the people and country for their property and profits. Every colonial country has running dogs and lackeys of imperialism."

This unholy alliance of fascist-minded landlords supported by U.S. imperialism unleashed total war on the people of Central Luzon. It was a terror more brutal than that of the armies of the Japanese. Scores of barrios were burned or destroyed. "In the annals of our

history, when its pages are written, let the crucifixion of Central Luzon in these years of the imperialist independence not be forgotten. Remember these places and the thousands of people who lived in them, poor people, whose poor possessions were wiped from the face of the earth. . . . Most of all remember the crime of the people who lived there: the desire to live decently as free men and women. Remember well, because the people will never forget even when this land is theirs."

Whereas previously a large section of the peasants had supported the Hukbalahap this policy of the mailed fist united them as one. An implacable hatred for their persecutors filled the people, eradicated their fear and made them ready to act in defense of their homes, their families, their leaders.

To this day the press periodically reports the annihilation of the People's Liberation Army of the Philippines and its leaders. Strangely enough, the announcement is repeated again and again. They have many lives, they have

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the eternal life of the people. "This time," says Taruc, "the Filipino people were not going to be crushed, they were going to win."

The gentleness, the sensitivity, the nobility of the young, thin eager Luis Taruc of the opening pages is tempered and deepened as he welds his life to that of his people. He becomes one of the new men, one of the "harbingers of the future" and we are privileged, in this magnificent book, to watch this growth of a people's leader.

Every American should read this book; to understand his own responsibility; to rejoice in the truth, beauty

and courage of the bitter yet glorious story it tells; and to ponder deeply the closing words of Luis Taruc:

"The peasants in the barrio below me are Filipinos but they are brothers in toil to the Chinese peasant and to the American factory worker. No struggle by any of us is isolated. The freedom of the Filipino people from the American imperialists will be a blow for the emancipation of the American workers, just as the victory of the Chinese people over their imperialists and feudal rulers was a triumph for the Filipino people and a warning to their oppressors."

The Life of Two Martyrs

A review by ELIZABETH MOOS

THE STORY OF ZOYA AND SHURA, by L. Kosmodemyanskaya. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. 285 pp.

WHEREVER human dignity and courage are honored, the name of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya is spoken with love and reverence. Her words on the scaffold, with the Nazi noose about her neck, "You may hang me now but you can not hang us all—there are two hundred million of us. I am not afraid to die, comrades. It is a great thing to die for one's country," inspired the defenders of Stalingrad. They are still remembered by men and women battling for their freedom from Viet-Nam to Africa.

Through film and story we know of Zoya's martyrdom, we know of the heroic death of her young brother Shura. But we know little of their lives in peace. What went into the making of these young heroes? From whence came their strength?

Now their widowed mother, out of her agony, out of her fierce determination that "the peace that has been won at the cost of our children's lives and the tears of mothers, widows and orphans,

shall not be destroyed," has written the story of Zoya and Shura. From her vivid, sensitive recollections, from reports of the children's teachers, letters from their comrades and from the delightful, frank and full diary that Zoya kept until the very day of her departure for the front, their mother has recreated the family life.

Both parents worked, yet "even if we could spare the children only a few hours, we always knew all about how they lived, what they did and thought and what happened to them. The main thing was that everything we did together, whether it was a game or lessons or housework, brought us nearer to the children and our friendship grew ever more tender and deeper."

The story of how these family relationships developed through the years is told with great understanding and sensitiveness. In the loving little family, living close together in a one-room apartment, there was no selfish love, no over-protection or interference. Respect for the dignity and independence of the individual as a working member of the family collective, was the foundation. In the handling of problems—Shura's harum-scarum carelessness

about clothes, Zoya's too high standards for her friends, and herself, in their relations with comrades—we see Soviet humanism in action. The family in the USSR is important but it is, the author writes, "... not a closed box. Nor is the school. Family, school and children live by what moves, worries and gladdens our country and everything going on around them educates them."

Quoting Alexander Herzen who once said: "Nothing ennobles youth so much as a strongly awakened interest in humanity," the mother says, "When I recall how my children and their comrades were brought up, I think, Yes, it was just that which made their youth inspired and beautiful. They grew up with their country, not as spectators but as active participants in everything that went on around them."

With the family we participate in the opening of the Metro, the rescue of the Chelyushkin crew, May Day demonstrations, tree plantings and community work, we enjoy the books they read aloud. We see how, in the words of Mme. Kosmodemyanskaya, "there has been fostered in our children a genuine humanism and a passionate desire to build and not to destroy."

Most of the volume is concerned with the years of peace. The horrors of fascist war and the death of the young people is compressed into a few restrained but flaming pages. Here the mother emerges in her full stature and this wise and noble woman takes her historic place beside her heroic children.

This book is more than a beautiful story, more than a picture of Soviet life. It is a warning to us, it is a reminder that what happened must not happen again. In the words of Mme. Kosmodemyanskaya "It is not those who lie in their graves that are dead. The dead are those who have forgotten the horrors of war, who want another war to break out. We have no right to forget, we dare not forget. If humanity remembers the bloody hell of fascism, it will not allow itself to be thrown into that hell again."

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