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NEW WORLD *Review*

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1954

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The Two Roads Before Us

by JESSICA SMITH

THERE ARE TWO possibilities facing the world today—the road to increased tensions and war through an intensified arms drive, including atomic and hydrogen weapons, or the road to international agreement and peace through negotiations.

There are numerous hopeful signs that the latter course, the only course that can save mankind from destruction, is in the ascendant, but there are powerful counterforces working against it.

It is the responsibility of the American people constantly to urge upon our government those constructive policies that can bring peace, to support any moves toward that end, and it is equally our responsibility to bring to light and fight against those opposing trends which can only heighten the danger of war.

The power of world opinion was demonstrated in President Eisenhower's December 8 address to the United Nations, when he said, "Let no one say that we shun the conference table. . . . My country wants agreement, not wars between nations," and in his proposals to initiate discussions with the Soviet Union around the idea of an atomic energy pool. This gesture bore immediate fruit in the agreement by the Soviet Union to hold such talks and its own proposal for consideration of a pledge by the nations concerned "not to use atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass extermination," as an interim step toward banning of all such weapons.

The power of world opinion is likewise demonstrated in the fact that the four-power conference is now taking place in Berlin.

Yet we must be alert to the counter forces working against the success of these negotiations, forces which would use them only to demonstrate that negotiations with the Soviet Union are "useless" and by compelling their failure create new pretexts for the drive to war.

Basis of U.S. Foreign Policy

THESE counter forces were reflected in President Eisenhower's State of the Union message to Congress on January 7. It contained only a passing reference to the idea of negotiations with the Soviet Union and the atomic energy proposals presented only a month before to the United Nations. The President's emphasis was rather on "military measures to make . . . peace secure," including "our great and growing number of nuclear weapons and the most effective means of using them against an aggressor if they are needed to preserve our freedom." This statement, and the increased emphasis on atomic power in his budget, taken together with President Eisenhower's description in his UN speech of the vast and awful destructiveness of our growing stockpile of atomic weapons which, he said "*have virtually achieved conventional status within our armed services*," (emphasis added), can hardly be reconciled with the pledge

with which the President ended that same UN speech. He then declared:

The United States pledges before you—and therefore before the world—its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma—to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life.

In the fulfillment of this solemn pledge our government could command the full hearted and united support of the American people and win the everlasting gratitude of mankind.

The President's State of the Union Message presented the opportunity for him to summon such support. Was the pledge lightly made that he failed to do so?

This failure caused dismay even in the ranks of some Administration supporters. Walter Millis, columnist of the Republican *New York Herald Tribune*, pointed out on January 10 that the President's program does not meet the terrible problem presented by nuclear weapons. He wrote:

The President expressed the thought that his proposals as to peaceful atomic energy might open a new avenue "away from the fatal road toward atomic war"; yet, when he confines our own defense to atomic bombs rather than men (only a paragraph or two later) he makes it apparent to everyone that we cannot possibly accept now any "road away from atomic war" ourselves.

Moreover, the President repeated again the myth of the threat to American freedom from the "world Communist conspiracy," the false foundation built by the McCarthys and McCarrans to underlie the road

to war, and even sought to outdo them in proposing legislation robbing future Smith Act victims of their birthright of American citizenship.

But as usual it was left to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to elaborate even more clearly than the President the basis and direction of American foreign policy.

In a major speech before the Council on Foreign Relations on January 12, two weeks before leaving to enter upon four-power negotiations with the Soviet Union in Berlin, Secretary Dulles omitted any discussion of the possibility of easing international tensions through negotiations. Mr. Dulles gave an evaluation of the Eisenhower policies as opposed to those of the former administration. Many of those former policies, he said, were good, but they were emergency policies, and not the result of the Administration's own planning. Such emergency measures, he said, have now been replaced by long term measures, and reliance on "local defensive power" has been replaced by more reliance on "community deterrent power." This is the way he put it, in words that require the most careful study:

Local defense will always be important. But there is no local defense which alone will contain the mighty land power of the Communist world. Local defense must be reenforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power. A potential aggressor must know that he cannot always prescribe the battle conditions that suit him. Otherwise, for example, a potential aggressor who is glutted with manpower might be tempted to attack in confidence that resistance would be confined to manpower. He might be tempted to attack in places where his superiority was decisive.

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Therefore, Mr. Dulles continued, the traditional policy of "meeting aggression by direct and local opposition," had been abandoned and a new basic policy decision had been made, which is:

To depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our own choosing.

Let us fully understand what this means.

First, the emphasis on "places of our own choosing."

Suppose that anywhere in the world people's liberation forces are struggling against native and/or outside oppressors. On the basis of the manufactured myth of an "international Communist conspiracy," it would then be charged that the people's liberation forces were only acting as "tools" of the Soviet Union or the Chinese People's Republic, as the case might be, and were thus guilty of "aggression." To the backing of local reactionary forces, the threat is now added of carrying the war directly to the Soviet Union or to China. Thus we have an acknowledged policy of intervention in civil war or disturbance, using any effort at change as a pretext for launching a full scale war. Does the whole trend of recent American foreign policy permit any other conclusion?

Second, the emphasis on by "means of our own choosing."

This means, beyond dependence on land armies for local fighting, the threat of using atomic or hydrogen bombs against the USSR or China.

It means not merely readiness to retaliate in case of atomic attack, but a threat to launch a suicidal atomic war at whatever time and place the Administration might choose. Furthermore, the implica-

tion of using atomic weapons against nations not possessing them obviates any idea of using them only in retaliation against an atomic attack. And the emphasis on a great capacity to *retaliate instantly* leaves this fateful decision to the President himself, leaving no time for consultation with Congress. It also leaves to the Administration the determination of when a threat to the peace exists, in violation of the UN Charter which reserves this right for the Security Council alone.

Completely ignoring the long efforts of the North Koreans and Chinese negotiators to reach the truce agreement, and the repeated initiative of the Soviet Union toward ending the Korean war, Secretary Dulles claimed that it was this new policy which brought the fighting in Korea to an end because the "aggressor was faced with the possibility that the fighting might, to his own great peril, soon spread beyond the *limits* and the *methods* which he had selected." (Emphasis added) And he repeated the warning that had been given that "if the Communists renewed the aggression, the United Nations' response would not necessarily be confined to Korea" (a warning that blandly ignores the fact that the only danger of renewed aggression comes from quite another quarter, as Syngman Rhee's repeated bellicose threats have informed the entire world).

Mr. Dulles also repeated his own words about Indo-China—"that if there were open Red aggression there, that would have 'grave consequences which might not be confined to Indo-China.'"

Mr. Dulles further explained the meaning of the President's reduction of American armed forces in Korea in terms of this policy. He

recalled that the President, when making this announcement on December 25, had at the same time pointed out that the United States military forces in the Far East will now feature "highly mobile naval, air and amphibian units" and that in this way the United States will have a capacity to oppose aggression "with even greater effect than heretofore."

Turning to Europe, Secretary Dulles declared that whereas previously NATO had meant "an emergency build-up of military strength," the new "long haul concept meant a steady development of defensive strength. . . . This would be reinforced by the striking power of a strategic air force based upon internationally agreed positions." (Again the threat of atomic attack.)

NATO, he said, was begun "before there was a solid foundation." By this, he explained, he meant the new German army now envisaged as a part of the E.D.C.

Thus the application of the new policy in Europe would mean not only the universally recognized threat of the rise of a new German Wehrmacht, but the threat of using NATO against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in the event of internal disturbances anywhere in Europe.

This carries still further the provision in the text of the North Atlantic Pact itself for its use to intervene in internal affairs.

Article 4 of the Pact provides that the "parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security" of any of them is threatened. The words "political independence" reveal the purpose of the pact as an instrument to put down internal movements of

the people, which could be extended even to a peaceful change by democratic processes (i.e. as in France and Italy today). It should be noted that through the words "in the opinion of any of them" this article gives each signatory the right not only to raise the question of a threat to its own political independence, but to claim that the political independence of one of the others is threatened.

Since there is no threat of aggression against anyone from the USSR or the Chinese People's Republic, the policy outlined by Mr. Dulles can be seen as an effort to use the threat of atomic and hydrogen weapons to keep in power or put in power reactionary regimes, and to hold back people's liberation movements everywhere in the world.

It can be said that this is only a threat, that no government today would actually risk opening up an atomic war, knowing the terrible consequences it would bring upon itself. It may be so, but we cannot complacently rest on that hope. Hitler should have known better, too. As long as the weapons of mass extermination continue to be multiplied in number and horror, there is not only the intolerable burden imposed by the resultant arms race, but there is a danger that some adventurous policy will lead to an explosion, that atom and hydrogen bombs will fall into the hands of madmen and be used. There are too many madmen like Hitler in the world today for there to be any security for anyone until there is first an agreement not to use such weapons, and then agreement to ban them completely.

The policy of relying principally on atomic weapons does not facilitate such agreements. Noting that such agreements are the objectives

of the Soviet Union in the atomic energy talks, James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* on January 14 that the speech of Mr. Dulles which we have been discussing "illustrates the unreality of conversations with the Russians on these two points." Stressing that the "new strategy" of the United States rests precisely on maintaining freedom of action in using atomic and hydrogen weapons, he reached the gloomy conclusion that "the chances of an international agreement banning or regulating atomic weapons were never more remote than now."

Great as the dangers are, we do not share this pessimism. We do not feel that it takes sufficient account of the determination of the Soviet Union to reach such agreement, nor of the will of the peoples of the world to banish the possibilities of mutual destruction. And the very fact that American-Soviet discussions have begun on the question of peaceful uses of atomic energy, and will undoubtedly continue over a long period must have a deterrent effect.

But we must be constantly alert to the dangers, which were underlined when the House Armed Services Committee on February 2 gave final approval to an Air Force plan to build a world-wide chain of atom storage bases.

On that same day, at a press conference, Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, reiterated that the first reliance of our military program is now on air atomic power. He confirmed that it was no longer a question of its use for retaliation against atomic attack alone, in saying that in the view of the President and his military advisers, atom bombs would be used when necessary "to protect our freedom." In view of Mr. Wil-

son's famous remark that "what is good for General Motors is good for the country," no doubt what he has in mind is protection of the freedom of investments of big business in other lands.

At the same time, even Mr. Wilson showed a heartening recognition of the force of public opinion. He said that too many Americans are guilty of rattling atomic bombs, while the Russians are "a little careful" to play down talk of atomic weapons, and that the ratio of atom bomb rattling was about 90 per cent on the side of the United States.

Differences in tactical approach and emphasis within Administration circles due to conflicting monopoly interests, coupled with the resistance among America's allies, indicate some of the difficulties facing the Administration in implementing the policies outlined by Mr. Dulles.

But the main deterrent must be the pressure of the people. It was this that silenced the guns in Korea, however Mr. Dulles chooses to interpret the truce, and this that brought about the Berlin talks.

The Berlin Conference

IT IS too early at this writing to attempt any definitive discussion of the Berlin conference.

The *U.S. News and World Report*, spokesman of those forces that do not wish the negotiations to succeed, suggested in its issue of January 29, that agreements could only mean "appeasement," that the only outcome which could be considered to the advantage of the United States would be to reach no agreement, since if there are agreements, this will be a signal that "Russia got what she wanted." It also prophesied

gloomily that the world is apparently "entering upon another period of endless talk." How far, far better a period of endless talk than one of endless war! If *U.S. News and World Report* is correct on this point, that in itself can be considered a great advance.

But whatever the immediate results of the conference, they will be reflected not alone in the official documents that come out of it.

The people of the world are participating in these deliberations and it is they who will determine their results, in the last analysis.

However stubbornly the Western leaders may cling to the purpose of rearming Germany, the people of Europe are overwhelmingly opposed to it. In France and Italy, no government committed to this policy could endure.

While French Foreign Minister Bidault may go along with Mr. Dulles in words, he does not speak for the people of France who want a unified and peaceful Germany, and no new Nazi Wehrmacht inside or outside of the EDC. They want peace in Indo-China, not more war. A hopeful sign of what is going on behind the scenes was indicated by James Reston in the *New York Times* of February 4. He reported: "In Berlin the French are urging the United States to agree to a Big Five Conference with the Soviet and Chinese Communists on Asian problems." Mr. Reston went on to remark that since the United States itself had negotiated a truce in Korea, "it is hard to see how they can keep the French from negotiating one in Indo-China." On the proposed supply to the French in Indo-China, of air and naval power, manned by American crews, Mr. Reston wrote:

The thought of this however, gives the political members of the Eisenhower Administration a bad case of the jitters. They have made a great deal of ending the fighting in Korea. This achievement is the Administration's first argument in this election year, and no matter how much they recognize the importance of victory in Indo-China, they are not likely to pay the price of air and naval intervention to achieve it.

However doggedly British Foreign Secretary Eden may support the positions of Mr. Dulles, he does not represent either the national interests of Great Britain or the British people in backing the rearming of Germany and helping to keep the Chinese People's Republic out of deliberations on world affairs. British business circles are alarmed by the trade competition of Western Germany and Japan. They want trade with the Soviet Union and China and the People's Democracies. The British people want peace, the workers want jobs and decent wages which only peace can guarantee.

Nor does Chancellor Adenauer, not-so-silent partner on the Western side of the deliberations, speak for the people of Germany as a whole or even the people of Western Germany in his insistence on adhering to the Bonn and EDC treaties which can only keep Germany divided. The people of Germany see Hitlerism coming back under Adenauer. They see a foreign office staffed 80 per cent with former Hitler appointees. They see the Krupp empire taking shape again. They see remilitarization already under way with the office of Theodor Blank actually functioning as a War Ministry, staffed with 910 officials, already working out a conscription law to build an army of 550,000, recruiting already

under way, a General Staff of former Hitler officers already in being, 580 military associations and veterans organizations reviving the Nazi spirit, periodicals and books glorifying militarization pouring from the presses. Mr. Dulles can hardly hide these facts from the German people.

Millions of people in the Far East look to this conference for steps toward agreement and peace. Their interests are inextricably bound up with its decisions, all of which affect the peace of the world. The Far Eastern peoples have been brought into the Berlin talks through Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's proposal for a larger conference to include China, and through the plans being made outside of the conference to link them with NATO through a chain of Middle and Far Eastern military alliances. The ignoring of their interests by continued refusal of the Western powers to confer with China will not bring support for America's policies among the Asian peoples, nor will the continued delay in setting up a conference on the Korean question with the participation of India and other nations deeply concerned.

The peoples of the Far East are being alienated by the current negotiations for a United States-Pakistan Pact for U.S. military bases in Pakistan and for an American-supported Turkey-Pakistan Pact, as links in the Dulles-Nixon plan for a crescent of anti-Soviet military establishments in Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan.

Commenting on the "hair-raising risks" involved in the proposed Pakistan-Turkey Pact, to which the United States would give military aid, the Alsop brothers wrote in the

New York Herald Tribune, January 24 that if this pact goes through:

The relations between the United States and India will take an immediate, violent turn for the worse. Bitter official protests accompanied by anti-American rioting, is expected. An open break is not ruled out. . . . If Indian Prime Minister Nehru is right, the world will take a long step toward war.

All India is already aroused against the proposed US-Pakistan Pact, all political parties, the entire press from right to left. This is what Prime Minister Nehru had to say about this Pact before the Indian National Congress, which passed a resolution strongly opposing it, on January 27:

That is not merely a question of a rich and powerful country aiding an undeveloped country, but something which goes to the root of the problem of peace as well as the freedom of many countries of Asia. For the countries of Asia which have suffered so long and so terribly under foreign domination this is no small matter. In the long perspective of history this means a reversal of that process of liberation for which we have all struggled in Asia for generations past and which at last yielded results. . . .

For India this is a serious matter from many points of view. The mere fact that war is likely to come to our frontiers is grave enough. The other fact that this military aid might possibly be utilized against India cannot be ignored. I earnestly trust that even at this stage this unfortunate development will not take place and I say so not in hostility, but in all friendship for the people of Pakistan. . . .

These moves are disturbing to Great Britain which sees in them new threats to her imperial inte-

rests. They are disturbing to the Soviet Union, to Afghanistan, to all countries in this area which see their security threatened, and new tensions created among themselves.

Thus the implementation of the Administration's policies is giving rise to new resistance on the part of its own allies and the peoples concerned, which shows how difficult if not impossible will be their fulfillment.

Factors for Peace

MEANWHILE, there is everywhere apparent a steady growth of the great and positive factors working for peace. The most important of these is trade.

Throughout the world not only are voices rising more and more insistently for a relaxation of the East-West trade barriers imposed by the United States, but the increasing volume of such trade which is actually taking place is beginning to lay what could become the firmest possible foundation for international cooperation and lasting peace.

In the past year the Soviet Union concluded trade and payments agreements with Belgium, France, Italy, India, Argentina, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Greece, Iran, Afghanistan and Egypt.

During 1953, the Chinese People's Republic concluded trade agreements with Ceylon and Indonesia and established business relations with British, French, Italian, Japanese, Indian, Pakistanian, Egyptian, Burmese and Australian firms.

Both Moscow and Peking are flooded with trade delegations and individual representatives from many Western lands eager to do

business. Trade ties of all the People's Democracies with the West are growing.

In the United States a growing number of trade unions are recognizing the importance of peace and trade to any solution of the rising unemployment problem, and conservative business circles are beginning increasingly to call for relaxation of trade barriers against the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet offer to buy our huge stocks of surplus butter, turned down by our government, and the report brought back from the Soviet Union by Marshall MacDuffie, after long conferences with Soviet officials, that the Russians would like to buy substantial quantities of machinery for food and consumer goods production, are only the barest indications of the vast potentialities of American-Soviet trade a new policy would open up.

The volume such trade might reach if the opportunities are not missed, is suggested by the billion dollars worth of contracts offered in Moscow to an important delegation of 32 British businessmen on February 4.

The will of the people brought about the peace in Korea, the negotiations in Berlin and the move toward atomic agreement.

We firmly believe that the will of the people, if expressed constantly and vigorously, can insure that these beginnings will lead to positive results, and turn our country from the road to increased tensions, new Korean and atomic war, and set it on a course of international agreements, beneficial world trade and lasting peace.

February 5.

The Big Four Meet

by **GEORGE WHEELER**

BERLIN, Jan. 29—Here in Berlin the hustle of the people reflects their confidence in the future. The German people have waited a long time for this conference of the Four Powers. Upon it, and perhaps upon similar conferences in the future, depends their own future. It will determine whether they will continue to be occupied, divided and controlled by foreigners, or whether they will once again be a united people. The very fact that after five years there is again a meeting around the table has brought a great surge of hope.

No one here expects miracles, but they expect that somehow progress will be made.

Since the last meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the two parts of Germany have traveled a long way in different directions.

Bonn Germany has a self-styled "free economy" dominated by monopolists, militarists and Nazis who were leading figures in the Hitler era. The Bonn regime has adopted an openly revanchist program, inciting ultranationalist ambitions that could be satisfied only through war. For example, Minister of Transport Hans Christian Seeborn has a map in his office showing Czechoslovakia as "German territory." The cabinet formed by Adenauer is "all Nazi" and has two former SS officers and

two former SA officers in it. These men demand Germany "unity" on the same basis as they did in 1937.

The German Democratic Republic has taken quite a different course, with land reform and the initiation of a planned economy eliminating the economic base of the Prussian militarists, the monopolists and the Nazis. All propaganda for war is outlawed, the present boundaries are recognized as the "Boundaries of Peace" and very friendly political, economic and cultural relations have been developed with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Under the planned economy an enormous investment in heavy industry was made and this left room for only moderate gains in the standard of living—aside from the great gains in social security.

Now, with the adoption of the "New Course" in the German Democratic Republic, a sharp though still uneven advance in the standard of living is taking place. The New Course also involves a change in attitude that affects the whole culture—there is more criticism and more humor in the press, there is more consideration of the problems of living, a feeling that there is time for enjoyment of life as well as for building the country. This relaxed confidence carries over into the attitude of the people toward the conference. They feel that the initiative in international affairs no longer lies with the imperialists and militarists, that the way is now opening for the settlement of their

GEORGE WHEELER, an American now living in Prague, has contributed to our magazine previously. He is a correspondent of the "National Guardian."

own problems, just as there is more hope for co-existence and settlement of the world's problems.

All of the German people want to "eat from one dish" as they put it. But the question is how. The people of the Democratic Republic want free elections. But they do not want them to be mechanically free so that the monopolists can use their great powers to buy and to influence votes. They do not want Nazi war criminals to be "free" to vote and to run for office. They want the terms of the Potsdam agreement respected in regard to denazification, democratization and demilitarization—with a proper regard for defense of their country. They also believe that their country can live in peace in Central Europe only if it is genuinely neutral. One-sided military pacts such as NATO will bring no security and block German unity.

Some people think that the German militarists and monopolists have learned their lesson after two catastrophic defeats in their lifetime—that there is no danger in a military alliance such as NATO which professes to be "defensive." But this is not so.

Observers just back from Bonn report that it is difficult to overstate the extent of renazification and the rebirth of ultra-nationalism and militarism in West Germany. The militarists now cling to the illusion that they finally have the "gimmick" that will bring success in a blitz war. They believe that this time the superiority of the United States in atomic weapons is great enough to insure a quick victory—a calculation which less fanatical military experts all over the world emphatically reject. But at any event, these militarists know that their own personal

careers depend upon the continuation of the Bonn regime because most of them are war criminals disqualified for further service by the Potsdam Agreement.

Similarly the cartelists who are now riding high in West Germany know that in a united and genuinely democratic regime they would probably be given short shrift. They know that the people of West Germany and Berlin have repeatedly voted, in elections supervised by Military Government, to nationalize heavy industry. They know that these referendums were vetoed by General Clay with the promise that the question would be reopened when Germany was reunited. Will those promises be fulfilled? Or will the Dulles-Adenauer demand that the "free" economy of the cartels be extended to all of Germany be a precondition for unity?

The solution of these problems was agreed to at Potsdam and Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov asked at the Conference yesterday if those signatures were to be cheapened or the agreement adhered to. This does not mean, and Molotov made this very clear, that all of the terms of that agreement must be enforced, but that it would be the starting point for discussion. The Soviet Union has taken the lead in rejecting a vindictive policy toward the German people—as their policy toward the German Democratic Republic proves. Dulles' charge that the Soviet Union is attempting to impose a new "Versailles Treaty" is a complete misstatement of the case. The Soviet Union, for perfectly obvious reasons, wants a friendly or at least neutral Germany. A lasting peace can only be built on this basis, as the man in the street here knows.

They Treat the Entire Patient

NOT JUST THE PAIN

by **DYSON CARTER**

I TURNED to this woman—she was about 40, I think, and quite pretty. She had been sitting quietly, listening to all of us, and I turned to her and asked: "Now, would you tell us why you came here?"

She thought for a minute, and a blush came up to her cheeks. She smiled faintly. She said: "I came here to die."

You can understand how we felt. We were sitting on a marble balcony, in a summer palace away down south in the Soviet Union. Far below was the exquisite Black Sea, with thousands of people playing in the water. This summer palace is a health resort for workers of textile unions.

We all felt very uncomfortable. Until she smiled broadly and said: "I came here to die eighteen years ago . . . away back in 1935! I've been coming every summer since then. Not to die, but to make sure that I don't die for a long time yet!"

DYSON CARTER, who has been studying and writing about Soviet developments since 1938, is President of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society and editor of "News-Facts." His books on the USSR, especially "Sin and Science," have appeared in more than a dozen languages. This article is part of a speech delivered in Toronto this fall.

When that woman was only 21 years old, she had a serious heart attack. She's alive and working today. She has been treated for a month, every summer, for 18 years. There are thousands . . . tens of thousands of Soviet people like her.

The Soviet Union is winning the fight against heart disease.

We visited treatment centers all the way from the near-Arctic down to the blazing semi-tropics. We talked to many, many patients—from 7-years-olds who had rheumatic fever, up to very old folk. We spent a whole week with one of the greatest heart specialists of the Soviet Union.

There is a place along the Black Sea that's called Matsesta. Thousands and thousands of years ago, cave men lived in the mountains nearby. And those ancient people used to come from the mountains when they were sick and lie down in pools of warm water at Matsesta. This strange water is warm—greenish in color—and terrible in smell. The whole region smells simply awful.

But the water isn't awful, its marvellous. For many years, doctors used these waters. Sometimes they helped people. But sometimes they made sick people worse. Only after the Soviet system began was science provided with the laboratories and

money needed to study these amazing waters.

Today, at Matsesta are tremendous bath-clinics. Huge buildings containing many hundreds of private bath-rooms, every room staffed by a specially trained nurse, with doctors checking constantly. We visited one of these bath-clinics where thousands of Soviet people suffering from certain kinds of heart disease are treated each day.

These baths sharply lower the blood pressure. Even one bath lessens the strain on a heart stricken with a certain kind of heart-failure. The water acts powerfully through the skin and must be very carefully used, since it is dangerous for certain diseases.

The woman who came there to die, 18 years ago, is not exceptional. We lived with a man who had the same experience—he is now 68 years old, expects to live to be 80, and ever since 1936 he has had a very bad heart. We talked to scores more people like that. We saw over 40,000 of them staying at one center no bigger than Niagara Falls! No, Soviet science does not claim to have solved the problem of heart disease. But many treatments have been worked out. All treatments are free for everyone, whether the patient needs one week's care or fifty years.

What about arthritis? People get arthritis away up in Port Churchill, Manitoba; and away down in Windsor, Ontario. So it is in the Soviet Union: we talked to arthritics away up north in Kostroma, and away down south in Abkhazia. All were being treated with remarkable success. You very, very rarely see Soviet people badly crippled by arthritis.

And yet Soviet doctors have no real cure for arthritis. They have, instead, a system of treatment.

You say: "What's the difference?"

Think of tuberculosis. As you know, science has no real cure for TB. And yet our doctors here in Canada (as in most countries) have done wonders for patients. We have much less TB now than we had 25 years ago. We still have no pill, or drug, or sure-fire cure for TB. But our TB sanatoriums have an excellent system of treatment, and it works for nearly all patients.

It is the same way in the Soviet Union for arthritis.

A lot has been written about Soviet hospitals. But they have something over there much more wonderful than the finest hospital. They call these places "kurorts." We have no word in the English language that means kurort. In health terms it is a very important word in the USSR, because only in the Soviet Union do they have these places.

What's a kurort? Let's take the case of Mr. Kalushny, 42 years old, a machinist—he has pains in his arm. The shop steward of his union sends him to a big clinic.

The clinic doctors pay no attention to the pains in his arm. They start examining him from his hair down to his heels. They examine him outside. With dozens of X-rays they examine him inside. I speak from experience, because, in order to see for myself, I went through such a clinic. At today's prices here in Toronto, I figured the two days of examinations would cost me at least \$200. Why I had more than \$100 worth of X-rays alone!

You go through maybe 12 or 15 specialists. Every detail is entered in a special notebook. Finally, you and the notebook appear before a group of doctors, in a comfortable room, and one of them says: "Well, what do you say is wrong with you?"

And of course Mr. Kalushny says: "I've got pains in my arm."

Let's skip all the medical details. The verdict is: Arthritis of a special kind, plus quite a few other minor troubles that must be looked after.

You see, the vast difference between the Soviet kurort system and other medical systems is this: Over there they treat Mr. Kalushny, the whole man, everything, and not just the pain in his arm.

What did they prescribe? Twenty-eight days in a kurort, on the Lower Don River.

And that's where we found Mr. Kalushny. We spoke, I think, to maybe a hundred Soviet citizens, in dozens of kurorts, big places and small ones, by the sea, on river banks, up in the mountains, out in semi-deserts.

What is done to you in a kurort?

Let's stick to Mr. Kalushny. When he arrived at the kurort, the doctors and nurses knew all about him. First, they decided on what we would call the treatment.

First, twice-a-day special hot mud baths for his arm and his hips (they found signs of early arthritis in his hips too). This mud, by the way, came from 2,400 miles away, and is radio-active—it contains radium. Second, special massage daily. Third, electric-current treatments.

Now, that sort of thing is just the beginning, in a Soviet kurort. In addition, Mr. Kalushny has to drink quarts of a special mineral water. A specialist in sunshine—yes, I mean a doctor trained in sun and air-baths—gives the patient an exactly-timed sun bath twice a day. But this patient can't take any sun on his head or upper chest! It was found that he might be inclined to have high blood pressure.

Then, another doctor, a physical-

culture expert, works out a series of exercises for this patient. These are designed not so much for the pain in his arm as for his whole body, his general health.

Lastly, what he eats. He will eat five times a day. Specially chosen foods, and a lot of food.

Scientific treatment with all the devices known to medical science, plus scientific use of water, food, sunshine, air, exercise, massage, baths. All chosen for that one particular patient's personal needs.

After all that, Mr. Kalushny can have fun. He can go boating or swimming or hiking. He can sleep or read or play checkers. In the evening he can go to movies or plays or dances. And a good part of the time, probably, he'll talk to the other 200 people who are there with him.

That's just an example of the kurort treatment. There are thousands of such places in the Soviet Union, many of them open all year round.

The Soviet Union is the only country in the world with this amazing system of medical treatment. Millions of Soviet citizens, from children to old folk, regularly take such treatment.

This system, I firmly believe, is the real secret of the surprising good health and vigor of the Soviet people. It has nothing to do with their hospital system. Soviet hospitals look after really sick people, while the kurort system handles people who are not perfectly well—it's aim is to make people perfectly well, or, if that isn't possible, to give them all the health and vigor they can enjoy.

In my opinion, the kurort system is the greatest medical advance of the present century. I think it shows the whole world the direction in which medical care is going to move in the future. I am sure that if we applied

this system in Canada, we'd bring about a revolutionary improvement in the health of our people.

There is no millionaire in Canada who can get such accommodation and such scientific treatment as the people of the Soviet Union get. You can't buy it here, because we simply don't have it. But we need it. And Soviet scientists haven't kept it a secret. They gladly showed it to us. They'd very gladly show it to Canadian doctors. And to our Federal and Provincial Ministers of Health, too!

We had talks with some of the top cancer specialists over there. I can't give many details, but here are some outstanding facts.

Soviet science is making much progress in the fight against cancer. How?

First: they are training thousands of doctors to discover the symptoms that appear before cancer starts. These symptoms can usually be done away with. Then the cancer does not start. I believe this is a very great advance in defeating cancer.

Second: because nearly everybody over there gets a complete medical examination each year—or even more often—they are finding many cancers in the early stages, when it's possible to cure them quickly.

Third: they are making headway with cancer of the stomach by means of a new camera, which takes 12 pictures, in color, away down in the stomach—this amazing camera is so small it can be swallowed easily.

Fourth: and this is probably the most important of all—Soviet science fully accepts as a basic principle, something which cancer experts in Canada and the USA are just beginning to consider—I refer to the close connection between a per-

son's general health—especially a healthy nervous system—a healthy brain—freedom from serious worries, and so on—the close connection between total health of body and mind and freedom from cancer.

I said before that I think the Soviet kurort system is a revolutionary medical advance. The system aims at restoring total health. And it is one of the Soviet Union's most powerful weapons against cancer.

Of course, over here, where many newspapers, teachers, movies and magazines are day and night trying to terrorize us with talk about atomic war—over here, nervous strain is becoming very much worse every year.

I have a copy of the magazine, *U.S. News*. The headline: "The Problem of Cancer—Does the Washington Pace Kill?"

The famous Doctor John Heller, director of the National Cancer Institute, states bluntly that continuous nervous strain is quite probably a basic cause of cancer.

Now I also have the latest copy of the *Statistical Bulletin*, Volume 34, No. 38, published in New York. In the United States today, more teenage children die of cancer than of any other disease!

Of course, it is only in the USA where children are forced to play at atom-bomb drills. There is a direct connection between this rise in cancer and the American war hysteria, the witch-hunting, the atmosphere of terror.

In the Soviet Union there is no war-talk. No atom-bomb drills. No hysteria. They have no magic cure for cancer, but they do have a high rate of cure, and they are preventing a great deal of cancer, so that cancer simply is not the terrible medical problem it is on this continent.

A Lesson on Discrimination

Is Drawn From a UN Incident

by **ESLANDA ROBESON**

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK reminds us once again that many Negroes feel very strongly, and very rightly, that, as ten per cent of the population of the United States, they should be properly represented, directly, in all aspects of the life of our country, officially and unofficially, in and out of government and administration. Only by this direct participation and representation can the Negro people—and all other minorities—contribute fully from the wealth of their special genius, background, experience and understanding to the various branches of our government, and all aspects of our domestic and foreign relationships.

Such contribution from the Negro people and other minorities to every level, high as well as low, must not only be permitted but must be invited by our government and administration.

The Negro population is especially aware of the urgent need, both for ourselves and for our country, to make this contribution. Negroes everywhere have taken very seriously the appointments of Negro representatives to any new (for them) policymaking posts.

The appointment of a Negro woman, Mrs. Edith Sampson, as Alternate to the U.S. Delegation to the

United Nations, created enormous interest and attention among the Negro people. The later appointment of another Negro, Dr. Channing Tobias, and the appointment of the present Alternate, the Honorable Rev. Archibald J. Carey, Jr., Negro minister, lawyer and city councilman from Chicago, have aroused similar interest and attention.

We are all very keenly aware that in a world, and in a United Nations, made up so largely of colored peoples, the Negro appointments have all been as *Alternates* to the United States Delegation. But never mind. We make note of this for future reference.

Hand-in-hand with this enormous interest of the Negro people in the appointment of Negroes to high places, goes a special feeling of responsibility for the behavior of our representatives in office. We naturally want them to be above reproach, to acquit themselves with distinction, to make some special contribution to the understanding of the Negro question, and most important, to make some constructive contribution to the wiping out of all forms of segregation and discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, background or political opinion.

With all this in mind, I would like

to call attention to an incident at the United Nations involving Mr. Carey, the present Negro Alternate Member of the U.S. Delegation.

On the afternoon of November 19, in the Sixth (Legal) Committee, Mr. Carey challenged the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy (Poland) on a point of order. He accused the Chairman of discrimination against Mr. Shuhshi Hsu, a fellow member of the committee.

In all justice to Mr. Carey, it must be stated that it is the custom of the U.S. Delegation to meet regularly, and to give specific assignments and speeches to members to carry out. Therefore I do not believe this "point of order" was in any sense Mr. Carey's original idea, but was rather his "assignment for the day."

Mr. Hsu is accredited by the General Assembly of the United Nations as Representative of Nationalist (Chiang Kai-shek) China, which comprises about seven and a half million people on the Island of Formosa.

The People's Republic of China, comprising more than 450 million people on the mainland of China, is currently being kept out of the United Nations, and is not represented at all. It is one of the greatest weaknesses of this world body that it does not include the largest and the most populous country in the world.

Many member states of the United Nations fully recognize and deplore the fact that the Nationalist Chinese delegates do not represent in any way the government nor the people of China, and therefore take special care to address these delegates by their proper names and personal titles, but not as "The Representatives of China."

Now, on the afternoon of Novem-

ber 19th, we in the press room of the United Nations were startled and very much interested by an elegant press release (No. 1824) especially prepared for us by the U.S. Delegation.

This release stated that Mr. Carey would make a statement in the Sixth Committee on a point of order concerning the Propriety of the Committee's Chairman in Failing to Accord Proper Recognition to the Representative of China.

Naturally we of the press hurried down to the Sixth Committee conference room to see and hear what this was all about. We rarely, if ever, go to the Sixth Committee because they discuss technical aspects of international law which few, if any, of us understand.

But on the afternoon of November 19th the press gallery of the Sixth Committee was well filled. When the Chairman, Dr. Katz-Suchy, recognized Mr. Hsu, Mr. Carey held up his hand on a point of order. We of the press took up our pencils.

Mr. Carey took off as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, at the very outset, I should like to indicate my genuine feeling of regret at finding it necessary to do what I am about to do. . . . My purpose at this time is to raise a Point of Order on the practice . . . of calling one of the Members of this Committee by his proper name, rather than recognizing him as 'The Delegate from China.'"

"The Chairman has accorded me, as a Representative of the United States, every respect and courtesy, but I am greatly disturbed by the discriminatory treatment accorded another Member of this Committee. . . .

"I have grave misgivings arising from the damaging effect of this practice upon the eventual life and

strength of the United Nations itself. . . ."

Well!! Mr. Carey was accusing the Chairman of discrimination against Mr. Hsu. Mind you, the Chairman had not prevented Mr. Hsu from getting a job, nor sending his children to some school, nor living in some desirable area, nor being served in hotels and restaurants, nor getting desirable accommodations in transportation—all those things which we Negroes know as discrimination. No. The Chairman had done none of these things to Mr. Hsu. He had not even treated Mr. Hsu discourteously.

All Mr. Carey accused the Chairman of was addressing the man by his proper name and personal title: Mr. Hsu. He had not addressed him as "The Representative from China," because in all honesty and with great justification, he does not agree that Mr. Hsu is "The Representative from China." And in truth, Mr. Hsu comes from Formosa, not from China proper.

Now don't misunderstand me. I'm all for challenging discrimination wherever and whenever. But I also think that people who live in glass houses should be very careful about throwing stones.

Believe it or not, two sessions of this most important Legal Committee were spent on Mr. Carey's point of order. I quote from the Summary Records of those meetings: (U.N. doc. A/C.6/ SR 390 and 391):

" . . . The Chairman, Dr. Julius Katz-Suchy rejected Mr. Carey's charge that he had failed to treat Mr. Hsu with the same courtesy as the other Members of the Committee. It was a matter of record that he had called upon Mr. Hsu whenever the latter had indicated the desire to speak.

"Similarly, he rejected the affir-

mation that he had failed to apply the rules of the General Assembly. The Chairman's task was to ensure the orderly conduct of meetings, and that he had done. There was nothing in the rules of procedure requiring the Chairman to address speakers in a certain way.

"The Chairman went on to say that he had made no secret of his attitude . . . that he recognized the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legal Government of China, and he believed that only representatives accredited by that Government had the right to speak for China. . . .

"The Sixth Committee was not the first to witness such conduct by the Chairman, and in electing him, the Committee had been well aware of his position. There was therefore no reason to show surprise at his action, especially at this late date. [The Committee was almost at the end of its deliberations.]

"His actions had been fully consistent with the requirements of his office, the rules of procedure, the courtesy that rules of procedure demanded, and the rights of any Member of the Committee. . . .

"The Chairman had shown his good-will by granting Mr. Hsu all the privileges enjoyed by other representatives. The champions of Mr. Hsu's cause has obviously not been actuated by concern for Mr. Hsu, but by political motives and a desire to hamper and delay the Committee's work. . . .

"The Chairman withdrew, and the Vice Chairman took the Chair. . . .

"Mr. Carey denied that his motives had been political; he had merely wished to protect a Member of the Committee from discrimination. . . ."

The Summary Record of the final meeting of the Sixth Committee

(U.N. doc. A/C.6/ SR 394) contains the following:

"... The Chairman, Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy (Poland) noted that the Committee had thus completed its agenda.

"Tribute to the Officers of the Committee.

"Mr. Tarazi (Syria) stated that the Chairman, in the discharge of his duties, had demonstrated profound knowledge of international law and had directed the Committee's debates with exemplary vigor, objectivity and impartiality, while remaining consistent with his ideas in a manner which gave proof of great intellectual integrity. On behalf of the Delegations of all the Arab States, he thanked the Chairman for so efficiently guiding the Committee to a rapid and successful conclusion of its work. . . .

"The Chairman thanked the various Members of the Committee for their appreciative remarks. It was the task of the United Nations (he said) to develop friendly and harmonious relations between nations, irrespective of their economic, political or social structure. In that task the Sixth Committee had a vital part to play, by helping to establish principles of international law applicable to the legal problems referred to it which arose out of the cooperation, competition, and struggle between nations.

"International law was essentially a law of peace, and to help its development was therefore to strengthen international peace.

"It was important that the Committee should not allow any group to impose its will upon others, lest it endanger the delicate structure of international cooperation in the United Nations; it had constantly to bear in mind the need to preserve

peace, to decrease tensions, to remove the threat of a fresh war, and to settle international problems by means of mutual understanding, compromise, and negotiation.

"The Committee should congratulate itself on having dealt with most of the items on its agenda in that spirit. . . ."

Thus spoke the Chairman, Dr. Katz-Suchy, whom Mr. Carey had accused of discrimination.

I do not recount this incident in such detail in order to criticize Mr. Carey, nor to praise Dr. Katz-Suchy, but in order to make a suggestion, respectfully, to the United States Delegation to the United Nations concerning the way it might more constructively use the special gifts of the Negro members on its team.

The United States Delegation is made up almost entirely of white American citizens, many of them steeped in the myth of white supremacy, many of them brought up to take segregation and discrimination for granted as a normal way of life. Many of them do not even know that during and since World War II, white supremacy has been exposed as dangerous and vicious nonsense, and wholly rejected by the majority of the population of the world.

It is often pathetic to hear one or another of these United States representatives boast virtuously that "the U.S. does have discrimination and segregation. We do not claim to be perfect; but we are worried about it, and we are trying to do something about it"; as though this was something terrific and wonderful. Being worried about it and trying to do something about it is just not good enough for a nation which sets itself up to lead the world. Far better to stop talking about it, and put

an end to it—*period*. This is the only procedure which will impress anybody anywhere, including Americans.

The arrogance and arbitrary assumption of superiority of some members of the U.S. Delegation are on many occasions embarrassing, insulting, infuriating and frustrating to fellow-members in the United Nations, many of them non-white.

Any Negro worth his or her salt, if accepted and consulted as an *equal* Member of the Delegation—maybe on some occasions as a superior Member of the team (being more aware of and sensitive to areas of danger and delicacy in human relation) could make an important contribution to the Delegation.

For instance, an honest, informed, courageous Negro member could suggest that it is ridiculous to support independence and freedom and democracy in resounding speeches, then to vote consistently with the Colonial Powers for the continuation of colonialism in Africa and Asia, where the people are fighting actively and passively, for their freedom.

Such a Negro could suggest, from long and bitter experience, that in this world we all have to live with people whom we do not agree with, whom we may not like, whom we may even violently dislike. We know

such people are not going to drop dead, or disappear from the face of the earth, simply because we don't like them or disagree with them.

So, instead of insulting our opponents, calling them bad names, and throwing our weight about—all of which gets us nowhere—we might much better be polite, and earnestly and sincerely search for some common ground, and thus save ourselves a lot of rugged trouble.

Negroes, as a people, have had to do this in order to survive. I believe, in this new world, everybody will have to do this to survive.

This kind of constructive attitude on the part of the United States Delegation to the United Nations might easily help to ease tension and avoid obvious and unnecessary mistakes.

So I hereby suggest that the U.S. Delegation wasted the potential genius of its Negro Alternate Member, the Hon. Archibald J. Carey, Jr., on that little unproductive incident on the afternoon of November 19th in the Sixth Committee. And another time they may do well to listen to suggestions *he may make*, as well as to tell him what to do.

I also suggest that a qualified Negro member, not necessarily an alternate member of the delegation, would not be a bad idea. Not bad at all.

USSR-INDIA TRADE PACT

FIRST trade agreement between the USSR and India, signed in December, calls for establishment of a Soviet trade delegation to India and Soviet technical assistance in connection with deliveries of Soviet equipment. In the first year, the USSR is to deliver grain, ore and petroleum products, chemicals, medical goods, optical instruments, tools, laboratory equipment, metal working machines, bearings, farm, road-building, textile and printing machinery as well as complete sets of equipment for entire industrial plants and power stations. India is to deliver jute products, tea, coffee, tobacco, shellac, hides and skins, and vegetable and essential oils.

SOVIET ATHLETES ABROAD

EVENTS in two distantly separated parts of the world brought Soviet athletes sharply into the limelight last month and won them the acclamation of sports lovers everywhere.

The first event was the Women's International Ski Tournament in Grindelwald, Switzerland, where Soviet women took the five top places in the 10-kilometer cross-country event early in January.

The second event was the 1954 World Speed Skating Championships in Sapporo, Japan, where a Soviet men's skating team took the top three places as well as the fifth and eighth during the two-day competitions in mid-January.

Six women composed the Soviet team that competed in the Swiss tournament. They were matched against women skiers from Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. Altogether, eighteen women participated in the cross-country event.

The winner, whose time for the tough 10-kilometer run was 43 minutes, was 20-year-old Valentina Tsareva, a student at Leningrad University. Within two minutes, four of her teammates crossed the finish line to give the USSR the top five places in this event.

The speed skating competition in Japan, which the *New York Times* report described as "a smashing triumph" for the Soviet skaters, saw Boris Shilkov win the individual championship in the four-race events with 197.463 points. He defeated his

teammate and last year's champion, Oleg Goncharenko, who finished second with 198.225 points. Another teammate, Evgeni Grishin, finished third, with 200.353 points.

The Soviet skaters competed against speedsters from five other nations.

The Japanese spectators gave the Soviet athletes a rousing ovation. According to the same *Times* report they shouted "O-Shiruko" to the new champion. O-Shiruko is a special delicacy that the Japanese eat to celebrate the new year. And they called Goncharenko "Gon-Chan" — chan is used in hailing a friend.

Cheered by 20,000 spectators that packed Maryyama Stadium, Shilkov raced to the title in a heavy snowstorm. (A few weeks later, in Switzerland, he won the European title.)

The times for the Soviet ice skaters who took the top three places (in the 500, 1,500, 5,000 and 10,000 meter races respectively) are:

Shilkov: 0:45.4; 2:22.3; 8:24.6 and 18:01.4.

Goncharenko: 0:46.8; 2:24.9; 8:21.9 and 17:38.7.

Grishin: 0:44.1; 2:24.1; 8:37.4 and 18:49.6.

Contrary to popular opinion, Soviet athletes are meeting a large number of contenders from other countries, both at home and abroad. Last year the Soviet Union was visited by various athletic teams from 23 countries, including Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, France, Yugoslavia, Finland, India, Egypt,



Ski-jump in Uktuss Hills near Sverdlovsk, in the Urals. For other photos of Soviet winter sports, including some of the champions, see following pages.

Lebanon, Austria and Israel. And Soviet teams went abroad to match their skills in China, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, Italy and a number of other countries.

In their desire to promote international athletic intercourse, the sports organizations of the USSR cooperate with a large number of international associations. The Olympic Committee of the USSR is a member of the International Olympic Committee, and various sections of sport in the USSR are members of 22 international federations.

In view of the undeniable prowess of Soviet athletes, the proven desire of the Soviet athletic organizations to meet foreign competitors, and the friendly atmosphere that springs up wherever Soviet athletes appear abroad, it is to be hoped that no artificial barriers will be raised to prevent Soviet trackmen from coming

to the United States to compete in the present indoor track season.

An invitation from Dan Ferris, Executive Secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union, went to the USSR, asking one or two trackmen to come over for the winter series of meets. Nikolai A. Vladyskin, of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, then met Ferris and told him that in the interests of friendly relations, the USSR would like to send 15 or 20 track and field stars. When Ferris indicated that the AAU could not afford such expense, he was assured that the USSR would assume the expenses of its team.

This would be an exciting athletic event for America and it is hoped that the State Department will in no way interfere with its realization, as it did recently when the Soviet chess players were prevented from coming here by the intolerable conditions imposed on them.



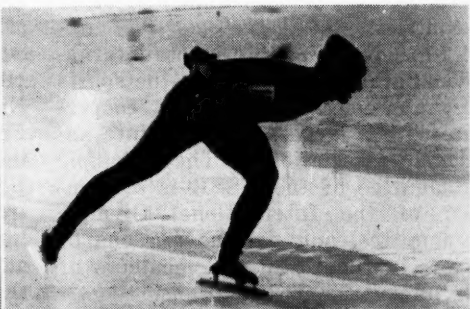
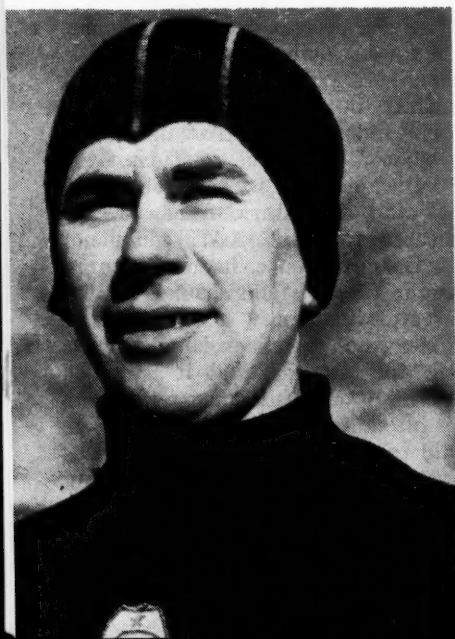
Boris Shilkov, who won the world's speed skating championships for 1954 at the competitions held in Sapporo, Japan.



Valentina Tsareva (left), 20-year-old, graduated the 10 km. cross-country event in women's in Grindelwald, Switzerland. Soviet won tool event (see story on page 22). On Soviet t is shown on the photo on the right, in 1948. right, Sushina, Yevgenia Akishina and Gist of collective farm skiers that took place A women's cross-country ski in one

SOVIET WER

Oleg Goncharenko, who came in second in the world speed skating championship in Japan. (See story, p. 22.)





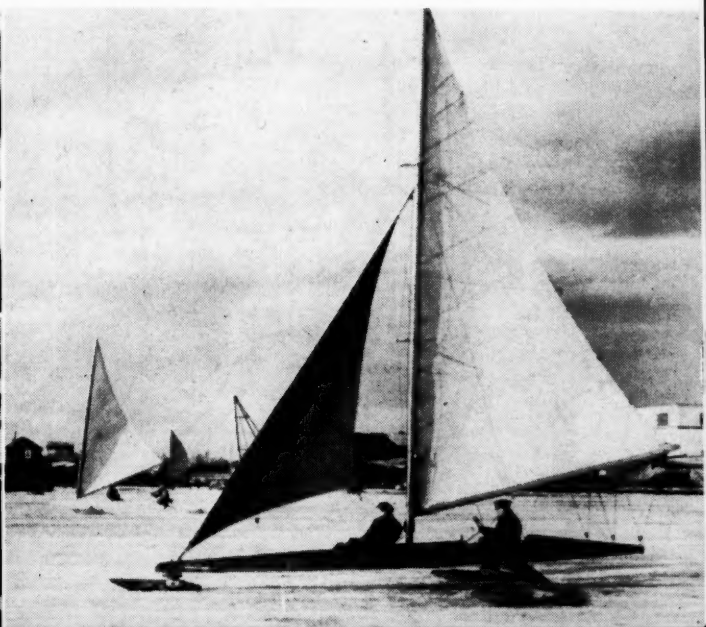
Leningrad University student, who won
in women's International Ski Tournament
Sweden took the five top places in this
On Soviet team was Sofia Sushina, who
at, in 1948. The three women are, left to
Sushina Gistintseva, who formed a team
took place in a winter festival. Above:
y ski in one of Moscow's parks.



WINTER SPORTS

ni Grishin came in third
the world speed skating
championships held in Japan.

The Soviet people go in for winter sports in a
big way, from mass ice skating (below, center)
and relay runs, to fast ice boat racing (below).





Moscow youngsters are always attracted to the sleighs and sleds, drawn by pony or dog (above) at the Zoo. Below, possible future Soviet champions are making good use of the snow and ice by skating, tobogganing and skiing.



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The greatest reception a Soviet delegation ever had in Britain . . .

AN EVENT in Britain of enormous significance—actually a series of events lasting an entire month—should make Americans realize how much they are missing because of the false barriers that the Administration has erected against friendly contact with the Soviet Union.

It was the Month of British-Soviet Friendship, from Nov. 8 to Dec. 7, marking the 36th Soviet Anniversary and the 400th Anniversary of Anglo-Russian relations. It opened with a giant meeting in London's huge Empress Hall, where 9,000 packed the auditorium to welcome 27 distinguished Soviet visitors—musicians, dancers, film and theater people, trade unionists and health experts.

During the month, the British Soviet Friendship society organized more than one hundred events in some 30 cities in England, Wales and Scotland. The distinguished guests appeared not only on the great concert stages and in the theaters there, but on the radio and television and in many of the town halls. They were officially received by four Lord Mayors and ten Mayors and were given the warmest reception in the press that had been accorded Soviet representatives since the war.

After Sergei Obraztsov showed his puppets on the television, he was hailed as the greatest puppeteer in the world. As a result, all tickets for his first London show were sold out within a few hours. Three additional shows were hastily organized, and yet the demand could not be satisfied.

Three concerts at the Royal Festival Hall (including one for children) and one at the Stoll Theater—London's

largest—were sold out days in advance.

Critics hailed Igor Oistrakh as "one of the supreme violinists of the earth," after his concerts at the Royal Albert Hall where appeared with the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

Similar tributes were paid to the Soviet dancers Alla Shelest and Konstantin Shatilov, who were accompanied by a section of the London Symphonic Orchestra and received a thunderous ovation from an audience of 6,000.

At the Wigmore Hall, in London, Zara Dolukhanova, vocalist, was acclaimed, and two other young Soviet singers, Galina Oleinichenko and Vladimir Otdelyonov, packed the audito-

BRITISH WOMEN TOUR USSR

FIFTEEN British women recently spent an entire month in the Soviet Union touring Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and Tashkent and visiting churches, synagogues and moslem mosques and inspecting schools, apartments, factories and farms.

Sponsored by the British National Assembly of Women, the delegation, invited to the USSR by the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, arrived in the Soviet capital on Nov. 3. The members included housewives, a writer, the wife of a Member of Parliament, borough and county councillors, an architect, a justice of the peace, a clothing worker, a lecturer and a children's specialist.

BRITISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP MARKED IN USSR

BRITISH-SOVIET Friendship Month was marked in the Soviet Union with a festive meeting at the headquarters of the Soviet Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) on Nov. 26th. Soviet scientists, writers, actors and artists, and Soviet and foreign correspondents and British guests attended.

Academician V. S. Kemenov, one of the speakers, pointed to the strong interest in the USSR in British cultural achievements. Thus, 22 of Shakespeare's 37 plays are now running in Soviet theaters. Between 1918 and 1953, 2,074 works by British authors have been published in the USSR in 53 languages in a total print of 35,260,000 copies. Between 1951 and 1953, the USSR has published 42 books by British authors on the natural sciences and social and political subjects. English is now taught in more than one-third of all the urban schools of the RSFSR.

Discussing the interest in the USSR by people abroad, the Academician pointed out that 32 foreign delegations visited the Soviet Union in 1950, 41 delegations in 1951, 47 in 1952 and in the first ten months of 1953 there were 42 delegations.

rium of the Scala and the Popular Civic theaters.

And so it went, the Soviet singers, dancers and musicians were acclaimed in Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and many, many other cities and towns. In Cardiff they extended the guests a civic welcome, with the Soviet flag flying over the City Hall to honor the visitors and with the Lord Mayor, Sir James Collins declaring: "Speaking on behalf of the people of Cardiff, I hope that our friendship with Soviet Russia will develop and that we can work together in the common interests of humanity."

Similarly, in the House of Commons, on Dec. 10, Mr. Ellis Smith, M.P. for Stoke, spoke of the "very fine effect" of the visit.

There were not only concerts and shows, there were meetings and lectures, by Soviet film directors, health experts and trade union officers. The Soviet guests crowded into their heavy programs a good deal of visiting, sight-seeing and outings. They attended the art galleries, went to the House of

Commons (where they were entertained at dinner), went to the movies, theaters, operas and ballets and met and talked with the prominent British personalities in these fields. They even attended a soccer match.

More than 400 trade union and co-operative organizations officially supported and signed the Friendship Month Greeting to the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Jacob Malik.

Summing up the events, Mr. Ken Smith, national organizer of the British-Soviet Friendship Society, which sponsored the celebrations, described them as the greatest reception a Soviet delegation has ever had in Britain. He regarded the broad manifestation of friendship as an historic one, possibly a turning point in British-Soviet relations.

It is heartening to see that our British friends are not cowed by the general anti-Soviet hysteria today. Perhaps it is a lesson for Americans. If we too extend the hand of friendship to the people of the Soviet Union, we can then invite them here and also enjoy a glorious month of rich, cultural fare.

DEVELOPING CHARACTER IN CHINESE CHILDREN

How do the children of new China learn the basic virtues? How do they learn about honesty and integrity and cooperation, or about responsibility, self-discipline and respect for others? In general, how are they taught and influenced to become good citizens of their country and of the world? One of the most important influences is their own organization—the Young Pioneers. Just how it helps the children and what results it achieves are told from personal experience in the two articles below by Grace Liu and Betty Chandler Chang, two American women who have gone to China, married and are raising their children and working in Tientsin.

by GRACE LIU

IN THE OLD DAYS, before the liberation, I used to worry a great deal about my children. How could they ever be brought up properly in this semi-colonial city of vice, greed, false standards, where the possession of money covered every crime? The vicious influence of foreign imperialism and Kuomintang fascism permeated both schools and churches.

Now, some five years later, the picture is so different. All avenues of approach to the young are used to instill the highest moral principles, to teach cooperation and proper social behavior.

One of the strongest and most important influences on children is their Young Pioneers organization. Every boy and girl between the ages of nine and fifteen is eligible for membership. But the child must qualify both in school work and in social behavior, and that means proper behavior at home as well.

The aim of the organization is to develop children to be useful citizens, to teach them to be democratic, cooperative, courageous, to develop creative and investigative minds, to instill a love for public property. The children are taught to respect their parents and teachers, to have a responsible attitude toward their studies, to enter enthusiastically into manual work and in the participation of games, cultural work, gymnastics and hygiene.

My two younger children became Pioneers last year. My younger daughter, Ai-lien, is now fifteen and in high school and will soon be leaving the Pioneers for the Youth League. Wei-Han, twelve, is in his last year of elementary school. Both had to work hard for the privilege of wearing the red tie of the Pioneers, and there were heartaches before they were admitted.

After filling out applications for

membership, each had to give their own evaluation of their good and their weak points. This was turned in to the young teacher of their school Pioneer group. But actual election and acceptance of new members is done by the Pioneers themselves.

With a mother's partiality, I was sure that my children would be accepted the first time. They are both reasonably well behaved. Ai-lien, though not brilliant, is a good student; and Wei-Han, though brighter, is erratic.

But when the great day came, gloom itself walked into the room with each one. They had not been accepted. Wei-Han confessed that he was given to talking in class, and that perhaps there were some other faults—his grades weren't as high as he thought they would be. I wasn't too sorry for him, for he had a way of counting on his brightness to carry him through everything. But I did feel sorry for Ai-lien, for she was deeply disappointed.

A month passed and another group was to be selected. Wei-Han had been ill for two weeks, so his name was not to come up. But I had high hopes for Ai-lien. She came home with that same hurt look and, sitting down by her big sister, said in Chinese, "I didn't get in. I don't know what's the matter."

Now I was indignant. "Don't you think the teacher may be prejudiced against Ai-lien for some reason?" I asked.

Ai-lien, herself, corrected me. "No, no, Momee, there's something wrong with me, but I don't know what it is." Big sister then urged Ai-lien to ask the teacher what her faults were so that she could correct them.

Then it came out. The teacher told Ai-lien that she was too self-centered; that she paid no attention to the girls

who made lower grades than she, that she was too exclusive and always went with the same clique.

Now that she could see what they were, Ai-lien went about correcting her faults. She chose a girl who was particularly behind in mathematics and for one month she coached her until the girl passed her next examination with a good grade.

Ai-lien was among the next group of pupils taken into the Pioneers.

It was not too long afterwards that Wei-Han also became a Pioneer.

The Pioneers in high school are organized as follows: a small group is composed of from eight to fifteen pupils; a medium group is made up of from three to five small groups; and a large group is one containing from three to five medium groups.

Each group has its own leader, and elected from the medium group are five pupils each of whom are responsible for study, culture (seeing that new plays, movies, books, and dances are introduced), athletics, organization, and wall newspaper. Ai-lien is a study leader. That means that she must keep an up-to-date record of her group's marks and organize help for those weak in particular subjects.

Those pupils who have not yet become Pioneers are also organized, and each grade has a class leader. The two groups work together.

Since my children have become Pioneers I have noticed that their social consciousness and sense of responsibility have developed amazingly. They study hard and work well, not only to have high marks but to raise the class mark. Each feels a responsibility for the honor of the class and for their fellow students. A student consistently behind in studies or whose behavior is anti-social reflects on his classmates, and it is their duty to help, kindly, pa-

tiently, firmly, until an improvement is seen. No pupil can feel that he doesn't matter. For every pupil is the concern, not only of the teacher, but of the entire class.

Through the Young Pioneers organization my children are learning unselfish cooperation, they are being trained to be absolutely honest and

open, and through their sincere care and concern for their friends and fellow students, they are developing a real love for humanity. I have no fear for the future.

I am sure that today's children of China, will in a few years be helping to establish a world of peace, abundance and brotherly love.

• by BETTY CHANDLER CHANG

MY OLDEST CHILD, Buddy, ten-and-a-half, is a bundle of energy. There was a time when he couldn't seem to find enough activity to absorb him. He became quite a "smarty," respecting neither people nor property. He sought older companions and he and his "gang" would fly into the house just long enough to plunder the ice-box, and they were off again.

When he entered the fourth grade last year neither his mind nor his spirit were in school. When school let out, the "gang" would come to our house, and if I were out, they'd climb up on the roof or have pitched battles in the living room. Not only his school work but that of his group suffered. He was becoming a problem and I knew no way of dealing with him.

I was sure his teacher was completely out of patience with him, but I was reckoning without the help of the Young Pioneers organization and its excellent leadership in his teacher.

Buddy's transformation was already quite advanced before I knew what was at the bottom of it. He began to influence his school mates to study, rather than tear the house down, and he gave up the "gang," but not before learning by painful experience what an outfit he was

partner to—three of the bigger ones beat him up. We haven't seen any of them since, but judging from our experience they won't enjoy their isolation as toughies very long and will, like Buddy, be coming over to the group.

Pleasantly puzzled over Buddy's change, I finally asked him: "What's come over you, Buddy. You're *so good!*" Then he told me about the Red Tie. . . .

One day last year 13 of his 50 classmates were initiated into the Young Pioneers. Buddy and his best pal were not among the group. He admitted that they felt so bad that tears came to their eyes. That was their moment of decision. They pledged to each other to try their best to come up to the high standards of the organization by next initiation. And they did!

Buddy's behavior since has been marked by definite if uneven progress. He has drawn up a schedule for himself with work, play and rest periods defined, and he has been following it rather successfully. His report shows great improvement, and he has become mindful of people and property. He no longer teases his sisters but helps them, and he is always willing to watch after his little brother when I ask.

From being destructive, he has become creative. Some of his plaster-of-paris plaques with peace and labor as motives are displayed in a school exhibit. With his savings he bought a harmonica, practiced by ear, and together with some classmates has organized a harmonica band that is not bad. He raises silkworms with all the tedious care that takes, and his interest in sports has been balanced with scholarship and cultural activities. He has developed a deep respect for his teachers and his parents.

The influence of Buddy's teacher Liu Lao-she, who is also their Pioneer advisor, is tremendous. She is adored and respected by her students, and trusted and relied upon by the parents. When a problem arises, in accordance with the Pioneer

spirit it becomes a common problem and she therefore consults the students about the solution. She works closely with the families, keeping in touch by telephone and by visits.

Sometimes a Pioneer forgets himself and lapses into old habits, and it is then that the group helps out.

We mothers feel that the Young Pioneers and the whole New Democratic society behind this children's organization are doing a great job in helping us raise our children as we want them and as it was impossible to do before. It helps them become strong of body, wholesome of mind and cooperative of spirit. We feel that the Young Pioneers are helping our children prepare for building a much better world than the one that we brought them into.

APC Campaign for Continuing Negotiations

HUNDREDS of leading Americans are endorsing the Appeal to the People of the United States (published in December NWR, page 23) issued by the American Peace Crusade, and calling upon the American people to urge upon our government a course of continuing negotiation of all differences among nations, especially Great Power negotiations. Through a national referendum campaign conducted under the auspices of the APC people throughout the country will have an opportunity to cast their votes for a course that can bring trade and friendship among nations, and peace and security to our country.

The American Peace Crusade is furnishing valuable material for all peace workers, whether carrying on their activities through the APC or through any of the numerous other organizations working for peace.

They issue a bi-monthly newspaper,

Peace Reporter which gives vital news of the peace movement and questions related to peace both in our own country and abroad.

Between issues of the *Peace Reporter*, the APC issues *Facts for Peace*, a mimeographed bulletin devoted to specific issues of importance to peace workers. The latest of these, entitled "Jobs in Peacetime—Peace All the Time" gathers together important information on peacetime projects that could help ward off unemployment and depression and on the important question of East-West trade.

This and other material, including a sample message to the President urging that current negotiations be continued until agreement is reached and international tensions eased, are available in a *Peace Packet* which may be secured through the American Peace Crusade at its new headquarters, 35 West 26th Street, New York City, New York.

Polish Writers Go to the People

by GEORGE BIDWELL

I WAS watching the busy scene of a Warsaw construction site—the trucks pulling up with their cargoes of building materials, the hoists carrying their loads to the second and third floors of the structure, the workmen intently going about their jobs. Soon my attention was drawn to a man who was deftly feeding bricks to a conveyor belt. Surely he was a novelist that I had interviewed more than a year ago at his riverside villa outside Warsaw! He had told me how he contrived the plots for his exotic novels. And now he was in overalls, his cap red with brick dust, his whole figure bent to his manual occupation with sober concentration.

During a break in the work he came over to me and extended his hand.

"What's the idea?" I asked. "Doctor order fresh air and hard work?"

"No," the novelist answered. "I'm learning to write. . . ."

He noticed my smile.

"Laugh if you like. My chromium-plated civilization days are over—

GEORGE BIDWELL, a writer, left England in 1946 and settled in Poland. He is a member of the Union of Polish Writers.

I'm trying to make up for some of the slush I've turned out in the past."

Still a bit bewildered, I asked: "How can a novelist atone for his literary sins on a building site?"

"Because," he answered, "it is on such places that the important people of today—the workers—do important things, and in doing them give silent voice to important principles. The day of writing about the minority with shining motor cars and expensive clothes, dining at Ghezira in Cairo or the Splendide in Rio is over."

"But aren't you taking it a bit seriously? Look at yourself. . . ."

"My dear fellow, I want to see things not as a novelist sees them, but as a bricklayer and a miner and a factory worker see them."

The conveyor belt started up once more, and the novelist was gone.

I told the Secretary of the Polish Writers' Union about my experience on the construction site and I learned that the worker-novelist was one of 75 writers and poets who had decided to spend three or four months living and working in the countryside with the peasants, in the factories with the workers, absorbing the backgrounds and getting right inside the aspirations and achievements

of those who are the rulers of the new Poland.

"They set themselves three objectives," the Secretary told me, "to discover the image of real life in our country, to find the secret of full socialist-ideological expression, and to write novels and poems that will help the people in their struggle to achieve socialism in Poland."

He took a file from his desk, opened it at random and showed it to me. Irene Krzywicka, a well-known authoress, was writing from a large textile mill at Zyrardow. She had chosen it as the subject for a novel because it is an old mill where the workers have a fine revolutionary tradition.

Leafing through a sheaf of letters, I came across one from Aleksander Jackiewicz, critic and reviewer, who was at the Polish Penicillin Factory in Tarchomin. "Five years ago," he wrote, "six people—only six—came to the old Spiess pharmaceutical factory, for it had been devastated by the Nazis. My next novel will be about the difficulties and struggles of those six to get the factory into working order, the factory which for two years now has been producing penicillin."

(I was personally interested in that letter because Jackiewicz had told me that it was an article of mine, published in a popular science magazine, *Problemy*, which has given him the idea for the novel.)

Another writer, Antoni Olcha, was watching the metamorphosis of his own village—formerly inhabited by the poorest of peasants in the least fertile area of Poland—from a remote social detachment to a consciousness of its importance as a link in the agricultural economy of the country. "For the first time," Olcha wrote, "every villager understands

that he is not merely a member of a tiny local community, but the citizen of a country whose voice is of importance in world affairs."

Irene Przewlocka wrote of her delight at being invited to accompany a deep-sea fishing expedition, not as an on-looker, but as a mariner.

The writer in Poland has found that he must build—both Poland and peace—with his pen as the bricklayer does with his trowel. And the shortest cut to a realistic appreciation of the workers' life and struggle is to share that life and struggle.

Sometimes the writer becomes a bit overwhelmed by the environment of factory, farm or building site, takes things a bit too seriously and overlooks the human passions and delights. That's when the satirist pulls him up short.

The Syrena Theater in Warsaw for example recently staged a sketch. A pair of lovers from a factory burlesqued in front of an author the sort of scene which his book portrayed. The love-sick man began with "Dearest of all work champions . . ." and so it went.

When they had finished, the two lovers demonstrated to the author how they really proclaim their love for each other.

Then the girl asked the author: "Doesn't your wife use lipstick?"

"Yes," he replied. "But you are a work champion, a hero."

The girl tossed her pretty head provocatively and said, "But I am also human. And I use lipstick."

The young fellow reminded the author that all their good socialist work and their struggle for peace was done that there might be joy and color in their lives—and they expected that to be reflected in the literary portrayal of their lives.

Such encounters of readers with

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SONNET

(For Paul Eluard and other international peace prize winners)

by **WALTER LOWENFELS**

Peace is too precious to leave to anyone
but workers poets crystallographers
who pour out passion wartorn mothers
pray for live for work for to the bone.
Bernal Neruda Fast—not they alone—
all living beings echo in these brothers.
More than that. About them a lightning hovers:
Sweet light—world-filling light—light to come:

The unborn lovers' seed they hold—still hushed.
The unperformed—tomorrow's birth—the scream—
the womb that even now all lovers trust:
tomorrow's sun—tomorrow's child—sweet beam
that bends and bursts the earth's old war-torn crust
and pours on us even now tomorrow's dream.

authors is not unusual. In the Houses of Culture and in the factory and village clubs, writers are constantly discussing their work with readers. Weekly meetings of this kind in Krakow have an attendance of some 300.

It is not possible in this space to detail the recent work of Polish writers, but it is interesting that discussion with readers as to what they expect of contemporary literature has led to the recent publication of a novel by Igor Newerly set in the cellulose factory in Wloclawek concerning the working people's pre-war struggle for social liberation; a story by W. Scibor Rylski, based on the life of Polish miners; a novel by Maria Jarochowska dealing with rural problems. These books enjoy

an unprecedented sale, have been awarded literary prizes and indicate a new approach of Polish writers to their work.

The cultural revolution in Poland is transforming writers because it has created a new reading public. Reader demand has made publishing houses produce more than 120,000,000 books a year—six times more per head of population than before the war. And this reading public is not interested in the giddy gambols of a minority wealthy class which its world no longer knows. It reads with avidity stories of the people's past struggles against home and alien oppressors, stories presenting all the human problems involved in building a new society.

Lenin and the Struggle for Peace

Lenin policy of long peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism is the central theme of Memorial Meeting in Soviet capital

The 30th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, marked by a memorial meeting in Moscow on January 21 which was attended by the leaders of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, was the occasion of special emphasis on Lenin's work for peace.

The main address, given by P. N. Pospelov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has special significance at this period when the four-power negotiations in Berlin are the center of world attention.

Here is the answer to those who wish to render these negotiations fruitless by perpetuating the big lie of the threat of Soviet aggression. Here is the evidence of the consistent and unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union which provides the basis for agreements which can ease international tensions and remove the dangers of new world war, if the desire for such agreements exists. We are therefore publishing below extracts from the speech which are of particularly vital import to Americans.

For Peaceful Relations and Trade

Pospelov pointed out that Lenin's view of the possibility of "the victory of socialism at first in a few countries or even in one country taken singly," which presupposes peaceful co-existence instead of war between the socialist and capitalist systems, was confirmed in the victory of the socialist revolution and in the whole course of development of the Soviet state. Pospelov then made this statement:

After the civil war and intervention Lenin pointed out that our country had secured for itself the possibility of an entire phase of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist states. At the same time he warned that the

imperialists would not relinquish their designs and consequently we must constantly strengthen the defense of our socialist homeland.

Lenin stressed the constant desire of the Soviet Government to establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with the capitalist countries, including the United States of America.

In 1920, in his well-known reply to the question put by an American correspondent as to the basis for peace with America, Lenin stated:

"Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We shall not interfere with them. We are ready even to pay them in gold for the machinery, equip-

ment, etc., useful for our transport and industry. And not only in gold, but also in raw materials." (Works, Vol. 30; p. 340; Russian edition.)

Lenin repeatedly called for friendly relations with Britain and France. Granting an interview to a correspondent of the British newspapers, *Observer* and *Manchester Guardian*, in connection with the perspectives for the co-operation of Soviet Russia with Britain and France, Lenin pointed out in 1922:

"We believe that perfectly friendly relations with both countries are fully possible and constitute our aim. . . . We believe that the correctly understood interests of Britain and France will equally act in this direction." (Works, Vol. 33, p. 346, Russian edition.)

These statements made by Lenin expose the slanderous concoctions of our enemies in the imperialist camp about the "unwillingness" of the Soviet Government to establish normal relations with the capitalist countries. Lenin attached particular significance to the trade relations of the Soviet state with the bourgeois countries as one of the major factors facilitating the durable peaceful co-existence of the two systems. Lenin pointed out that economic difficulties would inevitably force the capitalist countries to take the road of trade relations with Soviet Russia.

"There is a force," said Lenin, "which is stronger than the desire, the will and determination of any hostile government or class, this force is the general world economic relations which compel them to take this path of establishing relations with us." (Works, Vol. 33, p. 129, Russian edition.)

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have always been guided and are guided now by the

counsel of Lenin, our great teacher, that long-term peaceful co-existence of our country with the capitalist countries is possible. Lenin's counsel concerning the possibility of long-term co-existence and peaceful competition of the two systems—the socialist and capitalist systems—is the bedrock of the consistent struggle waged by the Soviet Government for a lasting and durable peace, for lessening international tension. The Soviet Government is doing everything to insure a peaceful settlement of all unsolved issues.

The ceaseless struggle of the Soviet Government for a lasting and stable peace, for strengthening international security, has met with the support and sympathy of all progressive mankind. The powerful organized peace movement which has now unfolded in all countries is the most valid confirmation of Lenin's words that "our peace policy is approved by the vast majority of the population of the world." (Works, Vol. 30, p. 365, Russian edition.)

Leninism is the banner of the struggle of all progressive mankind against imperialism, for peace, for friendship between the peoples of all countries, for a bright future for all the peoples. Leninism, with its revolutionary ideological power, gives us and the working people of the world, a granite basis for a timely rallying of the masses against the forces of aggression and imperialism, for a lasting peace for all nations, big and small.

Atomic Energy for Life— Not Death

Describing how Lenin's behests had been carried out in the building of socialism in the USSR by the developing of the productive forces nec-

essary for the transition to communism, in creating the pre-requisites for an abundance of food and goods of mass consumption through industrialization and electrification, Pospelov declared:

We now have a more powerful source of energy than electricity. Soviet scientists are successfully working in order to use the colossal possibilities of atomic energy for Communist construction, for the well-being of mankind and not for enslaving and exterminating the peoples and destroying world civilization. The indisputable technical and economic might of the Soviet Union, its achievements in the fields of science and technique have had a sobering effect on some of the rabid preachers of the so-called "crusade" against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

Competition for Higher Living Standards Instead of Armaments Drive

Explaining that with the creation of a powerful base for heavy industry and the healing of the wounds caused by the German fascist invasion, objective conditions had now for the first time been created for accelerated development of mass consumption goods, a matter which requires peace and contributes to peace, Pospelov continued:

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have launched the struggle for an all-out advance in agriculture, for accelerated development of light industry and the food industry in order to insure in the next two or three years an abundance of food and mass consumption goods and thus satisfy the growing requirements of the population of our country.

Practical solution of these tasks is at the moment a vital component of the program of Communist construction. Our success in building Communism not only has internal significance, it is also of great international significance.

Not long ago the American bourgeois press showed signs of disquiet over the program of the Soviet Union aimed at increasing the output of consumer goods, and expressed the view that West European countries should, in the words of the American *Journal of Commerce*, compete with the Soviet Union in this drive for a higher standard of living. It is permissible to ask: is there anything wrong in launching peaceful economic competition for a higher standard of living instead of the armaments drive now underway in the capitalist countries? Will the peoples have anything against this "drive for a higher standard of living?"

Ceaseless Struggle for Peace

Showing how Lenin's teaching and leadership, carried on after his death by Stalin, had lighted the way in all the main phases of Soviet development, Pospelov returned again, in his conclusion, to the main theme of peace as the guiding force of the collective leadership of the Communist Party:

... During this half century our heroic Party has grown from the "small core," in the vivid words of Lenin, into the great leading force of the Soviet people with nearly 7 million people in its ranks. True to the Lenin teaching, the Communist Party, relying on the unanimous support of all the Soviet people, is firmly and confidently solving the gigantic tasks of Communist construction, waging ceaseless struggle for a lasting and stable peace.

Burnham's View on "Liberation"

CONTAINMENT OR LIBERATION?

An inquiry into the aims of United States Foreign Policy, *by James Burnham. John Day, New York. 256 pp. \$3.50. 1952-53.*

THIS book, written during last year's Presidential campaign, presents a stark, horrifying view of the "liberation" policy which was the name chosen by leading Republicans to describe their foreign policy aims.

The author believes the "containment" policy of the previous administration to be a failure, because it would stop at the borders of the socialist world and let the 800,000,000 people of the countries now the objects of U.S. enmity, continue on the road they have chosen.

Mr. Burnham writes that the idea of "containment" was untenable, because "I continue to believe that Moscow will not start a general war in the next period. However that may be, it is still more important to realize that the peril to the United States (and to all other independent nations) does not depend exclusively or even primarily upon the probability and timing of general war." There you have it. Forced to admit the untenability of the myth of Soviet aggression as the basis of U.S. foreign policy, some new justification had to be developed for continuing a hostile policy which lack of such a threat made meaningless. The answer was found in the launching of a crusade for "liberation" of the supposed slaves inhabiting a third of the world.

Here are some samples of the means and methods by which the author proposes the United States should carry on this evil crusade to turn back the wheels of history and bathe the world in blood by attempting to overthrow

the governments of the USSR, China and the People's Democracies and dismember these countries. These quotations are culled from page 223 and pages following:

"... all-sided political warfare; auxiliary military and para-military actions where called for; adequate preparation for whatever military action may be required in the future..."

"... an immediate project would be the formation of military units under the flags of the now captive nations. Whether these units ought to be put under the NATO command, under the United Nations (as in the Korean command) or attached to the United States armed forces is a technical question..."

"These activities ... necessarily originate for the time being in the non-Communist world. In all cases, their focus and objective are inside the Soviet sphere. . . ."

"... Simultaneously ... the effort will be made to establish liaison with the homelands: through every media of communication and directly by courier and in person. . . ."

"It will become possible to organize a deliberate campaign of escapes, designed to weaken the enemy at critical points, and to fill gaps in our own forces. . . ."

"If liberation actually leads to the fractionalizing of the present Soviet Empire into several dozen wholly independent sovereign and rival states.... Even such a super-Balkanization would thus be preferable to the present state of affairs. . . ."

"If we accept the policy of liberation, we must interpret its goal as applying not only to the post-1939 captives but to all of the constituent nations of the Soviet Union, the non-Russian nations, and also Russia. . . ."

"... We will by our own actions work to strengthen those developments in every field that contribute to ... the dissolution of the Soviet state system."

"... There will certainly be shooting as there already and continuously has been. ..."

"... We must understand that in the long run general war, though not inevitable, remains a possibility. ... The United States, together with whatever allies will join, must therefore prepare for general war."

"... The policy of liberation is by its essence offensive. ..."

"We are opposed to communism even without and even against all the rest of the world, even if alone. ..."

"This, then is the measure of our peril and its urgency. *We are lost if our opponent so much as holds its own.*"

Fantastic? Incredible? Too extreme to be taken seriously?

One has only to read the daily press to understand how much of Mr. Burnham's program has its adherents, though today the psychological warfare experts have apparently decided there has been too much plain speaking along these lines.

But despite the author's appeal that America should "go it alone" in this program if need be, it can hardly be undertaken without allies, and America's allies are making their objections known with increasing vigor, as are the millions of people throughout the world and in our own land who are demanding the replacement of both "containment" and "liberation" by a policy of negotiations that will continue until peace is won.

—J. S.

Soviet Meccas of Culture

AFTER WORK, A Visit to the Stalinogorsk Palace of Culture, by Galina Shergova. Published by the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Suite 305, 64 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill. 72 pages. Price \$5.50.

THIS is a remarkable study of one of the most thrilling developments in the Soviet Union, the far flung system of cultural centers which gives the workers and farmers of the whole country access to cultural facilities of a wide variety, and opportunities to develop their own creative abilities.

Charles White, the noted Negro artist, who visited some of these centers when he travelled in the Soviet Union in 1951, writes in his introduction:

"One of the most stimulating features of Soviet art life is the inter-relationship between art and the people. By educating the public to take a greater interest in art and the artist to take a greater interest in the people, the So-

viets have brought art to the people, and furthered their aim of creating art for the people. The Soviet people participate in the creation as well as the enjoyment of art for they share a direct responsibility in its development and expression."

While this booklet concentrates on a detailed study of one Palace of Culture catering particularly to a group of miners and their families, it gives in microcosm the story of the 8,700 such clubs, the hundreds of thousands of choral, musical, dance, drama and other amateur art circles, and their millions of members throughout the USSR. It shows how workers and farmers may enjoy these centers for pure relaxation or sport, or may get through them the training to develop whatever gifts they may have on a professional level if they so desire.

The Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship has performed a great service in making this illuminating and exhilarating study available.

A Theater for Deaf-Mutes

A VENTURE that is both unique in the theater and a boon to the more than six thousand deaf-mutes of Czechoslovakia was unfolded recently in Prague when the classical play *Svanda the Bagpiper* was performed by an amateur cast of deaf-mutes. While produced principally for the pleasure of others similarly afflicted, the performance proved a huge success with the general public as well, according to Iris Urwin, in an article reporting the event in *Czechoslovak Life*, English language illustrated monthly published in Prague.

Two years of hard and unusual work had gone into the production, the importance of which can not be overestimated, for to these people the ordinary theater and the films (unless they carry sub-titles) can tell only part of the story, while the radio and concerts are a phase of the cultural world that is unknown to them. A theater that they can understand and enjoy is therefore an enriching cultural experience.

The producers, J. Vagner and B. Muller, sought to offer a presentation that would avoid the use of sign language and would go far deeper than a show in pantomime. They worked carefully over the text of the play, by the classical writer Joseph Kajetan Tyl, so that they could help the actors in their successful interpretation of their roles. The experience gained in the production of *Svanda the Bagpiper* is now being used to prepare other plays: *The Bridegroom*, a social satire by Machacek, *The Lantern*, a popular drama by Alois Jirasek, and *The Devil on Earth*, another play by Tyl.

"The plays chosen must be dramatic, with plenty of scope for tempera-

mental acting, but with a minimum of off-stage action," Iris Urwin writes. "Everything which is not clear from the acting itself requires special explanation and hinders the flow of the play. The bare outline of the plot of the following scene is all that can be allowed by way of comment—given by the producer in words and the interpreter in sign language—between scenes.

"The dramatic force of the play, the emotional tension, the humor and the lyrical beauty, must be felt in the acting alone. Here the deaf-mute performers could give many a 'real' actor a lesson. The very nature of their infirmity leads them to concentrate emotional force in gesture and facial expression, but their acting showed at the same time such sensitive restraint and such understanding of the inner life of the characters, that words would have been superfluous. There was nothing of exaggerated gesture which the word 'mime' invokes, but sustained characterization as Stanislavsky would have it, springing from the complete mastery of the spirit of the role."

The action appeared as natural as if it were accompanied by words, the article declares, and none of the excitement, humor, nor tender emotion and nothing of the fairy tale beauty was lost. The production has revealed, Miss Urwin writes, hidden talent and hidden possibilities in the life of those deprived of speech and hearing but enjoying great talent for self-expression in another way, a talent which can now be developed to the full.

The actors in the play are members of the theatrical society of the Union of Czechoslovak Handicapped.

A SOVIET HOUSEWIFE

by DARYA ALAVAYEVA

How does the Soviet housewife manage her home? How does she take care of her family? Plan her menus? Figure the family budget? These are questions that frequently are asked by American housewives. Below we are able to give some of the answers straight from a Leningrad housewife, Darya Alavayeva, wife of an electric welder at the Stalin Metal Works of that city, and mother of three children. This article first appeared in the *Soviet Weekly* of London.

THERE ARE five of us in the family: we have three children. My husband is 41 and I am 36 years old. We were born and raised in the same village, in Ryazan Region. We played together as children.

Ivan was a young lad when he left for the city. We drifted apart. As time went on I married, and then I heard that he had also married.

We met again by chance, during the war. We were both unhappy. His wife had recently died. Exhausted by hunger in besieged Leningrad, her constitution could not fight off disease.

My husband had been killed at the front. I was working as a bookkeeper and lived alone with my little Zoya. Ivan had a daughter Galina, a year old than my Zoya.

We met as old friends, and not long after we married. After the war we moved to Leningrad, and it was here that our son was born. The girls were delighted to have a brother.

We have a flat of two large rooms

and a kitchen. The kitchen is big enough to serve as a dining room.

Our rooms are well furnished.

Quite recently we bought a piano. Our son, Nikolai, has a very good ear for music; he spends hours listening to classical music and you often hear him humming arias from some opera or other.

He was seven this year, so he started school, and we arranged for him to take music lessons in the District House of Pioneers.

I am usually the first to get up in the house for I want to see my husband off to work.

He likes a big breakfast, usually a plate of soup, roast beef or some other meat dish, and tea or coffee.

After Ivan leaves for work, I pop across to the nearest shop for a few minutes (while the children are still asleep) to buy milk and fresh rolls.

The children have cereals with milk, eggs and buttered rolls for breakfast.

I take Nikolai to school, although

it's very near, because he has to cross Nevsky Avenue where the traffic is quite heavy.

On the way back I do my shopping. We have a great many shops close by—about twenty within three or four blocks of our house. They include several fruit and vegetable stores, shops selling poultry and eggs, meat and sausage.

Sometimes I go to the market, preferring to get vegetables straight from the garden, and eggs laid on the same day or on the day before.

Back at home I tidy up the house, wash the dishes, and by about 11 o'clock I allow myself some time for rest.

I do my own washing, once a fortnight. We have our own laundry in our apartment house, with excellent washers and drying rooms. The girls lend a hand with the ironing, so that doesn't take long, and then I need not think of it for another fortnight.

The children come home from school between one and three. For lunch I give them cutlets, meat or cheese dumplings with potatoes and some vegetables, or an omelette. When my husband comes from work at about half-past five, we have dinner together.

Dinner is usually a three-course affair: fish or meat soup, pot roast or fried fish, and fresh fruit or (if it's closer to spring) compotes and tinned fruit for dessert.

I try, of course, to vary the food. This is easy because there is plenty of variety in the food shops. But my efforts aren't always appreciated!

Recently I had chicken broth with rice one day, and fish soup the next. I thought all the family were quite pleased, but suddenly the children asked: "Mum, when are we going to have *shchi*?" (*Shchi* is a very popular sort of cabbage soup.—Ed.)

They are very fond of *shchi*, whether it's made of fresh or pickled cabbage. Sometimes I buy special meat cuts, prepared cutlets, chops or steaks at the store and all I have to do is fry them. Pelmeni (small meat dumplings) are also convenient. They only take about five minutes to cook.

After dinner, while I am washing up in the kitchen, Ivan sits down at the desk and calls: "Right! Now let's see your report cards!"

He looks through the report cards to see the marks and the remarks that may have been written there by the teachers. Then he checks their notebooks and has the children repeat their lessons for the next day.

And the children know that "father means business." You have to know your lesson when he asks. Ivan had only had the opportunity of an elementary schooling in his boyhood. Later, when he was already working at the plant, he attended the factory institute.

Of course, not all our evenings are spent in the same way. Once or twice a week I go along to a neighbor's, where a group of us are having lessons in sewing.

I have already learned a great deal there! Last spring we bought a sewing machine and I can now do all the sewing for myself and the children, except for coats.

Our little circle is a sort of women's club. While learning, we talk over the latest news, our children, politics, new films, and a million other things.

Sometimes I spend the evening at home knitting, while my husband reads aloud.

On Saturday we always have visitors. One of our regular Saturday visitors is an old friend, a good pianist, and we love to hear him play.

In general, music is very popular

in our family. Of all the theaters, we prefer the opera.

I go with my husband to see a football match every once in a while, and we like to go to museums.

On Sunday mornings the children go to see special films for children.

In the evening we either go out or have visitors—we have lots of friends and relations.

Sometimes we put on the gramophone or get someone—usually me!—to play the piano, and enjoy a bit of dancing.

Our girls have already grown big: Galina is 15 and Zoya 14. They are very great friends, but they differ on one question: their futures.

Galina loves literature, she's good at compositions and she has made up her mind to study philology at the university.

Zoya is different. She wants to be a doctor. Her greatest pleasure is when she can bandage an injured finger or nurse an ill person. Not that she has much opportunity for practicing in our family! We are hardly ever ill.

The last time, in fact, was last year, when my husband had a sore throat. He recovered rapidly. The doctor who looks after our block of flats was very attentive, and the nurse came at regular intervals to inject penicillin. All this was free of charge.

My husband's illness did not affect

the family budget because he drew sickness benefit equal to the full amount of his earnings.

I believe that illness is a rare visitor in our home because we eat well. With all the price reductions, the cost of living is now much lower than in 1947 when rationing was abolished. And my husband earns a good wage, an average of 2,500 rubles a month.

Then there is his long service bonus of 200 rubles a month. And quite recently we won 1,200 rubles in the state loan bonds lottery.

The family's monthly budget is roughly as follows: 1,000 or 1,200 rubles for food. About 100 for rent, electric light, gas and heating. Another 100 for books, theaters and cinema tickets.

With the balance we can easily afford to buy good clothes and shoes, etc. We prefer good quality clothes—they work out much cheaper in the end.

Of course, our happy family life is not without its excitement and aggravations. My husband and I don't always see eye to eye on the upbringing of the children. He is very strict, and I have a softer heart.

But you can always come to an agreement when there is mutual love and respect. Love, friendship and mutual understanding, are, in the end, the most essential for happiness in the family.

CHINA'S RURAL BUYING POWER RISES

RURAL purchasing power in Central South China, where 80 per cent of the 160 million population are peasants, increased by 50 per cent last year compared with 1952. This rise in buying power was the result of good rice harvests in the past four years (harvest last year surpassed the peak pre-war year of 1937 by nearly 40 per cent) and the price reduction on consumer goods (the same amount of farm produce enabled peasants to buy 8 per cent more manufactured goods last year than in 1952).

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Calls for Peace by Negotiations And East-West Trade

ATTENTION was centered on peace in the 1954 Legislative Program adopted by the National Committee of the Progressive Party which met in New York January 16-17.

Under the heading "For Jobs and Security in a Peacetime Economy" the program outlines a series of measures to ward off the oncoming depression. In addition to the internal measures, the provision of jobs and markets through foreign trade is advocated. On this point the program says:

"While unemployment mounts and farm income declines, the senseless cold war embargo has shut off foreign trade with the one third of the world that has an unlimited demand for the products of American factories and farms and the ability to pay for what it buys with gold or goods. We call for the immediate removal of these barriers and the development of trade with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe, which can quickly provide jobs for American workers and a market for our farm surpluses."

Under the heading "For Peace by Negotiations," the program deplores the fact that on the eve of crucial negotiations on which the peace of the world may depend, the Adminis-

tration had announced that its basic policy is that of a surprise atomic attack to be launched in violation of the Constitution empowering the Congress alone to declare war. The program then states:

"The Progressive Party, in agreement with the vast majority of the people of the world, declares that conference and negotiation for the settlement of differences, and not the threat of atomic destruction, is the only path to peace."

It then calls for the following specific actions:

(A) *Berlin Conference.* We call for a settlement of the German question based on agreement to reunite Germany as a democratic and peaceful nation which shall not again become a threat to the peace of Europe and the world. We oppose the remilitarization and the renazification of Germany. We further urge that the United States agree to enlarge the foreign ministers conference by the inclusion of the People's Republic of China, for a discussion of measures to lessen international tensions in other areas of conflict.

(B) *Korean Peace Conference.* We call for immediate resumption of negotiations to arrange for a Korean peace conference. . . .

(C) *Disarmament.* We urge the United States representatives at the forthcoming meetings on atomic

energy to propose immediate steps for progressive, universal disarmament, including an agreement to outlaw the use of atomic weapons. Within such a framework, the President's proposal for an international pool of fissionable materials offers a fruitful basis for promoting the peacetime use of atomic energy.

(D) *Congressional Joint Resolution.* In view of the Dulles-Eisenhower announcement of the decision to rely on a surprise atomic attack and the precedent of American entry into the Korean war without the consent of Congress, we urge adoption of a joint resolution by Congress, re-affirming its exclusive constitutional power to declare war and denying to the executive the right to order an armed attack against any foreign nation without a prior declaration of war.

(E) *United Nations.* We call upon the Administration, through the

United States Delegation to the United Nations, to end support to colonial regimes, and we urge genuine aid through the U.N. to help countries gain political and economic independence.

People's Conference To Repeal McCarran Act

A CALL has gone out for a People's Conference for the Repeal of the McCarran Act to be held in Washington, D.C., March 7 and 8.

The Call notes that the year 1953 saw the sharpest attacks ever made on constitutional liberties of Americans, with the Subversive Activities Control Board, following its proceedings to outlaw the Communist Party under the McCarran Act, moving against a group of people's organizations. (For further details, see page 36, January, NWR.)

The Call draws attention to the Goldwater-Rhodes and Butler bills, which would extend the McCarran Act prosecutions to trade unions. It recalls how nationwide unity of action resulted in the defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, forerunner of the McCarran Act, in 1948, and how it can win again today in bringing about the repeal of the McCarran Act, which it calls "the statutory embodiment of McCarthyism."

The invitation to send delegates is issued to all organizations and individuals concerned with restoring the Bill of Rights to the American people, in the name of the Civil Rights Congress, 6 East 17th Street, New York 3, New York.

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