

SOCIAL SCIENCES
NEW WORLD
• *Review*

JUNE, 1951
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June 25—Bloody
Anniversary, or
Peace?

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Television in
the USSR

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Katzenbach Tells
Why Poland
Wants Peace

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Project X
In China

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See page 33

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NEW WORLD *Review*

June

1951

Bloody Anniversary—or Peace?	Jessica Smith	4
Television in the USSR	Amy Schechter	7
Shostakovich Peace Oratorio		10
USSR is Home to Negro Boy	Amy Schechter	11
Why Poland Wants Peace	Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy	14
Project X in China		21
Are 5,000,000 Doomed in India?	D. N. Pritt, K.C.	23
Moscow Neighborhood	Ralph Parker	28
Soviet Divers, pictorial		33
The West's Bad Guess on Eastern Germany	Gordon Schaffer	37
Peace Is America's Best Defense	Charlotte Dorsey	42
Sons, a story by I. Metter		45
Letter from the Midwest	Sender Garlin	50
A MacArthur Version of MacArthur, book review	Hugh Deane	53
A Soviet "Expert" . . . in Words, book review	Theodore Bayer	56
Question Box		59
Mr. Kennan's New Crusade		60
May Day in Warsaw	Israel Epstein	65

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REPORT TO OUR READERS

WE WISH all our readers could have been present at our "coming out dinner" on May 30 in New York.

We were honored in having Dr. Harry F. Ward, for many years one of our most valued contributors, as chairman and keynote speaker. Pointing out that this magazine's main objective, peaceful co-existence of the two world systems, is also the aim of the various groups making up the national peace movement, Dr. Ward said:

A vital function of the magazine, therefore, will be to provide the peace movement with materials, and going beyond that to build a circulation which will gather together the people who will become the leaders in the various phases of the peace movement.

To those who might say that this magazine can do little in the face of the most powerful hate propaganda of history, he offered the challenge:

Did you ever hear of David and Goliath? It only took one stone. We have that stone—and what is it? We have the truth.

Muriel Draper spoke for peace as a woman and a mother; Leon Straus, Vice-President of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, told of the new power for peace emerging in the ranks of labor; Charles Collins, Director of the Harlem ALP Council, told what it meant to him to visit lands without Jim-Crow, like Poland and the Soviet Union; Frederick V. Field showed how easily and swiftly peace could be made in the Far East if our Government desired it.

Our beloved Paul Robeson sang for us, and in his talk brought home

again the oneness of the Negro liberation struggle and the worldwide struggle for peace.

Support of the magazine's work was eloquently expressed by Virginia Epstein of the Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. And finally, the devoted, efficient and hard working staff of NEW WORLD REVIEW pledged their increased efforts through their spokesman, Clifford Jay, who said:

Our work is bound up with the future of America. . . . We shall do all we can to insure the growth and success of our magazine, which will mean peace and security, and a better world in which to live.

The high point of the evening, of course, was the magnificent address by Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy, permanent delegate of Poland to the United Nations, which we are proud to publish in this issue.

Add to all this the hundreds of congratulatory messages that have flooded our office hailing the new format and expanded horizons of our magazine, and you can understand why we feel that great new potentialities are before us. But we want your active help and critical comment too. Tell us what you don't like as well as what you like, and help us to do a still better job.

Sender Garlin, our new associate editor, writes in his "Letter from the Midwest" of gratifying preliminary results from his field trip.

We urge our readers to take a personal responsibility in helping us reach more thousands of people with our message of peace.

For we have that stone! Now let's be sure it reaches its mark.

J.S.

JUNE 25:

Bloody Anniversary —— or PEACE?

by JESSICA SMITH

ALMOST a year of war in Korea. Village by village, house by house Korea is burning. Under the deadly napalm bombs and massed artillery, the country called by its people "The Land of Morning Calm" has been turned into a blazing holocaust.

Over a million Koreans have died, among them over 200,000 women, children and old people.

The American troops who are doing the killing wonder why they must commit this senseless barbarism, why they too must die in a needless war.

American mothers cry out at the futile sacrifice of their sons.

American workers are asking why they must accept ever lower living standards while the manufacturers are making the largest profits in history.

The Negro people, mourning their murdered brothers of Martinsville and Willie McGee, see the oneness of America's colonial policies at home and its fight against the colored peoples of Asia.

MacArthur is home, but his war goes on.

The Administration pretends that MacArthur's demand that the North Korean Commander-in-Chief end the war by surrendering interfered with Truman's efforts to negotiate peace.

But what has prevented the Administration from making new efforts?

Simultaneously with MacArthur's dismissal, the Korean People's Democratic Republic sent a peace offer to the United Nations, calling for cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and a settlement of the Korean question by the Koreans themselves.

While the offer did not raise the just demand for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan (Formosa) or the seating of People's China in the UN, which the Administration had considered a stumbling block, it was callously dismissed and not even considered as a basis for further negotiations.

Instead, the Administration has followed MacArthur's advice by stepping up arms shipments and sending a new military mission to Chiang Kai-shek, by pressuring its allies to put an embargo on trade with China and a naval blockade. It has called for an endless limited war in Korea, which would just as surely spread the war as MacArthur's own plan. And it continues to uphold the MacArthur-supported Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea, whose evil corruption and vicious reprisals against the Korean people have lately given rise to a demand for Rhee's impeachment in the South Korean Assembly.

And, still following the MacArthur line, the Administration has made final repudiation of the Yalta and

Potsdam agreements and its own announced policy, in recent official statements that Formosa must never be allowed to come under the control of the People's Government of China and that the U.S. will never yield on the question of China's UN seat.

The monstrous lies of a threat of Soviet aggression are blasted daily.

General MacArthur, in the midst of his fire-breathing testimony about the dangers of world communism, was forced to admit that there is no threat of Soviet aggression whatever in the Far East, that any dispositions of Soviet forces in Siberia are for defensive purposes only.

The Administration's contention of a threat of Soviet aggression in Europe is likewise exposed by reports from many sources. On May 4, the conservative weekly, *U. S. News and World Report*, published an interview with Robert Kleiman, its editor in Central Europe. To the question as to whether there is any evidence of active preparations for war in Russia he answered:

All the Western intelligence agents and all the Western diplomats agree that there is no sign of additional preparations.

On April 17, Mrs. Leslie C. Stephens, wife of the U.S. Naval and Air attache in Moscow, declared on her return to this country in an interview with the *Baltimore Evening Sun*:

When we left Moscow there was nothing in the atmosphere that smelled like war.

The source of the real threat to peace is made clear by the drops in stock market prices with every new rumor of the possibility of a peaceful settlement in Korea. The *Wall Street Journal* on May 13 exposed



MUSTARD PLASTERS FOR CHIANG

A Russian View of U.S. Foreign Policy
—Krokodil, Moscow

the reasons for this in the statement:

Traders are fearful that the end of hostilities might also halt rearmament and catch leading companies with swollen inventories unbalanced for peacetime production.

Proof of the Administration's fear of peace is to be found in the delaying tactics on efforts to agree on an agenda by the Foreign Ministers' Deputies Conference in Paris. The USSR has made one concession after another. It asks, however, that the proposed agenda include the question of reduction of armaments by the big powers, showing in advance their readiness to enter upon practical steps for peace. The United States, however, wanted to take up only the *level* of armaments, and of all nations, insisting that a war danger threatens from the small armies of the Eastern European democracies.

The hypocrisy of this stand is clear when we examine the defense budgets of these countries: Bulgaria,

7.7 per cent for military purposes; Czechoslovakia, just over 6 per cent; Hungary, 12; Poland, 7.2; Romania, 15.8. In Eastern Europe only Tito Yugoslavia follows America's example in allocating 70 per cent of its budget for war. The USSR's own allotment is 20 per cent of its budget.

Elsewhere in this issue the program of the American Peace Crusade is reported. The Quakers have issued a new appeal condemning the military policies of the Administration and calling for a new approach to disarmament and negotiations for peace. The Committee on Peaceful Alternatives on May 10 proposed that the United States take the initiative in calling a top level conference with Britain, France, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, to negotiate on all problems including disarmament.

The World Peace Council has renewed its appeal for a Pact of Peace among these five powers, an appeal around which people of diverse political views can surely unite.

The pressure and effectiveness of the people's demand for peace was recognized in the resolution for an armistice in Korea introduced in the U.S. Senate by Senator Edwin C. Johnson, (D., Colo.) on April 17.

Senator Johnson proposed that the Senate go on record as recommending that the United Nations call on all nations and groups engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice on June 25. His plan calls for both sides to retire beyond the 38th Parallel, and for all foreign troops to withdraw.

This proposal would open the way for peaceful negotiations.

Buried in the press as it was, Senator Johnson has already been flooded with approving telegrams from the people. Sir Benegal Rau, India's dele-

gate to the UN, immediately responded by again raising the question of peaceful negotiations. The American Peace Crusade at once issued a statement hailing the Johnson resolution as affording a new opportunity "to rally the will of the people for ending the war in Korea through negotiations among the major powers." Unions and many other groups have also expressed support.

The fascist hysteria surrounding MacArthur and the equally menacing war plans of the Administration can and must be stopped. There is no basic difference between the spread-the-war drives of the two sections of the war camp. They vary only in emphasis and timing. This Gen. Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made crystal clear in his declaration that MacArthur's policies "would involve us in the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, with the wrong enemy."

Whether unleashed in Europe or in Asia any world war would be the wrong war.

Not differences over time and place, but the failures of its suicidal bi-partisan war policies have brought our government to the deep crisis it faces today.

This very crisis opens up vast new perspectives for the peace forces. If the will of the American people aligns itself with the strong and steadfast position taken by the world peace forces, their combined strength can change the whole situation.

Peace is within our reach if the American people demand unitedly and with all their strength an end to the war in Korea before this year of horror rolls to completion, and the conclusion of a five-power peace pact to stop all wars in being or in preparation.

Let June 25, 1951, be a day of peace and not a bloody anniversary.

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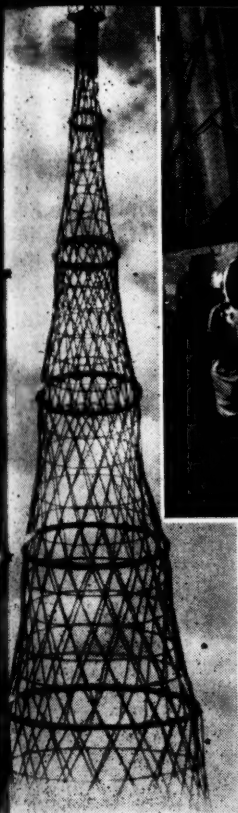
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A broadcast of Chaikovsky's ballet "Swan Lake" at the studios of the Moscow Television Center

TELEVISION in the USSR

by AMY SCHECHTER

IT IS evening in Moscow. There is a new play at the Moscow Art Theater, or perhaps an opera at the Bolshoy Theater that is one of your favorites, or a ballet or concert, and they are on T-V tonight. You tune in to the proper channel and sit back and enjoy a first-class performance beamed direct, full-length, from the stage.

There is no problem of television cutting into theater or cinema profits (first-run Soviet movies and the best of the foreign imports are also televised).

Studio-enacted programs include also productions of many classics — Pushkin, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Gorky come to life again on the television screens; scores of poets and writers give readings of their works, published and in progress; dancing

and singing groups appear, professionals and sometimes amateur groups from local factories. There are many programs for children: folk-tales and fairy-tales and stories of life today, and the circus in all its glory complete with every act and every clown and bareback rider and lion and elephant.

For the large sport-fan public portable transmitters record football matches at the 80,000-seat Dynamo Stadium; basketball games by championship teams like the one recently acclaimed in Paris at the finals of the European tournament; boat and yacht racing on the Moscow River; horse races and trotting-racing at the Hippodrome. And also parades and special events like the arrival of peace delegates or Chinese youth groups in the capital.

Moscow transmitters have recently been described as probably the most powerful now operating. Image definition at the Moscow Television Center was raised at the end of 1948 from a standard of 343 to one of 625 lines (in the U.S. a 525-line standard is used) which is said to make it possible to present complex productions with great precision and detail of images.

World War II cut many years out of the development of Soviet television—both directly and in the post-war years when every effort went into restoring what the enemy had destroyed. Thus a lag developed between the scientific and engineering experimental work, already far advanced prewar, and the mass production of good sets at reasonable prices.

This means that T-V sets are still being manufactured with seven-inch screens (although the plexi-glass magnifiers used are said to give a clear double-sized image, and public sets installed in clubs, palaces of culture, parks, rest homes, sanitariums, etc., have twelve- and fourteen-, and in some cases it is said, up to thirty-six-inch screens.) It means also that the number of sets is far below the demand, although rising output was reflected in September, 1949, in the 35 to 50 per cent price cut.

Latest reports indicate that factories producing T-V sets have responded to the many demands for improved output reflected in the call by Minister of Communications Aleksenko, early last year, to "do away with the defects in mass production and increase output sharply." Also that sets with larger screens will soon be coming off the line.

Sets for the general public are described as simple in design and easily operated. They are installed and kept in good condition for six months

after purchase free, and there are centers for repair and the purchase of parts.

One of the aims emphasized in Soviet discussions of television is to insure regular broadcasts to even distant rural areas.

On Soviet "Radio Day," celebrated annually May 7, achievements in radio and television are assessed, praised, blasted, and future plans and perspectives announced. On Radio Day this year, it was stated that considerable expansion of the country's television facilities will take place before the year is ended. Stations are already operating at Moscow and Leningrad (where they first began broadcasting in 1938) and a smaller station at Kharkov. Transmission stations now under construction will go into operation within the near future in Kiev, Sverdlovsk, Odessa, Riazan, and Kazan, on the Volga, capital of the Tatar Republic.

In Moscow work on two new channels will be completed this year, increasing the number from three to five. In April the number of broadcasting days was increased from four to six.

As early as the spring of 1946 experts were quoted as saying that by about the end of 1950 they expected that there would be regular programs broadcast in full natural color. In line with the Soviet habit of reluctance to discuss a project until definite results have been achieved, there has been little in the press on color television except for highly specialized material in technical journals which seems to verify the above statement.

In addition to other appropriations for television development, the post-war Five-Year Plan ear-marked considerable funds to provide industry with modern television equipment.

Television has long been used in Soviet industry, and its use has been greatly expanded since the war, according to facts given in the USSR Information Bulletin of March 12, 1947. Giving examples from the iron and steel industry, the article states that television has been used for several years for "watching the process of melting pig iron and steel in blast and open hearth furnaces." Ultra violet and infra red rays, penetrating the walls of the furnaces, and transformed by special appliances, clearly show the smelting process on the television screen. And it states that in one plant a single engineer was able to control the whole process of producing automobile pistons.

Amateurs have long played an extremely important role in the development of Soviet radio, and now they are functioning along the same lines in the television field. Radio fans not only built hundreds of thousands of sets for themselves, but did outstanding experimental work especially in short wave radio and also in the general electronics field.

They built a number of radio stations, beginning 25 years ago, built the necessary equipment for them; brought radio to the villages. In one village alone, for instance, Isakov, in Smolensk province, they constructed 600 sets, so that no family in the village was without one.

Now T-V fans are building amateur stations in a number of towns: the popular technical journal, *Radio*, reported that after running an article on setting up small television stations they received a flood of inquiries for further information from points including Tbilisi in Georgia, Novosibirsk in Siberia, Riga in Latvia, Riazan and the big textile town of Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Such magazines carry numerous reports from T-V fans about their problems and achievements in reception of programs from Moscow with home-built sets or hopped-up commercial sets. In the past year these included reception in Tula, Podolsk, Serpukhov, Aleksandrov, Riazan, and many other points within over a 115-mile radius.

In connection with recent blasts here in the press about Soviet claims that Russia played a big role in developing T-V, this item is interesting: in the *American Magazine* for August, 1949, the technical consultant of RCA Laboratories, billed today as an outstanding television expert, Dr. V. K. Zworykin, wrote:

"More than 40 years ago a Russian physicist named Boris Rosing, with whom I studied in Petrograd, first conceived of the use of a cathode-ray tube for television reception. This is the method of image scanning by means of an electron beam, rather than a revolving mechanical disk and is the basis for modern television."

Technicians at the control desk in the Moscow Television Center





—Courtesy Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society

Choir and orchestra performing Shostakovich's oratorio in Toronto

Shostakovich Peace Oratorio Heard in Toronto

FIRST performance on this continent of Dmitri Shostakovich's *Song of the Forests*, new work dedicated to peace, was heard in Massey Hall, Toronto, on April 7.

The oratorio was given by Canada's famous Jewish Folk Choir, directed by Emil Gartner, and assisted by singers from other people's groups and with full symphony orchestra. It was sponsored by the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Though boycotted by "highbrow" music lovers, 3,000 people attending the Canadian Peace Assembly from all parts of Canada, packed the hall, thundered their applause, and gave the performers and composer a standing ovation.

Reporting on the performance, the *Canadian Tribune* of April 16 wrote:

Song of the Forests, dedicated to peace, to the transformation of nature through a great shelter belt of trees stretching across the Soviet lands, won

its audience from the quiet opening strains to the last glorious "Slava!" Through the whole gamut of emotion—joy, sorrow, determination, reflection of things past, hope of things to come, moments of pastoral beauty and moments of turbulent living—went the seven parts. . . .

It was a new Shostakovich in this oratorio. Still possessed of genius in musical ideas, in orchestration and thorough knowledge of his mechanical and human instruments, the composer wrote music close to the hearts of the people—tuneful and melodic without being imitative, basing itself on the musical language of the people without transcribing literally.

Here was no premise that a modern composer's music will not be "understood" for centuries; here was music that touched the heart as well as the mind today.

Shostakovich sent a personal note of greetings to the concert, appealing for friendship and peace between the two peoples.

USSR is HOME To Negro Boy

by AMY SCHECHTER

SOVIET Army men feel a special responsibility towards the children orphaned by war and keep in touch with the Homes where they are being raised to see that everything is all right.

Visiting Children's Homes in Minsk recently, a group of Army men were surprised to see a handsome Negro lad in one of them. Together with some other boys, he was working on an airplane model in the carpenter shop attached to the Home. They learned that he was Sasha Demidov, fifteen, head of the student council, tops in studies and sports and a general favorite.

Was Sasha from America, they inquired, and were told that he had been born in a little village in the Balkans. Then Sasha himself, friendly and completely at ease, told of the events that had brought him to the Soviet Union soon after the end of the war. And the teacher in charge of his group, which was made up of the eldest girls and boys in the Home, told what had been learned of the boy's story when he was brought to the Home in 1945, a ten-year-old who had already lived through horrible experiences as prisoner and slave laborer, in Hitler's Germany.

Sasha is not his given name but it is the only one he remembers. His father was an American seaman who married and settled down in a coast village in the Balkans, and was

drowned in a storm at sea when Sasha was only three. Two years later the child's mother died too. A woman teacher adopted the orphan, but then the Nazi invasion swept through the village, and at six he was carried off with the other villagers.

The Negro youth still retains a vivid memory of those days, ten years ago, when he was dumped into a variety of prisons and camps and brutally mistreated. When he was seven or eight, he was brought to a camp where slave laborers were kept, being sent out to work at factory and heavy construction jobs and for landowners on farms.

Here his luck changed. A number of young Soviet girls and boys among the prisoners at this camp adopted the lonely Negro child, cherished him and protected him from the Nazi guards and at work and kept him alive. At last the war ended. American officers wanted to send him over to the United States, but Sasha clung to his friends. And when, shortly after V-E Day, they were allowed to cross the Elbe River over to the Soviet side for repatriation, nothing could change the boy's decision to go along with them.

And now, returning to 1951: the visitors to the Children's Home took photos of the boy and his schoolmates and sent the pictures along with his story to the illustrated weekly *Ogonek*, and the youth magazine,

Smyena, picked up the story and sent its own correspondent and photographer to the Home.

Copies of the magazines carrying the story reached New York, and a former staff-sergeant in the U.S. Infantry, who had been assigned to the repatriation of Soviet citizens for a time at the Elbe crossing, shortly before and after V-E Day in 1945, read the stories, and recognized the picture, the name, the facts of the boy's parentage. The fine-looking Soviet youth was the same Sasha that he had met, in the flesh, six years earlier, a thin, ragged youngster standing among a group of young Russian newly-freed slave laborers, at the Elbe crossing.

The staff-sergeant was Bernard L. Koten, recently of the American Russian Institute, and here is the first-hand account he gave me of the day he met Sasha:

"It was in May, 1945, shortly after V-E Day," he said. "I was in charge of arranging passage across the Elbe, at one debarkation point, for Soviet citizens, by barge or ferry or whatever was available. This was in a village, north of Magdeburg. Tens of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, from the Baltic lands, the Caucasus, and Soviet Asia, were trying to make their way to the Soviet side.

"Suddenly a group of young Russian boys and two girls appeared, seven or eight of them, about 17 to 20 years old. And right in the center was a little Negro boy. They had their arms around him.

"They were very thin and their clothes were all threadbare, but they were gay and excited, laughing and singing—they'd picked up an accordion and a mandolin somewhere—God knows where they got it.

"Of course, I asked the boy wheth-



Sasha Demidov and a classmate in the school in Minsk prepare films for a visual instruction class in physics

er he was an American. I tried speaking English but he didn't understand a word. Only Russian—he spoke a perfect Russian. Then he told me about his mother and father, and how he had been brought to Germany and put in prison, and then shifted from camp to camp. Then, he said, he was placed in a slave labor camp full of Russians. . . . There were these young Russians and they adopted him. He learned Russian and took a Russian name. Everybody called him Sasha he said—he knew no other name.

"They protected him, they clothed him, fed him, wouldn't let anyone touch him. He said he was a Russian, and he was going home to Soviet Russia. These were his family and his friends, there was no other place for him to go. I asked him what he was going to do in the Soviet Union—he was confident and gay, he

said they'd take care of him and he was going to school."

And now here were the latest photos of the same Sasha, tall and well-grown, in group pictures with his schoolmates, skiing, building model planes. His special enthusiasms now are music and geography as well as airplane model construction. In school he has been making top grades in his studies, especially in geography, history, literature, chemistry, and the German language.

Sasha has great plans for the future—if there is no war. To the ex-slave laborer war and peace are tremendous realities: he speaks with passionate hatred of war and the efforts to force another war on the world. And as a Negro Sasha, now Komsomol organizer for his high school class, takes a special interest in the colonial peoples and their struggle; recently he gave a talk on the struggle of the Indian youth for freedom and peace.

EUROPEAN LABOR FIGHTS GERMAN REARMAMENT

ONE of the most important events of this year took place in Berlin, March 23 to 25, when the "European Workers Conference Against the Remilitarization of Germany" was held, initiated by workers of the Haspe Metallurgical Works in Western Germany. Millions of workers, responding to their call for united struggle by working people against the dangers of a new war arising from West German militarization, sent 900 elected delegates from France, Western Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Eastern and Western Berlin, Trieste, Spain, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Austria, Italy, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Nearly 18,000 messages of greeting from European trade unionists and enterprises were received.

The conference adopted an appeal to the working people of Europe urging them to take an active part in the movement against remilitarization of Germany which, it warned, was going forward full blast, and formed a European Workers Committee to carry on the fight. It stated that the creation of an arsenal in the midst of Germany and the artificial division of Germany was an enormous threat to peace and are contrary to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

It urged mutual understanding among the Great Powers to prevent remilitarization and remove tensions, and called upon all working people of Europe to join the Appeal of the World Peace Council for Conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Britain and the People's Republic of China.

It called for the inclusion of the question of German remilitarization as top priority item in the agenda for the proposed Foreign Ministers' Council meeting.

A special appeal was made by the 400 delegates from Western Germany to the working people of Western Germany to organize a popular referendum against remilitarization and set up local committees to carry it through, and to demand the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1951 with a unified, demilitarized Germany.

Why Poland Wants Peace

by DR. JULIUSZ KATZ-SUCHY



Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy

WHEN the first Polish Peace Congress was held in Warsaw in September, 1950, it was enthusiastically supported by all sections of my people, and not least of all by the children of Poland. From every city, town and village, letters written by the children poured into the Congress.

In one such letter little Marian Michalski wrote: "I am a pupil of the primary school in Labedy, and have decided to take part in the struggle for peace. I am going to learn 100 per cent better than before." Krzysztof Czechowski told the Peace Congress: "I am a champion pupil. I want to be a railway worker and work for People's Poland." And addressing her letter to the "Dear Defenders of Peace," Barbara Rygiel wrote: "I am only a little girl, but I already know quite well what war is, because my Daddy was killed in the war. I don't want any more war. I would like all children to have par-

DR. JULIUSZ KATZ-SUCHY, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and Permanent Representative of Poland to the United States, made the address published herewith at the April 30 dinner of *New World Review*, at which he was guest of honor.

ents and that there should be no more towns and villages burnt out."

In these little letters, so brave-hearted, so resolute, so joyous, are mirrored not only Poland's tragic past but also her happy future, not only the cruel impact of the war and the occupation, but also the determination of the Polish people to build a new life for themselves and to help preserve and strengthen world peace.

These letters also make clear, better than anything I might say, the warm feelings of friendship with which we inevitably regard all those who, like the editors and supporters of *New World Review*, are working for friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Poland and the United States.

Over many years, *Soviet Russia Today* made an important contribution to the cause of peace by promoting understanding and friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the United States. Now that over 600 million more people have of their own free will taken the socialist path, it is more vital than ever, I feel, that in their own self-interest the American people achieve a clearer understanding of the real aims and way of life of the peoples and nations of the so-

cialist world. It is because *New World Review* has already demonstrated, no less than and perhaps better than its predecessor, that it works for international peace, friendship, and understanding, that I greet it warmly and wish it every success.

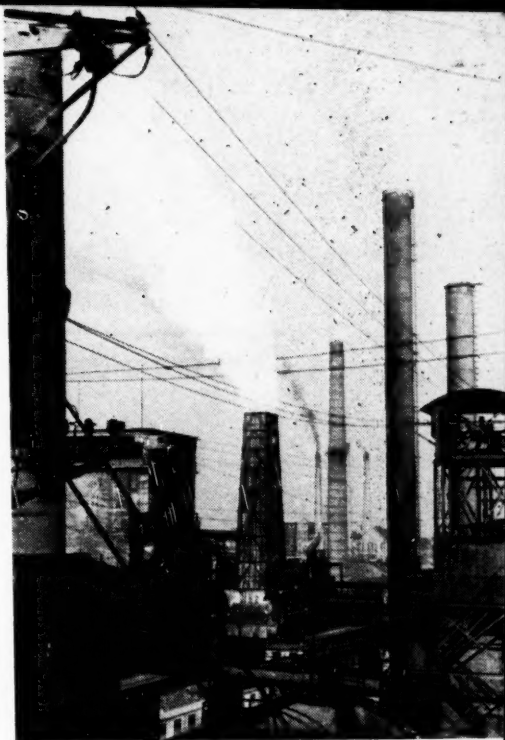
So far as my own country is concerned, I hope that the editors of the *New World Review* will make clear to their fellow Americans that no basic differences exist between our two peoples which make impossible the development of friendly relations between them. Above all, I hope that they will bring to their fellow citizens an understanding of the intensity of our desire for peace and why we are working for it with every resource at our command.

The Polish people want and work for peace because they have not forgotten and will never forget the harsh lessons taught them by six years of war and occupation. The devastation we suffered during those six years was of a magnitude surpassing the imagined scope of atomic destruction.

In those six years, six million of our people, almost 22 per cent of the total, were killed on the battlefield, in the concentration camp, in the gas chambers; and throughout the land our factories, our farms, our schools, our hospitals, our homes were despoiled and destroyed.

We have buried our dead and seen the grass grow green on their graves. We have cleared away much of the ashes and rubble and are erecting new and more beautiful edifices. But we have not forgotten our dead. We have not forgotten the destruction. And we have not forgotten the lesson taught us by death and destruction, that only the firmest and unremitting struggle for peace, in alliance with all those who sincerely work for peace, can prevent a new world war.

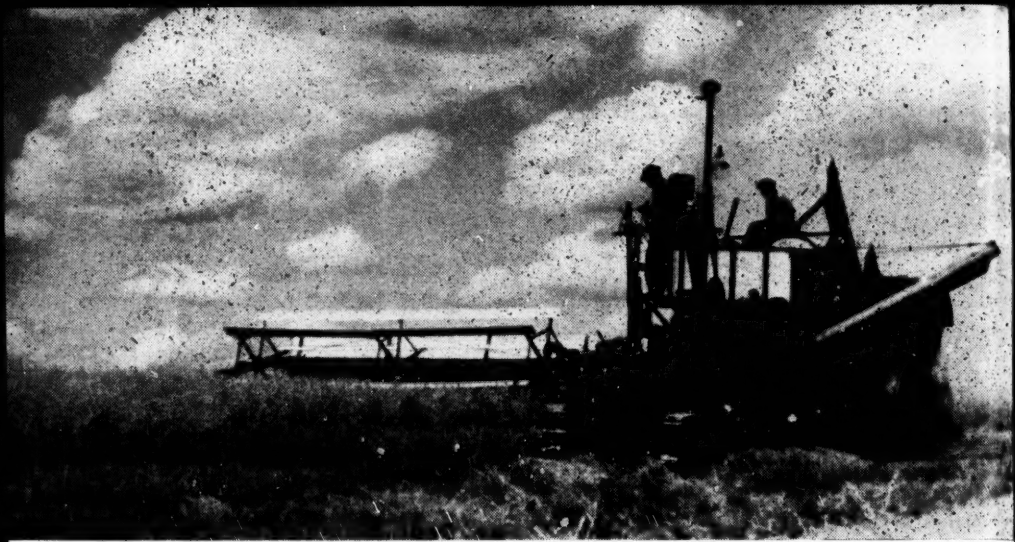
For the first time in our thousand



A general view of the Julia Steel Mills in Bobreck, Silesia, in Poland

years' history, the Polish working people know that the food they grow, the minerals they extract, the products they shape, are theirs and theirs alone, and will not be used to make a life of ease for exploiters domestic or foreign. The old Poland, which betrayed and war and occupation brought to disaster, is being reshaped by the Polish people to meet their heart's desire, to fashion a socialist life of well-being and culture for all.

The establishment of a people's democracy in Poland meant that the long and difficult struggle of the Polish working people to escape from the tyranny of capitalism had finally been crowned with victory. It signified that socialism had come to stay and that any attempt to refasten upon the Polish people the chains of ex-



A Soviet combine, the Stalinets 6, drawn by a tractor, harvests grain on a Polish field. Shipment of such combines is one form of Soviet-Polish economic cooperation

plotation and national servitude would be decisively rebuffed and defeated.

The establishment of a people's democracy in Poland made possible the nationalization of industry, the turning of the land over to those who work it, the ending of all foreign control, the inauguration of a socialist planned economy. As a result of these social, political and economic reforms, the fraternal and unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union and trade and intensive cooperation with the USSR and the other people's democracies, we have made good our war losses and substantially developed our economic potential.

The year 1949 witnessed the successful completion of our three-year plan in two years and ten months, with our industrial production amounting to 177 per cent of the pre-war output; 1950 was the first year of our new six-year plan, which will basically transform Poland's economy. Whereas in 1938, France was almost five times and Italy almost 2.5 times more industrialized than

Poland, by 1950 our per capita production already exceeded that of Italy by 20 per cent and France is superior to us only in a much lesser degree.

The fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and all the people's democracies, including the People's Republic of China, are symbolic of the development of a new form of international cooperation based upon the recognition of mutual interests and full respect for national sovereignty. It is a form of cooperation based upon a similarity of economic systems, a common socialist goal, and independence from external economic and financial control. It excludes war as an instrument for the advancement of any of the aims or interests of these states. It includes as an intrinsic component the need for the maintenance of international peace to speed the attainment of a truly happy, cultural and prosperous life, such as has already been achieved by the Soviet people.

The close fraternal cooperation of the Soviet Union and the peoples' de-

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mocracies does not signify in the slightest a rejection of the basic principle underlying their foreign policies, namely, the necessity and possibility of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist world.

Speaking for my country, I can say that that principle is unshakably imbedded in the foundation of the socialist structure of the People's Poland, in the transformed social and moral consciousness of my people.

For us, this is not an abstract principle but one which we have tried to implement by concrete actions. This is clearly demonstrated by our record in the United Nations, where together with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which has been the standard bearer in the fight for peace, we have fought long and hard to preserve the character of the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining international peace in general, and specifically for maintaining peaceful relations between the capitalist and socialist worlds.

If the United Nations assumes more and more the character of an instrument for promoting war, and if its mechanical majority deliberately abets aggression, the responsibility for this crime against peace cannot be placed upon us but upon those who reject on principle the possibility of peaceful co-existence with the socialist world and who strive for world domination through a new world war.

The contrasting attitude of those in the United Nations who are for peace and social progress and those who are for war and for stemming the tide of social advance, is most clearly revealed on the Chinese and Korean questions.

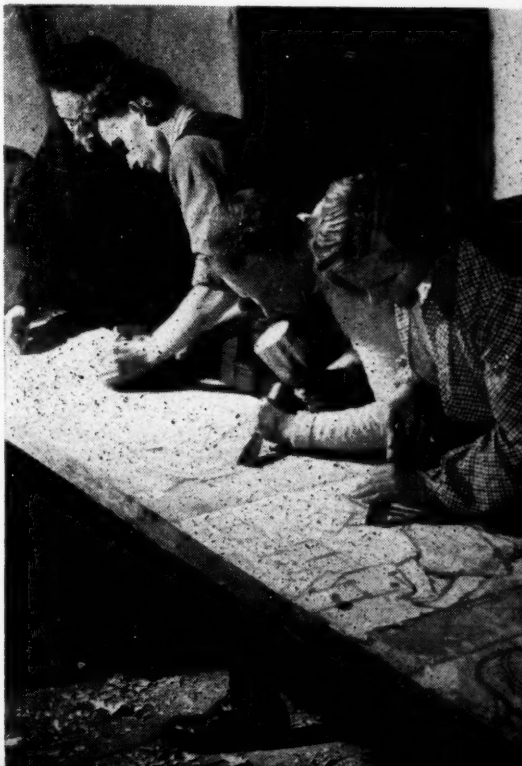
When the Chinese people's armies swept Chiang Kai-shek and his degenerate clique into the sea, and the People's Republic of China was estab-

lished, the overwhelming majority of mankind recognized that this was an event of the greatest magnitude, a new turning point in history, a tremendous victory for peace and social progress. The tremendous power of the Chinese revolution made it abundantly clear that no force on earth existed that could reverse the historical process which, at long last, had made the Chinese people masters in their own house.

One would have imagined that there would be some recognition of this fact by those ruling circles who ill conceal the fact that they justify their imperialist designs by thinking remarkably like that of the United States Senator Beveridge when, over 50 years ago, he said:

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a

Students working together on a large wood carving at the Zakopane School of Arts and Crafts in Poland



thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. . . . He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples.

But these ruling circles have given no evidence that they are aware of a new, key factor in international relations, namely, that the new China is here to stay, and that it cannot be treated otherwise than as an equal. On the contrary, we have witnessed an organized ganging up to prevent China from assuming its rightful seat in the United Nations. We have witnessed the United Nations abetting such deliberate acts of aggression against China as the military occupation of Taiwan (Formosa), and the naval investment of the waters surrounding Taiwan; the increasingly greater military assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek clique and their plans for invasion of China proper; the bombing of Manchurian territory and its inhabitants; the attempt to transform the seas bordering China into a so-called Anglo-Saxon lake; and the attempt to transform Korea into a military base and jumping-off point for the military destruction of the Chinese People's Republic.

What I have said of China holds true also of Korea. The act of aggres-

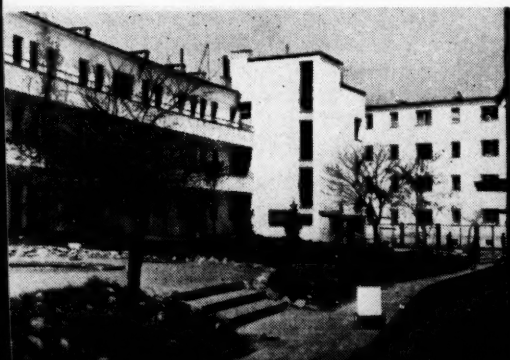
sion against the Korean Democratic Republic was designed to prevent the impending peaceful unification of Korea and its complete liberation; to transform Korea as a whole into a place d'armes against China and the Soviet Union; and to provide the excuse for the occupation of Taiwan (Formosa) and other acts of aggression against the Chinese people.

The complete immorality of this act of aggression against the Korean people finds its inevitable reflection in the type of war being conducted under the flag of the United Nations, which violates every international convention including the recent Geneva Convention of 1949. No atom bomb could devastate Korea more completely than have the forces of that nation which parades its aggression as a United Nations Action. And the destruction has been conducted in a spirit reminiscent of that pervading another popular song of 50 years ago which the American biographer Claude G. Bowers tells us was sung under chauvinist inspiration even by school children, and whose refrain ran:

*Damn, damn, damn the Filipino.
Underneath the starry flag,
Civilize them with a krag.*

Needless to say, neither the Korean Democratic Republic nor the Chinese People's Republic will submit to such

New apartment houses (left) in the Zoliborz district of Warsaw. Right: the Polish capital's housing cooperative rebuilt these houses in the city's suburbs



attempts to "civilize" them. And it is also hardly necessary to add that so long as such attempts are continued, there will be no peace in Asia and the peace of the world will continue to be daily placed in jeopardy.

Peace in Asia can be restored and maintained. As we have repeatedly declared inside and outside the councils of the United Nations, the basic requirement for peace in Asia is the strict application of the principles of the right to self-determination and of non-interference in the affairs of other nations.

The application of these principles in the area of the present armed conflict in the Far East necessarily entails the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Korea; the right of the Korean people to decide freely their own future; the restoration of the island of Taiwan (Formosa) to China; and the admission of the only legal government of China to the United Nations.

The application of these principles, we have emphasized, would not only bring the armed conflict in the Far East to a halt; it would also serve as a decisive stabilizing factor in world peace.

For our part, we in Poland wholeheartedly support these principles as being in the interest not only of the Chinese and Korean peoples but of the Polish and all other peoples. We support them as we support every principle and action calculated to prevent a new world war and strengthen international peace and security.

We have made this clear, for example, on the question of Germany. It is notorious that a key part of the preparation for war is the rearmament of Western Germany as a bastion of aggression. Each passing day makes it more clear to the European nations and peoples that although



Poland has built many new schools since the end of the war. These girls proudly stroll by a new one that they attend

those who are now fashioning a new German spearhead intend to direct it against the Soviet Union, it is in actual fact directed against the peace of Europe as a whole.

Against the drive for remilitarization stand all the democratic forces of Germany who have drawn the correct lessons from World War II and established the German Democratic Republic. We therefore consider the establishment of close friendly relations between the Republic of Poland and the German Democratic Republic to be one of our greatest contributions to the cause of peace. It has been symbolized most strikingly by the exchange of visits between the two heads of state, an event unique in the history of Poland and Germany.

The experiences of World War II taught us, on the one hand, that it was the tragic finale of an attempt to isolate one great power, the USSR, and organize a war against it, and, on the other hand, that collaboration was indeed possible between capital-

ist countries and the land of socialism.

Now we see increasing attempts to make impossible every form of friendly relations between the capitalist and socialist worlds. Even more tragic, some powers, instead of adhering to the Yalta, Potsdam and other agreements, are forming blocs for purposes which can only spell disaster for their peoples.

It is because they are designed to help reverse this dangerous trend, that we fully support the efforts of the Soviet Union to convene a Conference of Foreign Ministers. Once again, the desire of the USSR to settle outstanding issues and thereby lessen international tensions has been shown by its insistent demand for such a conference. Its readiness to compromise is in marked contrast with the attitude of some of the Western powers who are showing, without any attempt at concealment, that they will do their utmost to prevent the calling of such a conference. They thereby make clear that they are pressing forward relentlessly and recklessly with their preparations for a new world war.

In contrast, the USSR by its firm stand against these mad adventurers once more demonstrates that it stands at the head of all those who are striving to prevent war and preserve peace.

At the Polish Peace Congress in September, Boleslaw Bierut, the President of Poland, stated:

There is no doubt by now that the overwhelming majority of the people of the world are for peace and against war. The imperialist warmongers are equally aware of this fact but they are unwilling to reconcile themselves to it; they will not renounce their methods of robbery and their desire to dominate the world. By ruse and deception they

are still trying to lure the people imperceptibly into the chaos of war which for centuries has been the method of tyrants.

Although in the recent period there has been an increase of international tension, a new world war is not inevitable.

But to prevent war everything possible must be done to expose the ruses and deceptions by which those who are driving for world domination seek to mislead their people into accepting a new war as a necessary and just war.

Generalissimo Stalin was profoundly correct when in his recent interview he declared:

Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war.

For my part I am deeply convinced that there is absolutely no reason for fatalism or despair, that the people will reject those who strive to misguide them and will make the correct decision between peace or war, between an end to horror or horror without end. And I am equally convinced that, like the peoples everywhere, the American people, true to their best interests and their democratic traditions, will reject war and choose the path to peace.

It is because the editors of the *New World Review*, inspired by the highest patriotic devotion to their own people, work for peace and the victory of brotherly relations among the nations, that, once again, I greet them warmly and wish them every success in their endeavors.

Project-X

in China

TOWARD the end of last March the People's Government of China announced the break-up of an American spy organization which had been operating in Tientsin. Although 21 arrests were made, espionage paraphernalia seized, and details released on how the ring worked, only brief mention of the fact that the arrests had taken place appeared in the American press.

Espionage and sabotage in the People's Democracies has become an increasingly important facet of the American Government's conduct of foreign relations. The American public, therefore, deserves to know more about this operation than it is given by the carefully controlled press. What follows is a summary of the report on the Tientsin case made public by the Public Security Bureau of the People's Government in that city.

During the period of the war against Japan the American Office of Strategic Services developed an elaborate espionage network in China. Immediately after the war this agency directed its work against the Chinese people and organized corps drawn from former Nazi spies, Japanese agents, White Russian anti-Communists, and Chinese elements in league with the Chiang Kai-shek clique. According to the report of the Public Security Bureau in Tientsin "they gathered military, political, economic and cultural infor-

mation on China, organized assassinations and spied on the Soviet Union and Korea."

In 1946, the O.S.S. transferred its work to another American agency, identified as the S.S.U., which in Tientsin established its headquarters at No. 234 Hongkong Road under the name "U.S. Army Liaison Group." In 1948, the open organization was withdrawn and replaced by an underground network which it had prepared.

In February of that year a radio operator, Ku Tsung-fan, showed up in Tientsin with a radio set which he set up in the home of his brother, Ku Tsung-teh, also a radio technician, and on which they began transmitting clandestine messages. The Public Security Bureau says that this arrangement was made by an American called Jackson.

In November, 1948, Jackson transferred the transmitter to another Chinese, Yu Tsung-pin, an employee of the Kailan Mining Administration (formerly British), provided him with money and had him send spies into Manchuria and North Korea to collect military information. It is estimated that following the liberation of Tientsin early in 1949 this apparatus sent out over 60 radio messages. It received some of its funds, 3,600 U.S. dollars, from the Americans through the Banque de L'Indo Chine and the Far Eastern Fur Corporation of Tientsin.

On April 22, 1950, disguised as an electrical appliances merchant, Ku Tsung-fan left for Hongkong with a letter from Yu Tsung-pin. In Hongkong Ku called at the U.S. Consulate-General asking to see Jackson. The Consulate claimed not to know Jackson, but shortly thereafter Ku received a letter instructing him to go to the Sun Sun Hotel.

There he received from American agents secret codes on 290 sheets of film, radio equipment and working directives. The latter involved "intensification of investigations into China's economic construction, military power and equipment and localities of political and military institutions."

The directives fixed signals and wave-lengths for radio communication, designated a new Tientsin address for Ku as well as aliases for both himself and the American recipients of messages in Hongkong. Ku left for Tientsin on July 4 and a month later received 170 million dollars (Chinese) from U.S. agents in Hongkong.

Ku Tsung-fan also acted as go-between for another American spy ring headed by Heinrich Lipphardt, sales manager of the import department of the prominent British firm of Jardine, Matheson & Company in Tientsin. Lipphardt is a White Rus-

sian of German origin, a versatile linguist, with a background of close contacts among Japanese and Nazi agents. He joined the American espionage organization in the summer of 1947 and, following the liberation of Tientsin, contacted Ku Tsung-fan twice a week to send out messages. He received American funds from New York, partly through a Nazi, William Dunsing, who had worked his way into the North China Oil and Fats Corporation.

When these and the others involved in the espionage ring were arrested the following items, among others, were found with them: three American-made SST-1-E type 15w radio transmitters; one SSR-1-G type 15w receiving set; one SSP-1-D type 15w battery; one 50w transmitter with battery; 41 radio tubes and crystals; four books of secret codes reproduced on 299 negatives; a pistol and bullets; 109 documents including directives, outlines of investigations, U.S. identity cards; radio parts, gold and silver, some American dollars and 198 million dollars Chinese currency.

So much for a brief summary of the Chinese report on the Tientsin American spy ring. Multiply this case by X and you will have a pretty good idea of how and for what the bi-partisan foreign policy is spending your money.

F. V. F.

A STITCH IN TIME

ASSOCIATED PRESS reported from Moscow, April 2, that the Soviet publication *Ogonek* had announced that Russian inventors have perfected a device which soon will make it possible for surgeons to replace vital human organs and restore accidentally amputated limbs.

This ingenious "sewing machine," small enough to held in one hand, is already resulting in a revolution in surgical techniques and has already been used successfully in operations on every type of human blood vessel. It opens blood vessels, simultaneously cutting and mending them to permit blood to flow freely, often saving patient's life. The instrument is now in mass production.

Are 5,000,000 Doomed in India?

American delay in sending wheat embitters millions of Asians already shocked by U.S. white supremacy policies in foreign affairs and recent legal lynchings

by D. N. PRITT, K.C.

New Delhi, India

IN THE LIGHT of the way India's requests for aid are being handled in the United States Congress, it is important that the American people should know that famine conditions in India present a picture both more complex and much more tragic than generally realized.

The over-all simple essential position is that at least five million people must die from starvation this year and probably many more if large shipments over and above what India has already contracted to import are not made immediately.

Whole families are dying off one by one as in the Leningrad siege. Each day's delay in arranging additional shipments kills more thousands.

It required great courage for Nehru to make his stand for peace in the

D. N. PRITT, K.C., former British Labor M.P., is known as the foremost trial lawyer of Europe. He headed the historic International Reichstag Fire Inquiry which exposed the monstrous frame-up. A recent NWR article by Mr. Pritt on the slave labor myth evoked widespread comment.

face of this danger and still greater courage to refuse the political conditions recently demanded of him by the United States. The negotiations and discussions over conditions and the consequent delays are antagonizing opinion in India and everywhere, and in particular throughout Asia.

Viewing the position more in detail, the famine conditions vary greatly between districts, some being fairly safe, whilst others are completely desperate. It is not a simple question of switching supplies, as transport is difficult and often suspended altogether for weeks in the Monsoon season.

Inefficiency, local jealousies and the terrible black market which the government is often too weak or corrupt to combat properly, make the position much worse, and the people continue dying, dying.

In many district stocks are already exhausted, but the next harvest cannot ease the situation until September. Bihar is probably the most desperate district but many others are bad, including Assam, Bombay, Madras, the Deccan and West Bengal.

Soviet Wheat for India

PROLONGED cheers and applause broke out in the Indian Parliament when Prime Minister Nehru announced that 50,000 tons of Soviet wheat was en route to that hard-pressed country, according to a New Delhi report to the New York Times of May 11.

Nehru also announced that India and the Soviet Union were negotiating for 500,000 tons of Soviet wheat in exchange for Indian commodities. He also said that discussions were in progress for the conclusion of a general trade pact between the two countries.

It is not very easy to give a clear picture to my American friends, whose reactions, interests, and outlook I know pretty well, but *only* pretty well, of that fascinating and bewildering country. And I write this article with apologies for its necessarily superficial and "impressionist" character.

A fascinating and bewildering country it is! It contains a sixth of the human race, freed from alien "white" rule less than four years ago, after over two centuries, and still not free, of course, from the domination of wealth and power.

Its varied peoples are both illiterate and intelligent, shrewd and gullible, patient and yet now awakening; and they suffer from a standard of living lower perhaps than anything the "deep South" can show, with thousands literally starving to death on fertile soil in a fine climate, and that in the presence of colossal wealth and extravagance.

They have the trappings of democracy, and yet lack any trust or faith or confidence in their politicians, partly because it is a sufficient passport to political office to have opposed British rule, whatever one's other defects or disqualifications, and thus too many rascals are in high office. They are approaching a general election which, after many postponements, is tolerably certain to be held in the fall or winter of 1951, with the biggest electorate anywhere in history (194,000,000 or so); and their only large political party — the Congress — is distrusted by everyone. Yet at present no one can find a real alternative for it; and no one knows what will happen at or after the election.

Economic and social conditions and tensions are, moreover, so grave that real and widespread revolution could break out within a matter of months. And if revolution comes

before the Communist Party, the only **one** of the parties which can accept the challenge of a revolutionary situation, restores the validity of its appeal to the millions by resolving its internal difficulties, there will be no real revolution but only chaos!

(Even members of the unrevolutionary middle-class speak of the present unreadiness of the Communist Party as a tragedy, so certain are they that revolution is inevitable, that it ought to come, and that only the Communists can lead it effectively to constructive results!)

What a sad story of unnecessary muddle and tragedy and frustration the country presents. What must one think as one watches its peoples — peasants with wooden ploughshares, millions doing little work because there is not enough food in their stomachs; craftsmen working in the most primitive methods; the traffic of great cities controlled without traffic lights because traffic-police are cheaper than electricity?

What does one think? Why, one thinks above all of the same picture in tsarist Russia, only a generation ago! These downtrodden, backward, poverty-stricken starving people, potentially as efficient as anyone else in the world, have only to take their own destinies in their hands to achieve prosperity and happiness as rapidly as the Soviet peoples are doing.

The visitor receives many impressions, each one superficial in itself but together helping to build up something of a whole picture. My own personal experiences were interesting. I went there as a known Left-winger, and also as a barrister who had conducted quite a few Indian cases before the Privy Council in Britain. Half expecting to be rather unwelcome in a country which had plenty of barristers of its own—and very good ones too, and which had



—Wide World

The sidewalks of Delhi are their homes. Here they eat, sleep and cook, and each morning they go to work. In Bombay some 20,000 sleep in the streets every night

had anyway quite enough of the British in the last two and a half centuries, I was surprised at the warm friendliness of my reception, even from such naturally friendly people.

And I found, too, that whereas in England, if I accepted a brief for alleged Communist revolutionaries, as I did in the Telengana cases in India, I would get plenty of frowns and cold-shoulders from my own profession and the middle classes generally, the Indian middle-class thoroughly approved of my action! They spoke the good old-fashioned liberalism that decorates the show-windows of American and British political and historical museums! One of them said, for example:

"We should like you to know that we appreciate your coming out to do these cases. It is a matter of honor for us that these cases should be

properly conducted, and we like to see that these points of law, which a few years ago would have had to go to London for final argument, and are now argued before our own new Supreme Court of India at Delhi, should be argued now in Delhi by the very man who might otherwise have argued them in London. Good luck to you in the arguments."

I have other glimpses of life, too. In a prison at Secunderabad, I saw young Telengana peasant lads, still cheerful, who had lived for many months in condemned cells, with the nooses in the rope on the scaffold as their only view; their main interest was to know how the struggle for peace and democracy was going on, and to urge all of us outside to be unremitting in its service. They were learning to read and write in prison—arts which, if the mighty movement for their reprieve were to fail,

they would not long be able to practice.

In the big, sprawling, not unlovely city of Bombay, at least 20,000 people sleep in the streets every night. They have no homes, and the police have the wisdom not to disturb them; they lay their palliasses on the hard stone pavements, lie down, and sleep; and the next morning—every morning—they get up and go to work clean and tidy. Yes, they go to work; they are not hoboes, but ordinary folk who work and earn money.

One cut above their misfortune come others, who have found patches of clear pavement on the bridges, where with the help of the stone parapet and a few bits of wood and sacking they have established "homes" four feet high, three feet wide, ten feet long, for themselves and their families. Here they live, and cook, and eat. At any rate, the police have not moved them on, nor so far as I know charged them rent!

One cut more on the way up towards civilized conditions, I met and talked with some members of a textile workers' family, who *had a home* for which they paid rent—about \$2.50 a month. It was one room, ten foot by eight, with a floor of cowdung and earth, "walls" and "roof" of corrugated iron and sacking. No amenities of any kind; you stepped in from the dusty road through a hole in the sacking; there was no chimney, and as they were cooking over a charcoal fire when this European went in, he had to go out quickly to rescue his eyes and his lungs.

The nearest water-supply was 30 yards away—in blinding heat, or monsoon, or both—and it is turned on for *two* hours a day.

That room was the "home" of ten adults and seven children; and all of them that I saw were clean, friendly, unbroken. Yes, they are the stuff of

which great changes can be wrought.

Those are pictures, or rather glimpses, of the people of India as a Socialist visitor sees them today. But one wants to know more; what is their attitude to the struggles and problems that loom so large in the thoughts of the Americans and British? What do they think about peace and war? Of America? Of Korea?

These questions are not so difficult to answer as might be expected. They are profoundly anxious for peace. War can mean nothing to them but more sorrow, more starvation, invasion, occupation, death; even their handful of rich industrialists is profoundly uncertain as to whether even it could profit from war. Any attempt to make the army strong enough to take any serious part in war would bring the economy even nearer than it is to utter ruin. They want no war; and if others start a war their desire and hope is somehow to be left out of it, so far as any country can be left out nowadays.

Their attitude to foreign problems and policies is more positive than that, of course. They feel that they are Asian peoples, deeply different from the British and Americans; and that they are old and close friends of the Chinese people.

Hating—naturally—anything that looks like Imperialism, they have great sympathy with the Koreans. They are proud, as Asians, that the modern resources of America have been kept at bay in Korea for so long by Asians. Every instinct they possess is opposed to the use of the atom bomb. As human beings, they revolt against such an uncivilized, indiscriminate, and destructive weapon. As Asians, they remember and resent the fact that it was used first on an Asian people, and resent even more the threats to use it again on an Asian people; if it were to be so



Textile workers at Kamgar, Maidar, at Bombay, scatter as police fire tear gas to break up a meeting of workers who are striking for higher wages —*Wide World*

used that would make them implacably hostile to Europe and America for years, or even forever.

What is their attitude to America? Few, very few, are attracted by the propaganda, the resident scholarships, the flattery given in America to Indians (when their color is not very dark). In the mass, they distrust and dislike Americans. The color bar, lynchings, judicial or otherwise—the Martinsville case shocked them greatly—the general modern “dominant race” attitude, antagonize them.

The British, of course, they know better. They are profoundly relieved to be rid of British rule, and in that relief they are less hostile to the British than might have been expected, although they of course no more want British “bossing” than they do American. Neither the British nor the Americans can hope to make anything out of them on any Imperialist lines.

Their attitude to the USSR is something that, naturally, we would all like to estimate. The first fact to

grasp is that they do not know very much about the USSR. Once they do, they will take a step forward to establish the rule of their own peasants and working masses in their own country; and of necessity the risk of that makes their government and most of their press take every possible precaution, in the way of encouraging anti-Soviet propaganda, suppression of information, refusals of passports and visas, to prevent any real knowledge seeping through to the masses, whose illiteracy is an additional factor in preventing the spread of knowledge.

The iron curtain of the Indian ruling classes is as powerful as that of Goebbels, Churchill, and Truman.

But curiosity, a desire to know more, are already growing and will grow; and one of the most hopeful features of the situation, both for India, and for peace, and for advocates of friendship with the USSR, is the fact that the Indian peoples cannot be kept in the dark forever.



MOSCOW

NEIGHBORHOOD

*No need to go downtown, for
museum, theater, movie are
all in the neighborhood.*

by RALPH PARKER

THERE is a small museum in our neighborhood, devoted to Oriental Art, and though it cannot be compared with the great collections of the Hermitage in Leningrad, the ground is covered comprehensively, the exhibits well displayed and the guides expert.

In the USSR a museum is a school where people learn the nature and history of art rather than a depository of valuable objects; and I rarely visit this museum without finding some lecture in progress, or an informal meeting between visitors and some expert.

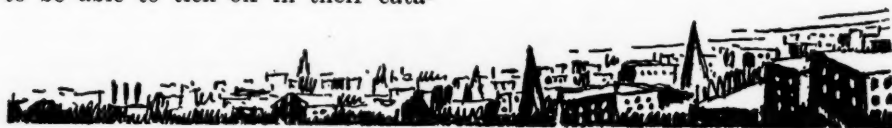
It would be wrong to consider this approach to art as signifying that the Soviet people go to museums chiefly to learn the history of art, or to be able to tick off in their cata-

logues the pictures they have seen, or the artists whose dates of birth and death they have learned.

I suggest that what lies behind this great popular patronage of the arts is something very closely linked with their whole cultural environment, the enjoyment of the play of ideas by minds set working furiously by the dialectical process of argument which lies at the core of the whole educative process. With the exception of those relatively few people who read original Soviet documents in full, the world beyond the Soviet borders has no idea of the way an argument is laid before the Soviet public, since the condensed extracts and carefully trimmed selections that are reprinted in the majority of foreign newspapers give but little idea of the process of analysis.

There is no place in the USSR for easy-to-read digests, for *Hamlet* or *Anna Karenina* in strip-cartoon condensations, for tabloid presentation of news. Further, the whole educational approach is one that leads to a careful definition of terms so that Soviet thought and conversation is peculiarly free from those slipshod phrases and fashionable 'isms that people in some other lands slip into so easily. The Soviet people are taught to think for themselves and they have discovered during the past two or three decades that thought is an exciting process and the pursuit of ideas an activity that is richly rewarded.

Such is the approach of any ordinary citizen here to a book or a picture, or a play. He is likely to express his dissatisfaction quite emphatically



if he feels that a work of art (he would describe it as less than that) offers him only sensuous enjoyment, "pure" entertainment. He wants something to get his mind's teeth into.

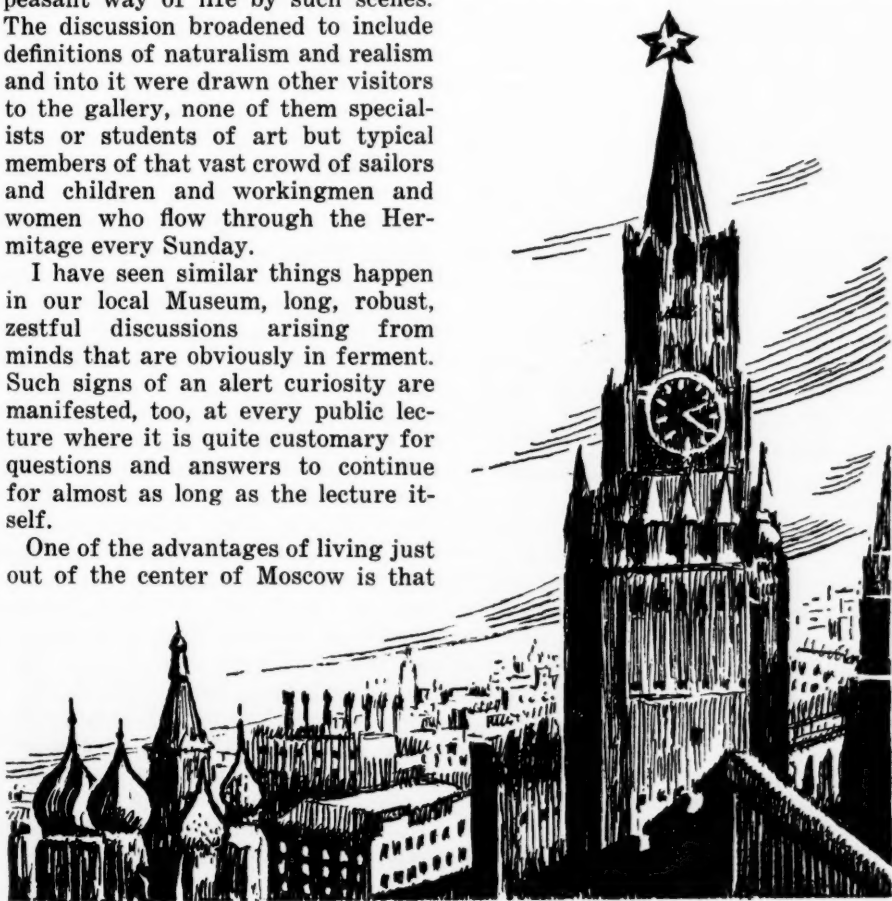
A friend told me recently that he was looking at one of the Breughel paintings in the Hermitage Museum and smiling at some of the realistic details of the consequences of over-eating at a village feast, when a quite shabbily dressed woman entered into conversation with him to enquire whether he thought the artist was expressing his contempt for the peasant way of life by such scenes. The discussion broadened to include definitions of naturalism and realism and into it were drawn other visitors to the gallery, none of them specialists or students of art but typical members of that vast crowd of sailors and children and workingmen and women who flow through the Hermitage every Sunday.

I have seen similar things happen in our local Museum, long, robust, zestful discussions arising from minds that are obviously in ferment. Such signs of an alert curiosity are manifested, too, at every public lecture where it is quite customary for questions and answers to continue for almost as long as the lecture itself.

One of the advantages of living just out of the center of Moscow is that

our neighborhood has a small cinema specializing in revivals of old movies and documentaries. You reach it up a long flight of steps in a block built early in the last century and while you wait for the audience at the previous session to make room for you, there is "live" entertainment in the foyer and a reading room stocked with current newspapers and magazines.

The walls are often used to demonstrate exhibitions of recent events, such as the big hydroelectric and irrigation schemes, or the results of the last Five-Year Plan, always carried



out with great clarity so that a citizen would have to be very slow on the uptake to miss the main point of what is going on in his country—the vast investments in projects to make life easier and more abundant in the shortest possible time.

Our cinema, along with some others in Moscow, has a practice of reviving movies that have some connection with the times. Thus when Maxim Gorky's birthday comes around there is usually a showing of that fascinating trilogy based on his autobiographical writing, while the revolutionary anniversaries are accompanied by the revival of those many excellent historical films through which the young generation can learn what its fathers and grandfathers fought for during the October Days.

New movies are shown too: the latest is *Abundant Summer*, a Ukrainian-made film directed by B. Barnet who has worked in films since as far back as 1924. *Abundant Summer*, in the Soviet color-process, makes no



pretensions of being a major film, but I, with hundreds of thousands of Muscovites, found it very enjoyable.

It is about the Ukraine of our days, with plenty of farm machinery arriving at the collective farm, brisk young accountants used to adding machines but still shy country-boys at heart when it comes to proposing marriage, and easy-mannered Party secretaries shouldering heavy responsibilities but quite likely to be asked by a farmer whether he thinks jeal-

RALPH PARKER, a former "New York Times" Moscow correspondent, is correspondent in the USSR for papers in England and this country. He is author of "Moscow Correspondent."

ousy should be considered a "remnant of capitalism."

What I enjoyed was the way the argument for merging small-scale collective farms into a larger unit was put as a process arising quite naturally out of the local situation. Nobody had to come from Moscow or Kiev to argue the case or to agitate for the change which was shown as growing out of the farmers' realization that times were changing and that all would benefit from the next step. Not that the process is entirely without its opponents; the movie shows people of all kinds including those of conservative and even complacent outlook.

Not everyone in our neighborhood liked *Abundant Summer* as much as I did, for some of the youngsters had hoped it would provide more of those catchy little tunes that rang in everybody's head after *Cossacks of the Kuban*, a film in a rather different genre.

But, I think, the criticism which showed best how Soviet people look on things was the one that *Abundant Summer* didn't show enough of the work on the farm. "It gives you the impression that the abundance of the harvest is something for which the farmers had only to thank Nature. Of course we know it isn't like that at all and that there's a lot of hard work involved," was the comment of a young Russian woman. You will overhear similar criticism in the art galleries before pictures where the artists have concentrated on the results of labor at the expense of the real story of toil.

During the past few years a new theater has established quite a reputation in this neighborhood. This is the Theatre of the Transport Workers near the big old Kursk Station. It is now being managed by an old actor from the Moscow Art Theater who is applying Stanislavsky's principles with good results from the repertory company. Their program, like that of most Moscow theaters today, contains plays that fall into roughly three categories; the classics including dramatizations of famous nineteenth century novels like *Dead Souls* or *Resurrection*; plays dealing with the struggle in the world between the forces working for peace and those working for war; and plays about contemporary Soviet life which cover such themes as the drive in the factories for higher quality merchandise, or the relations of the factory director to the community, or the struggle with conservatism in any form. I should add that this is a gross simplification of the themes. In working them out the playwrights make an effort to state them in human terms, often showing how the key to an individual's attitude towards society is to be found in his or her relations with the family environment. The family setting is essential in the modern Soviet play.

The audiences are at the same time receptive and highly critical. When gripped by good drama they are quite oblivious to their surroundings and I have seen young workers start from their seats in an impulse to intervene during Othello's scenes of misunderstanding with Desdemona.

At the same time they don't hesitate to express their disapproval if the drama falls short of their expectations. During a recent performance of a play at the Maly Theater I heard a voice raised from the back of the

stalls saying "Talk to him, it's your last chance." This occurred during a scene when the unfaithful husband confesses to his wife. Instead of developing the situation the author throws away the scene by having the woman say "Please put the lights out, I don't want to see you," and thus brings the scene to an end. The audi-



ence thought it was about as dull a finish as when an outside-right kicks the ball into touch instead of centering towards the goal.

There is a fourth category of plays in which I consider the contemporary Soviet theater excels. This is the small group of plays by modern dramatists dealing with scenes from the lives of great figures of the past. Soviet drama and cinema are celebrated for their respectful treatment of history, so unlike the popularization of the past à la Hollywood, and you will see this style at its best in a play such as *Griboyedov*, the story of the life of the author-diplomat who wrote *Wit Works Woe*.

The play begins at the stage of Griboyedov's life when he is serving as a Russian diplomatic agent with General Yermolov, the Tsar's Governor in Transcaucasia. News of the execution of the Decembrists in St. Petersburg reaches him, but though his attitude towards the oppressed peoples of Georgia is a progressive one,

Griboyedov condemns the conspirators for their fool-hardiness.

He is nevertheless a suspect in the Court's eyes and Yermolov receives instructions to arrest him. Griboyedov is, however, cleared and somewhat later appointed Russian envoy to Persia, with instructions to appease the Shah and not provoke the English, who have their own plans for Persia.

We follow him on his long journey during which he returns to Tbilisi and marries the young daughter of Alexander Tchavchavadze, first of the Georgian romantic poets and translator of Pushkin. With his bride, Nina, Griboyedov continues his journey to Persia but leaves her in Tabriz when his duties call him to Teheran.

Accompanied by a secretary whom he rightly suspects as a secret agent of the Foreign Ministry with instructions to prevent the Ambassador from taking a firm line with the Shah and the English intriguers behind him, Griboyedov challenges the Shah's right to detain a Moslem slave abducted from the Tsar's territories in Transcaucasia and in this act reveals at once his patriotism and his high-principled interest in the cause of the subject-races of the Russian Empire. He is assassinated in the course of his duties while quelling the fanatical zeal of a mob urged on by an English agent.

This story, of course, contains no surprises to a Moscow audience and the play depends for its success on

its meticulous creation of atmosphere and on the plausibility of the characterization. It is a pleasant experience to watch it with a young audience, many secondary-school children and college students among it, which is as familiar with the character of Griboyedov as one would expect an American audience to be familiar with the life of, say, Thomas Jefferson.

Finally, when I try to put on record some of the lesser pleasures provided by living in Moscow, I find myself giving highest place to the pleasure obtained from observing the process of change. This means not only the new buildings, one of which has come to tower above our neighborhood, or the long, broad, well-tended strip of public park newly laid on the site of the ancient white walls, not only the success with which the public's thirst for new clothes, new furniture, new prams and bicycles and radios is being satisfied, or the opening of new libraries, nurseries, theaters in our district. It means too the lesser things people do for themselves as life becomes easier—selecting books for their home libraries in a well-stocked shop on the street corner, setting off to the country to teach their children to ski, planting trees in their gardens where the air-raid shelters used to be, replastering the church porch and in a thousand ways showing their determination to grasp happiness now and to keep it this time.

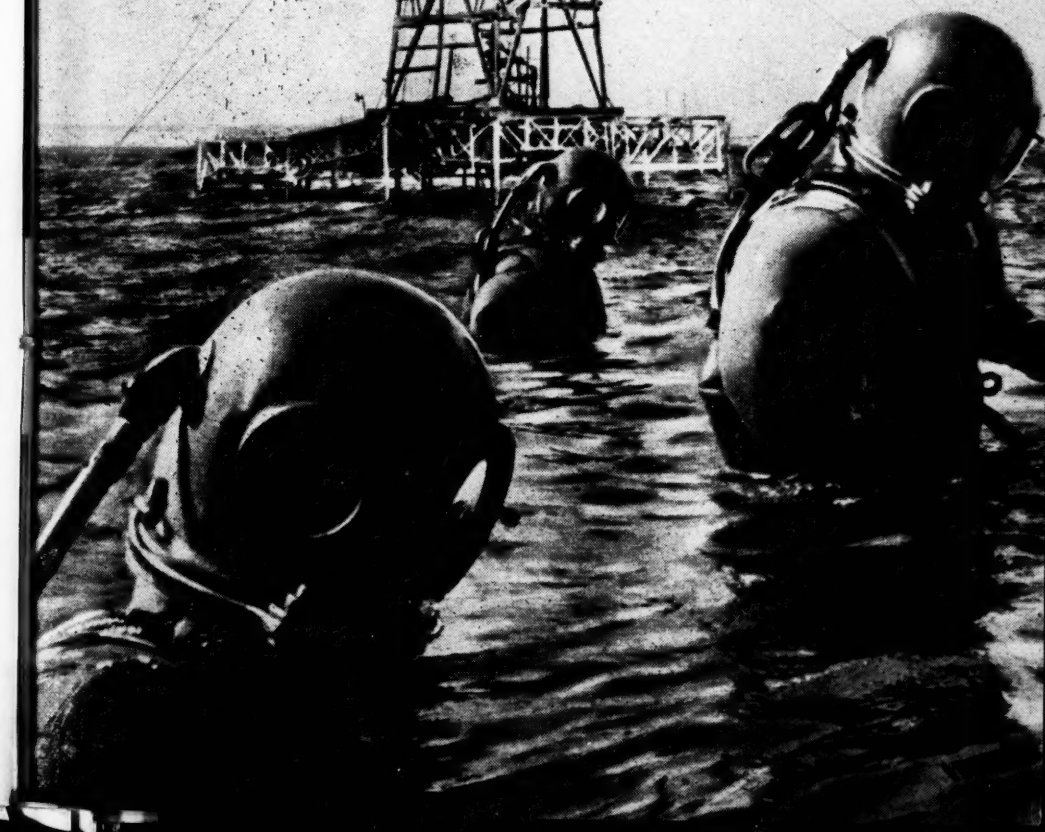
PAGING SUPERMAN!

ONE SHORTAGE "has become increasingly serious" in Korea, reports the *New York Times* of May 11, in a dispatch from the Eighth Army Headquarters. What is it? Comic books!

The paper quotes a Special Service Officer as saying: "We have kits of books with mysteries, adventure and *even* classical literature. [Emphasis ours.] But we don't know what we're going to do about comic books. They're just not to be had in great quantities in Japan."

SOVIET DIVERS

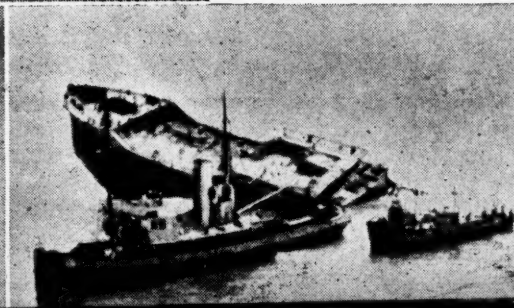
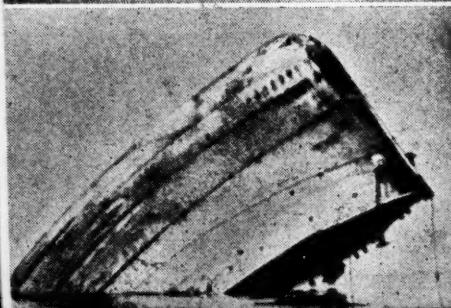
Oil derricks would not rise in the Caspian without the help of divers. Evgeny Sachuk, on our cover, is one of USSR's best, with record of 4,000 underwater hours.





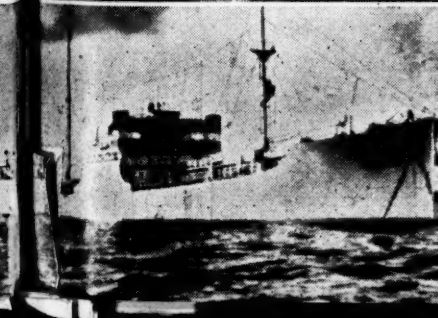
Emergency underwater ship repair at night. A powerful searchlight is lowered to enable the diver to work. Soviet divers are called upon to do many urgent and often strange and certainly heroic jobs. Once a huge one-ton auger broke when workmen were sinking a shaft for a new coal mine. Divers working in utter darkness, 100 feet below ground, in a heavy clay-and-water mass, came to the rescue and enabled the workers to complete the new shaft

Many of the ships sunk in seas and rivers during the war have been raised by Soviet divers. Below, left: The bow of a sunken tanker is raised to the surface, keel up. Center: The tanker, towed to shallow water, is righted. Right: The tanker repaired and now in commission



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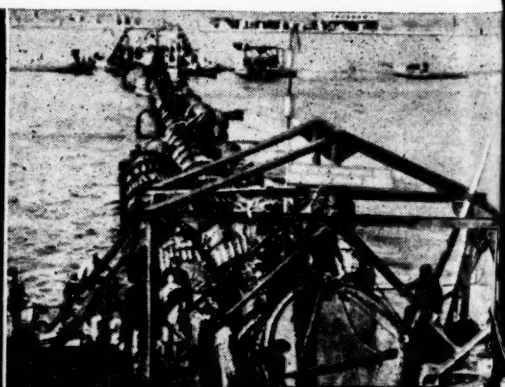
Divers above examine site before raising a tanker sunk by the Nazis. During the war, divers had to raise a bridge in a frozen river. Working under the ice, they removed 122 mines and 25 tons of ballast, raised 17 bridge sections, all before the spring ice break-up which would have caused an ice jam, flooding the nearby town



Divers aid Soviet science explore ancient archeological sites. Here, in Baku Bay, they bring to the surface a stone with a twelfth century inscription

Cutting metal under water with Soviet-invented oxybenzine appliance, most efficient torch found for this work

Laying a huge, all-welded metal duct to carry centralized heating lines across the bed of the Moscow River



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JUNE

The West's Bad Guess On Eastern Germany

Three years after predictions of imminent collapse, living standards continue to rise and re-armament menace unifies the people

by GORDON SCHAFFER

YEAR AFTER YEAR, U.S. and British authorities in Berlin have been swallowing stories hawked by refugees from Eastern Germany that the economy in the East was on the verge of collapse. In 1947, when I returned to Berlin after three months in the Russian Zone I tried to tell the British and the Americans about the strides which the Russians and the German anti-fascists were making in the restoration of industry and agriculture. I was ignored as one obviously duped by the Russians. The Western Powers went on handing out reports of the imminent collapse of East German economy.

In a recent official announcement, the European Office of the United Nations made this statement about the German Democratic Republic:

"The index of industrial production reached the 1936 level in the first half of 1950. The improvement in supplies of food and other consumer goods resulted in a substantial increase in rations and in real wages. Unemployment rose after the monetary reform in the middle of 1948, reaching a peak in March 1949, but

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was reported virtually eliminated in 1950."

That statement marks the end of the era of wishful thinking which has dominated American and British policy in Germany ever since 1945.

The way in which Western officials, living in the artificial atmosphere of West Berlin, became drunk with their own propaganda had to be seen to be believed. They assured themselves that East Germany could not live without the coal and steel of the Ruhr; they could not understand that the countries of Eastern Europe would inevitably be forced by Western policy to insure Eastern Germany the raw material she needed.

They comforted themselves with stories that the Russians were taking all Eastern Germany's industrial potential as reparations; they hadn't the sense to realize that German machinery was used in the early post-war years to insure the recovery of the Soviet Union and that once Russia was on the road to recovery she in turn would send tractors and industrial equipment to an East Germany where the Nazis had been deprived of power.

They made violent propaganda because the Russians transformed Leuna, Buna and other giant German plants into Russian-owned enterprises; they could not see that this

was a device to insure a supply of oil, artificial rubber and fertilizers to East German economy, which would have been undermined if the decisions of the Control Commission forbidding Germans to own synthetic oil production had been strictly interpreted.

In 1948, when General Clay imposed unilateral currency reform on Western Germany and the Russians were forced to follow suit, the Americans suffered from an even more acute attack of wishful thinking. Before the currency reform in the West, farmers had been holding back food, and manufacturers had been warehousing consumer goods. All these poured into the shops as soon as money was worth having.

In the East, where "free enterprise" had not been allowed to hold back goods while people starved, the new currency produced no such miraculous effects.

General Clay called press conferences to announce that West Germany had entered an era of unexampled prosperity while in the East the economy was at a standstill.

There has been nothing like it since Hitler persuaded himself he could beat the Russians in six weeks on the basis of reports of the Red Army's use of cardboard tanks in the Finnish war.

But now the truth is out. The Western Powers are compelled to admit that the German Democratic Republic is an economic force to be reckoned with. German scientific skill, the discipline and high craftsmanship of the German worker, wedded to a planned economy, is resulting in an outflow of goods which are steadily capturing markets not only in Eastern Europe but in the West.

Industrialists in Western Ger-

many, however much they may hate the politics of the East, are tumbling over themselves to do business across the zonal frontiers. Despite U.S. attempts to stop this trade, a great deal is done legally and a lot more illegally.

Living standards in the German Democratic Republic are still low, but progress over the last two years has been so spectacular that the people are now convinced that better times are ahead. One of the things the cold war protagonists in the West will never learn is that if a regime can give the people real hope for the future, it compensates for a multitude of day-to-day difficulties.

East Germany's confidence in the future is based on a solid foundation. The two-year plan which was due to end in December, 1950, was more than fulfilled last July. It raised productivity by 50 per cent over the 1947 level, which had fallen to 56 per cent of the pre-war figure. That means that today the German Democratic Republic has *surpassed* the very high level of industrial production reached in that area of Germany in 1936. It produces a vast range of engineering products. Chemicals, precision instruments, cars, motorcycles, rayon and other textiles and a big selection of clothing and other consumer goods. With these goods available, the Republic is in a position to buy all the raw materials it needs.

The Leipzig Fair this winter (at which, incidentally People's China showed her potentialities for the first time in Europe) indicated the immense possibilities for exchange of goods between the German Democratic Republic and the rest of the world.

East German agriculture, despite the way in which land fertility was diminished under the Nazis, is back

LA PAIX VAINCRA LA GUERRE FRIEDEN BESIEGT DEN KRIEG



The Presidium of the First World Council for Peace held in Berlin

at pre-war production rate per acre.

This year, industrial output is scheduled to reach 28 per cent above 1936. Labor productivity will go up nearly 15 per cent and 330,000 more workers will be absorbed into industry. The quantities of food and consumer goods available for the home market will increase this year by 21 per cent.

When the five-year plan ends in 1956, industrial production will be double that of 1936. Meat production will rise by 60 per cent, milk by 31 per cent and eggs by 52 per cent. Real wages are scheduled to go up by 60 per cent, insuring a standard of living higher than ever before in German history. A far-reaching program for rebuilding devastated towns and housing the rural population will be carried out. A big metallurgical works will be set up on the Oder—the new German-Polish frontier, as a symbol of the determination of the two countries to live together in peace.

In the German Democratic Republic today, you can still find plenty of grumbling. The incessant stream of anti-Soviet, anti-Communist propaganda from the West finds some re-

sponse, particularly among the older section of the population. But most of it defeats itself because the people can see for themselves that conditions are improving. They know that work is available for all. They enjoy health services, in advance of Weimar Germany, which had a very high standard. Millions of families benefit by the new opportunities for higher education. Tens of thousands of peasants given land formerly owned by the Junkers are enjoying the products of their own soil.

Many resent the fact that their country is still occupied, but they are not hostile to the Russians, because nearly six years of occupation has disproved all the propaganda stories with which the West has fed them. They know that their economic recovery has been mainly due to Russian assistance. With reparations now reduced to a fraction of total output, and representing, even when occupation costs are added, a lower percentage of income than that paid in occupation costs in the West, the resentment caused by the heavy reparations in goods and dismantled machinery levied in earlier years has disappeared. Membership of the Ger-

man-Soviet Friendship Society has passed the two million mark.

Against this background, it can easily be understood that the peace movement in Eastern Germany is based not on Russian pressure but on a deep-rooted desire to safeguard the advances that have been made and a universal horror at the possibility of being in the front-line of a war even more devastating than the last.

The decision of the Western Powers to rearm the German Nazis has created a new unity among the people of the German Democratic Republic. It has also provided a bridge between East and West Germany, for in the West too, the majority of the population are resisting the plans to embroil them in a third world war.

The progress achieved by the German Democratic Republic is the more remarkable when one remembers the circumstances in which she has grown to her present strength. The artificial frontier slashed across Germany with no political or economic basis has left her wide open to propaganda and sabotage. West Berlin in the center of the Republic has been organized as a basis of infiltration and sabotage with Allied leaders openly boasting of their plans to build up a "fifth column" in the East. The formation of the People's Police, who are not armed with tanks and guns but with the revolvers common to all European police forces, was an obvious necessity. The force has prevented any major sabotage because it was formed from proved anti-fascists and is closely allied with the people, particularly the industrial workers.

The Republic faces serious difficulties not so much because of the organized opposition from the West, but because of the inherent contradictions arising from the artificial

division of Germany into two parts.

Economically, East Germany is in a position to advance towards socialism but politically such a move would increase the obstacles to eventual German unity. So private trade remains responsible for 40 per cent of total output and although it works within the economic plan and is assured reasonable profits, it can always become a source of internal strife. In the countryside, machine stations are improving agriculture but advances cannot yet be made towards cooperative farming without provoking political clashes.

The national front of Communists, Liberals and Christian Democrats, though dismissed in the West as a Communist subterfuge, is a reality. And because it is a reality, it necessarily imposes a brake on the more leftward section of the coalition.

The extent to which these diverse elements have been able to achieve unity is a remarkable tribute to the early work carried out by the Russians when they took over the zone.

The elimination of all Nazis from the police, the law, education and the higher branches of public service coupled with the steady campaign to punish the active Nazis while drawing the little Nazis back into the stream of democratic life transformed the whole life of Eastern Germany. The acceptance of the settlers from the Polish and Czech territories as completely equal citizens has prevented the emergence of the refugee problem which so dominates the West. Land reform and the nationalization of the trusts has removed potential centers of reaction.

Yet while this has been going on, East Germany has always kept one eye on the West for the Russians and the German progressives, alike, have always realized that in the long run



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A rally of German youth from all parts of the country demonstrate in Berlin for peace and for a united, independent and democratic Germany

the German demand for unity would overshadow all else. The failure to realize this overwhelming factor is already weakening the hold of the Western allies. The more they expose their determination to build up West Germany as an armed base, thus indicating to the world that they have no real desire to see Germany united, the more prestige will they lose among the German people.

Unity of Germany becomes more difficult as the two economic systems take their separate paths. If there is to be unity the East must safeguard the land reform, the nationalized industries and the basis of economic planning. The West will equally demand security for its private enterprise economy. It was to sort out these difficulties that the German Democratic Republic suggested negotiations on a parity basis, before all German elections are called.

A solution could be found on the basis of certain measures of autonomy for the provincial governments if there were a real desire for unity in the West.

But a united Germany must be a demilitarized Germany. It cannot be

the military base of an anti-Russian alliance.

The proposal of the East German government for an inspection of police forces on both sides, as a preliminary to German unity talks and its summary rejection by Dr. Adenauer disposed of the fable that West German rearmament was no more than a counter to the formation of an "Armed Eastern police force."

The truth is now becoming clear to the world. The Western Powers do not want a disarmed Germany; they do not want a united Germany. They want the Ruhr as a war base, and the population of West Germany as cannon-fodder.

That way lies war — and a war which can be started at any moment by the Nazi Generals to whom the Western Powers propose to give arms. In the world-wide protests at this criminal proposal lies the best hope that the peoples of the world will be able to enforce upon their leaders policies leading to the establishment of a disarmed, united Germany, without which there can be no settled peace in Europe or in the world.

PEACE IS AMERICA'S BEST DEFENSE

**5,000 delegates to convene in
Chicago this month to advance
the people's program for peace**

by CHARLOTTE DORSEY

THE PEACE MOVEMENT is growing in America. A dramatic expression of its development will be seen in Chicago on June 29 when people will come from every state in the union to attend the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace. Representing widely divergent backgrounds and points of view, they will be united by one great and simple conviction: that war is not necessary and that the common people themselves can bring about the peace that mankind so desperately wants.

"Peace is America's best defense," states the Call to the Congress issued by the American Peace Crusade. "Our country and all humanity stand at a fateful crossroad. We can either save the peace, or be driven down the last mile to war. There is still time to save our country from war."

The idea for the gathering was endorsed unanimously by the 2,500 delegates who attended the Peace Pilgrimage in Washington, March 15. Over 5,000 delegates are expected in the Chicago Coliseum, June 29, 30 and July 1. Many who cannot make the trip are participating as "corre-

sponding delegates," sending their ideas and experiences in writing to be discussed in the round table sessions.

Intensive preparations are under way for the mighty outpouring of people to the Exposition. One of the most dramatic is the Peace Ballot campaign. A goal of 10 million votes has been set, to be delivered by June 29. The questions being asked the man in the street, the woman in factory, home and church, are these:

- Do you favor bringing our troops home now and settling the war in Korea?
- Do you favor negotiations now among the Big Five leading to a long term settlement for world peace?
- Do you favor keeping Germany disarmed?

Peace Workshops — a unique feature of this unprecedented Exposition of Peace — will give labor, youth, women, farmers and other groups the chance to swap experiences and develop techniques in their war against war.

The antithesis of the death and destruction of war will emerge in a





Cultural Festival embodying the deep-rooted aspirations of the people for a richer, creative life. Outstanding talent gathered from all corners of the country will take part in the songs, dances, pageants, music, poetry and dramatic expression of the people's will for peace and life.

A cultural competition is under way in connection with the Exposition. Called "America's Talent for Peace," it invites entries in the fields of poster, song, emblem, drama, photography, leaflet, reportage and poetry. Open to all, the competition announces: "The theme is peace. The subject matter is people."

Youth will have its day, July 1, when the big outdoor arena will be the scene of a youth festival and sports competition, following an interfaith devotional service.

Emphasis during the Exposition will be on reports of the grass-roots groping for peace which is erupting everywhere into articulate expression. Since the drum-beating return of MacArthur brought the war danger close to home, people are being moved by the urgent necessity to speak up for peace.

The United Nations heard some of this sentiment, April 18, when delegations of veterans, trade unions, women and a variety of peace organizations presented petitions asking for UN action to stop the war in Korea. Interviews were held with the French, U.S., Indian and Egyptian delegations and with Benjamin Cohen, assistant to the secretary-general. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Negro statesman and peace leader who

headed the group that conferred with Indian Minister Dayal, presented a statement expressing the special concern of the 15 million Negroes in this country over the war in Korea and the prospects of its spreading.

All day long, delegations streamed into the imposing UN skyscraper on the East River, leaving petitions urging the world body to act now to establish peace. Many were barred by guards, but a group of 300 women who managed to get into the lobby made a telling point. They told a member of the secretary-general's staff that in the same way they got past the barriers placed in their way, it should be possible for the UN to cut through all difficulties and see that the will of the people for peace was carried out.

Benjamin Cohen told the delegation: "It is important that people of conscience are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that they have to tell their governments they want peace. . . .

"To us," he said, "the important thing is that people of all kinds of ideological beliefs, representing all kinds of economic and racial groups want peace. If the peoples are the cornerstone of the organization of things, they should be strong enough to make their governments act."

This is the idea that is taking hold in these United States today. This is what is crystallizing the massive, incohesive, often unspoken longing for peace seething through the country into a great, positive surge of expression. Through their cooperation with the American Peace Crusade,

peace groups of varied composition throughout the country are being spurred to reach this dormant but potent desire for peace that exists everywhere and only lacks organization to make itself felt most effectively.

Every mail brings spirited accounts of activity on the peace front to the offices of the American Peace Crusade at 1186 Broadway in New York City. They come from cities and hamlets north and south, east and west, and very strongly from the traditionally peace-conscious middle west.

In Kansas City, a peace committee was set up in April at a meeting addressed by Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Rev. Edward A. Freeman, president of the local NAACP, and the Rev. Tom Rehorn.

In Boston, the newly formed Peace Crusade branch set itself to getting 500 telegrams to President Truman in 48 hours, urging withdrawal of troops from Korea.

In Iowa, peace groups have pledged 75 farm delegates to the Chicago Exposition.

In Utah, Pilgrimage delegates are carrying out "Operation Peace." Six thousand peace ballots are in circula-

tion and meetings are being held in several towns.

In Chicago, preparations for the Exposition are being made by the new Illinois Peace Assembly. Thousands of signatures are being collected on the ballots.

In San Francisco, hundreds joined a protest demonstration at the St. Francis Hotel when General MacArthur moved into the city.

With more at stake than any other group, the young people are pitching wholeheartedly into the job of bringing an end to the war that threatens their futures. Emphatically rejecting the trend to make them a "generation of killers," they are conducting their own war to halt the madness of destruction and death.

A giant national "bring the boys home" campaign is under way. Across the country, on the campuses and in the shops, young people are signing telegrams to the President demanding an end to the bloodshed in Korea and a world peace agreement.

All this adds up to what can truly be called a Crusade—a Crusade of the people for peace and the right to live and raise their children. Its impact can change the course of history.

IS IVY CURTAIN LIFTING?

A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking college campuses in many parts of the country, limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth.

These limitations on free inquiry take a variety of forms, but their net effect is a widening tendency toward passive acceptance of the status quo, conformity, and a narrowing of the area of tolerance in which students, faculty and administrators feel free to speak, act and think independently.

From first of a series of articles in New York Times, May 10, 1951, based on a study of 72 major colleges in the U.S.

SONS

A Short Story
by I. METTER

THE ARRIVAL of Petya's parents in Moscow was a complete surprise. They just appeared at the Industrial Trade School and, instructing his wife to wait in the yard, Petya's father went to make inquiries. At the main entrance he asked the attendant for the principal's office, lit a cigarette and offered one to the man.

"My son is a student here," he said.

"Good place for a boy."

"His name is Funtikov. Have you heard of him?"

"No, I'm sorry I haven't," the man answered politely.

"That's a good sign; means the boy's not a mischief maker." Ivan Grigorievich Funtikov was ready to be off but was afraid it would be too abrupt and might offend the attendant.

"How's the weather been here?" he asked to prolong the conversation.

"Fair."

"We can't complain either. Had some good rains. Yes, we're doing all right. Starting the construction of our own power station soon. I'm here to get the plans okayed by the Rural Electrification Trust." And now, noting that the man was duly impressed, Ivan Grigorie-

vich found it a proper moment to leave.

At the principal's office he was told how to find the metal shops, but on the way he saw a sign, "Komsomol Committee," on one of the doors. He knocked, entered and saw a young woman, about twenty, behind a desk.

"Let me introduce myself," he said. "My name is Funtikov, Ivan Gregorievich, of the Trudovik Collective Farm, Gorky Region."

"I'm very glad to meet you. I suppose you've come to Moscow to visit your son?" she said with a warm smile.

"I've been sent here on some important matters for the farm." He could not bear to have anyone take him for a sentimental parent or assume that the sole purpose of his visit to the capital was to see his son. "As for my boy, that is a subsidiary matter. Do you know my boy?"

"Yes, fairly well."

"How's he doing?"

"He was elected monitor of his class."

"I guess he can handle that all right,"

Ivan Grigorievich took pains to conceal any sign that he was impressed. "Does Petya have any other extra assignments?"

"No, nothing else."

"Why not? He's a strong lad, full of energy. . . ."

"It's not an easy job to be a really good monitor."

"Well, I'll have a talk with him about that. How is he physically, I mean his health?"

"Just fine."

"It's his mother who's always worried about such things. As for me, I'm more interested in the boy's morale."

"Your son got third rating for his work."

"How do you figure that; from what end?"

"What do you mean 'from what end'?"

"Well, how many ratings do you have?"

"The highest for a lathe operator is the eighth."

"And Petya, you say, has the third?" He sounded so disturbed that she hastened to explain that for the first year it was the highest rating possible.



"I see. Well, I guess he can handle his work all right." Ivan Gregorievich tried to sound quite matter-of-fact. He was glad his wife was not there for she couldn't have refrained from some unreserved expression of joy.

MEANWHILE, Petya's mother was glad that she remained in the school yard. It provided a splendid opportunity to observe a number of things of special interest.

She discovered, for example, a door leading into the dining room, and whenever it opened there was a fine odor of freshly baked bread and roasting meat. Presently a cook, in white cap and apron, came out for a smoke. Ekaterina Stepanovna Funtikova noted with much approval that he did not smoke in the kitchen, and she was also glad that he was not big and fat like so many cooks that she had seen. This one was trim and slender and wore glasses, which made him look like the agronomist on their farm.

When the cook had gone inside, she tried to peek in, but a doorman in white uniform explained that it was against the rules to enter. This, too, met with her approval. Why should strangers in street clothes be allowed inside?

I. METTER, a new Soviet writer, has come to our attention with this story, "Sons," which was published in the popular magazine "Ogonek" as one of the accepted contributions to its regular annual short story contest. It has been edited and condensed in its present form for purposes of space.

However, the quick eye of an experienced housewife had time enough to notice that each table, set for four, was covered with a snow-white tablecloth, and each contained baskets with generous portions of delicious looking bread. And in the entrance hall, she noticed wash basins and an automatic towel dispenser.

Yes, she liked everything. And yet a sudden pang of sadness seized Petya's mother at the thought that her boy had to eat food not prepared by her own hands. The cook could not possibly know that Petya detested carrots.

"COME ON, MOM!" Cried Ivan Gregorievich, joining his wife in the school yard. "Let's see Petya!"

"Where is he?"

"Where should he be at this hour? In the metal shop." As they entered the building, he added: "Listen, don't bother the boy with all sorts of trifles. He's not a baby any more; don't embarrass him in front of his friends."

What he called "trifles" were those details of Petya's daily life that the mother was yearning to learn about. She could not help hoping, therefore, that he would soon leave to attend to his business and she and Petya would be free to talk to her heart's content.

On the second floor they were met by a lively, dissonant chorus of drills and files. A teen-ager in blue coveralls had just stepped out into the hall and looked at them with open curiosity.

"Do you wish to see Matvei Andreevich?" he inquired.

"No, we want to see our son," the mother replied.

"Take it easy, Mom, let me handle this," said her husband with dignity, and turning to the boy: "And who are you, young man, may I ask?"

"I am Sergei Tipkin, from Class 3."

"Lathe operator?"

"Learning to be one."

"Well, Sergei Tipkin, my son is a monitor here. His name's Funtikov."

"Petya?" Sergei looked most pleased. "Sure! He's monitor of our class. We share the same room in the dormitory. I even know his dreams, and they're something! . . . I'll tell Matvei Andreevich that you are here."

"Wait a second!" Ivan Gregorievich caught the boy's sleeve as he dashed toward the door. "Who's this Matvei Andreevich?"

"Comrade Ilyin, our shop instructor."

"I see. All right then, go ahead and report that the Funtikovs are here wishing to see their son. Clear?"

"Sergei, what did you say about Petya's dreams . . ." the mother began to ask anxiously, but Ivan Gregorievich pushed the boy toward the door to the shop and looked at his wife so reproachfully that she didn't dare insist.

Sergei lost no time delivering the message to the instructor and spreading the news to the entire class. Petya Funtikov was working in the farthest corner, so by the time he got there Sergei was almost breathless.

"Your mother and father are here . . . they're out in the hall. . . . Go see Matvei Andreevich . . . he knows. . . ."

The instructor released Petya at once. "Wipe you hands," he added as he looked him over. "Here, take my rag, it's clean. Run along, now, and I bet you haven't even heard what I've been saying."

Out in the hall Petya kissed his mother and shook hands with his father.

"Petya, my boy . . ." the mother was overcome. "So . . . that's how you look."

"He looks like himself," the father mastered a severe expression and twirled his mustaches. "Well, son, do we have to stand here, or can we sit down some place?"

"Tell me all about yourself. How is it here?" Ekaterina Stepanovna inquired as soon as they were settled comfortably

in the club room of the trade school.

"It's fine, Mom, don't you worry about me."

"You look so long and thin; like a string bean."

"The boy is growing," interrupted Ivan Gregorievich. "I told you not to pester him with nonsense. . . . Petya, I have good news. We're building a power station, on the very spot where we used to fish. . . ."

"If they're all builders like you, I doubt we'll ever have a station." This was a sudden thrust from his wife. "You were sent to Moscow on business, not to waste time sitting around and talking."

"Now how do you like that? You were the one who insisted on coming here directly from the train!"

"Of course I did. What of it? You have seen your son, haven't you? Now



go do your duty. Don't put selfish interests ahead of public. Otherwise I'll tell the folks back home how you neglect their business."

Ivan Gregorievich was so completely thrown off balance by this tactical maneuver that he could not commandeer any opposition. After hasty goodbyes and instructions that they wait there until he returned, he abandoned the battlefield.

"Now we can really talk," said the mother with a smile. "The best way to get at him is to tell him he's acting against the public interest. Do I know him!"

Petya laughed too, and then his mother began to bombard him with endless questions. She wanted to know

everything: what kind of bed he slept on; who was his home-teacher; what he got for breakfast; how he did in his studies. He answered all her questions willingly, but with a smile. He enjoyed sitting with his mother and talking to her like an adult to a child.

"Now tell me about your life, son. How is it?" She had asked this very same question several times, had listened to his answers, but still could not comprehend this life of his away from home.

"Come on in!" Petya called when the head of Sergei Tipkin had appeared in the door for a second. "Mom, meet my classmate, Sergei. . . ."

"We've already met. Won't you join us?" she asked as she opened a bundle and put some *pirozhki* on the table.

"Delicious! Did you make them yourself?" Sergei asked, his mouth full.

"With my own hands, son. Real home baking."

"Gosh, it sure tastes good! You never get stuff like this in the restaurants, not that I've eaten out too much. But I never really had much home cooking."

"Then you must positively spend your summer vacations with us! That's final! In our house you get nothing but home cooking." She had gathered that the boy had no parents. "Remember, son, we'll be expecting you this summer."

WHEN Ivan Gregorievich returned to the school he found his wife in the dormitory surrounded by a group of Petya's schoolmates. She looked radiantly happy and completely absorbed in her conversation with these youngsters. And to them, this middle-aged, kindly woman represented a bit of their own homes, families and familiar environments. They were interested in everything she said about the vegetable crops, the cattle, the grain harvest, for these things evoked vivid and intimate memories of their own.

With the arrival of the father, the home-teacher called away the students and suggested that Petya take his parents on a tour of Moscow. Sergei, who had grown up in a children's home in Moscow, volunteered to be their guide,

and another friend, Ury Vlasov, was allowed to join them.

Petya and his father walked ahead, followed by Ekaterina Stepanovna and Ury, while Sergei, consumed with desire to talk to all of them at once, ran back and forth pointing out various objects for them to admire. And no sooner would they stop in front of some building or monument, than he would urge them on, promising something far superior ahead.

"Well, monitor, do your classmates obey you?" asked Ivan Gregorievich who was looking forward to a serious conversation with his son.

"They obey discipline." Petya didn't elaborate his answer, for he felt his father would not understand the complex and varied life of the school. "I heard you were late with the barley deliveries this year."

"Who told you, Mom?"

"Why Mom? The kids in our village wrote to me."

"What do they know, those kids?"

"Isn't it true?"

"Only five days late, that's all. But what a rich crop of rye we had! And delivered it right on time, too."

"Well, rye is one thing, and barley is another."

"That's true," said Ivan Gregorievich in a conciliatory tone, although he did not like the turn their conversation was taking. "How many people do you have in your group?"

"Twenty-six."

"See! And in my brigade I have thirty-two. Besides, you don't have any nursing mothers, do you?"

"No," Petya conceded.

"And another thing, you have all your people right under your nose. While I have to gallop all day long and even then can't always get around to all of them."

"They're objective circumstances," Petya commented dryly. "If you had just one guy like Kostya Nazarov in your brigade, for instance. . . ."

"What's the trouble, drinking?" Ivan Gregorievich in his argumentative fervor forgot that he was talking about youngsters.

"No, I haven't noticed that," Petya answered him seriously. "He's just fooling all the time. Thinks it's all a big joke. The State spends 500 rubles on him every month. Does he care? Not he! It's a sheer waste. If it were up to me. . . ."

"What would you do?"

"I'd kick him out."

"That's not a solution; they didn't make you a monitor for that."

"What would you suggest?"

"Maybe there's something wrong at home? Why don't you go talk to his father?"

"He has no father."

"I see. If you want, I'll have a talk with the lad."

"No, that won't work," said Petya



after some reflection. "Don't worry, Pop, we'll find some way to straighten him out. By the way," he continued after a short pause, "I wanted to talk to you about the electric station. It's not powerful enough."

"What? Not powerful enough?" Ivan Gregorievich could hardly talk. "Lights in every home . . . street lamps everywhere. . . . Who put that idea into your head, Mom?"

"I told you, the boys in our village write to me."

"How do you like that! They report to him as though he were a government minister!"

"Electric power is needed for work, not just to light up the homes."

"And who will build such a station, may I ask? We have no skilled workers."

"I think we have. We have sixteen villagers, all studying in industrial

trade schools, and they'll all be back for the summer vacation."

It was difficult for Ivan Gregorievich to readjust his thinking about these village kids. He still thought of them as a bunch of irresponsible youngsters. He looked at his son, and his two friends, and studied them carefully.

"Do you think they'll be interested?" he asked finally.

"If the plan is changed for greater power capacity, sure! Otherwise, it's not worthwhile."

After more discussion it was agreed that Petya would write to the other villagers studying in industrial schools while Ivan Gregorievich would take up the matter with the collective farm and district authorities.

"Well, son, we still have a couple of hours before the train. How about going to a nice restaurant for a bite?"

IN THE restaurant they picked a table on an open terrace with a magnificent view of Moscow. A young waitress came for their orders and saw that they were engrossed in admiring the view.

"That's all right, take your time," she said with a friendly smile. "I'm used to this; all our customers do it." She watched the happy little group a moment, and then said: "Nice boys, are they all yours?"

"Can't you see the family resemblance?" the mother asked with a smile.

The waitress examined the faces of the three boys, then looked at Ekaterina Stepanovna and her husband.

"These two look like you, and that one," pointing to Sergei, "is the spitting image of his father."

"Good guess! Yes, they're all our sons."

"They'll take good care of us in our old age. But tonight, I'm treating them. Fix us a nice spread, eh? Something special! For a starter, let's have some herring, and . . ." Ivan Gregorievich looked pleadingly at his wife, "and . . . two bottle of lemonade."

Translated by Zina Voynow
Illustrated by Fred Ellis

Letter from the Midwest

by

SENDER GARLIN

Chicago
I LIKE this country; I wish the people had a bigger piece of it. The trains are fast and often arrive on time, the buses are comfortable, and folks are helpful if you lose your sense of direction in a strange town. I don't agree that all is standardized. Things are, but people are not.

True, it's the same Kresges, A&P and United Cigars in city after city; "I Was a Spy for the FBI" and "Vengeance Valley" haunt you fore and aft. But people in Detroit are proud of Belle Isle and Chicagoans point to the beauty of the boulevards along Lake Michigan and chuckle that a traffic officer can be kept at bay for half a dollar.

Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago—many similarities, many contrasts. Chicago: South Side, the packing plants, Michigan Boulevard, the University, millionaire police captains who find little bundles of big money in desk drawers where Kleenex ought to be; city where Capone alumni are now "legitimate" owners of swank hotels, railroads and breweries, their homes in exclusive suburbs, a sub-machine gun throw from Ravinia Park, famed musical center; Chicago, where May Day was born in the struggle for the eight-hour day and where cops act as censors of Soviet film classics and demand that the sponsors be fingerprinted. . . .

The welcome mat was really out for NEW WORLD REVIEW. Every meet-

ing was full of enthusiasm. Interest is fanning out to new groups of people. In two major cities hundreds of newsstands will soon display the magazine. Many subscribers have advanced payments on five to ten subscriptions which they are now selling to friends. Others have paid for subs to be sent to workers in industry. These promoters of the magazine include professional people, trade unionists, housewives, students—in fact a cross-section of the American people.

In Cleveland a former member of the University of Washington faculty took a subscription though his reading time has been cut down sharply since he took a job as carpenter with a construction crew. He is former Rep. Hugh DeLacey who now makes his home in Cleveland where he is widely known as state director of the Progressive Party.

The recently formed Cleveland Council for American-Soviet Understanding has held a number of successful forums. Their new membership drive will bring every member a subscription to NWR. The group arranged an excellent meeting which I addressed on the subject, "The Russia Americans Don't Know."

In Detroit I ran smack up against a transit strike. Although advised to go on to Chicago and return when the strike was over, I decided to try things for a few days.

Before I left for this midwest tour Editor Jessica Smith emphasized that

she wanted me to get in touch with as many readers as possible, and this I proceeded to do. I got around as best I could: an occasional lift from new friends, thumbing rides and hailing taxis. But cab fares in a city hit by a bus strike is unsound economy when one is traveling for a publication that lives by the support of loyal readers.

My personal visits restricted by the bus walkout, I took possession of an unlimited-call telephone at the home of one of our readers. There were good talks with many of our friends. We discussed our plans for broadening the scope and coverage of the magazine and building its circulation through reader participa-



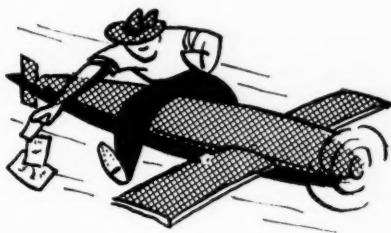
tion. At the same time I told about meetings in their city for mid-June.

High point of the trip was an offer from a major distributor to place NWR on approximately 1,000 newsstands in the Chicago area beginning July. The potential is enormous but it will require systematic and tenacious support from our readers in that key city to put the project on a practical and sustained basis.

Here in Chicago the Council on American-Soviet Friendship helped line up meetings with trade union, professional and student groups. NEW WORLD REVIEW had a booth at the

Peace Carnival at the Packinghouse Workers Union ballroom. The schedule also included house parties and visits to homes of readers.

Visiting the industrial centers and college campuses during the past few weeks, I have on occasion felt like the inspector-general that Nikolai Gogol and Danny Kaye made famous. Although my association with the magazine is quite recent, I have received the most ardent kind of wel-



come from its readers, clearly a tribute to the fine job done by the editors and staff of NEW WORLD REVIEW and its predecessor, SRT.

The readers are really strong for the magazine. They value it for its documented information on the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and hence regard it as a powerful instrument for peace—the paramount issue for the men, women and children of America and the world.

There is little doubt that the readers of NWR are enthusiastic and devoted; our big job is to win tens of thousands of Americans *who are not yet readers*.

The various publications of the Press Trust, fattened up by advertisements from other trusts, hire crews of high-voltage salesmen and unload tons of advertising brochures in technicolor on a harassed public. We have none of that. But we know we can count on our readers to do the job of making NEW WORLD REVIEW a major influence for educating

the American people for peaceful alternatives.

I have gotten a glimpse of America. True, some people are frightened



and seek to "hole in." But others are aroused and are fighting mad—and doing something about it. Despite the repression in the land tens of thousands of men and women, Negro and

white, workers and students are in motion in the fight for peace and the preservation of our liberties. When a hall is denied a meeting is held in a home. Where police censors ban a film that has been seen and cheered by millions throughout the world, a speaker explains the basis for the suppression and people are stirred to action. Within the cold war there is a war between apathy and struggle, between death and life—and I know life will be the victor.

Whatever else they think, *the people clearly want peace.* NEW WORLD REVIEW has the noble task of bringing to more Americans the hidden truth of millions who, living under different social systems, also want peace above all.

AS A BRITISH SOCIALIST SEES IT

LOOKING on the Korean war as a civil war, I wanted the North to win. The government of South Korea appeared to me to be a hopelessly reactionary puppet affair, which had no chance of survival without American support, and I could not contemplate any solution of the Korean question that would involve permanent American intervention on the Asian continent. . . .

When the Americans did intervene in arms, and appealed to the UN, I felt their action to be entirely wrong. When the American forces, dragging us with them, advanced right to the Manchurian frontier, I was quite unable to blame the Chinese for intervening. . . .

If Great Britain gets dragged into war with China by the Americans, I shall be on the side of China, and so, I believe, will be enough of my fellow-countrymen to make a deep rift in our national solidarity. If Great Britain agrees to rearm West Germany, I shall feel unable to take any further part in exhorting British workers to make all-out productive effort in order to produce arms for a war in Europe that will no longer be in any sense a war for freedom and democracy. . . .

G. D. H. Cole, well known British Socialist economist, in the New Statesman and Nation, February 3, 1951.

Books

A MacArthur Version of MacArthur

by HUGH DEANE

THE RIDDLE OF MACARTHUR: Japan, Korea, and the Far East, by John Gunther, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951. 240 pp., \$2.75.

THE Riddle of MacArthur" is not a searching biography. It is like an underexposed photograph taken through a defective lens. It does not have much substance, and such substance as it has is distorted. It is a series of quick, soft sketches in which, somewhat in the manner of *Time*, a little of the salt of realism and cynicism is sprinkled over MacArthur's estimate of himself, Japan and Asia.

One of Gunther's key errors lies in his appraisal of MacArthur as a political man. MacArthur is a reactionary; more precisely, he is the leader of a particular strategy of counter-revolution—the greatest attempted counter-revolution in history. Gunther—a man whose "heart is in the right place" and who has a "liberal outlook," according to *The Nation* reviewer, Harold Strauss—is able to describe him as an enlightened conservative. He writes:

"To try to define the substance of MacArthur's political views, underneath his broad concept of democracy, is somewhat difficult. He would certainly resent being called a reactionary . . . he dislikes heartily economic injustice and the abuse of privilege . . . he considers himself a distinct liberal in many fields. . . . Above all he has the social optimism of the nineteenth century philosophers, and believes firmly in evolutionary progress by reform."

In large part, Gunther's error lies in a confusion of subjectivity and objectivity. It is revealing that in the above passage he mixes his own ap-

praisal of MacArthur's beliefs with MacArthur's self-appraisal. MacArthur, subjectively, is a hero and a righteous man. His righteousness has subdued his consciousness of what he really is; he has deluded himself to the point where today he can speak eloquently of peace in the same breath in which he presses for what would be the most catastrophic war in history. In Tokyo, Gunther read the file of MacArthur's ornate statements and he took the full course of briefings by which zealous headquarters officers indoctrinated visitors. He went to lunch at the Embassy and he talked with MacArthur on the sixth floor of the Dai Ichi building. Apparently he was so beguiled that he made no serious effort to check professions of belief against reality.

And in small part, his error lies in a casual and uncritical selection of objective data. During the first period of the occupation of Japan, MacArthur did in fact carry out a series of actions which had a liberalizing effect. Close analysis shows that he did so partly because he recognized that certain palliative reforms were necessary to head off substantial and meaningful social change, and partly because of compulsions, in Japan and abroad, which he could not then gainsay. The great reality is that in a host of decisions, great and small, conscious and unconscious, whenever the organized power of people threatened or seemed to threaten the imperial order which he represented, MacArthur showed the iron of reaction lying beneath the velvet of political enlightenment.

Perhaps the most illustrative of these decisions took place on May 20, 1946, at the very time when MacArthur

was most energetically pushing reforms in occupied Japan. A great wave of popular demonstrations in Tokyo and elsewhere were preventing the formation of the first Yoshida cabinet; even the commercial press was explaining that the people had to go into the streets to change the government; the Communists and Social Democrats were negotiating regarding formation of a popular front, and a popular front government seemed a possibility.

On the night of May 19, Yoshida had one of his secretaries announce to a delegation of left-wing leaders that he had abandoned hope of forming a cabinet. But on the 20th, MacArthur acted. He issued a statement announcing that "the physical violence which undisciplined elements are now beginning to practice will not be permitted to continue. . . . I shall be forced to take the necessary steps. . . ."

All scheduled demonstrations were called off. In his book *Japan Diary*, Mark Gayn described succinctly what followed: "The right-wingers in the Social Democratic Party who were being pushed into the Popular Front by the sight of the marching multitudes, now happily announced they needed time to reconsider the issue, 'in the light of the new circumstances.' Two left-wing leaders admitted to me privately that the fight was lost. And Yoshida who may have wavered last night, no longer wavered this noon. . . . As clearly as any of us, Yoshida saw the statement for what it was—a prop for Yoshida."

In the spring of 1946, MacArthur was willing to permit, even encourage, certain reforms, but he was unwilling to permit a democratic government. In later years, as the U.S. began to develop Japan into the Workshop of Asia and into a military base, and as the Japanese people began to resist, he was to sacrifice the reforms themselves.

It is characteristic of *The Riddle of MacArthur* that it makes no mention of the events of the spring of 1946. Throughout it ignores not only some of a sequence of facts but—to

HUGH DEANE has spent most of his time in the Far East since 1936. In 1941-42 he wrote broadcasts from Asia for the OWI, and from 1942 to 1946 was in the Navy, serving as a Japanese language officer in MacArthur's headquarters in Australia, Philippines, and Japan. After the war until his return to the U.S. a year ago he was a correspondent in Tokyo. He is now on the staff of the New York "Compass."

use a favorite phrase of Secretary of State Acheson—entire "situations of fact." It wholly ignores MacArthur's political record in the Philippines in 1945, his support of Syngman Rhee's drive for power in South Korea, his intrigues with Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa prior to the Korean war. If Gunther had studied these phenomena, he would have gained an insight into how MacArthur's "broad concept of democracy" reacts in crises and near-crises.

In dealing with other phenomena, Gunther tends to accept readily that version of the facts disseminated by the briefers in Tokyo. Thus he was so impressed by the official version of the status of labor in Japan that he ended his one paragraph on the subject by exclaiming: "Yet uninformed people call MacArthur reactionary!" If Gunther had gone into the field, he would have discovered that his summary was seriously in error; that Japanese police and MacArthur's Labor Division have worked together both to break up strikes and break up unions; that increasingly right-wing as well as left-wing unions have felt the pressure; that government workers and state industry workers, are not only deprived of the right to strike, as he notes, but of all collective bargaining rights (Gunther missed the illuminating story of how MacArthur vetoed a Washington directive on this question); that what he calls the "well-organized and comprehensive system of social security" is a farce—it pays its few beneficiaries enough monthly to enable them to eat skimpily for a week.

In assessing MacArthur as a politi-

cal man, Gunther relies heavily on the general's statements, many of which he quotes to substantiate his thesis. Yet even here he has failed. He quotes mainly from MacArthur's ceremonial statements—his annual occupation anniversary and New Year's Day statements.

If he had studied carefully those statements which MacArthur made under pressure, he would have learned something of how his mind works. Thus on December 19, 1948, MacArthur wrote to Prime Minister Yoshida: "There will be no place for political conflict over the objectives to be sought, as these objectives are stated with crystal clarity. Nor will there be any place for ideological opposition. . . ." The objectives to which MacArthur then referred were those of the nine-point program designed to make Japan the Workshop of Asia. Later, as MacArthur came to view Japan not only as a workshop but as a military base and armed ally, he expanded his set of dogmas.

The Riddle of MacArthur does include a scattering of useful facts, anecdotes and insights. Yet, though Gunther thinks they are worth publishing, he does not know what to do with them, apparently since they do not fit into the general pattern of his appraisal. Thus he quotes at length the revealing correspondence of 1943-44 between MacArthur and the ultra-rightist Representative A. L. Miller, of Nebraska, and thus he quotes MacArthur's admiring tributes to such persons as William Randolph Hearst, Col. Robert McCormick and Capt. Joseph Patterson, late editor of the *New York Daily News*. Of MacArthur's extraordinary praise of Patterson, Gunther can only say: "Whether this was the innocence of a backward child on MacArthur's part, or not, I do not know."

Gunther has failed most utterly in his treatment of MacArthur's crack-down on the Japanese left and peace movement in 1949-50—the most specific measure of MacArthur the reactionary.

During this period the United States

pushed ahead with its policy of developing Japan as a military base, and in response the Japanese peace movement rapidly gained substantial strength. MacArthur met the challenge with force; the evidence shows that the peace movement was the main target when, just before the Korean war, he purged—stripped of political rights—the Communist leaders and suppressed the Communist newspaper *Akahata*, thus inaugurating a continuing repression which has grown ever wider in application. On June 7, Marguerite Higgins reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* that the purge of the Communist leaders "effectively does away with the most vocal opposition to the proposals for a separate peace with the West. . . ."

Gunther does not even mention the existence of a Japanese peace movement; characteristically, his main explanation for the suppression of the Communists is an extensive quotation from an official occupation document.

But the final measure of MacArthur is not to be found in Gunther's book. The truth is that in this time of the ultimate crisis in the agonized struggle of mankind to capture its destiny, he—impelled by a sense of individual destiny imprisoned by the purposes and ideas of a hard-pressed ruling class—has moved step by step to the ultimate evil of war and fascism.

A NEW PAMPHLET

READERS will welcome a new pamphlet, *Soviet Impressions*, by Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, who visited the USSR in November with the U.S. Peace delegates. Former Commissioner of Charities of New York and Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund, he writes of developments there in public health and of other phases of Soviet life. Together with Sir Arthur Newsholme he visited the USSR in 1932 and together they wrote *Red Medicine*. The new pamphlet is published by the National Council and sells for 20 cents.

A Soviet "Expert" . . . in Words

by THEODORE BAYER

RUSSIA'S SOVIET ECONOMY, by Harry Schwartz. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1951. 592 pp. \$6.65.

EVERY notable Soviet advance is inevitably accompanied by the publication of a certain category of books with the sole purpose of decrying or at least explaining away Soviet achievements.

This book is timed with the successful conclusion of the first post-war Five-Year Plan, covering 1946-50, which brought the Soviet Union from a state of devastation left in the wake of war to new heights in its economic development.

Industrial output of the Soviet Union in 1950 was 73 per cent above that of 1940. The Plan was fulfilled in four years and three months. It is an impossible chore to explain away these achievements, consequently a large volume and many words are required to confuse the reader.

Judging the book in the light of the task assumed by its author, current *New York Times* hatchet man for attacking the Soviet Union, it is fully worthy of the author and his ignoble purpose. There is an enthusiastic send-off in the foreword by the notorious anti-Soviet writer, W. H. Chamberlin, who manages to pack into seven pages all the stereotyped allegations against the Soviet Union.

We have now a number of centers connected with universities devoted to the study of the Soviet Union and producing a "body of knowledge" and "the experts." Graduates become anti-Soviet propagandists, functionaries of various departments of government, intelligence officers and the like. Mr. Schwartz served in the Soviet division of the OSS.

The new "experts" literally flood the market with their writings. Among standard techniques common to all is the substitution of their own facts and

figures whenever Soviet information doesn't fit their purposes. By now these "experts," who are either ex-Soviet nationals or Americans, have built up their own statistical tables on every conceivable subject concerning the Soviet Union, which produce the authors' desired results instantly. There is even a pseudo-scholarship achieved by the simple device of quoting each other's anti-Soviet writings. In addition, Mr. Schwartz frequently quotes himself.

A large part of this book concerns Soviet and pre-Soviet Russian economic history and economic geography, largely rewritten from standard Soviet sources. This section furnishes the best reading.

Concerning agriculture, Schwartz fully relies on Naum Jassny, an ex-Soviet national who hates the Soviet Union and whose special phobia is collectivization.

In the course of the book, the writer is compelled to admit, however grudgingly, the great strides made by the Soviet people in industry, agriculture, technology, science, education and culture. But he always manages to make it appear that the people are not the prime movers and beneficiaries in these developments, but the victims.

Bemoaning the price the Soviet people were called upon to pay for these achievements, the author insists that the continuous heavy capital investment program must take too great a share of the national production and therefore restrict the standard of living. Nowhere does he mention the fact that whatever restrictions of the standard of living the Soviet people have had to endure were due to the cost of intervention and civil war, the need for constant alertness in defense against the plottings of a hostile world, and finally the World War itself.

But quite apart from the special difficulties arising out of the pressure

of hostile forces, Soviet economic history proves the very opposite of Schwartz' contentions. The fact is that the investments in industry and agriculture made possible the unprecedented rate of growth of output of consumers' foods and foodstuffs. This resulted in a standard of living which is already higher than prevails in most countries and can only be said to be lower than that of the United States by the trick of exempting a major section of the people whose standard of living is even today far below that of the people in the Soviet Union.

Unable to discredit completely Soviet statistics, Schwartz starts by saying in the preface that "Soviet statistics are basically accurate in the overwhelming majority of cases. . . ." Yet on page 122 he says, ". . . There are grave doubts whether these Soviet figures represent the actual situation, so that statistical conclusions are extremely questionable." So he proceeds to construct his own charts and graphs to obscure the reality of Soviet achievement.

This statistical frenzy leads the author into trouble, as illustrated by his recent article in the *New York Times*. With the glee of a juvenile discoverer, he reported that the Soviet claim to the production of 27 million tons of steel in 1950 was incorrect, and the correct figure was 25.5 million tons. The evidence of his error is contained in his own book. On page 225, table 16, he credits the Soviet Union with a production of 18.3 million metric tons of steel in 1940. On April 16, 1951 the State Planning Committee and the Central Statistical Board of the USSR, reporting on the results of the Five-Year Plan, stated that the output of steel in 1950 exceeded the pre-war level by 49 per cent. Adding this to the 1940 figure, we get 27.267 million tons of steel produced in 1950.

Our author's statistical battle seems to be only next to the last ditch in the struggle against Soviet advances. The last ditch—and it's a deep one—is the question of planning. Schwartz echoes many of the bourgeois economists who

advocate or reject planning depending on the period of the production cycle in which they happen to write. Their intoxication with the war boom and high employment at present relieves them of any necessity to pretend to believe in planning of any kind. Should a turn in the cycle take place, they will undoubtedly just as shamelessly change their position and again find virtue in capitalist planning.

So Schwartz merely states, "Economists have long debated whether it is possible for a socialist state to be managed rationally." (Page 149) We confess we do not know what other state but a socialist one can be "managed rationally." Planning is the essential core of rational management as against anarchy, and can only be successfully applied in a socialist society.

It is characteristic that one of his authorities for the impossibility of planning is one of the most reactionary economists, Von Hayek, who believes that any planning is tyranny.

Schwartz contends that planning in the Soviet Union is non-democratic because it restricts consumers' sovereignty. Apparently he wants us to believe that it is less democratic for the people as a whole, through their constituted leadership and government, as in the Soviet Union, to decide upon the use of their resources for capital upbuilding in the interests of the nation, than it is for the monopolists in capitalist society to dictate what the national resources are to be used for or when to increase capacity or allow it to stagnate.

He also would have us believe that it is more rational to leave the well-being of the people to the play of blind market forces so that a class society with its property relationships is perpetuated, attended by periodic cyclical depressions, rather than for society to plan its production of capital goods as well as consumers' goods and social services, and eliminate cycles.

In the light of the experiences of the Soviet Union, to state these propositions is to refute them. Of course, society will decide these questions by

its collective authority when it is able to do so, and in doing so it will solve many problems, including that of national and international security.

One is reminded of Professor Edward Hallett Carr who so aptly said: "The economic impact of the Soviet Union on the rest of the world may be summed up in a single word, 'Planning.'"

A Blistering Indictment

HIGH TREASON: The Plot Against the People. By Albert E. Kahn, with the assistance of Arthur Kahn. The Hour Publishers, Croton-on-Hudson, New York. 372 pp., \$3.

DIFFERENCES of opinion, argument and debate are, of course, in the best traditions of our country and its people. It is healthy and constructive for the nation to enjoy free trade in ideas, as the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once put it.

Unfortunately for the people, high tariff walls are being placed on ideas these days. Although their origins are domestic and are found in the writings of Paine, Jefferson and Lincoln, evil men with vested interests want us to believe they are alien importations. They

It is impossible within the scope of this article to comment critically on all the sections of the book, and it would be most unrewarding. Much is simply a labored excuse for presenting every known anti-Soviet cliché about the USSR. It is written with insolent contempt for people and obeisance to the most reactionary and war-mongering forces of our time.

have for many years used this device as a justification for suppressing "unpopular" opinion. More recently (coinciding with the decline of Hitlerite ideas in Germany and their importation into this country), this technique has become the chief weapon of reaction.

The story that Albert Kahn recounts begins in the days immediately following World War I when the "menace of Bolshevism" served as a screen behind which Big Business sought to destroy the trade union movement and enthrone the "American Plan," fancy talk for the open shop. The book highlights a quarter century of contemporary history.

Written with a high sense of drama, *High Treason* describes the persecution of labor, the foreign-born, the Negro people and any and all who have ever displayed a generous impulse. It is a Who's Who of malodorous groups, such as the America First Committee, the Black Legion, the Ku Klux Klan and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Here is a blistering indictment of the crimes against the American people perpetrated by those who prefer the ways of the labor spy, the gangster and professional informer to those of the late Mr. Justice Holmes. This volume is solidly documented and is at the same time infused with fighting spirit. New WORLD REVIEW readers will find particularly illuminating the author's account of American-Soviet relations and the variegated schemes to incite hostility against the people of the USSR.

S.G.

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QUESTION BOX

Collective Farms in Europe

Question: What is the situation regarding collective farming in the Eastern European democracies? J. S., N.Y.C.

Answer: Advances in industrialization and aid from the Soviet Union in provision of tractors and other agricultural machinery have laid the basis for the growth of collective farming in the Eastern European Democracies which is on a strictly volunteer basis. Peasants see increased yields of those who farm collectively, and join up.

In Albania, sown area of collective farms increased by 50 per cent in 1950. In Bulgaria, more than half the peasant households engage in cooperative farming. Beginning of last year, Czechoslovakia had about 3,000 agricultural cooperatives, now over 7,000. In Hungary, 13 per cent of the land is farmed collectively, twice as much as last year, and grain harvest is 10 per cent higher. Poland has 2,000 collective farms, nine times as many as a year ago. Collective agriculture is increasing in Romania, where the wheat crop of 1950 was up 60 per cent over the year before.

Fighting Cancer in USSR

Question: What is the Soviet Union doing to combat cancer? W. S. T., Barrhead, Alta., Canada.

Answer: Soviet science has made notable contributions both to the early diagnosis and methods of treatment.

In 1946, a Government decree "On Measures of Improving Oncological Aid to the Population" aimed at better organization and greater facilities for the detection and treatment of cancer.

All tests and treatment of cancer, as for all other diseases, are free.

The medical profession and the health authorities popularize educational material on the nature and symptoms

of cancer and tumors. The Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, in addition to this work, also provide home nursing service for chronic patients and post-operative convalescents.

Soviet National Debt

Question: Does the USSR have a national debt? J. B., Providence, Utah.

Answer: The only national debt the Soviet Union has is the debt to its own people. This, like the entire economy of the Soviet Union, is planned. Annually the Soviet people buy government bonds in ever larger amounts. The 1951 budget adopted by the Supreme Soviet calls for an investment by the Soviet people of thirty-three and a quarter billion rubles during the year. The budget also calls for a payment in interest and prizes for the national lottery of five billion rubles.

The purchase of government bonds is one of the major forms of savings of the Soviet people. Another is savings bank deposits. At the end of 1940, savings amounted to 7.3 billion rubles; by the end of 1950 they amounted to 18.5 billion rubles. It is expected that during 1951 savings will increase by another 3.5 billion rubles.

Medical Aid in Bulgaria

Question: Have they health insurance in Bulgaria? J. T., Philadelphia, Pa.

Answer: On March 20th of this year, the Bulgarian People's Republic decided that its economy had reached the position where it could introduce free medical aid for all its citizens—not a system of insurance, but *free medical aid*. This includes the services of doctors and hospitals, maternity hospitals and dental treatment. New cheap rates are introduced for medicines for home use.

MR. KENNAN'S NEW CRUSADE

IN the July, 1947, semi-official quarterly, "Foreign Affairs," George F. Kennan, then head of the State Department's Policy Planning staff (now on leave), wrote an article signed "Mr. X" entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." This article attempted to provide a high-flown philosophical basis for the Administration's war plans against the Soviet Union thinly disguised as "containment" of alleged Soviet expansionism. Now, under his own name, he has written another article for "Foreign Affairs" (April, 1951), which is, in effect, an open appeal for the overthrow of the Soviet Government.

We cannot, Mr. Kennan magnanimously admits, expect to see a Russia made in our own "capitalistic and liberal-democratic image." For lo! the poor Russian really has scarcely ever known the joys of private enterprise familiar to us. Those who became rich didn't know how to handle their wealth in the enlightened manner of our American First Families. Capitalists often lived on the factory grounds, and the fact that they were fat and vulgar and "visible in the flesh" explains the success of Marxism among the benighted Russian workers who thus didn't have the respect for private enterprise prevalent in the older mercantile countries! Prospects for the growth of such respect were improving, but unfortunately the Revolution interfered.

Of course, the Russians may in time become sufficiently enlightened to return to private hands retail trade and the "performance of the small individual services that have so much to do with the pleasantness of daily life." And naturally private ownership and initiative will return to agriculture in the brave new Russia Mr. Kennan envisages. But we must face the fact that "large sections of economic life . . . will

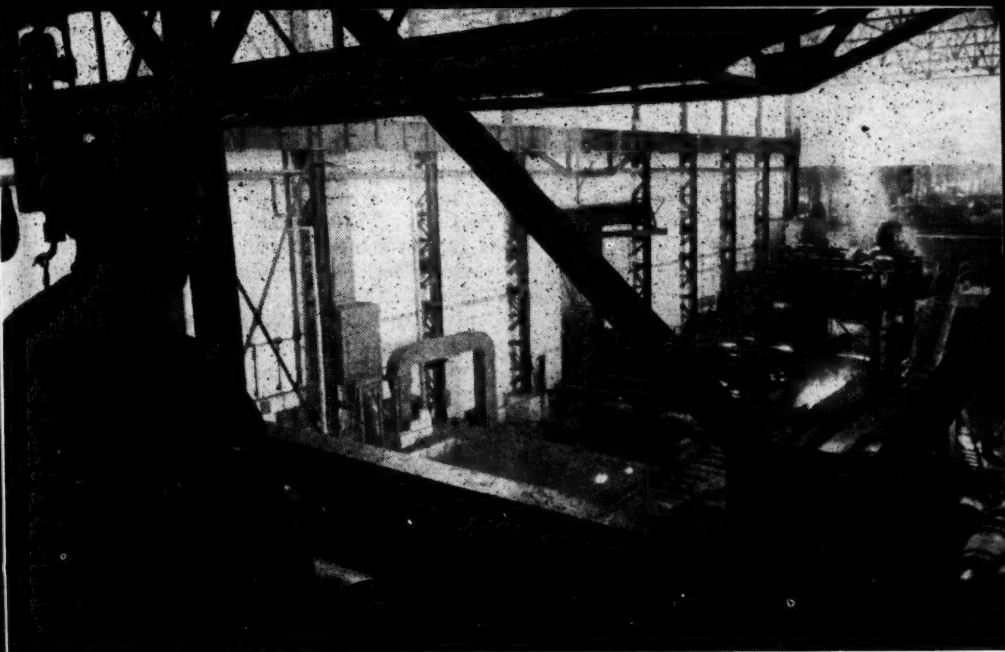
remain in national hands." "Many features of the Soviet system will stick" and "any program of government for a future Russia will have to adjust itself to the fact that there has been this Soviet interlude."

We must not expect the change, when it comes, "as indeed it must," to fit our concept of "democracy." "Give them time; let them be Russians; let them work out their internal problems in their own manner."

If in the end we should have to go to war with the present leaders of Russia, we must be sure that we do it in order to bring about such a Russia as Mr. Kennan desires and be sure that the Russian people do not consider us their enemies. Some Russians, you see, are lovely people, and indeed, Russians have contributed to the culture of mankind. "We can try to make them understand the necessity of such hardships as we cannot avoid inflicting on them. We can endeavor to hold constantly before them the evidences of a sympathetic understanding for their past and interest in their future" (through friendly pamphlets scattered on atom-bomb blasted cities?). "The Russian people must be our willing allies" (as they gaze upon the charred bodies of their loved ones?).

Mr. Kennan says that the desired change in Russia might come about without violent overthrow of the government. He admits that change must flow from the initiative and efforts of the Russians themselves, and sadly comments that our propaganda alone can't do it. It must come from our influence, and the most important influence is "that of example." We must ourselves be "something sufficiently impressive to compel the respect of a world still more ready to recognize and respect spiritual distinction than material opulence."

However, lest the Soviet people fail to be impressed by the American example of "spiritual distinction," Mr. Kennan has now become President of the Ford Foundation's new "Free Russia Fund, Inc." which has the purpose of creating an anti-Soviet center in the United States by assisting "Soviet exiles" to settle in this country. —J. S.



New rolling mill in the Azovstal Iron and Steel Works, Ukraine

Results of the Post-War 5-Year Plan

On April 17, the State Planning Committee and the Central Statistical Board of the USSR issued a statement on the results of the Fourth Five-Year Plan for 1946-50. We publish below, in abridged form, their report on the fulfillment of the Plan in industry. It should be noted that in the full statement, while increases over the Plan assignments are recorded in practically every branch, even greater production is called for to meet the requirements of the national economy of the USSR.

THE POST-WAR Five-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy of the USSR for 1946-1950 has been successfully fulfilled; the major assignments of the plan were exceeded by a large margin.

The Five-Year Plan envisaged that in 1950 output of all USSR industry was to increase 48 per cent over the pre-war year 1940. Actual increase was 73 per cent. USSR industry fulfilled Five-Year Plan ahead of time—in four years and three months. Target for industrial output fixed by Five-Year Plan for 1950 exceeded by 17 per cent.

Iron and steel industry assignments for production of steel and rolled metal over-fulfilled. Iron and Steel Industry

fulfilled Five-Year Plan for pig iron. In 1950 output of ferrous metals as a whole exceeded pre-war level by 45 per cent, Plan assignment being 35 per cent; pig iron increased 29 per cent over pre-war level, steel 49 per cent, rolled metal 59 per cent. The iron and steel industry of the South, completely destroyed during war, restored on a new technical basis, producing more metal than before the war. Production of pig iron in Urals in 1950 increased 2.6 times compared with 1940, steel 2.7 times, rolled metal 2.8 times. In Siberia production of pig iron increased 1.2 times, steel 1.7 times, rolled metal doubled. Production of ferrous metal organized in Central Asia and Transcaucasia.



Mounting Zvezda watches at the Uglich Plant of Precision Jewels in Yaroslavl Region, RSFSR, largest Soviet Republic

Technology of production perfected in iron and steel industry. Use of oxygen mastered in steel making. Production of special shapes of rolled metal and brands of steel for manufacture of new types of machines and instruments mastered. Mechanization of labor-consuming and arduous jobs effected on a large scale.

By the end of 1950, utilization of the useful volume of blast furnaces increased 25 per cent compared with 1940 and production of steel per square meter of furnace bottom in open hearth furnaces by 33 per cent.

Production of copper, aluminum, nickel, lead, zinc and other non-ferrous and rare metals greatly exceeded the pre-war level, as result of construction of new mines, concentration of factories and plants, as well as improvements in operating.

Coal production in 1950 amounted to 104 per cent of assignment, increased 57 per cent compared with pre-war. Coal

mines in districts which had suffered from the war were restored. Collieries of the Donets Basin producing more coal than before war and more than envisaged by Plan. Donets Basin once again country's biggest and most mechanized coal area. Coal production in the Moscow Basin increased three times over pre-war level. Development of coal industry continued in the Urals, Kuznetsk, Karaganda and other districts. In 1950, coal production in East more than doubled pre-war. A new coal center—the Pechora Basin—was considerably expanded. Pre-war level of peat production was surpassed. Mechanization of processes of hewing, breaking and delivering coal, as well as mechanization of underground transport and loading of coal into railway cars, completed. Switching of pits to comprehensive mechanization has started, remote control and automatic direction of operation of machinery and equipment being introduced.

Oil output in 1950 comprised 107 per cent of Five-Year Plan target and was 22 per cent above pre-war. Oil industry of Maikop and Grozny Districts and Western Ukraine fully restored and re-equipped technically. Substantial reserves of oil and gas brought to light. New techniques being widely introduced. Production of high octane aviation fuel and aviation oils expanded, quality of oil products improved. New oil processing plans and installations with modern Soviet equipment built, large trunk oil pipelines constructed.

Significance of new oil districts in East has increased considerably. Big new oilfields and oil processing plants set up in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic. Production and processing of oil swiftly developing in Kuibyshev Region, in Turkmen, Uzbek and Kazakh Republics. Big new oil deposits discovered in Tatar Autonomous Republic. Share of Eastern districts in total oil output increased to 44 per cent, as against 12 per cent in 1940.

Gas industry was further developed. Saratov-Moscow, Dashava-Kiev and Kohtla-Jarve-Leningrad gas pipelines built and put into operation. Construc-

tion of plants to produce synthetic liquid fuel developed.

Electric Power production in 1950, 110 per cent of Five-Year Plan target, 87 per cent above the 1940 level.

Power stations destroyed during war restored; new hydroelectric power stations built and put into operation, as well as new heat and power plants, electric and heat grids.

Latest techniques introduced at electric power stations between 1946 and 1950. Soviet-made high-pressure steam turbines and boilers installed at thermal power plants, including new types of high pressure steam turbines of 25,000 kilowatts for district heating, drum boilers with a pressure of one hundred atmospheres and a steam temperature of 510 degrees, as well as uniflow boilers with the same steam parameters. Hydrogen-cooled generators, high-tension air switches, high-frequency and other modern types of protective devices, as well as automatization of the processes of combustion and stoking of boilers at power stations, introduced. Operation of equipment at two-thirds of the district hydro-electric stations automatized.

Machine tools, machinery, equipment and instruments exceeded Five-Year Plan assignment as a whole by 17 per cent. Production of machine-building industry in 1950, 2.3 times above 1940.

Highly efficient methods of production and technological processes have become widespread at machine-building plants; including even-flow and automatic lines for machining, welding by automatic and semi-automatic machinery under layer of flux, hardening of parts by high frequency currents, centrifugal casting and casting in chill moulds, stamping and high-speed methods of metal cutting.

New equipment mastered includes 250 types of metal-cutting general purpose machine-tools, more than 1,000 types of special and multiple machine-tools, 23 types of automatic and semi-automatic machines, 34 types of forge and stamping automatic machines, powerful pneumatic moulding machines, machines for casting under pressure and centrifugal casting. Twenty-six automatic machine-

tool lines and an automatic factory for manufacturing automobile parts established.

In 1950 production of metallurgical equipment increased 4.8 times over 1940, steam turbines 2.6 times, electrical equipment three times. Coal combines, rock-loading and coal-loading machines, oil-drilling installations for deep drilling, powerful mud pumps and many other types of highly productive equipment were produced for the fuel industry. Output of oil equipment in 1950 was three times that of 1940.

Locomotives and trains. Production of new main-line freight locomotives, electric locomotives, diesel locomotives, dump-cars, all-metal gondolas and isothermic cars and all-metal passenger coaches mastered and organized for the needs of the railways.

Agricultural machines. Output of tractors in 1950 increased 3.8 times

Measuring instruments department of the Kalibr Plant, Moscow, which completed 5-Year Plan in 3 years and 7 months



compared with 1940, combines 3.6 times, tractor-drawn ploughs 3.1 times, tractor-drawn seed drills 5.5 times, tractor-drawn cultivators 3.1 times. Manufacture of more than 150 new, highly efficient agricultural machines mastered and mass production undertaken.

Chemical industry. Five-Year Plan target was to exceed pre-war level 1.5 times in 1950. Actually, production exceeded pre-war level 1.8 times. In 1950, pre-war level of output of nitrate fertilizers exceeded 2.2 times and of potash fertilizers 1.4 times. Production of phosphate fertilizers in 1950, 1.9 times above 1940. Output of synthetic rubber increased compared with pre-war.

Production for synthetic fiber industry, plastics, paint and lacquer, pharmaceutical and other branches of chemical industry considerably expanded and manufacture of new articles mastered. Plan for production of dyes overfulfilled.

Manufacture of multi-color films mastered.

Building materials. Output surpassed pre-war. Production of cement in 1950 increased 1.8 times over 1940, window glass 1.9 times. Plan target for production of cement in 1950 fulfilled 101 per cent by Ministry of the Building Materials Industry of the USSR, for USSR as a whole 97 per cent. The Plan target for production of bricks and tiles was not fully reached.

Timber haulage in 1950 was 36 per cent above 1940. However, Five-Year Plan assignment not fully met. Production of paper in 1950, 47 per cent above 1940.

Light industry. Reconstruction and development of the textile, clothing, knitted goods, footwear and other branches of light industry proceeded rapidly during 1946-1950. Output of these branches in 1950 increased 17 per cent compared with 1940. Production of chief articles of light industry increased during five-year period as follows: cotton goods 2.4 times, woolen fabrics 2.9 times, hosiery 5.2 times, leather footwear 3.2 times, rubber footwear 7 times. Assortment was substantially improved and expanded.

Food industry production of main products rose substantially. In 1950, pre-war level of butter production exceeded by 57 per cent, vegetable oil and other fats 10 per cent, meat 7 per cent, catch of fish 27 per cent, sausage products 20 per cent, canned goods 48 per cent, sugar 17 per cent, confectionery products 23 per cent and soap 16 per cent. Assortment of food products was enlarged and quality improved.

Gross output of local industry and producers' co-operatives in 1950 was 1.5 times above pre-war.

The fixed production funds of the whole of the industry of the USSR, as a result of restoration, construction and reconstruction of enterprises equipped with the latest Soviet technique, increased in 1950 by 58 per cent as against 1940. Total number of machine tools more than doubled by the end of Five-Year Plan as compared with 1940. Amount of electric power per worker in industry in 1950 half as great again as in 1940.

Labor productivity of the workers in industry in 1950, 37 per cent above the pre-war level of 1940, instead of 36 per cent envisaged by Plan. Labor productivity in construction in 1950 exceeded 1940 level by 23 per cent.

Assignment for lowering production costs of industrial output set by Five-Year Plan for 1950 fulfilled, as result of better utilization of equipment in industry, more economical expenditure of raw materials, fuel and electric power, reduction in losses and waste of materials, higher labor productivity and accelerated turnover of working funds.

The Five-Year Plan target for reducing costs of construction work not fully attained. Costs of construction, despite substantial increase in capital development work, still remain high. In this connection, in 1950 the Government took measures to lower costs of construction and improve the work of designing, to increase production of building materials, as well as to eliminate shortcomings in planning and supply for capital construction.

(Fulfillment of post-war Plan in other spheres will be described in next issue.)

MAY DAY IN WARSAW

by ISRAEL EPSTEIN

I SAW May Day in Warsaw—my first May Day in a country building socialism.

Imagine a whole city decked out in scarlet—color of the workers' struggle, and also color of joy. Imagine half the population, 350,000 people, marching in a great tide of humanity, and the other half lining the streets, filling the windows, covering the roofs.

Imagine the parade for six and a half hours, close ranks marching fifteen and twenty abreast, each contingent illustrating the many forms of activity that make life.

Imagine this great review of a people universally at work, carrying streamers recording successes achieved and to be achieved—and industry that has not only repaired the ravages of war but already has twice its prewar output, an economy so built it can never again experience a depression, a rise in education that has eliminated illiteracy and the prewar shame of a million children without schooling. Imagine recreational facilities that make it possible for tens of thousands of working class youth to parade with expensive sporting equipment—skis, sailboats, amateur planes—things previously reserved for the rich.

Imagine this in a city that only six years ago was a pile of rubble. Imagine this torrent of happy life among a people that lost 20 per cent of its population in war and Nazi death camps.

May Day in Warsaw was a festival of spring: spring in nature, the springtime of a city, the springtime of humanity.

In the parade the people spoke out for peace. Everywhere, on floats, flags, paper banners, the buildings and on

lapel buttons, appeared the blue with the white dove.

And the people branded those who propagate a new war of aggression. They see the rearmament of Western Germany, the release of Nazi war criminals and their appearance on the Atlantic Pact general staff, the slaughter of the people in Korea and preparations for new Koreans in Europe.

If you were here you would recognize Warsaw's May Day as a parade of peace and life and of hatred for no people whatsoever. Slogans carried by the marchers called for greater friendship with the American and British peoples and for a peace pact between nations. Every contingent of the parade distinguished between the warmongers—who were castigated by satiric floats—and the America of the common man.

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ISRAEL EPSTEIN is author of "The Unfinished Revolution in China" and until recently was Far Eastern editor of Allied Labor News.

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