

SOCIAL SCIENCES

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SEPTEMBER

1951

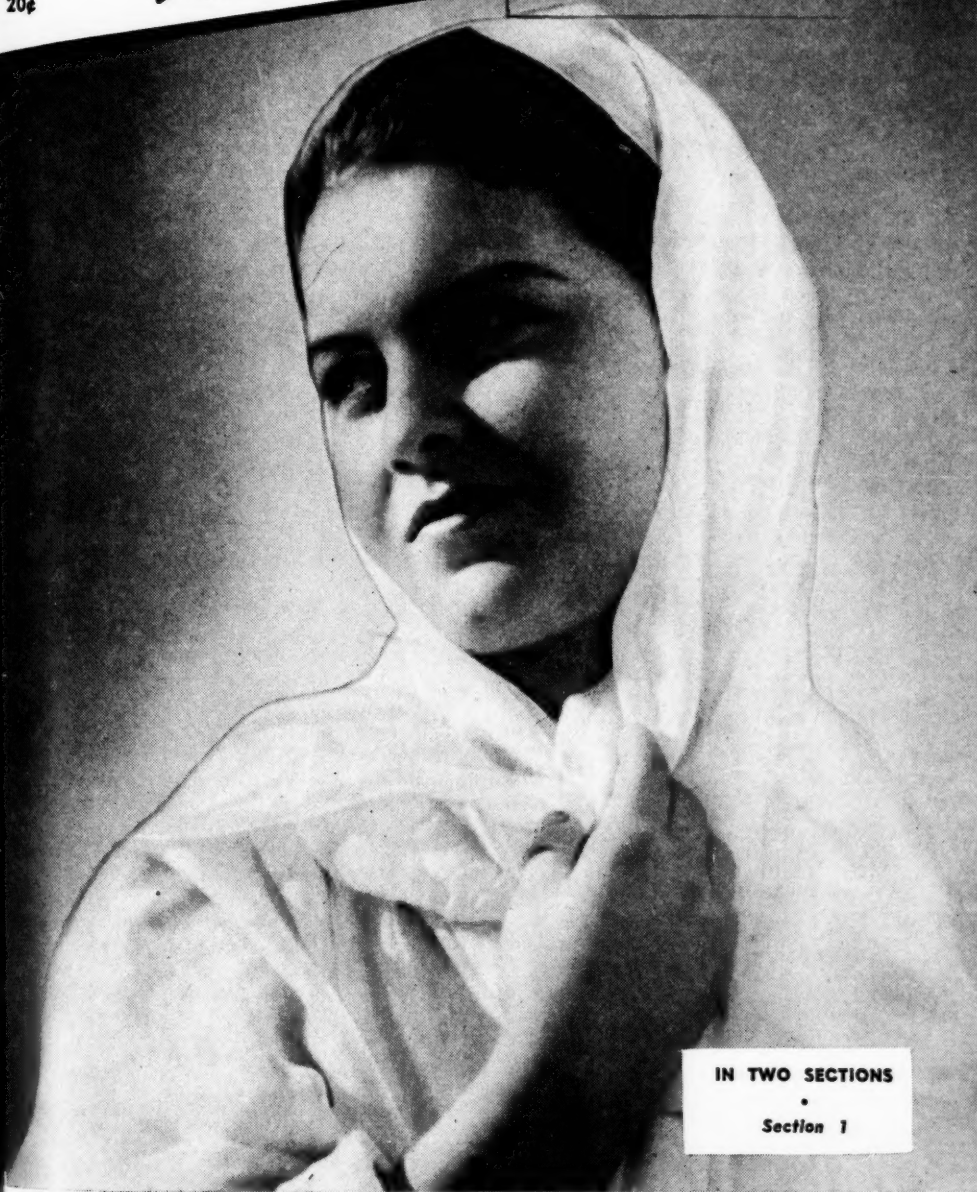
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Review

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NEW WORLD *Review*

SEPTEMBER

1951

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OUR COVER shows a Soviet collective farm student of the Daghestan Teachers' Institute, R. Alieva.

Photos by Sovfoto and Eastfoto unless otherwise specified.

JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*
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REMOVE BARRIERS TO PEACE!

WHEN JACOB MALIK, chief Soviet UN delegate, opened the way for cease-fire negotiations in Korea in his June 25 broadcast, it was universally assumed that the 38th Parallel should be the truce line.

This represented the position of the peace forces of the whole world. It was the core of Senator Johnson's peace resolution, supported by millions of Americans. It was the announced policy of the U.S. Government.

The Alsop brothers revealed in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, August 15, that in late April the National Security Council formally decided on acceptance of an armistice at the 38th Parallel. This decision was reflected in Secretary Acheson's testimony at the MacArthur hearings that UN military objectives would be obtained if its forces stopped at the 38th Parallel. General Ridgway, Allied Commander in Korea, and others, took the same position.

But U.S.-led forces continued to drive beyond the Parallel, seizing an area rich in tungsten deposits which they are hastily shipping out. While the good faith of the North Korean and Chinese negotiators has been arrogantly attacked, UN spokesmen reneged on earlier assurances, demanding that the line follow present military positions. They even indicated that these positions be determined not by ground forces but by UN naval and air supremacy throughout North Korea, placing the truce line between the present fighting front and the Chinese border.

While the USSR has intensified its efforts for peace, the Pentagon has issued grim warnings of the growing menace of U.S. Soviet attack. The *Wall Street Journal*

charged on August 3 that these warnings were "largely propaganda," and that what the Pentagon really fears "is a letdown in the arms program."

Undoubtedly that fear and fear that peace in Korea will open up the question of an over-all settlement in the Far East before the Japanese treaty, designed to impose a Pax Americana in the Pacific, is pushed through, is behind U.S. efforts to drag out the Korean parleys.

Repeated provocative ultimatums by the U.S. negotiators and hostile actions by military forces in the Kaesong truce area were seemingly designed to force a complete breakdown of the talks. But, from the day the parleys began, the North Korean and Chinese negotiators demonstrated their determination to reach agreement by making one concession after another.

The Progressive Party national committee meeting on August 18 wired President Truman that what the American people are concerned with is not where the line is drawn in Korea: "They want the return of their sons. They want a line drawn forever between war and peace."

A similar position has been taken by many peace groups, unions, and other national organizations and individuals. The Gallup poll says 74 per cent of Americans want a cease fire in Korea right now.

All Americans concerned with peace should wire President Truman demanding an immediate cease fire.

The desperation of the warmakers is increasing the menace of world war. This menace can and must be removed by the rising tide of the people's demand for peace.

JESSICA SMITH

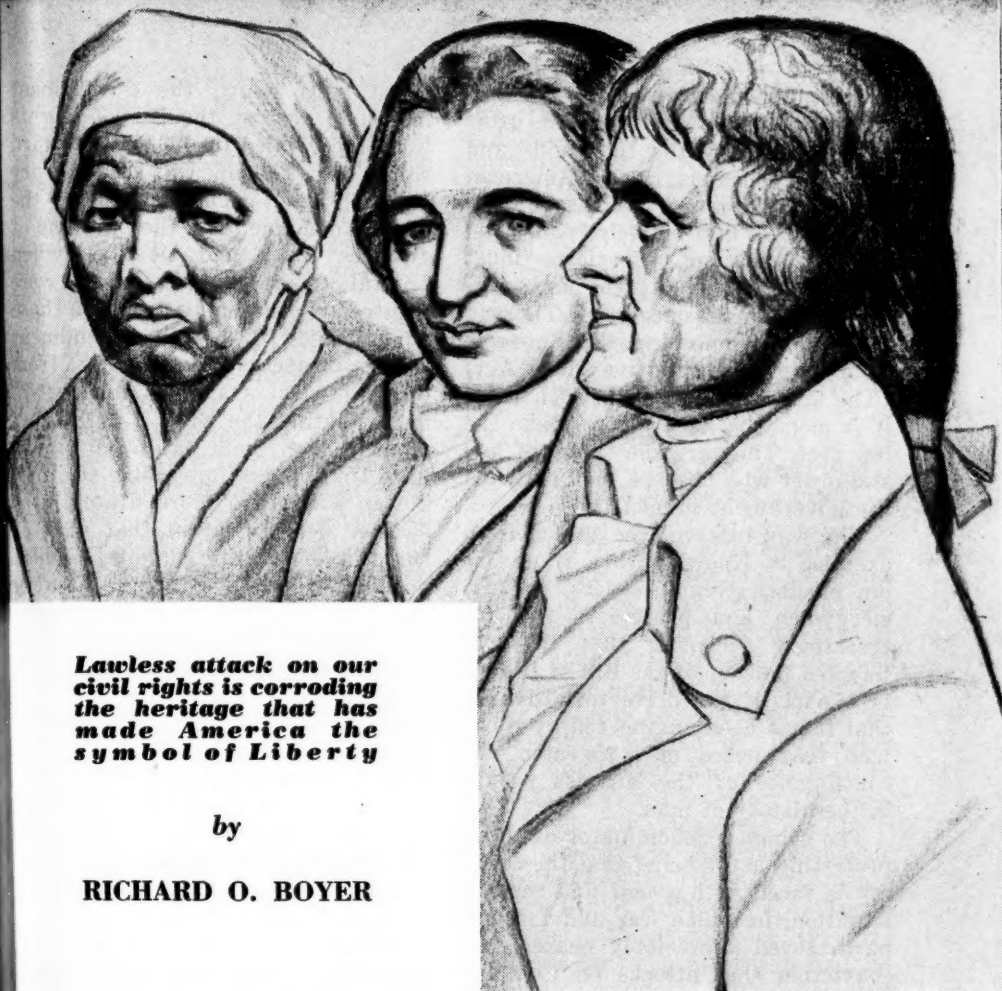


“HEAR THE ACCENTS OUR FATHERS SPOKE”

RAYMOND P. WHEARTY, former Acting Assistant Attorney General, called last year for the arrest of 21,000 Americans for their allegedly dangerous thoughts. Early this year, J. Edgar Hoover, seeking increased appropriations for the FBI, spoke of 43,000 who should be under constant surveillance, and still later spoke wistfully of over half a million Americans who presumably might be shoved into concentration camps in time of war. This seemed preposterous enough at the time, but that was before June 4 when the Supreme

Court nullified the First Amendment by approving the Smith Act, a decision which has been the signal for the greatest avalanche of official violations of the Bill of Rights and due process of law since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.

Since then, since June 4, which in its own way is also a date in infamy, two editors favoring peace have been arrested at their desks, a publisher printing books on peace has also been imprisoned, doors have been smashed in and mothers dragged from their children, and scores have been ar-



Lawless attack on our civil rights is corroding the heritage that has made America the symbol of Liberty

by

RICHARD O. BOYER

rested from New York to California, the formal overt act charged against most the writing and publishing of articles favoring peace.

Since then the Bill of Rights has been as rudely rebuffed as a Soviet peace proposal. Americans have been arrested and denied the right to bail, denied an opportunity to retain attorneys of their choice and the possibility of preparing a defense, denied the entire fabric of due process of law.

Since June 4, in short, the threat of imprisoning 500,000 -Americans

In the striking drawing for New World Review, above, the distinguished American artist, Hugo Gellert, sees Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Walt Whitman, Harriet Tubman, Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson as the creators and sentinels of the Great Tradition of democratic rights in the U.S.

whose thoughts the government doesn't like becomes more menacing and will remain so until America becomes America again with something of its normal resistance to official lawlessness.

Such resistance is rising fast but it must multiply and pyramid, grow and increase by the thousands and tens of thousands if the American people are to avert needless atomic war and a distinctively American brand of fascism. Americans must speak once more with the unequivocal accents of the once-jailed Thoreau who said in opposing the Supreme Court-approved Fugitive Slave Act: "The law will never make men free; it is men who have got to make the law free. They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

The way to save free speech is to exercise it. Knowing this, trade union officials, Negro leaders, editors, clergymen and professors are increasingly declaring that this attempted murder of the Bill of Rights is a part of the drive toward war, that it has been engineered by those who fear peace may threaten the continuance of the highest profits in the history of man.

The common denominator of those protesting is the belief that the country is faced with a new and serious situation, in which war and fascism have moved appreciably nearer, the conviction that attacks on Communists and other working-class leaders are merely the prelude to widespread attacks on all Americans expressing the will for peace or improvement of the *status quo*. Labor and the Negro people, it is agreed, are particularly in danger of having the conspiracy provisions of the Smith Act used against them.

The *blitzkrieg* against civil rights unleashed by the Supreme Court decision of June 4 has unfolded so rapidly, creating such swift havoc of the Bill of Rights that many Americans still scarcely know what happened. What was sacred law one day was on the legal scrap heap the next. The

speed with which the government moved to destroy the Bill of Rights was only rivaled by its drive toward world war. The ink was scarcely dry on the Vinson decision violating the First Amendment, in the opinions of Justices Black and Douglas, when federal police and judiciary were arbitrarily sentencing to prison those who pleaded the Fifth Amendment which protects the innocent from bearing witness against themselves, and violating the Eighth by holding Americans without bail or in bail so high that it was impossible to raise. Never was there more dramatic or swifter demonstration that part of the Bill of Rights cannot be killed without killing it all, that the very crux and heart of American guarantees, that of free speech and press, cannot be outlawed without all of the rest suffering too.

As Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Benjamin Davis, former Negro councilman from New York City, and their colleagues went to prison in the wake of the Supreme Court decision, Dennis said, "The Bill of Rights is going to jail with us."

Ensuing days seemed to prove his assertion. Twenty-one were indicted in New York for such overt acts as writing and publishing of peace, twelve men and women, one of whom had polled more than 600,000 votes in a campaign emphasizing peace, were arrested in California, five were arrested in Washington and Baltimore, and working class leaders in St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago and Detroit faced arrest according to the announcement of federal authorities.

A general fear, a common timidity, was becoming a characteristic of Americans as evidenced by the fact that 111 out of 112 attending a Madison, Wisconsin, Fourth of July picnic refused to sign excerpts from the

Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights either on the grounds that they were afraid or that the historic sentiments expressed must be Communistic. There were similar widespread refusals to sign these documents when reporters asked citizens to do so in New York and New Orleans.

For the first time in American history a bona fide, legal political party was being outlawed because reaction did not like its platform of peace. For the first time in history, the American people were being deprived by the government of their right to vote acceptance or rejection of a political program. Not since the Alien and Sedition Laws had American newspapers, magazines and books been under attack for their political content but now the names of the *Daily Worker*, *The People's World*, *Political Affairs*, and books of International Publishers dotted the indictments returned as articles in them were described as crimes. Not since the Alien and Sedition Laws had an editor been in prison because of his views as was John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, now in a cell at Atlanta.

And it all flowed out of the Smith Act. The Communist leaders, it should be recalled, were convicted of "conspiring to" teach and advocate Marxism and of organizing the Communist Party. But Justice Black declared in his dissent to the conviction that the defendants "were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. . . . They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. . . . No matter how it is worded this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press which I believe the First Amendment forbids." And Jus-

RICHARD O. BOYER is author of "The Dark Ship," "If This Be Treason" and other books and pamphlets. He was formerly a reporter for the "New York Herald Tribune," the "St. Louis Post Dispatch," the "Boston Herald" and other papers, and a member of the staff of the "New Yorker." He covered the first part of World War II for the newspaper "PM," and later saw war service in the U.S. Merchant Marine.

tice Douglas said, "I repeat here we deal with speech alone, not with speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment."

I WAS THERE as a reporter in the various courtrooms at Foley Square in New York when seventeen American men and women were arrested under the Smith Act on June 20 and on ensuing days when the Bill of Rights was violated with almost every phrase of judge and prosecutor. What happened may be of interest as a case history of what will happen to thousands of Americans unless the American people fight and win the struggle for peace and the Bill of Rights. The American flag was in its usual place, the give and take between attorneys had its customary courtesy. But beneath the spurious facade of legal decorum, the atmosphere was one of hate, of Peekskill in a courtroom. As the judge turned to the court reporter, directing him, perhaps, to read a question, or briefly said, "Motion denied," it was clear that outward forms were being maintained but that the essence of the Bill of Rights was being betrayed.

The reporters present knew that a new America was coming into being, one in which there was one law for Americans agreeing with war and the *status quo*, and none at all for those favoring peace and improve-

ment of the present system. Opinion, belief, thought were on trial. The reporters crowded the various courtrooms, staring at the calm and thoughtful faces of the defendants, their glances shifting uneasily to the beefy, gloating features of the bailiffs who crowded about, to the FBI men who thronged courtroom and corridors to watch and trail and guard these Americans charged with the overt acts of writing and publishing and meeting and speaking.

More than one reporter confessed concern for what was going on. It was a new American experience to see a gentle, selfless old man, such as Jacob "Pop" Mindel, who has spent his life teaching that which he believes will make a better world, approach the bar charged with what the indictment described as the crime "of conducting and causing to be conducted schools in the principles of Marxism-Leninism." Not since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, if even then, has any American been charged, as was the Negro working-class leader, Pettis Perry, with such an overt act as that "he did leave 35 East Twelfth Street, New York." He stood before the court, his quiet, graven face immobile as if he found it not surprising that a Supreme Court which had consistently denied his people the equality before the law provided for by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments should now deny the free speech, press and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment. It was strange to see Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, as American as the labor movement, as comforting and reassuring in appearance as your mother, forced to face the formal charge that she "did participate in a meeting at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York, New York." And Arnold Johnson's crime was writing an article on *The Fourth of July Tradition*

while the crime of Claudia Jones was that she had written an article on International Woman's Day.

The bail of these defendants, furnished by the Civil Rights Congress, was revoked because four of the original eleven convicted under the Smith Act did not surrender for imprisonment. I.F. Stone, eminent journalist, observed that "when you outlaw a party you must expect it to act as an outlaw." He also pointed out that the Civil Rights bail fund was made up of contributions from many persons furnished over the past several years for use as the CRC saw fit and that therefore no direct relationship existed between the missing four and the people who provided the funds from which the bail was supplied.

The government, after the revocation of the Civil Rights bail in the case of the seventeen, intensified its drive against the Bill of Rights, making an effort to deny bail to all defendants as well as those arrested later.

The trustees of the bail fund, Frederick V. Field, an editor of this magazine; Abner Green, who has devoted his life to the protection of the foreign born; Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Negro leader and secretary of the Council on African Affairs, and Dashiell Hammett, author, soldier and defender of civil rights, were called before Judge Sylvester Ryan, their claims of Constitutional privilege under the Fifth Amendment were rejected, and they were summarily sentenced for contempt of court because they would not reveal the names of the thousands who had contributed to the Civil Rights bail fund. The fund was founded three years ago after all surety companies universally refused bail as a matter of policy and practice to political prisoners, strikers, pickets, and fighters for Negro rights.

Arthur Garfield Hays, a foremost defender of civil rights over the years, declared, "I am glad Field refused to answer. I don't like informers and I think Americans in general don't like informers." Despite this Field has twice been convicted for his refusal to turn informer and now stands subjected to two consecutive sentences of three and six months. He has been arrested and re-arrested, and granted bail only to have it revoked and bail denied him pending an appeal of his sentence. He has been shunted from here to there, manacled and guarded, from New York to Washington and back again, from Senatorial committee to grand jury to judge to State Banking Commissioner. While Americans in Madison were afraid to approve the Bill of Rights, Field has been battling for the country's constitutional guarantees through sacrificing his liberty rather than betray them.

THE PASSION and human life and striving that goes into the building of a nation is a quality that can be mocked only at great peril. History is not a printed page but the purpose and the struggling, the bleeding and the dying, the lasting and endurance of men and women. The Bill of Rights is not a thing for judges to betray but compact of all the efforts and desires of those who brought it into being with their lives and maintained it with their blood. History is the pain and striving of living people and he who reverses hard won progress, desecrates the dead and betrays the living.

There is a cheapness, born of press and radio and movies, that is eating away the heritage that made us great. The very schools have become places of inane echoes and yet I recall the creaking covered wagons, winding onward in the boiling sun, fording

rivers, over mountains, sun-bonneted women often driving, dreaming of knowledge, pure liberating knowledge and of the schools she and hers would found which would teach and free her children. But in the schools she dreamt of, children crouch in drills for atom bombs and for knowledge her children's children have the radio commercial.

It is too often forgotten that this nation was founded on revolution and that it grew great by the efforts of men often called traitors and sometimes in jail. Theodore Parker, perhaps speaking of some event like Independence Day in Madison, Wisconsin, once cried, "Have we forgotten the blood in our veins? The American Republic is the child of 'Rebellion'; our national lullaby was 'Treason.' Hancock and Adams slept with a price on their heads." And Washington and Jefferson, Paine and Patrick Henry would have died traitors' deaths, halters on their necks, had not the American people combined and organized, struggled and fought to victory in the American Revolution. Nor can we forget that Abraham Lincoln once fought and opposed a war he believed to be wrong.

Hear the accents with which your fathers spoke. "Power concedes nothing," said the law-hunted Frederick Douglass, "without a demand. It never did, and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows or both."

And the indicted Wendell Phillips said: "Every step of progress the world has made has been from scaffold to scaffold and from stake to stake. It would hardly be exaggeration to say that all the great truths

relating to society and government have been first heard in the solemn protests of martyred patriotism, or the loud cries of crushed and starving labor."

Read once more of Jefferson's fight, and the fight of millions under him, against the Alien and Sedition Acts. Then as now the American people were being dragooned into a cold war, this one with revolutionary France, and then as now reactionaries were trying to change that short of war into real war. As is the case today with slight variations, all Americans for peace then were described as French agents, all Americans for progress held to be the servants of a hostile foreign power and the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed to jail such folk. Then as now the first victims indicted or jailed were editors fighting for peace and in their number were Matthew Lyon, John C. Ogden, David Brown, William Duane, James Thomas Callendar, Jedekiah Peck, Charles Holt, and Thomas Adams.

As the American people are now fighting for repeal of the Smith Act, which imprisons for speech and thought, so Americans then fought the Alien and Sedition Acts which did

the same. As the fight for the Bill of Rights is now the fight against war so was the fight then. As then the people organized committees and delegations to visit President Adams asking repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts, so they must now send committees and delegations to President Truman asking the repeal of the Smith Act and a re-hearing on its constitutionality before the Supreme Court. Then committees of correspondence were formed which wrote to Congressmen and state legislatures and officials everywhere asking that they declare themselves for repeal. Americans can act so once more as the brave days of the past return again.

There is no cause for discouragement. The people will fight because they must fight if atomic war and fascism are to be averted. What Walt Whitman wrote after the second American revolution that was the Civil War still holds true today: "The genius of the United States . . . is in the common people . . . through all their mighty amplitude they never give up believing and expecting." And they will never give up fighting for peace and the Bill of Rights.

WORDS TO REMEMBER

DID YOU, too, O friend, suppose democracy was only for elections, for politics and for a party name? I say that democracy is only of use there that it might pass on and come to its flower and fruits in manners, in the highest form of interaction between men, and their beliefs—in religion, literature, colleges and schools—democracy in all public and private life.—*Walt Whitman.*

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Leon Straus (left foreground), author of the accompanying article, with fellow delegates, sizes up operations at Leningrad shoe and leather factory

Close-up of USSR, 1951

Security of worker is keynote of Soviet life, says American unionist after 5,000 mile tour

by LEON STRAUS

IT'S one thing to read about a country and its people; it's another thing to see both with your own eyes. I recently had that opportunity and it was a stirring experience.

Together with ten other American trade unionists, elected by their membership, I came to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet trade unions,

LEON STRAUS, Vice-President of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, was chairman of an American trade union delegation that recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. Mr. Straus, who enlisted in World War II as a private, was honorably discharged with the rank of lieutenant, after three years of service in the U.S. armed forces.

spending three weeks there. We traveled by bus, auto, railroad, plane, motor boat and motor launch, covering over 5,000 miles and visiting steel, auto and tractor plants, shoe factories, electrical power stations, collective farms, churches, theaters, children's camps, hospitals and rest homes in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalin-grad, Zaporozhye, Simferopol and Yalta. Needless to say, we saw the terrible destruction caused by the invading Nazis and were amazed by the reconstruction program now being carried on throughout the Soviet Union.

What struck me most forcibly in the USSR was the country's interest in caring for the individual work-

er's health and general welfare. Human beings and their labor are not just "commodities" there. The workers and their country are one and the same thing and there are no individual employers around to exploit labor.

Yes, the care for the individual worker—that's the thing that made the strongest impression on me on my recent visit to the Soviet Union. Workers get old-age pensions, and it doesn't get deducted from their weekly paychecks, either. A worker doesn't have to pinch and scrape and save against the proverbial rainy day. He knows that when he's ready to retire he can face the future without worry.

When a worker gets sick, he doesn't get docked; his pay goes right on. When a woman is pregnant she gets two and one-half months maternity leave with full pay. When a worker goes to a doctor he doesn't pay. When he goes to the hospital he doesn't pay. For the most part, when his kids go to summer camp he doesn't pay. The social services provided for the worker are incomparable to anything I've read about or seen anywhere else in the world. The worker doesn't have to worry about his wife, or his children.

Industrial accidents in the U.S. and other countries where profit is the basic motive are a disgrace. In Russia there are special services devoted to accident prevention. The general rate of accidents is about one for every 1,000. Every factory has a hospital attached to it; not just a first-aid kit, or even a dispensary, but a hospital! There are elaborate workers' clubs at the majority of factories.

Together with the provisions for social security comes the profound interest in the coming generation. The attitude toward children is something that almost leaves you breath-

less. Literally, nothing seems to be too good for them, in the Soviet view. Everything is done for the kids: camps, schools, music, dancing, trade schools, etc. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that they are No. 1 citizens of the Soviet Union.

The feeling of security in Russia is strongly reinforced by the emphasis on new housing. Especially as a World War II vet I know what kind of chronic headache finding a place for your family can be. One of the most important activities in the Soviet Union today is building homes for workers. Every city has a construction plan. Everywhere you go you see houses being built, particularly in those areas that were most ravaged by the Nazi invaders. Workers pay only 5 per cent of their wages for rent. So you see the social services available to them add up to quite a bit.

The American press likes to talk about the "low standard of living" of the Russian workers, and slick writers will tell you that the average worker has to put in so many weeks for a pair of shoes, so many months for a suit of clothes, so many man-hours for an omelette, but those are tall tales dreamed up by those who can't answer the hard facts.

Contrary to the reports we get in the American press, we did not see one hungry person in the Soviet Union. Quite the reverse. The stores are all well-stocked. The restaurants had plenty to serve and the people ate well. We didn't see any skinny, frail, starved-out people. My own impression, in which I know my fellow-delegates join, is that the people in the Soviet Union enjoy a decent and adequate standard of living.

The press — and especially the labor press controlled by American trade union bureaucrats—also find it stylish to scream about speed-up in

the Soviet Union. I can say categorically that I saw no evidences of it, and I speak from a background of observation not only in our own industry, but other industries, including auto, steel, etc.

There is no such thing as speed-up in the Soviet Union. There is, however, a flourishing Stakhanov movement, which aims to increase production—not by taking it out on the hide of the workers—but by better organization and planning of work. There the aim is to have man use the machine rather than have the machine use man.

In that connection the workers at one meeting that I spoke at in Lenin-grad (and many were veterans of the historic siege of that city) laughed uproariously when I read them a clipping from one of the New York newspapers. It was an ad which said that, since there was no Stock Exchange in Russia, there couldn't possibly be any individual freedom. I suppose they were amused because they must have felt that a Stock Exchange has about as much relation to individual freedom as bet-

ting on horses has to sports and recreation.

An important aspect of the Stakhanov movement is, of course, the system of incentive pay. While the Russian workers say that the wealthier the country becomes the wealthier they are—because the country and its resources belong to them—they also have ample opportunities for increased regular income which enables them to get luxuries, such as automobiles, pianos, radios, television sets and refrigerators. And none of those cars on the road, incidentally, are purchased through installment buying with finance companies at the double controls!

Most of the things we saw in Russia impressed us tremendously. There are some aspects of life, however, in which much could be learned from the U.S. I refer especially to railroad facilities where considerable advances are still necessary (although one must not forget the horrible destruction wrought by the war). The same is true of the plumbing facilities which are still inadequate. Of course, it must be said that such

A hearty welcome for U.S. delegates Lee Candea of the Hotel Workers (3rd from right) and Marie Bowden, of the Los Angeles Sheet Metal Union (2nd from right)





"Give this picture to Paul Robeson," these children told auto worker, Hiliard Ellis, one of the delegates, on the Yalta beach.

facilities are far from adequate in many American communities, particularly where lower-paid workers and those victims of discrimination such as Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans live.

As a reader of the American press I naturally had run into a lot of stuff about the Russian's "hatred" for America. Just talk to the workers and their children and you'll see how false this accusation is. True, they are bitter at the warmakers, the policy-men who want to continue and spread the war in Korea and who plot atom bomb attacks on their one-time allies in the Soviet Union. But they are full of friendship and good will toward the people of America.

The welcome they gave our delegation was overwhelming. The greet-

ings, the flowers, the cordiality, the touching pleas to convey their friendship to the American people! And especially the youngsters—there was a wistfulness about their eagerness for friendship and understanding with the people of America whose democratic history they are familiar with and whose achievements, especially in technique, they admire so much.

Peace above all—that's what the Russian people want. As a trade unionist who served for three years in the European theater in the struggle against the Nazis—that is the message I wish could reach every trade unionist in America.

Nothing divides the Russian people from the American people except the warmakers. Once the American people become aware of this truth the warmakers can be thwarted and a long era of peace and understanding between the peoples of these great countries will be inaugurated.

As an American who above all else loves his country, as an American who volunteered during World War II and served his country in its life and death struggle for existence, I want to declare to all Americans that the highest, most patriotic service that can be given by anyone in our country is to work for friendship with the Russian people—our true allies — because without friendship between the American and Russian people, peace can never be real and secure.

IRRIGATION AIDS CROPS IN CHINA

GRAIN production increased by 197,000 tons in Kwantung Province as the result of new irrigation work done in the past six months which watered more than a half million acres of farmland.

The irrigated land included rice producing areas in the Pearl River Estuary and the outlying districts of Swatow. Increases were also achieved in sugar cane, jute, tobacco, silk cocoons and fruit crops.

The Courtship of

FRANCISCO FRANCO

**Naval, air bases in Spain are pay-off for
U.S. aid in bolstering Fascist regime**

by ALVAH BESSIE

"What joy to see the German bombers one day punishing the insolence of the skyscrapers of New York!"

—Francisco Franco (1941)

ON MAY 11, 1949, the *United Press* quoted the Secretary of State as follows: "Acheson said Franco Spain does not recognize the rights of habeas corpus, trial by jury, religious freedom and political association. He said these fundamental basic rights of the individual, which make the difference between free Europe and the Iron Curtain countries, do not exist in Spain."

The following day a direct quotation became available: "A government was established in Spain," said Dean Acheson, "which was patterned on the regimes in Italy and Germany and was, and is, a fascist government and a dictatorship." For a diplomat, this was a pretty unequivocal statement, and he went on: "It seems perfectly clear to the Western European countries that you cannot have an intimate working partnership with such a regime in the economic field and in the defense field."

That was only two years ago and the Secretary was still reflecting the ostensible position his Department had first enunciated three years earlier in its White Paper titled "The

Spanish Government and the Axis," (Department of State, March 1946).

On July 18, however, fifteen years to the day after Franco's rebellion began, Mr. Acheson was quoted again by the *United Press*: "Military authorities are in general agreement that Spain is of strategic importance to the general defense of Western Europe. As a natural corollary . . . tentative and exploratory conversations have been undertaken with the Spanish government with the sole purpose of ascertaining what Spain might be willing and able to do which would contribute to the strengthening of the common defense against possible aggression."

Lost somewhere in interstellar space was the Secretary's (and the Department's) putative concern for

ALVAH BESSIE, novelist and screen writer, is the author of "Bread and a Stone" and "Men in Battle." His work in the films includes "Objective Burma," "Hotel Berlin" and "The Very Thought of You." He was a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which came to the aid of the Spanish Republic in its valiant struggle to defeat Franco's Nazi-supported uprising which was the prelude to World War II. Mr. Bessie was one of a group of Hollywood notables which recently served prison terms after being judged in "contempt of Congress" for upholding the Bill of Rights.

the rights of habeas corpus, religious and political freedom, trial by jury. Vanished were the Department's (and the Secretary's) presumptive distaste for fascism and their accurate appraisal of the unreliability of enlisting a fascist to defend democracy. Therefore, what still "seems perfectly clear to the Western European countries" is no longer clear to the government of the United States, and the champions of what *Life* magazine loves to call "Western culture as we understand it" have bought a new ally: Francisco Paulino Hermenegildo Teodulo Franco y Bahamonde—butcher of the Spanish people.

The alliance (Mr. Acheson to the contrary notwithstanding) is neither tentative nor exploratory. Despite the impotent opposition of our Western Atlantic allies, Britain and France, it was signed, sealed and delivered during the visit to Madrid of the late Admiral Forrest Sherman, Chief of U.S. Naval Operations, who saw Franco on July 16 (and Naples shortly thereafter).

El Caudillo had been coquetting for just such a liaison for at least three years and apparently he did not play hard to get when the Admiral came to call. The Admiral merely requested naval bases for the use of American fleet elements at Cadiz, Cartagena, El Ferrol and Santa Cruz (in the Canaries); as well as air bases at Barcelona, Madrid, Seville, Valencia and Lugo. In return for the use of these military installations, the United States is expected to offer arms and equipment for the Generalissimo's considerable army (*UP*, July 16), over and above the millions of dollars now flowing to Franco by way of the Export-Import Bank.

Surely no one (but a decent American) could be outraged that an Administration which is systematically



restricting the "fundamental basic rights of the individual" at home, should accept an open alliance with a fascist regime that has demonstrated over the past fifteen years exactly how such restrictions on political association, trial by jury and civil liberties should be applied. We have been doing the same thing ever since 1946 (when Mr. Truman enunciated the "doctrine" that bears his name) *vis-à-vis* the Greek, Turkish, Chinese, Indonesian, Indo-Chinese, Burmese and Korean fascists. The only surprise element involved is that the Administration should feel secure enough, at this moment in history, to take the wraps off a policy it has been pursuing since 1944 when the first Spanish airport (Madrid's Barajas) fell to our democracy-loving brass.

For the immoral liaison with Franco is nothing new and Admiral Sherman was not the first American tourist to visit the Iberian peninsula since the war to destroy the Axis ended with the capture of Berlin by the Red Army. He had been there before (in 1948) and he had been preceded and has been followed by a long list of military travelers in

No matter how many posed pictures of Franco cooing to his grandchild (right) the Spanish people and the world recall his subservient handshake with his friend Hitler (left) which spelled death to untold thousands of the world's children



—Wide World

civilian clothes and civilian tourists in cassocks and other uniforms.

The list includes: Colonel Johnson and Commander Duffie (attachés of the U.S. Air Forces); Generals T. B. Wilson (in charge of U.S. strategy in Africa) and Jimmy Doolittle (Shell Oil); Colonel Bader and "Colonel" Robert McCormick; Conrad Hilton, the hotel collector and his partner, Colonel J. P. Binns; John E. Swift (Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus); A. W. Robertson (president of Westinghouse Electric); Admirals William A. Glassford and Richard L. Conolly; Merwin K. Hart and James A. Farley (Coca-Cola); Senators Chan Gurney and Pat McCarran, and Francis Cardinal Spellman; Vice President Alben Barkley and two or three junketing parties of U.S. Senators and Representatives, one of whom made international history by losing his pants in a Spanish sleeping car.

These dignitaries were not only sampling the wine of the country; they were combining business with pleasure. Some of the business they managed to combine with some of the pleasure may be appreciated when we consider the following: since 1946, not only has American capital

been engaged in widening Spanish ports and lengthening Spanish runways, but it has quietly taken over the entire oil and liquid fuel industry to Spain (Texaco, Gulf and Shell, among others); the production and distribution of electric power (General Electric); machinery and tools (Westinghouse, Worthington Pump, the I. T. & T.). Spanish chemicals and pharmaceuticals are in the hands of acknowledged experts (Du Pont de Nemours), while Ford and General Motors not only have their own plants in Spain but operate Hispano-Suiza, Hispano Aviacion, Ensa, Fiat and Lancia.

Surely no one (but a wild-eyed radical) could object to these evidences of American initiative and "know-how." No one (but an anti-fascist, a breed pretty unpopular in Washington today) could be enraged to discover that an Axis partner which tried mightily to overthrow our institutions, is now considered a defender of our institutions. Nobody (but a democrat with a small d) could cavil at the attempts that have been made to change a jackal into a cooing dove, by calling him "a very, very lovely and lovable character" (Rep. James J. Murphy, D., N. Y.),

photographing him chucking his grand-daughter under the chin and devoting endless picture-stories to his devout Catholicism and his wholesome home life. No one (but a Republocrat) will imagine that a revision of the Spanish cabinet—by adding three additional monarchists and the General (Munoz Grande) who commanded the Blue Division—(which fought the Allies in World War II) could constitute a pro-democratic orientation. No one (but an American patriot) could find it obscene that the United States of America should support (by force and violence) a regime loudly devoted to the destruction of everything for which America was at one time justly respected throughout the world.

And no one (but a military man or a financier) could be stupid enough to believe that in Francisco Paulino Hermenegildo, etc. he had found a safe and reliable ally. For Franco stands, not alone upon the crumbling bones of his murdered opponents; he stands upon the mighty shoulders of a great and proud people, 90 per cent of whom hate him and everything he does. Or does anyone believe it is purely coincidental that he is promised equipment for his army within two months after mass strikes have disturbed the "peace" that fascism attempts to impose upon its victims?

March 12 witnessed a general strike in Barcelona—a strike against the perennial starvation of the people. On May 4 and 5, it moved to Vitoria; on May 8 and 9, it broke out in Pamplona; May 22 saw it paralyze Madrid and on the 24th, a general strike began in the arms plants of Eibar, Ermua, Elgoibar, Placencia, Vergara and Mondragon. The Franco police were impotent, for these strikes were well organized. This was evidenced by the solid dis-

cipline of the people and the powerlessness of the regime to handle the situation or jail the multitudes of citizens involved. That they were merely the shadow before (of events still to come) can scarcely be doubted by anyone familiar with the undernourishment of a population whose skilled workers take home eighty-eight cents a day, and who have been subject to the sort of oppression and terror that has not relented within Spain since Madrid was betrayed in March of 1939.

To any man or woman who hiked over the Pyrenees to join the International Brigades, the concept that "Spain is of strategic importance to the general defense of western Europe" is a howl. The Pyrenees were no barrier to the unarmed thousands who crossed them in dead of night as volunteers for liberty. They could be no barrier to bombers that cruise at 40,000 feet.

We can forget the "revelations" of such Sunday sybils as Drew Pearson who, on July 30, revealed that Franco (in conversation with Senator Guy Gillette) refused to commit a single one of his two million "potential" soldiers to the "defense of western Europe." Perhaps he was remembering the last time he committed to action what Clare Booth Luce has called the only reliably anti-communist army in Europe: it melted away on the Russian front in no time at all, despite the sub-zero temperatures.

What we cannot forget is that he *dare* not commit his army to action outside Spain. The disaffection in the population is reflected in the military hierarchy, where a rebellion is expected by September. Walter Lippmann wrote on May 13, 1949: "As for Franco being a dependable ally, his regime rests upon the sullen submission of the disarmed masses of

the people to a dreary and bigoted military dictatorship. . . ." The sullen submission has vanished, but Lippmann was still closer to the truth than Clare Booth Luce or even Dean Acheson.

A more reliable commentator on the Spanish scene may be found in a woman named Dolores Ibarruri, who wrote in 1947: "With its foundations sinking ever deeper into the great pile of bones of those who died in our war of liberation and the thousands of martyrs put to death by the Falange's insane hatred, the whole edifice of the Franco regime is cracking and falling to pieces. Hope is blossoming in the hearts of a tortured people, steadying the spirits of some, strengthening and spurring on the resistance of others. The Franco regime is going down and no power on earth can save it." (Wall Street papers please copy.)

Alvarez del Vayo, last foreign minister of the Spanish Republic, supported La Pasionaria's four-year-old prophecy in *The Nation* for July 28: "It [the Franco-Wall Street alliance] is a performance that forbids this country to pretend that the cold war is being waged for democracy and freedom. But . . . [it] will not, in the end, save the regime. Nor will the United States gain the advantages it seeks. . . . Those courageous Spaniards who . . . went to the American embassy in Madrid to protest against the Sherman deal expressed the feeling of 90 per cent of the people: 'The United States will buy a dictator but they will not



—by Gropper

be buying a people in any of its aspects. The majority will rule.' The foreign policy of the big powers in the post-war period is not lacking in blunders. One of the greatest is the American notion that Spain can be induced to fight under Franco."

Spain—the Spanish people—can fight and will fight as it has been fighting for the past fifteen years to cleanse itself of fascism. Nor is it inconceivable that any arms supplied to Franco from American arsenals will find their way into the hands of the people they are intended to suppress. Chiang Kai-shek can explain how the trick is performed.

MUSIC SCHOOL FOR YOUNG MINERS

OVER 300 young Soviet miners of Krivoi Rog, Ukrainian industrial center, attend the municipal music school after work hours. The school operates branches in a number of the mines.

RUMANIA

On the Road to Socialism

by RALPH PARKER

ONE SENSED the difference at the very frontier. The Hungarian-Rumanian border guards were chatting together amiably outside their cottage with the two flags above it. As the Arlberg Express crossed the line they drew themselves up and saluted. One remembered the pre-war travelers' tales about the tense disputed "Trianon" frontier. And now this broad hint of the fundamental change in the relations of these neighbor-states!

Another change. Over the counter at the customs office where I went to change a traveler's check hung a notice: "No bureaucracy here. Remember you are a servant of the people," it reminded Rumanian officials.

When we stopped at Arad, I heard Hungarian, Rumanian and German in the animated crowd seeing travelers off to Bucharest. The word "minorities," around which so much heat was generated in the past, is no longer in use to describe the non-Rumanian national groups in Rumania. The Hungarian, German,

Tatar, Jewish, Serb and the rest of the seventeen nationalities have all the rights of Rumanian citizens.

To discover what wonders have been achieved in abolishing the effects of centuries-long artificial stimulation of racial hatred and jealousy one has to visit Cluj, chief city of Transylvania that the Hungarians call Kolosvar and the Germans call Klausenburg.

If you happened to be a citizen of Cluj more than 33 years old, you were born a subject of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Then by the Treaty of Trianon, in 1920, you became a subject of the Hohenzollern crown of Rumania. Twenty years later, without being asked your opinion, you were expected to switch your loyalty to the Kingdom of Hungary, which, incidentally, had no king. With each change your fortunes fluctuated according to your nationality.

Divided, bewildered, Cluj's inhabitants awaited a stable regime which would put an end to internecine strife and enable them to get on with the business of working for a better life. It is greatly to the credit of the popular democratic regime of Rumania that it has satisfied these aspirations.

Success has come earlier and more easily than I believe few dared to

RALPH PARKER formerly worked for the "New York Times" in Moscow and now covers the USSR for newspapers in England and America. This article follows a recent trip to Eastern Europe. His latest book published here is "Moscow Correspondent."



After watching its progress and convincing himself that it's a good idea, I. Niculet signs his name and joins the New Road Collective Farm in Zabrani, Rumania

think possible a few years ago, when the Rumanian Workers' Party found it necessary to issue a statement condemning chauvinism. Cluj's Rumanian students, egged on by Maniu's legionnaires, did not very willingly accept the idea of Transylvania's Hungarians having their own University. Of those early days the story is told of the Rumanian farmer who when summoned before the court for throwing stones at a Hungarian neighbor defended his action by saying they were the very stones the Hungarian had thrown at him five years before. "We have democracy now, so I threw them back," he added.

But in the past few years the people of Transylvania have learned that People's Democracy does not include the right to such stupid forms of retaliation. Today Hungarians and

Rumanians alike have put down the stones and taken up their tools to work for the common good.

It is the emergence of workers and peasants in the life of Cluj and its surroundings that has enabled chauvinism to be liquidated so fast. It never had deep roots in the factories and villages. Istvan Nagy, the rector of the Hungarian Bolyai University, told me that it disappeared among the students as soon as the intake of new students from the working class was sufficiently large to outweigh the bourgeois elements.

It was a workers' deputy who, when the awkward problem arose in the city council whether to use Hungarian or Rumanian on the pedestal of the big statue in the Cathedral Square of the feudal King of Transylvania, Matthew Corvin, tactfully suggested using Latin, which lan-

SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

Our publication of Ralph Parker's article on Rumania today comes at a very appropriate time. On August 23, the people of Rumania, together with progressive people throughout the world, marked the seventh anniversary of that country's liberation by the Soviet Army and the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship there by the Rumanian people's patriotic forces.

guage, he observed, had been the official one in the reign of "Mattias Corvinus, Rex."

Less easily solved was the question of educational facilities for Transylvania's Hungarians. When the decision was taken six years ago to found a new university, there was no building, teaching staff or equipment in existence. Yet today the Bolyai University, housed in a former lycee for young ladies, has ten departments with 1,500 students, of whom about one-half are girls, and two-thirds are receiving state scholarships. At Targu Mures there is a Hungarian medical institute with five departments.

For the first time in its long history the Hungarians and Rumanians of Transylvania enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities in all fields of education.

The students of both nationalities share the town's libraries and museums. They meet for research as for recreation. There is nothing exclusive about their students' clubs.

The people of Cluj—there are rather less than 150,000 of them—have a rich choice of theaters, opera, etc. Both the Hungarian and Rumanian sections have their own permanent opera and ballet companies, dramatic theaters and symphony or-

chestras. As most of the population is bilingual the patronage of these theaters does not follow racial lines.

The Hungarian opera is only three years old and its director was a textile worker for fifteen years before he took over. Yet the current repertory includes Traviata, Aida, Madame Butterfly, Eugene Onegin, four Hungarian operas, one of them by Zoltan Kodaly, and the Soviet ballets Red Poppy and the Fountain of Bakchisarai. The Hungarian theater's latest production is Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. The opera house has a capacity of over 1,000 seats and is always full.

The Rumanian opera house is presenting Mussorgski's Boris Godunov this season, with Rigoletto and the Barber of Seville also in the repertory.

During the time I spent in Cluj there was a Bela Bartok symphony concert and a visit from the State Jewish Theater, playing in Yiddish.

One Sunday morning we drove from Cluj to a village in the valley of the river Muresul, a tributary of the Danube. At first sight nothing appeared to distinguish this village from other villages in this part of the central highlands of Transylvania, with their mixture of Rumanian, Hungarian and Saxon population, living in homes ranging from the adobe-style hovels of poor peasants farming a couple of acres to the substantial farm houses of the kulaks (wealthy peasants who exploit others) with thirty or forty times more land.

But just outside the village we found something new. Beside the dusty road a tall portal announced one of Rumania's first thousand collective farms. Through it a stream of peasants poured, moving towards the ample courtyard of a stone castle which, we learned, had belonged to

a Count Banffi. Now the ex-count lives in his town house while his 600-year-old castle is the headquarters of the administration of the farm, with other rooms gradually being put into use as library, club and lecture rooms.

The peasants were assembling for a general meeting in the big dining-hall against whose walls still stood a few pieces of handsome baroque furniture. Not all those present were members of the collective. In addition to the seventy families who pooled their land last year and received an additional grant of state land to bring the total up to about 1,200 acres there were a good many individual peasants who had not yet made up their minds to join the co-operative.

In the courtyard the two groups did not mix. Born in the same remote village, sharing benches in the four-grade school, working near each other on the landlord's fields, attending the same squat whitewashed church, hungering together in the years of drought, united in their hatred of the fascist tax collector

and the field gendarme who came with him, the peasants of Luncani village are today divided over the question of collectivization.

The dividing line roughly follows that between poor and middle peasants, though there are some in the collective farm who put in fairly large holdings and among those who still hesitate are peasants with only an acre or two. These patches, however, they have owned and worked for up to thirty years and have developed a strong sense of ownership.

Every Sunday morning, while their wives are getting dinner ready, the individual peasants of Luncani come to the collective farm. They are welcome there, for the collective farmers are proud of their achievements. The authorities, moreover, take the line that the doubters must be thoroughly convinced of the advantages of collective farming before they are accepted. The Rumanian government's policy is to make existing collectives an outstanding success and then gradually to extend the socialized sector of agriculture until, by the end of 1955, it will be pro-

Harvesting barley on the fields of a State Farm in Chirnogi, Bucharest Region, with a tractor and equipment made in Rumanian factories



viding the greater part of the nation's needs.

In a tight, silent group the individual peasants followed us around the farm as members of the collective took us through the new cowsheds and piggeries. They hung on every word of the young brigade-leader as he told us in exact detail what had been his share in cash, grain, vegetables and wine of last year's harvest. They gazed inscrutably at the field of tall close-sown wheat, at the collection of gaily painted beehives, at the water meadows ready for the paprika plants.

Then they gathered under an old oak tree in the castle yard where every detail of the farm's economy was set out on notice boards. As cautiously as one who crosses a dangerous torrent on uncertain stepping stones, they began to discuss the pros and cons of joining the collective farm.

When we questioned them they agreed that the use of a higher grade of seed than was usual in the district had produced what promised to be a good crop of wheat, and that by using a Soviet method of cross sowing recommended by the local agronomist, the collective farmers would probably raise the yield still higher. They were clearly impressed by the spick and span machinery and the new cowsheds.

Yet when we inquired why they didn't join the collective, most of them shrugged their shoulders, or looked down at the ground and shifted their feet, or muttered out of the side of their mouths. For the first time in their lives these peasants were faced with a free choice. Hardly surprising that they should find the process difficult!

These are people to whom freedom is at first something awesome, a responsibility not lightly to be

shouldered. All their lives had been marked by a series of arbitrary decisions imposed from above. They had seen their citizenship changed, their cash savings melt away in wild inflations; they had been marched off to fight a people they knew nothing about and certainly bore no ill, and here, now, in their own Luncani they were being told that *if they wished* to they could adopt a new way of organizing their work and lives which, they could see for themselves, had obvious advantages. Small wonder that some speculated whether there was not a catch in the offer.

This slow, painful process of convincing themselves that it is to their advantage to surrender their individual property rights has been going on for eighteen months in this village. During that time the kulaks have not been idle.

As a class, Rumania's kulaks, living off the labor of others, are doomed. They cannot join the collectives and they know they will sooner or later lose their land. Some are finding work in the cities, others on the country's big construction schemes. But some are savagely opposing collectivization and fighting cunningly to influence the middle peasantry.

In this village, for instance, kulaks tried to frighten the middle peasants by spreading the rumor that the collection of signatures to the Stockholm Appeal last year was a veiled form of plebiscite on the question of collectivization.

Collectivization, however, has ceased to be a bogey to the average Rumanian peasant. Many of them have visited the Soviet Union to study kolkhozes in action and in every part of the country there are young collective farms to serve as permanent examples. At Luncani the yield of the collectively worked land

last year was almost twice as high as of the individual peasants, and higher than that of the kulaks' land.

I visited at random several cottages of the Luncani collective farmers. One didn't look here for radio sets, plumbing, closets full of city-made suits. Standards are below those of the Soviet Union. But there are clear signs of advance. The farmers now sleep on beds, they wear leather boots, they eat wheaten bread and meat. They no longer have to worry about food and wine. Their children go to school. I saw books in these earth-floor homes, and technical literature and newspapers. Luncani is one of the 12,000 Rumanian villages that have started a cultural club. There were only some 200 of these in all Rumania before the war.

The impression I took away from Luncani is that most of the peasants still outside the collective are only waiting to see what shares of the harvest the collective farmers will receive at the end of this year before reaching their final decision. As the collective farmers are expecting a rich harvest they are confident that most of the village will then join them.

Another factor they are counting on to play a big part in the argument is the arrival of new machinery in the village. Though the machine-tractor stations work for indi-



Collective farmer Ion Mihaila signs the Appeal of the World Council of Peace asking the five big Powers to enter into a Pact of Peace

vidual peasants as well as for the collective farms, their effectiveness is obviously less in small-scale farming. Each piece of new machinery reaching the village is thus an argument in favor of collectivization.

Thus it is true to say that Rumania's factories hold the key to the future of collective farming. A subsequent article will describe Rumania's growing industry, life in the city, and how the Rumanians feel that they are building up their country by themselves and for themselves.

NEW LIFE FOR RUMANIAN JEWS

THE OFFICIAL *Rumanian News*, published in Washington, reports that 50,000 Rumanian Jewish people have learned skilled trades since 1949. Jews in the past could not, as a rule, participate in productive labor and had to earn their living by non-productive means. Anti-Semitism barred them from training schools. After the war, the Rumanian People's Republic suppressed all manifestations of anti-Semitism, opened State Jewish theaters, schools in Yiddish and newspapers and broadcasts in Yiddish and effectively demonstrated to the Jewish people the true democratic character of the new system.

'Blessed Are the Peacemakers'

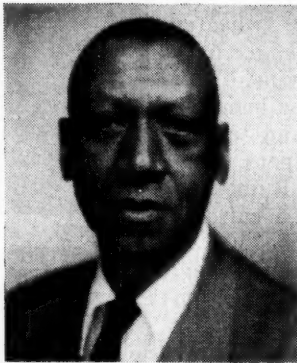
by ALEXANDER WRIGHT

I RECENTLY visited a number of European countries, including the Soviet Union. In France and Italy, where the Marshall Plan is in effect, you find unemployment, beggars, prostitutes. And, of course, a war scare, and a growing hatred for the United States. This hatred is explained by the fact that under the Marshall Plan they must take finished products from the U.S. while their factories remain idle.

They need a shopping bag full of money to buy a paper bag of groceries. I was amazed to see proud Frenchmen walking around in the streets in April wearing tennis shoes. But when I looked in the shop windows and saw shoes marked from 13,000 to 30,000 francs I knew why. Lots of workers' homes had light or water cut off and some had both cut off. I found children in France and Italy home from school because they did not have shoes or clothes to wear.

But in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia the picture is different. The first thing to strike you is the new building projects. The second thing is the words, Peace, World Peace, Friendship and Peace. The third thing is the contented expressions on the faces of the people.

But the thing that astonished me



Alexander Wright

most was the friendly reception we got from the people that we have been taught to believe to be hostile and resentful. At once I began to wonder why these people act so happy and friendly. The answer is that they have none of the worries of insecurity. They are building homes that they know are theirs. They are building factories and schools, improving farms, building hospitals, cultural centers. And for the first time in history they can call these things their own. The reason is that human needs come before anything else.

For the first time in my life, I, a Negro was able to walk in dignity, knowing full well that I was protected by both the people and the government. I could walk without any fear of whether or not a white man I was meeting would greet me, kick me, or spit in my face.

I looked for the iron curtain but I couldn't find it. I only found well-fed, happy, intelligent people who had wiped out unemployment, poverty and insecurity.

My visit to the Soviet Union was one of the most important experiences of my life. The complete acceptance of me, as a Negro, as an equal to all other human beings is something that I have always looked

ALEXANDER WRIGHT was a member of the May Day delegation to the Soviet Union. A former boxer and star baseball player, Mr. Wright was until recently international representative of the Stone Quarry and Allied Workers Union, CIO. He is now Western Pennsylvania director of the Progressive Party.

forward to. For the reception I received from the youth of the Soviets, I can say it was unbelievable. Yet, the peace and the expressions on the faces of the children give me a sense, a feeling of friendship that I cannot believe anything else but sincere.

My impressions of the Soviet Union from all that I have seen is that the people want peace. And I believe that they are sincere about it. Not one war picture have I seen advertised. The children in the streets, the women in the shops, the workers in the factories, all are talking peace. And I don't think this is just a gesture. They want the right to live and to develop their country and to be on a friendly basis with all the world.

I, as a Negro, who have been oppressed, still have faith that some day we all can become friends to all of the peoples of the earth, and this is based on my Biblical faith that out of one blood God created all the nations that live on the face of the earth and that we are brothers under the skin. And we have got to

either live together in peace or die facing each other on the battlefield. I, for one, choose peace, peace on earth and goodwill to all men.

I have read, and been told, and heard on the radio that the people of Russia are of an aggressive nature. I could not believe my own eyes when I came into the Soviet Union and found just the opposite. To anyone that doubts me I say that it would be good to take the problems of the Bible: "Can anything good come out of Nazareth, then come and see." With this I am convinced that my stand on peace is right.

I take it from the four points of that Book that was given to me as a guide. That Book said that God demanded that they should beat the swords into ploughshares and the spears into pruning hooks, and the nations should go to war no more. Christ came into the world as the Prince of Peace with the angels saying "Peace on earth and goodwill to men." Christ said himself: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God," not subversives, but the children of God.

Then the ten commandments say without reservations, "Thou shalt not kill." Let us be guided by the Sermon on the Mount and do unto others as we would have them to do unto us. Let us have peace in the world.

"DEBACLE" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE AMERICAN press has been discussing an "economic debacle" in Czechoslovakia, based on reports to a recent Communist Party Congress there that the five-year plan has been lagging in some branches.

The correspondents conveniently ignored official reports on results for the first quarter of 1951, which show that the plan was fulfilled 100.7 per cent, that volume of industrial production increased 13 per cent, compared with the first quarter of last year; that output of heavy industry rose 16 per cent; heavy machine building, 22; food industry 21. The volume of building work more than doubled.

AMERICAN TEACHER IN WARSAW

*Former N.Y.U. professor describes
attitude of students toward classes,
teachers, and world they live in*

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

BEING A PROFESSOR at the University of Warsaw is a curious experience, in which the familiar and the unfamiliar are strangely mingled.

Unfamiliar surely to my New York eyes, and poignantly so, is the physical setting of the place where I now work. You enter the campus through a wide, wrought-iron gate at the upper end of Nowy Swiat—that gently curving street of quietly classical eighteenth century houses, which was a mass of rubble in 1945 but is now cleanly reborn as it was in its fairest heyday. The University gate is flanked to right and left by buildings in the same style, reduced to gutted shells in the war and now being restored. Ahead of you the campus, a small one by inflated American standards, slopes gradually towards a parapet overlooking a strip of low-lying shore land below it (largely covered by ruins in this area) and the shining Vistula beyond.

The University buildings, separated from one another by plots of grass, flower beds and occasional trees, are unpretentious and mellow (seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries), chipped and shot-marked and in one case roofless though still

functioning. One structure is nothing but an outline of crumbling wall; another—the noble Kazimierzowski Palace—is now almost completely restored, though as yet encumbered with scaffolding.

Directly facing you, as you enter the gate, is the least attractive building, the library: a top-heavy structure of the later nineteenth century, whose windowless ground floor suggests the fustiness of the period. But the face of the library is covered with ivy, and the ground before it is colorful with spring flowers: strips of clear red tulips alternating with white (the colors of Poland), velvety purple pansies, daffodils, and tall bushes of lilacs and dogwood. Students helped to lay out some of these plants as part of their pre-May Day pledges of extra work for the University.

The students themselves give many contrasting impressions of familiarity and of newness to a teacher from the West.

DR. MARGARET SCHLAUCH, now teaching at Warsaw University, was a professor at New York University from 1940 until quite recently. Dr. Schlauch has also taught at the University of Chicago and John Hopkins.



Classes over, they enjoy a walk on the embankment. She studies history of art at Warsaw University, and he is studying architecture at the Polytechnical Institute

On the long sunny evenings of spring they linger under the blossoming chestnut trees and hang over the wall above the river bank, talking earnestly or jesting as the case may be, as is the way of students everywhere at this season.

In the classes which I teach, the subject matter and the English medium of communication sometimes make me forget where I am. The problems are familiar: to explain the nature of allegory and symbolism, to show how literary forms are connected with the ideology of a given society at a given time; to demonstrate how a poet like Chaucer, though "difficult" to read because of the language, yields great values in vision and human understanding if you work on him hard enough. Very agreeable is the familiar experience of having the solemn young faces before me break into delighted smiles as I reveal the hidden satiric humor

in our text or illustrate it by a modern anecdote.

The differences are of course apparent too, at every turn.

Signs of strain and after effects from war and occupation are frequently apparent. One pale girl in my language course bears the indelible mark of a German concentration camp on her forearm. She was taken away from Poland so early that she forgot her native language completely and grew up speaking German; the strangeness of Polish since her repatriation is still a handicap to her. One of the young men—a tall and otherwise handsome chap—lost an eye and an ear in the 1944 uprising. Every one of them has a story to tell of remembered scenes, more or less sensational.

Even more striking than the differences in appearances are the differences in interests and preoccupations. The general tone of the stu-

dent body is more earnest here. There are, it is true, evenings of dancing and singing at the University, in connection with various holidays, but "social life" in the sense of fraternity and sorority doings, all-important athletics, frolics and formal dances, does not exist as in American universities.

By old tradition as well as recent experience, European students become adult in their outlook and behavior at a more tender age than do young Americans of the same group—say, the latter teens and early twenties. (This does not mean, I hasten to add, that truly mature, original-thinking American students in any way fall short of their fellows here.)

Very many of the Warsaw graduate students work at a full-time job and give the late afternoons and evenings to studying for higher degrees. This situation is familiar to me through my experiences with like students at New York University. In fact, one may say that the very general practice of "working one's way" through college and graduate school, though previously not unknown, is a development in which the new Poland comes much closer to the best democratic educational traditions of America than did the old, with its rigid class system and static, almost feudal society. Now, miracles of self-improvement are a daily occurrence at all levels.

Political activity is conspicuous and unremitting among students. There are campaigns and meetings, speeches and mobilizations directed toward realizing various aspects of the national Six-Year Plan in the realm of culture. There is also much activity centered about current political issues, both national and international.

Such activity seems natural to me,

after years on an American campus where the student movement, through all its ups and downs of two decades, has been courageous and effective. As I sat in the Hall of Columns listening to a pre-May Day rally, I thought how familiar were the themes: the struggle for peace, the condemnation of fascism, the dedication to a better future, the confident hope in mankind's ability to make more rational use of life on this planet.

I thought back over rallies in New York during the years of hunger and unemployment, during the Spanish Civil War and the period of Munich, during the rise of postwar reaction and the fight against our reactionary Tafts and Hartleys, McCarthys and MacCarrans, Deweys and Dulleses. . . . And my ears caught many of the old fighting phrases, familiar to me though now expressed in Polish. The very virtues and defects of the student rhetoric (reliance on clichés, but redeemed by vivid sincerity) were familiar.

I thought to myself: you have changed the scene, but not the basic struggle in which you are engaged. When a delegation of students invites me to make a statement on the current Peace Plebiscite, I almost think I hear remembered voices asking me to speak at a peace rally in Washington Square Park in New York.

Yet there is one great difference, of course. Whereas students and faculty members who made the cause of militant progress their own in America have usually been a minority, and have latterly been a most vexed and persecuted minority, here the militants are in the majority. The speakers for peace run no risk of revoked permits or police interference or reprisals from deans. In fact, deans and rectors themselves partici-

pate in the calls for action against the threat of renascent fascism, and urge the support of causes like the peace movement.

To be sure, skeptics and captious critics do exist in the university body. It would be misleading to suggest that all persons are united in supporting the political program as one man.

Among faculty members I have found those who have openly expressed nostalgia for the "good old days" when they enjoyed more snobbish privileges and distinctions—the good old days, be it noted, of Pilsudski's reactionary regime, accompanied by violence against Jews, violence against the working class, ignorance and a servile squalor as the lot of the great majority of the people. In many respects, the old Polish regime followed methods and aims similar to Hitler's. It was a regime which, in the words of Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz, "exposed the Polish people and their interests for sale on

the international market of imperialist barter," purchasing outside support for reaction by the sale of the country's future to the highest bidder.

When individuals, within the University or without, express nostalgia for the days of Pilsudski, therefore, they are putting the special interests and privileges of a discredited group ahead of the welfare of the nation as a whole. That they can do so, in the face of the all but miraculous transformations going on about them, the physical rebuilding and the spiritual rebirth, testifies (it seems to me) to the invincible blindness of those who will not see.

Yet even these obstinate malcontents have to admit that not one professor has lost his post for political reasons since the United Polish Workers Party assumed leadership here; nor have professors been required to sign loyalty oaths or to answer questionnaires about their beliefs.

The physics laboratory for advanced students at the Institute of Experimental Physics at Warsaw University



One source of the generally healthy atmosphere in the University is the change in personnel among the students. By scholarships and other types of aid, favoring those once discriminated against and underprivileged, the sons and daughters of the working class and peasantry are now studying in large numbers as compared with the pre-war period. Then (1935-36) workers' children composed 7 per cent of the University student bodies, but now, 38.6 per cent; peasants' children were then 6 per cent and are now 25 per cent.

With each year, therefore, the students reflect more faithfully the backgrounds of the majority of the people of the country.

It is a pleasure to work with these young people. I find a quaint combination of attitudes among them. Their formal manners, their deference to professors as to rather Olympian creatures, smack of the old days. (I have not yet become accustomed to low bows and literal handkissing!)

But with all the traditional amenities, one remarks an upsurge of vivid new democracy everywhere. Each department, for instance, conducts meetings each term with students of various levels of achievement, to discuss the improvement of work. On such occasions a student presides, another reads a prepared report on problems and desiderata, and then the floor is open for general discussion.

The emphasis is on constructive suggestions. For instance, our department recently organized volunteer conversation groups for students wishing to practice the language, as a result of desires expressed at one meeting.

Sometimes specific courses are criticized as too easy, or too lacking in stimulus and interpretative

values. This puts professors very much on their mettle. Recalling certain instances I have known where professorial dullness was permitted to become profounder and more inept with the years, I could not help thinking that a dash of such outspoken student criticism would be very tonic indeed in certain academic circles back home. The medicine is sometimes a bit sharp, but it is definitely stimulating.

Faculty meetings are very much what I have been accustomed to. When I attended the first one held by the philological departments of the Humanities Division, I found myself in a dignified hall, seated at a long table like that in the Council Room at New York University. Some fine portraits of seventeenth and eighteenth century dignitaries, both lay and ecclesiastical, were looking down upon me from the walls. Exquisite pieces of antique furniture stood along the walls. Some of the gilt French chairs had recently been reupholstered in petit-point, while other pieces, minus upholstery, still awaited restoration. Late afternoon sunlight sifted through the chestnut trees outside and came slanting through the high French windows. The presiding dean—a white-haired, pink-cheeked, blue-eyed professor of Chinese language and literature—went rapidly through the correspondence and announcements that come before such a dean everywhere.

Main item on the agenda was the approval or rejection of dissertation subjects from the various departments. The Latin professor, with that humorous otherworldliness found so frequently among his kind, explained why a title sponsored by him contained the genitive form *Lucreti* instead of *Lucretii* (or was it the reverse?), while the rest of us smiled tolerantly. There was a brief discus-

sion about one item emanating from the English department, when its scope was queried by the professor of African languages (Coptic, Ethiopian, Old Egyptian). All in all, a very familiar atmosphere indeed.

The one innovation clearly due to a socialist environment was the presence of two student representatives at a small table by the wall. They listened attentively, took notes, and at one time raised a question.

A less visible difference between this university administration and many in America is the absence here of a board of directors composed of business men, bankers or "realtors." There are no millionaire benefactors here, either, to be lured or rewarded by honorary degrees. The University is run by academic people themselves,



The ivy-covered Library of the University of Warsaw, now reconstructed after great damage by the Nazis

and the faculty deals directly with the Ministry of Education.

STAR SPANGLED IRON CURTAIN

THE WORLD'S astronomers were to meet last month in Leningrad in their Eighth Congress, according to a decision of the Seventh Congress of the International Astronomical Union in Zurich, in August, 1948. Even the agenda was confirmed.

Meanwhile, IAU General Secretary, Danish Professor B. Stromgren, was given the chair of astronomy at the University of Chicago. Affected by the American climate, he failed to send the USSR, in December, 1950, full information regarding the astronomers throughout the world who would participate.

After many unanswered messages, the USSR Academy of Sciences heard from Professor Lindblad, IAU President, that the Congress would be postponed "due to the seriousness of the international situation."

Replying to Professor Lindblad, the Soviet Academy denied the validity of the grounds for postponing the Congress, pointed out that it would contribute to mutual understanding, would in fact be a means of allaying international tension, and that in fact international congresses scheduled for this year in a number of countries were not being cancelled.

But the obedient majority of the IAU adopted the proposal for postponement circulated in questionnaire form.

Deploping such obstacles placed before international contact among scientists, Soviet Academician A. V. Topchiev wrote in *Pravda*:

"The ruling circles of the USA have thus really succeeded in erecting an iron curtain in front of scientists who wish to have an opportunity of seeing the Soviet Union and becoming acquainted with its science."



A health representative of China Welfare Institute talks to mothers inside the factory about child care



At the weekly mothers' club the men aid on how to care for their ex

New Deal for China's Mothers and Children

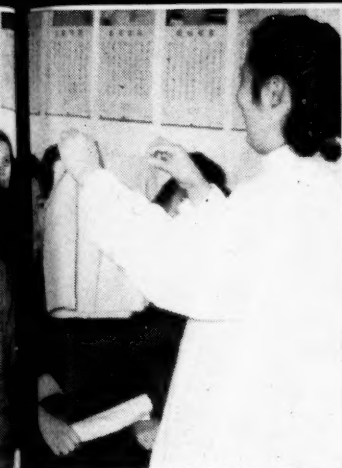
Child's grandfather looks on proudly as CWI nurse puts drops into baby's eyes



New China's extensive program of mother and child complements the work of China Welfare Institute headed by Mme. Sun Yat-sen. It operates two health centers in areas serving 60,000 women in Shanghai

After learning the facts of new life, the mothers give others the benefit of their experience



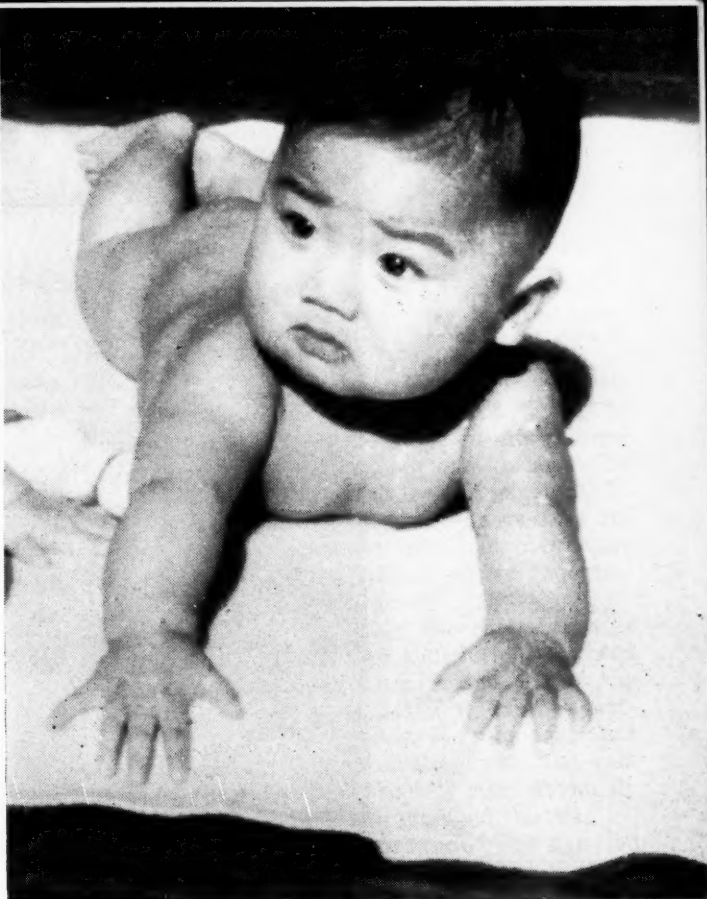


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for their expected youngsters

Children

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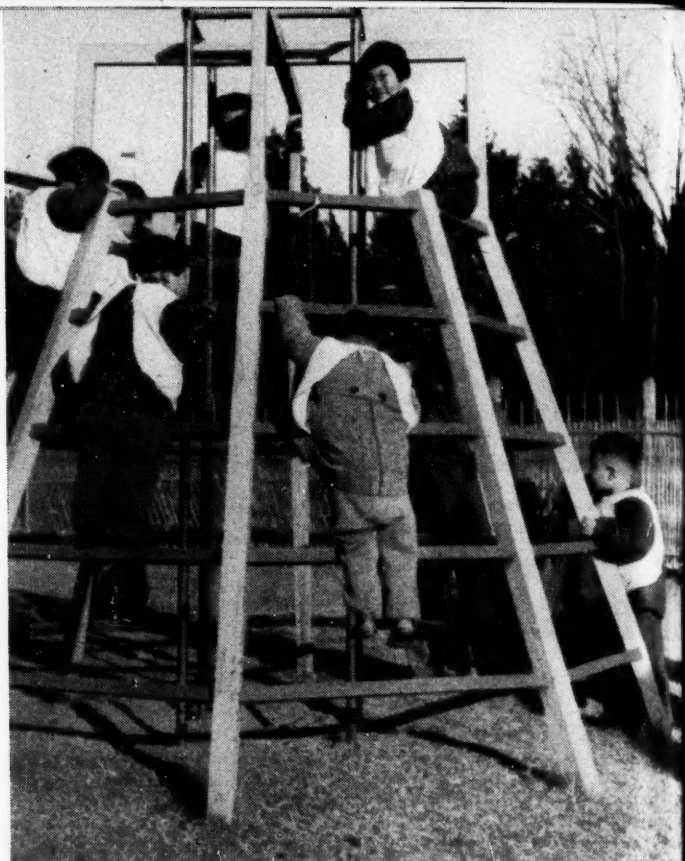


Above, a five-month-old, showing the serenity
of his elders, exercises his back muscles

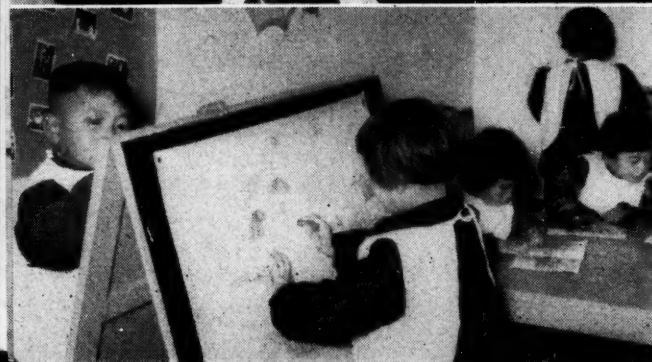
Doctor from Mme. Sun's China Welfare Insti-
tute vaccinates child while the mother looks on



After years of war horrors the children of new China begin to learn what play is—and to enjoy it



The youngsters try their hand at drawing in the art room of the creche, one of thousands in China



Children of working mothers having a snack while trained nursery teachers look on

CHINA NEWSREEL

by
EARL WILLMOTT

MORE and more we can see that the new government, as its name implies, is really a *people's* government. The instances which have brought this home in recent months are exceedingly numerous.

The government, for example, recently decreed that working women on the birth of a child were to have two months vacation with full salary and that any substitute engaged should be paid by the institution.

Another example of the government's concern for the good of the people is the effort to eliminate unemployment and mendicancy. Already several thousands of unemployed—left over from the Kuomintang regime—have been given work.

Beggars, too, have not only been given work but have had training to change their mental outlook so that they will look down on living on charity and want to produce. Those who are not physically able to do regular labor are given something which they can do. I have seen no beggars recently.

Thieves are given the same treatment. At first, soon after liberation, we had the impression that a too-lenient policy toward thieves was encouraging them. Now, however, stealing has greatly lessened.

Some time ago a thief was caught at the parsonage of one of our city churches. The pastor talked to him with a forgiving spirit about such a sinful way of life and let him go.

Some time later he was caught by the sexton of the church trying to get away with some of his things. He called a policeman who naturally inquired of the sexton all that he knew about the man. The sexton reported that the man had previously been caught, talked to by the minister and let go.

The next day the minister was called to the police station. He was reproved for his treatment of the thief, letting him go without reporting to the police. He was told that his method of dealing with the man was hurting society for obviously his talk had not changed the man.

What the man needed was a period of education which would entirely change his point of view so that he would be ashamed to live by stealing and would want to contribute to society by producing. Re-education of such parasites of society was the only way.

About a year ago we experienced an upsurge of banditry. There was quite a bit of robbery in the countryside and the people became pretty upset. In Chengtu, pillboxes were put up at the city gates and guards about the city were strengthened.

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Curfew was enforced at an early hour and even soon after dark one was challenged frequently along dark roads.

Then in May the tension began to relax. Gradually the guards were reduced, the curfew was set later and later. In August the pillboxes at the city gates were removed. Recently two Chinese acquaintances paid a visit to their homes—three and four days' distance from Chengtu respectively. They hadn't been home for many years. Both reported on their return with great enthusiasm how peaceful the countryside now was. No robbers along the road; they didn't even hear of pickpockets.

There are, of course, many reasons for this changed situation. Largely, however, it is due to the steadily improving economic conditions in the countryside. People are no longer forced into banditry because of want. Also, the work of education and organization carried out among the farmers has borne fruit in combating the old feudal secret societies which, in league with the Kuomintang, used to tyrannize the countryside.

Last fall a conference of some 20,000 representatives of the Farmers' Bandit Suppression Self-Defense Corps was held in Chengtu. Some 2,400 of the delegates were billeted in our West China Union University buildings. The furniture was cleared out of lecture halls and they spread their bedding on the floor.

It was quite an experience for the farmers. Part of the time they attended special meetings and so on. At other times they were left free to roam around and look the city over. This was something entirely new. Before, the old Kuomintang government had promised a new deal for the farmers, but such promises were empty and the farmers knew

it, for the government was made up of those whose wealth depended on their land.

Thus, in actuality the state machinery—police, law courts, army—protected the interests of the landlords against any opposition on the part of the tenants. Now the farmers know this government is really determined to help them and they know that the job of improving their own



lives will be accomplished because they *are* the government.

On another occasion we had more than 200 farmers from the surrounding countryside living in the University and middle school for a week. Every day, for a good part of the day, they sat in little circles of twelve or fifteen on the grass discussing their various problems and the government policy toward them.

In this period before land reform is carried out, the policy is to reduce rent and have all deposits returned. There used to be a vicious system of a renter having to pay down a rather large deposit, on which he received no interest, as well as paying a monthly or seasonal rent. This deposit was paid back when he stopped renting the land or the house, but as the next renter paid his deposit down, the landlord always had the money as capital to use without interest.

Now the landlords must return the deposits. For some landlords this is

a bit difficult since their money is tied up in grain and other investments. But it is only just. The money should never have been paid. The rent reduction will ease the burden on the farmer still more. Later, of course, the land of the landlords will be divided among the poor peasants and rent will be a thing of the past.

The justice of this policy is self-evident when it is realized that in some areas of the country rents have run to as high as 80 per cent of the crop. The amount which the landlords have thus squeezed out of the peasants in past years is incalculable.

In the past, district or ward government in the cities was based on the repressive *pao chia* system. In some areas of the country, it operated as a mutual guarantee organization in which each member had to guarantee the conduct of all the other members of the group—a sort of hostage system.

This form of city organization was eliminated in Chengtu right after liberation. However, it was quite a while before a new, democratic

type of city administration was inaugurated. Now, instead of the heads of the *pao* and *chia* being appointed from above to control the people, the *dsu* and *chu* elect heads to represent the people.

In the first election, our cook and Mr. Lu, a middle school teacher, were both candidates for office in the *dsu*. I think our cook was really glad that he was not elected for he did not want the responsibility, but he was nevertheless very pleased to have been a nominee. Mr. Lu received the highest number of votes so he is the head of the *dsu*. The *dsu* consists of about thirty households. The *chu* is the next larger district—in this case consisting of nine *dsu*.

In the neighboring *dsu* our old gate-man, Chen, has a small farm and lives in a little mud-straw house. After the election there his house was decorated with banners and bouquets of flowers, for he had been one of those elected to office.

The first step in the *chu* elections was for each *dsu* to elect a candidate—he might or might not be the already elected head of the *dsu*. Then

BALLOT BY BEANS

—by Ku Chun

From "People's China"



the *dsu* heads and vice-heads had a meeting at which they talked about each other's nominee and discussed the ability of each to be an officer of the *chu*. They decided upon five of the nine to be candidates and went back to their *dsu* with their recommendations.

Then the *chu* election meeting was held. Our university gymnasium was pressed into service and gaily decorated. All the adults of the *chu* crowded in. After singing the national song—sung with real spirit and not in the dirge-like manner in which the old Kuomintang song was usually rendered—the chairman of the committee of *dsu* heads gave a speech on the importance of the election. He told of some of the evils of the old *pao chia* system and of how the people now were going to rule themselves.

The chairman then called on each of the five candidates in turn to speak. These were not vote-getting election speeches such as we in the West are accustomed to, but rather in praise of the new day and its possibilities and the responsibility of the people. When they had finished "blowing the people's horn," rather than their own, the chairman called for speeches from anyone who felt he had something to say.

And then came the voting. The five candidates sat on the front of the platform facing the people. Behind each of them on a table was a small tub with a piece of paper pasted over it which had a small hole in the center. *Dsu* by *dsu* the people stood up and as one by one they came up to the platform, they were given two large beans. They passed along behind the candidates in a continuous file, each person dropping his or her two beans into the tubs of the two candidates they wished to vote for.

While the votes were being counted there were skits and songs with lots of clanging and drumming. And then the *chu* head and vice-head—the highest and second highest number of votes—were announced. The elected officers of this *chu* now meet with the officers of the other *chu* of Chengtu municipality and study proposals for the administration of the city.

This is the first step toward complete self-government. Some other cities which were liberated earlier, have progressed even further. In Peking the mayor was just recently elected by the people.

The Methodist Church in Chengtu has been trying out a new program for Sunday morning. Everyone seems to be very enthusiastic about it—even the visiting preachers who suddenly find themselves analyzed and checked. The worship service is conducted as usual, though a little shortened. It concludes with the sermon and a hymn. Then the whole congregation divides into small groups for discussion of the sermon. The groups are led by laymen of the church who have had experience in leading discussion groups.

Three general questions are asked: 1) What points in the sermon were not clearly understood? 2) What in the sermon was applicable to life and how can it best be applied? 3) How did the main points of the sermon fit the social situation in China today? This group discussion lasts for thirty or forty minutes. It makes the preacher think as well as his congregation!

No matter what field of endeavor one turns toward, there is increasing evidence of change and progress. On every hand one sees the people busy at work and thinking, talking, discussing and planning for a better future.



THE NEW PARTNERSHIP

—Fred Ellis

THE UNEQUAL TREATY

by

by JAMES S. ALLEN

SOME fifty nations are to convene in San Francisco on September 4 for a conference on a peace treaty with Japan. It had been planned as a purely formal rite with the hope that the Soviet Union would disregard the invitation to attend. The document had been agreed upon beforehand in private negotiations between the United States and a handful of powers in the North Atlantic Alliance. Dubbed the "treaty of reconciliation" by John Foster Dulles, the cartel politico who labored on it, the new pact was to have been sold to the world as a product of American kindness and forbearance.

However, the acceptance of the invitation to the conference by the So-

viet Union, in the words of a *New York Times* dispatch by W. H. Lawrence on August 14, "dashed American hopes for a brief harmonious session."

The next-door neighbors of Japan denounce the treaty as an effort to restore the aggressive power which invaded and devastated their territory. The governments of the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea refuse to recognize the validity of a treaty drawn up without their participation and in violation of prior agreements among the allies in the war against Japan. The treaty, therefore has no roots among the very forces which can assure peace in the Far East and keep open the avenue

of constructive cooperation between the Japanese people and the nations of Asia.

So great is the outcry against the treaty throughout Asia that it is doubtful whether any but the most abject and dependent governments will adhere. It is a settlement exclusively among the powers which have held imperial sway over Asia for a century, and against which the native peoples are in open rebellion. The pact is a new edition of the "unequal treaties" like those shaken off by China and now revived on a grand scale by the United States.

If the separate peace treaty has any validity, it is only as a blueprint of the grand strategy of the United States for domination of the Pacific. Its provisions reveal the usual traits of imperialist expansion—territorial, military, and economic. The Japanese islands of Ryukyu (which includes Okinawa), Bonin, Rosario, Volvano, Pareces Vila and Marcus are to be annexed by the United States under cover of a UN trusteeship. The future annexation or control of Formosa and the Pescadores by the United States is indicated. Japan renounces all rights to these territories, but the treaty is silent on their return to China, as agreed in the Cairo Declaration of 1943.

These annexations, actual and intended, tie in with the military aspects of the treaty to form the framework for the fortification of the Pacific as an American lake. Japan would become the spearhead, aimed at the heart of East Asia, of an extensive military network, spread out along the Pacific approaches to all of seething Asia.

The treaty places no restrictions upon Japan's armed forces. According to occupation authorities, the Army is planned at no less than 500,-

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000 men, the Navy at 780 ships with an active corps of perhaps 350,000 and the Japanese air force is to be restored. This military power is to be linked with the armed forces of the United States. The treaty provides for a condition of permanent military occupation. A pact between the United States and Japan is planned, to be signed simultaneously with the peace treaty, granting bases in the homeland to the United States, together with special rights in adjacent territory, waters and air, and the assurance of untrammelled communications and supply for the American armed forces.

Japan's role as an off-shore base, arsenal and taking-off point for military action on the continent is emphasized by the Korean war. The economic provisions of the treaty are intended to enhance this role. Nothing is said about the prohibition of war industry, which has been supplying United States forces in Korea and Chiang Kai-shek's mercenaries in Formosa with equipment, including tanks, artillery, shells, and napalm bombs. With the rapidly growing participation of American capital in Japanese firms, Japan's war industry is already booming. Charles Wilson, chief U.S. war mobilizer, and former president of General Electric, has come out openly with the proposal to harness Japan's industry to the production of war goods, and Premier Yoshida, reading correctly

the sense of the separate treaty, speaks of the permanent integration of Japan's economy into that of the United States.

Such a treaty can be imposed upon the people only with the cooperation of the very forces which led to wars of aggression. The consequence of the treaty therefore would be to restore to full power the militarists and the Zaibatsu, in a new, dependent relationship to American strategic planning and monopoly expansion.

Under the veneer of democratic phrases, the process of restoration got well started during the occupation. The "depurging" which has been going on will return some 200,000 wartime officials and corporation executives to their posts. The Japanese government, under the treaty, would be enabled to turn more openly and swiftly far to the right, accelerating the drive against the trade unions and people's organizations.

This trend was given official blessing by Dulles during his visit to Japan, when he conferred on the treaty with outstanding Japanese, notorious for their fascist orientation. Even Japan's Attorney General must admit that 600 secret military-

fascist societies, which backed the wars of conquest in Asia, are again in operation. This is "reconciliation" in a big way with the Japan of Pearl Harbor and the Axis.

In this scheme Japan is the hub of a larger Pacific bloc. Together with the separate peace treaty and the U.S.-Japanese military pact, a so-called security alliance is to be established between the United States and Australia and New Zealand. The agreement has already been initialed by these governments and is to be officially signed in advance of the San Francisco conference.

In the last war, Australia was almost overrun by Japan, and concern over the danger of a remilitarized Japan is widespread in the Pacific Dominions. The pact is supposed to guarantee these peoples against further aggression from that quarter, but its real purpose is to turn these lands into bases, arsenals, and supply depots for American armed forces.

American policy-makers originally talked of a large Pacific bloc, on the model of the North Atlantic Alliance, but this scheme was scotched by other nations with impe-

THE WAY OF LIFE
AND
THE WAY OF DEATH

Fang Cheng and Chung Ling
From People's China



rialist aims of their own in Asia. Dulles perforce had to begin with this smaller model of a "security system" in the Pacific, to be expanded later. It has already been suggested that Japan might be included in the bloc, to be joined also by Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosan refuge, sealed by the U.S. Navy. Together with the older Pacific bases already in possession of the United States, the military position in the Philippines, and the newer strongholds on the islands annexed from Japan, the "security bloc" provides a formidable network of bases, arsenals, and fortified points aimed at China, the USSR, and the peoples of Asia striving for liberation from colonialism of the old or new variety.

Other provisions of the treaty are aimed at using Japan as a base for the economic penetration by Wall Street of the countries of Asia. Most-favored nations treatment, equal national rights for foreign capital and other devices which are characteristic of American trade imperialism are counted upon to keep the Japanese economy tied to the United States. Envisioning a return to the prewar pattern, the corporation strategists hope to revive the stiff competitive drive against British and other colonial powers in Southeast Asia.

This aspect of the Pacific arrangement has aroused the most opposition from Britain's top circles. While agreeing to the treaty, the British government has reserved the right to protect itself from the economic consequences of the treaty.

And well they might be worried. Japan is cut off from its normal markets and sources of raw materials in East Asia by the prevailing American policy. In 1938, the China mainland, including Manchuria, and Korea took more than half of Japan's

exports and supplied nearly half her imports. Lacking these channels, Japan will have to turn more sharply towards the preserves of the colonial powers in Southeast Asia.

The agreement of the London government was won by Dulles only after long bickering. The sudden change of front of the Laborite government came on a so-called compromise regarding China. This "compromise" consists of the agreement to invite neither the real government of China nor the pretender in Formosa to the peace conference, but to permit the post-treaty Japanese government to decide with whom to deal. This is a complete surrender to Washington's position, with the necessary face-saving of course, for a Tokyo government resulting from Dulles' treaty is committed to Chiang. The fact that British agreement coincided with the dispatch of Harriman to Iran confirms the belief that a deal was made whereby Britain agreed to the treaty, recognizing the prime imperialist position of the United States in the Far East, in return for support from Washington for the British in the oil crisis in Iran.

Considering the rivalries at work among the powers themselves, and the forces shaping the future of Asia, the treaty lacks solid foundation in reality. Without the participation of China any treaty with Japan would lack validity, and assumes immediately the character of an imposition by outside powers. And as long as South Korea remains an outpost of aggression and a symbol of the attempt to restore the old order, all of Asia will view the treaty as a form of aggression.

Even governments paid for and delivered have been unable to withstand the popular indignation aroused by the treaty draft. At Manila, an official body declared the draft "un-

acceptable," the Youth League of the governmental Liberal Party burnt Dulles in effigy, and even the inimitable stooge for the United States, Carlos P. Romulo, has found it necessary to declare that the treaty "filled the Filipino people with profound disillusionment and dismay."

The failure of the treaty to provide reparations by Japan plays a significant role in the Philippines as in other countries of Southeast Asia. The Indian government protested to the United States against failure to return Formosa to China, the permanent stationing of American troops in Japan, and the cession of the Ryukyu and Bonin islands. Burma and Indonesia denounced the proposed treaty as a bilateral pact between the United States and Japan, raising the danger of new aggressions in the Pacific. Herbert V. Evatt, opposition Labor leader of Australia, found it expedient to differ from his colleagues in the London government, expressing fear for the future as a result of the restoration of Japanese military power.

In Japan, over 2,000,000 people signed the petition for an over-all peace treaty. Many diverse elements are to be found in opposition to the American project, which places the country in a dependent status, and leaves it in a precarious economic position. In fact, in terms of Japan's national interests the benefits offered by the restoration of normal trade with China, Korea, and the Soviet Union have a very pow-

erful appeal. Even the Japanese business organ, *Nippon Keizai*, must admit that these countries have much more to offer Japan in terms of economic stability than the United States. Here is the hint of the inevitable if this imposed treaty is signed: the effort of Japanese business and ruling circles to maneuver among the powers, and between them and the democratic governments of the Far East, to improve their own position.

By restoring old sources of aggression and creating new military blocs, the entire treaty project would push us further along the road to global war. It is a new threat to peace, just as the line of appeasement of Japan during the entire decade of aggression in Asia helped bring on World War II. The Dulles restoration in Japan threatens the security of Asia and also may boomerang in terms of a new Pearl Harbor.

The only alternative course with any prospect of success is to restore the principles of treaty-making as worked out in the wartime agreements among the allied powers. In present-day terms, this would mean agreement on an over-all treaty between the United States, the Soviet Union, the People's Government of China, and Great Britain, with the participation of all peoples engaged in the war against Japan, especially the peoples of Asia. Otherwise we have merely a mirage, with no substance of peace.

19 AMERICANS REPORT

DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS, Pauline Taylor, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Mrs. Theresa Robinson, Charles P. Howard and 13 other Americans describe life in USSR today in **WE SAW FOR OURSELVES**, soon off the press. 100 pp., illustrated. Price 25c. Generous discounts in quantity orders. Order from New World Review.

CHANGING OL' MAN RIVER into FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH

Soviet science will redirect waters of the Amu Darya, turn deserts into orchards, cotton fields

by
M. ILIN

REFASHIONING their land, the people of the Soviet Union have built canals to unite the seas and correct the courses of rivers, they have dictated where new lakes shall rise, new forests spring up, and the turbines of new power stations revolve.

But the most striking changes of all will take place in the desert expanses between the Aral and the Caspian Sea.

For millennia they have lain waste and sterile. Now the decisive day has come. What is a day in the life of the earth! Left to the workings of nature, how slowly and imper-

ceptibly is the change in the course of rivers, the leveling of mountain summits, the invasions and recessions of the sea!

But the time has come when geological revolutions are being accomplished in but a few years, and when millions of people are becoming not only the recorders of, but conscious participators in gigantic processes transforming the face of the earth.

Not the blind forces of nature, but the rational will of a socialist society is remaking the planet, and in accordance with a preconceived plan. And if until now the yardstick of the geologists was millions of years, now it will be tens or even single years.

There was a time when the Amu Darya surrendered its waters to the Caspian Sea. Now, after many thousands of years, it will again be directed on a westerly course. But it will not be the old course. Soviet people do not imitate nature, they remodel it.

In olden days, the Amu Darya delivered its waters to the extensive Sarykamysh depression, and from there to the Caspian Sea. When building the Main Turkmenian Canal we shall not resurrect the dead lake of Sarykamysh. It would require at least 15 years to fill this giant cauldron.

To save time and labor, the Amu Darya will be carried around the Sarykamysh depression. For this purpose a dam will be thrown across the Amu Darya and its waters

M. ILIN'S scientific-literary books are well known in this country. A Soviet engineer by profession, he entered the literary field with a broad technical knowledge. His numerous books include "About the Great Plan," "Mountains and People," "How Man Became a Giant." This is the second article of a series.



Shepherds with their flock on the Kara Kum Desert, which will be transformed by the Main Turkmen Canal into rich grazing grounds and cotton fields

diverted into an artificial channel.

Every river has its peculiar character. The Amu Darya is capricious and turbulent. "Amu" in fact means "frantic." It is continually washing away its banks and shifting its channel.

Every year, the spring floods were both a blessing and a calamity. Without the flood waters, the irrigation canals would not be filled. But they were sometimes too abundant, and inundated fields and villages.

The river carried along with it sand and silt. This, too, had its good and its bad sides. The alluvial deposits brought nutriment to the fields, but they also silted up the irrigation canals.

How many centuries have people had to battle with this capricious river! Now it will have to behave. . . .

To prevent the water seeping around the sides of the dam, it will be built where the banks consist of limestone and hard-packed marine clays. Near the Tahia-Tash headland, where the site for the dam has been chosen, the Amu Darya is

hemmed in by hills, and it flows in a straight and not very broad channel, without deviating to right or left.

Barred by the dam, the river will here form a great reservoir, from which it will be possible to feed the canal with all the water men require. The water from the reservoir, before entering the canal, will pass through a filtering installation. Here it will be relieved of superfluous sand, which is harmful to canals and fields. But it will be allowed to retain everything that may serve as food for plant life, as potassium and phosphorus.

Diverted by the dam into the new irrigation canals, the water will resurrect the land to the right and left of the Amu Darya which, irrigated in ancient times, now lies lifeless and barren.

But the main body of the water will be directed to where it is needed most—into the desert. Skirting the Sarykamysh depression the canal will have to flow through hundreds of kilometers of sandy waste, until

it reaches the oasis of Charyshla. Here begins the Uzboi, the channel of a departed river, with its dry bed and rocky shelves over which the water once seethed and foamed. It would seem as if nature has obligingly traced in the rough the bed of a canal destined to carry water through the desert.

Two dams will be built across the Uzboi to form reservoirs, which will maintain the necessary depth of water in the canal. These heads of water will be made to drive turbines and generate electricity.

On emerging from the power stations, the water will spill into a saucerlike depression, where now nothing but sand and white patches of salt are to be seen. From here on, and all the way to Krasnovodsk, the canal will be navigable. The current will be scarcely perceptible, for there is no point in allowing the precious water of the Amu Darya to run waste into the Caspian. Throughout its long course from the Tahia-Tash dam to Krasnovodsk the canal will donate every drop of water to the desert, so that it may cease to be a desert.

The world's finest long-staple cotton will be grown on the newly-irrigated lands. Turkmenia will produce seven or eight times more of the precious fiber than it does now. The

fields will be able to bear two crops of wheat a year, and these crops will be far more bounteous than in the north, where there is less sunshine and warmth. Four or five crops of hay can be reaped from the irrigated meadows in one summer. And the pastures will support twice, even thrice, the present number of cattle. The flocks and herds will not suffer from thirst in sultry summers: the pastures will be covered with a ramification of trenches and ditches bringing water from the Main Turkmenian Canal.

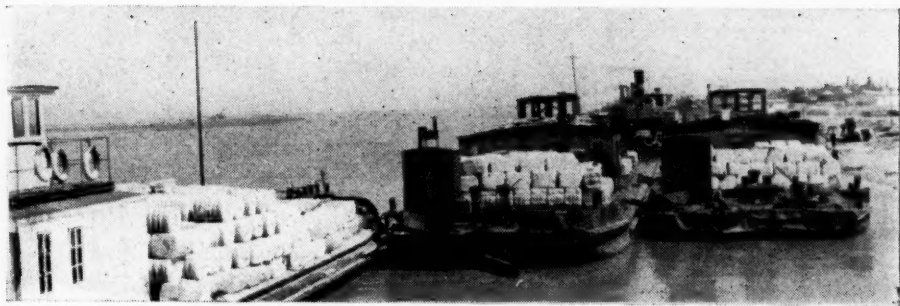
In southwest Turkmenia the way of the north winds is barred by ranges of mountains. Only water is lacking to turn these parts into a natural hothouse, where date, olive, pomegranate and orange and other warmth-loving fruits might grow. This water will now be brought from afar.

Life will be different in the towns and industrial settlements in these arid regions. With the water, trees and flowers will appear in the squares, gardens and streets.

Where now the foot of man scarcely treads, a populous region will arise. It will have to be protected from the sandstorms, dry winds and the moving sands that may obliterate canals, roads and villages. On the



Irrigation has already made fertile fields of the once arid Hungry Steppe of Southern Kazakhstan where this tobacco crop grows



Barges move their cargoes on a calm stretch of the turbulent Amu Darya River, which Soviet scientists will harness and make flow into the Caspian

newly irrigated lands on both sides of the Main Turkmenian Canal protective belts of trees, two kilometers wide and more, will arise.

To steamer passengers the canal will look like a broad blue ribbon stretching through a land of forests. For on the right and the left will tower a wall of greenery of every shade and hue. Poplar will grow side by side with elm, and mulberry with apricot trees.

Windbreaks will then be planted around towns and factories. Saksaul, kandym, tamarisk and silverberry will fix the mobile sands. This land, where timber trees were unknown, will be covered with shady groves.

The tasks confronting the builders are formidable. They will have only six years to lay a canal 690 miles long, the like of which is to be found nowhere in the world. It will supply water to 20,500,000 acres.

It is hard to picture the vastness of the natural changes that will result. Not only on the surface of the earth but beneath the surface too, the course of the waters will be changed. The level of the Aral Sea will fall, and as a result the level of the salty ground waters in the delta of the Amu Darya will also fall. This will help to revivify the saline soil.

Changes will occur in the atmos-

phere as well as in the hydrosphere. The force of the winds will be weakened and the air will become more humid.

The deserts which breed the arid winds and duststorms will be turned into lands of shady woods, green meadows and pastures, vineyards, orchards and cotton fields. And even the bowels of the earth will feel the change. When water appears on the surface, it will be easier to extract the riches hidden in the depths.

The Amu Darya ends in a cul-de-sac—the Aral Sea. Now it is to become part of a direct waterway from Central Asia to the Caspian, and thence, by the Volga, to the center of the country. Along this gigantic carrier will move grain, coal, oil, cotton, sweet Turkmenian grapes, the wool of fine-fleece sheep, Moscow machine tools, Gorky automobiles, building materials. . . .

The mind can scarcely grasp how much has to be done for the accomplishment of this grand plan for the transfiguration of the Soviet country. Veritable mountains of earth will have to be shifted.

Never has the work of remaking our planet attained such sweep. Never has creative thought tackled such tasks, and never has the hand of man erected such structures.



The Lenin Library. The new building is seen at the extreme right

Biggest Library in the World

by VLADIMIR D. KAZAKEVICH

PPRIVATE collections often form the basis for famous public libraries. The New York Public Library, for instance grew out of the Astor-Tilden-Lenox collections.

In Moscow, the Lenin Library, which now houses the largest collection of books in the world, has its origins in the mansion of Count Rumyantsev, Sr., celebrated Russian field marshal of the eighteenth century. Here the general's son collected rare books and thirty years later, after his death, the mansion was turned into a museum and library.

The Lenin Library today has 14

million books, as well as magazines and annual newspaper files. This includes thousands of items in the English language. It acquires more than 500,000 new books each year. The huge collection of this library contrasts favorably with the five million books in the library of the British Museum, the 8 million in the Library of Congress, the 5 million in the New York Public Library and an almost equal number in the Harvard University Library. The Lenin Library is thus the largest library in the world.

The books in the Lenin Library

are in constant use. Last year more than 8,000,000 volumes were consulted by more than a million and a half people. The library also regularly serves other Moscow as well as provincial libraries through its book service exchange. (There are 300,000 public libraries in the USSR.)

Today the Rumyantsev mansion constitutes but a part of the Lenin Library. The old building houses the general reading room. There is also a special manuscript room in the Rumyantsev house. The curtains are drawn to protect the old manuscripts from the sun. Photostatic copies have been made of certain rare and precious manuscripts. The originals lie under glass and by their side, the copies. Copies are available, thus preserving the originals.

The manuscript department also engages in publishing activities, thus making its treasures accessible to the widest circle of people.

Under the Soviet regime the library has grown to such an extent that the Rumyantsev mansion could

VLADIMIR D. KAZAKEVICH was formerly Statistician of the Banking Seminar of Columbia University and Lecturer on Money and Banking at the American Institute of Banking. He was collaborating author with H. P. Willis and J. M. Chapman of "The Banking Situation" and "The Economics of Inflation." He now lives in the USSR.

no longer house it. Its staff today numbers over 1,500 people. The main book fund is located in the new building where millions of books are arranged on the eighteen floors.

It was with understandable curiosity that I walked into the rare books department. Closer acquaintance with them would require at least several days, if not weeks. Certain books which caught my eye were: a first edition of The Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels; a collection of Giordano Bruno's first printed works, some of the volumes even bearing the author's autograph; Andersen's illustrated stories in the Ukrainian language, published seventy years ago; translations of the

Letter No. 230, from "Letters of Lenin," translated and edited by Elizabeth Hill and Doris Mudie, Harcourt Brace, 1937, p. 461. Lenin wrote:

To the Library of the Rumyantsev Museum, Moscow, First September, 1920.

If, according to regulations, reference books cannot be borrowed, could I not be allowed to borrow for reference purposes some books for one evening, say a night, after the library has closed?

I would read them by the morning:

1. Two of the best and most complete Greek dictionaries: Greek-Ger-

man; Greek-French; Greek-Russian; or Greek-English.

2. The best philosophical dictionaries: dictionaries of philosophical terms: German (Eisler, I think); English (Baldwin, I believe); French (I think Franck—if nothing newer); Russian (whichever one you have of the new ones); Radlov's and others.

3. The history of Greek philosophy: a. Tseller—complete and newest edition; b. Gomperz—Viennese philosopher "Griechische Denker."

Bible in the Czech language, published before Martin Luther had made the German translation.

In this department books are arranged not according to how much they cost, nor even on the basis of the beauty of typography and binding. The curator arranges them in historical sequence. Rare books in the Lenin Library serve as illustration of the development of culture and social ideas.

There are two catalogues, one by author's name and the other by subject-matter, arranged in alphabetical order. The library has a special staff for the compilation of bibliographical reference material, which works mainly with the aid of the catalogue by subjects. This staff compiles bibliographical material as requested by the readers. The library's publishing house also issues pamphlets and other reference material of a bibliographical nature. In other words, the Lenin Library is not only a book repository but also an information and bibliographical reference center.

Book registration is simple and convenient. Each card and book has only three marks: a Latin letter indicating the room, number of the bookshelf and the number of the book itself.

The Lenin Library is open from 9 a.m. until midnight. Anyone presenting identification receives permission to use its facilities. The li-



Rare books and manuscripts are micro-filmed, page by page, and stored in the vaults for safe keeping

brary does not, as a rule, lend out books, which is the function of numerous other libraries. Adjoining the Lenin Library is Moscow University, which has its own rich library, and not far away are a number of institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Thus, the Soviet people, who probably use books much more widely than the people in any other country, have access to the largest collection of books in the world right in the center of Moscow.

LIMITED QUANTITY OF ORIGINAL GELLERT REPRODUCTION

New World Review is happy to make available to its readers a fine reproduction of the drawing portraying Lincoln, Douglass, Whitman, Harriet Tubman, Paine and Jefferson by Hugo Gellert, distinguished American artist, which appears on pages 4 and 5 of this issue.

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THE OATIS SPY STORY

WHAT THE U.S. PRESS DIDN'T TELL

by ELEANOR WHEELER

WILLIAM N. OATIS, *Associated Press* correspondent in Prague, made no bones about his guilt when he was tried and convicted for espionage in June. Confronted with notebooks in his own handwriting and his identity card from the Ft. Snelling Intelligence school, he realized how absurd it would be to claim innocence in the face of the conclusive evidence against him.

We have been astonished at the brazenness of the "Western" press in rushing in to cover up for Oatis, flying in the face of irrefutable facts to do so—or, more accurately, suppressing them.

Observers who attended the judicial proceedings (a public trial with members of the U.S. Embassy present) say that Oatis looked healthier than anyone had ever seen this undersized and pale young man.

Those newspapers and commentators who insisted that Oatis was engaged in the "usual" line of business of a correspondent were perhaps saying more than they meant to. At any rate, Bigio of *Reuters* left Prague when Oatis was arrested and "covered" the trial from London. Russell Jones, the *United Press* correspondent, as well as the permanent *Agence France-Presse* man, abandoned

Prague also. On the second day of the trial Oatis asked permission to add to his testimony and when he did so he implicated all three of these news agencies.

Not one of the big papers letting out the sqawks about the injustice done Oatis stopped to ask its readers what would happen in the United States, for example, if a Czechoslovak were to send out information about strategic reserves, security measures, data on strength and disposition of the army, tip off a murderer that he had been exposed and should not return home—in other words pass on confidential and top secret information. And if any of these papers let on that he had to admit, "Yes, those are my notebooks" when he was shown the notes in his own handwriting about the above-mentioned secret information, we have not seen any evidence of it in print.

No one who had seen Oatis operate in Prague was surprised that he had been apprehended. In fact the only reason for doubting that he had intelligence school (spying) training was that he was so open and crude about it. Anyone who attended a press conference with him and listened to his provocative questions

knew what he was up to. One would think that an essential part of such training would be the ability to cover up, but perhaps he had not yet got to that part of the course.

Oatis put on about 20 pounds while awaiting trial—evidently he was on a healthier regimen than when he had to keep midnight rendezvous in connection with his special brand of reporting. It seems to us that the old adage would apply, "Don't say 'rope' in the hangman's house," and that newspapers operating from a country where it is an ordinary occurrence for Negroes to be beaten and tortured (even held over a trapdoor and threatened with death as in the Wilson case in Louisiana) would not be so belligerent about how confessions are obtained. But evidently hints were thrown out that Oatis had been mistreated. Obviously if this had been true, he most certainly would have said so in open court—as torture-victims frequently do in the U.S.

Albion Ross of the *New York Times* once described to us how the correspondents of his type feel about many European countries. When we were having lunch with him in the spring of 1948 he grew almost hysterical at the mention of Friends' relief in Central Europe: "They go around giving relief to Central Europeans! Well, you have to either love these people or hate them. I *hate* them." He further expanded on his "philosophy" by declaring that it had never been possible to "civilize a Slav" and that "civilization had never crossed the Rhine" (presumably meaning in the West-East direction). He made no secret of his feelings, nor did the other correspondents stationed here. Why, then, are they so surprised when the Czechoslovak government resists attempts to "civilize" them to the idea of ac-

ELEANOR WHEELER joined her husband, George, when he worked in military government in Berlin after he had been in Government service in Washington. In 1947 they went to Czechoslovakia, where they settled with their four children. Mrs. Wheeler, who formerly worked for Religious Service there, is now engaged in translation work. Her husband collaborated with her on the accompanying article.

cepting American world domination, resists efforts to stir up revolt and confusion by spreading lies among the Czechs and smuggling out secret information. Oatis was not arrested for "dangerous thoughts," nor even for the way he talked. The Czechoslovak government was very patient with his behavior, but arrested him for overt acts proven by abundant evidence and acknowledged by Oatis himself.

My husband, George, who attended the trial from the very beginning, was so indignant at the crude fabrications in the American press, that he wrote the following letter to the *New York Times*:

Prague
July 31, 1951

Editor, New York Times

Dear Sir:

As a correspondent who knew William N. Oatis, I have read your editorials and numerous stories you have printed about the trial and conviction of Oatis for espionage in Czechoslovakia. These stories have wandered so far from the truth that it is time you printed some of the facts of the case.

I saw that trial along with about 500 other people, including representatives of the American Embassy and correspondents from all over the world. The hearings were open and broadcast. This was no mock trial, but a fully fair one in conformity with the best European traditions.

There is no mystery as to why Oatis confessed to military espionage. He was confronted with evidence in his own handwriting and with the testimony of three of his subordinates. Examples of the evidence which Oatis identified and fully explained in open court are:

1. Oatis' identity card No. 2256 from the Fort Snelling school for espionage. Oatis testified in detail as to his training in military espionage.

2. Notes in his own writing relating to Czech troop movements, military strength, military conferences, the location of important industrial plants and information in regard to atomic energy sources and developments.

3. Information in regard to other persons engaged in espionage, sabotage and murder. For example, Oatis warned a Czech conspirator in Paris not to return to Czechoslovakia because his partners had been caught after they had murdered an official.

Oatis further stated how he received instructions from the U.S. for particular espionage projects, how he reported

these through the military attaché of the U.S. Embassy and how the other Western embassies and press services coordinated their espionage activities.

W. L. Ryan of the AP Bureau wrote (*N. Y. Times*, July 15, 1951) that Oatis was interested only in facts. What spy does more? The question is what kind of facts. Oatis characterized them as "military secrets" and described his main work as "military espionage. That is what I get paid for. Of course I send regular stories also."

Of course the U.S. State Department and wire services issue denials. What else should one expect? But when hundreds of thousands of dollars are appropriated for espionage and when a \$5,000,000 radio station is erected in Munich especially to broadcast daily incitements to Czechoslovak people to commit sabotage and take up arms against their government is it any wonder that some spies and saboteurs and murderers are caught and tried and convicted?

Sincerely,
GEORGE S. WHEELER.

QUESTION BOX

Birobidzhan

QUESTION: *Would you comment on the enclosed article by Harry Schwartz in the New York Times in which he claims the USSR has abandoned the Jewish homeland of Birobidzhan? J.F., Brooklyn, N. Y.*

ANSWER: The entire article lacks any evidence deserving the name to substantiate this sweeping charge. Mr. Schwartz offers a newspaper article published in Tel Aviv conjecturing on the abandonment of Birobidzhan as a Jewish homeland. This, in turn, is based on an alleged report to "a recent congress of the Khabarovsk Territory Com-

munist Party by Pavel Vasilievich Semonov." There is no evidence that such a report was delivered, and the things alleged to have been mentioned in the report are false.

Equally untrue is the allegation that the Jewish population is diminishing in the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan. As far back as 1948, the *Ambijan Bulletin* stated that during the eighteen months preceding April 1948, 20,000 new Jewish settlers arrived in Birobidzhan and that during 1948 new settlers exceeded 2,000 a month.

Mr. Schwartz tries to connect the alleged "abandonment" of Birobidzhan and the discontinuance of activities of the Birobidzhan Committee in this

country. But the Committee ceased its operation for the same reason that, at a much earlier date, Russian War Relief ceased operations: the help the Committee could possibly render the Jewish homeland in the USSR was no longer essential nor necessary. Birobidzhan receives planned budgetary support from the budget of the USSR. The Committee ceased functioning not because Birobidzhan was given up, but on the contrary, because Birobidzhan is growing and prospering.

As a matter of fact, the Committee in the last few years of its existence contributed a large part of its resources to Jews in the countries of Western Europe and in Israel.

The Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan is represented in the Soviet of Nationalities and in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This, it would seem, is the best proof that any talk of the "abandonment" of Birobidzhan is irresponsible.

Polish Literacy

QUESTION: *I understand the present government of Poland has done a great deal to eliminate illiteracy. Can you give some information on this?* S.T., Detroit, Mich.

ANSWER: Before the war, 23 per cent of the Polish population above the age of 10 were unable to read or write. Special schools and courses have made it possible to say the total elimination of illiteracy is near its goal. This has created a vast new reading audience in Poland.

In 1939, with a population of 34 million the daily circulation of newspapers was only 900,000. In 1950, with a population of only 25 million, it had reached 6,000,000. In 1939, there were 245,000 copies of periodicals for the youth; today the figure is 887,000. Poland today has 3,983 public libraries and 24,384 lending centers. In 1939, there were only 1,033 public libraries. Books sell by the thousands, where once the figure was pitiful. One publisher

recently issued 350,000 copies of Balzac's works and 700,000 of Gorky's.

Albanian Plans

QUESTION: *Can you tell me something of the economic plans for Albania this year?* A.K., New York.

ANSWER: At this time we can only cite a few figures based on the budget for this year which was adopted by the People's Assembly. Investments in industry will exceed last year's by 51.54 per cent, a large portion of which is allocated for the completion of the main industrial constructions of the country. Production of shoes is scheduled to increase by 125 per cent over last year; men's clothing by 100 per cent; building materials, 20 per cent; oil, 19. The volume of building construction is to be ten times that of 1938 and double that of 1948. Allocations for public health services are to be 20 per cent more than in 1950; expenditures on cultural services and education are to double.

On Collectivization

QUESTION: *Have you any figures on the number of collective farms in Rumania and Hungary at present?* D.G., Altoona, Penna.

ANSWER: Early this summer there were 1,071 Rumanian collective farms containing a membership of some 73,000 families. Two years ago the collective farm movement started with five co-operative farms. These farms are aided by modern agricultural equipment and machines through a network of 180 machine and tractor stations. For a picture of life on a Rumanian collective farm, see Ralph Parker's article on page 20.

In Hungary, 283,000 peasants have joined 4,300 collective farms.

In both countries, the crops of the collective farms have far exceeded the crops formerly raised on individual farms.

"LIVING DEW"

**Cancer of the skin meets an intrepid
foe in small-town Ukrainian physician**

by

VLADIMIR KEDROV

WHEN a person suffers from an internal disease the matter is known only to himself, his doctor, and his intimates. But when there is something wrong with his skin, especially of the face and hands, the disease affects his appearance and is visible to everyone. He tries to hide it from others and is unsuccessful in this.

Cancer of the skin is a disease that is frightful in its consequences, one that develops and spreads rapidly. Decade after decade bacteriologists, dermatologists, surgeons, microbiologists and pharmacologists have worked on the problem. Medicine's entire arsenal has been put into the field: X-rays, chemistry, radium, drugs.

Thanks to the efforts of the finest dermatologists, success has been partially achieved, but at the cost of extreme suffering to the patient, and sometimes painful shock and disturbance of the adjacent healthy tissue and a pernicious effect on the organism as a whole.

The honor of making a new and outstanding discovery which puts an end to agony and suffering for thou-

sands of people goes to the Soviet doctor, Vyacheslav G. Gordeyev, whose inspired work has now been crowned with the laurels of a Stalin Prize.

Dr. Gordeyev practices at a small dispensary for skin and venereal diseases in the Ukrainian town of Stanislav.

Large numbers of patients have been treated by Dr. Gordeyev. Many have come to him, hiding faces and hands ulcered and disfigured by various skin diseases, revealing their ailments only to him, a doctor whom they trust.

For more than 10 years Vyacheslav Gordeyev, doctor and innovator, untiringly carried out "reconnaissance in force" day after day. He made a thorough study of all the existing preparations used in the fight against tuberculosis and cancer of the skin. Sometimes for days on end he would stay at the lens of his microscope, painstakingly studying sections of cancer-infected tissue, trying to solve the riddle of the origin of this horrible disease. Using a laborious and elaborate laboratory method, he combined one agent with

another, endeavoring to find some kind of drug capable of killing the cancer cell.

This is the story of how the "Gordeyev fluid," a preparation of exceptional effectiveness, was obtained.

WITH A NEEDLE IN HIS HAND the doctor bends over the patient. On the skin of the patient gapes an extensive cancer-infected area. The cancer has eaten deep into the tissue, almost to the bone. An injection, and the fluid penetrates the tissue. The doctor holds the needle in place for five or six seconds to give the fluid time to be absorbed, then pulls it out and plunges it into the tissue three or four millimeters from the previous place of injection.

In the course of fifteen or twenty minutes the entire cancerous area is treated in this manner—injection after injection, drop by drop. By the end of the treatment the entire area of infection has turned a bloodless, grayish-white color: the medicinal liquid acts immediately, rendering the cancer cells numb, and they perish.

In exactly twenty-four hours a dry



V. G. Gordeyev, discoverer of a new method of skin treatment

scab forms over the spot where the injections were made. The scab peels off from four to seven days later, and in eight to ten days the skin heals completely, leaving a barely noticeable scar.

By this simple method, a method available to the broadest circle of doctors both in cities and in rural areas, fibromas, leishmaniosis of the skin, ulcerous and warty tuberculosis, and many other serious diseases which were all only recently considered difficult to cure, are treated and cured.

"Gordeyev's fluid" has an almost unlimited field of action—from cancer of the skin to pimples, ordinary warts, and the removal of tattoo marks without leaving a trace.

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The solution of a most important medical problem has proven to be within the power of a modest Soviet doctor from a small town in the Ukraine. And in this we see still another proof of the life-giving strength of the Soviet system, the breadth and scope of socialist science, and the boundless Soviet concern for the people.

A Subtle Film of Mussorgsky's Life

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

MUSSORGSKY, directed by Gregory Roshal, screenplay by Anna Abramova and Gregory Roshal, musical consultation by D. Kabalevsky, camera by M. Magid and L. Sokolsky, featuring Alexander Borisov, Nikolai Cherkassov and Lubov Orlova. Produced by the Leningrad Film Studios. Released by Artkino Pictures.

ONE can praise *Mussorgsky* for its splendid acting and beautiful settings, which recreate a historical scene in the best traditions of the Russian theater; for its magical color, which seems "natural" but is worked out with the sensitivity of a master painter to color harmonies, making the scenes look like a succession of Vermeers and Chardins; for its music, which draws upon the best talents of the Russian opera to present scenes from *Boris Godunov* as they have never been seen or heard on these shores.

But the greatest quality of this motion picture is its depth of thought. One hesitates to call it educational, for the concept of the cinema as one of the greatest means for educating people, so basic to the Soviet cinema, is somewhat foreign, to say the least, to people whose main fare must come from Hollywood. A better description would be to say that it is a triumph of realism. For only by an understanding of the forces that were at work during Mussorgsky's lifetime, and of the relation between music and life, has it been possible to create a masterpiece such as this, which is not a series of biographical scenes, selections from opera, nor a costume play, but a pow-



Alexander Borisov (right) in the role of Mussorgsky and Nikolai Cherkassov as Stasov in the new Soviet film

erful drama with its conflicts of ideas, its great climaxes and profound lessons.

Modeste Mussorgsky was born in 1839, the son of a small landowner, and grandson of a peasant woman. He took up a career in the army, like so many sons of the gentry, but he dropped the uniform when the love of music proved overwhelming.

Yet, embarking on the life of a composer, he could not accept the dominant trends in Russian music, favored by the aristocracy, which were an eclectic admiration for everything imported, a worship of German academicism and of the most showy and glittering aspects of Italian opera.

The times were ripe for a major contribution to Russian music, although this still had to be made through the most arduous and self-sacrificing struggle. The writings of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Herzen, had awakened all people with mind and heart to the suffer-

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN has written extensively on art, literature and music. His books include "Art and Society" and "Jazz: A People's Music."

ings of the peasantry. Now, in 1861, the serfs had been "emancipated," only to find themselves robbed of the land. They expressed their anger in violent uprisings. At the same time a new kind of Russian music, that would be based on folk art and historical truth, had been begun, single-handedly, by Michael Glinka, and carried on by Alexander Dargomizhsky.

Now, in St. Petersburg, Mussorgsky meets other kindred thinkers, moved by the sufferings of the peasantry and by the writings of the great anti-tsarist democrats, willing to band together to create, with mutual help and criticism, a truly Russian people's music. With Mily Balakirev, Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Borodin, Cesar Cui, he forms the group that would soon be known as the "Mighty Five." Joining them also are Vladimir Stasov, the great art critic and folklorist, and the painter Repin.

It is difficult for Mussorgsky at first to find his path. He writes some songs of great tenderness and beauty, based on folk material. He tries and drops projects on classical themes such as *Oedipus Rex*. He begins an operatic comedy, based on Gogol, which has a new kind of operatic song, close to speech intonations. Then he discovers Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*, and knows that this is his theme.

The picture brings out clearly the reasons why this episode of the sixteenth century should have had so much meaning for the nineteenth. The time of Boris was also one of peasant uprisings and of their betrayal, caught between the domineering Tsar and the cruel landowning nobles, the boyars.

With the greatest insight and subtlety, the picture discloses how the images and experiences of Mussorgsky's own life, the peasants he had seen whipped, the songs he had heard from their lips, the lamenting and satiric folk puppet shows, translate themselves and find artistic life in the music and stage images of *Boris Godunov*.

It is a turning point in the history of opera, which establishes a new level of historical truth, and for the first

time makes the people themselves a powerful protagonist of the action. And as one critic cries, when the opera is finally performed, seeing the tremendous peasant uprising scene that ends it, "this is not an opera, it is a revolution!"

Its effects upon Russian and world music, showing the true way to use folk material and to re-create the events of history, were as powerful as its effect upon Russian society, offering a constant reminder of the sufferings and strength of the common people.

A number of scenes deal in most dramatic fashion with the struggles to get *Boris Godunov* performed, against the conniving of the academicians and the Court itself. A climactic moment is the speech made by Stasov when he is put on trial for "slandering" the academicians and cosmopolites, having called them "liars of music." His defense of Russian music is no narrow nationalism, but an appeal for the full use of the rich heritage and resources among the people, as a contribution both to the national life and to world culture. It is an appeal for realism, and truth to life, as against an effete art, meaningless to the people.

Mussorgsky is one of the great motion pictures. It must be seen two or three times, to get the full subtlety of the character portrayal, the high quality of the musical performances, the full beauty of the color, the full implications of the ideas.

It will be hard, after seeing this picture, to think of Mussorgsky other than as he is performed, with so much vitality, wit and tenderness, by Alexander Borisov, who also sings Mussorgsky's music with such sensitivity. Nicholas Cherkassov is magnificent as Stasov. But over and above the individual performances is the collective recreation of the times. What in the final analysis makes the picture so compelling and powerful is its profound devotion to the great heritage of music, art, and culture, and its deep insight into the forces of history and courage of artists that made these achievements possible.

Books

This Book the Hierarchy Will Like

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY AND CATHOLIC POWER, by Paul Blanshard. Beacon Press, Boston, 1951. \$3.50.

THE "non-fiction" market has been saturated with books "exposing" the Soviet Union; and Paul Blanshard, who has established a certain reputation on the basis of an earlier book laying bare the machinations of the Vatican, has found a new approach which for the moment may not only prove lucrative, but may also provide storm insurance against the quite erroneous charge by reactionaries that he is a political non-conformist. This approach consists of "comparing" the Kremlin with the Vatican on the basis of the "totalitarianism" of both—an exercise in liberal acrobatics which is not meant too seriously, since for all the Vatican's shortcomings Blanshard is at the end happy to kiss and make up in the interest of smashing the "threat of Kremlin power" (the Vatican, it turns out, is "moral" in motive and "undoubtedly sincere").

Blanshard's target is not the Hearst trade which wants its exposés in a cheesecake sandwich. He looks for pay-dirt among the "liberal intellectuals" for whom the doughy mess must be spiced with footnotes and quotations

from professors, indicating the author's formidable scholarship.

The confection he has served up consists of 301 pages, an 11-page appendix, a 3-page bibliography, 17 pages containing 344 footnotes, and an 8-page index ranging from "Abortions, therapeutic" to "Zirkle, Conway." The former refers to pages 206 and 241, where after charging Russia with "only permitting therapeutic abortions . . . surrounded with careful safeguards" he points out that the Catholics frown on contraception. The Prof. Zirkle to whom he introduces us on page 94 is an American botanist who has "assembled and edited the documents" showing the "groveling abjectness of Russian scientists" in connection with the Lysenko "illusion."*

Other authorities quoted by Blanshard to build his picture of the Soviet hell include David Dubinsky's Jewish Labor Committee on "liquidation of Yiddish writers" and Soviet anti-Semitism in general; Koestler & Co.'s Berlin "Congress for Cultural Freedom" on communism, which has "as little to do with Socialism as the Medieval Inquisition . . . with the teachings of Christ"; a Margaret Webb in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* on Soviet newspapers—these contain no rapes, murders or swindles but only accounts of increased tractor and wheat production, which

* If Blanshard can have 344 footnotes, why may I not have one? I am no more a botanist than Blanshard and am incompetent to say whether or not Lysenko's theory is an "illusion." Obviously, however, I could never get a book published about the Soviet Union since I would feel called upon to mention what other distinguished scientists have said in favor of Lysenko in addition to the views of the no doubt estimable Prof. Zirkle.—C.B.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE is Editor of The National Guardian and author of a number of books including "They All Hold Swords," "Abide With Me," and "A Faith to Free the People."

are "just too boring" and hardly any Russian reads anything but the foreign news; Prof. Warren Walsh, chairman of the Board of Russian Studies at Syracuse University, who not only "reviewed the portions of this book which deal with Communism" but is quoted as "estimating the total population of these [forced-labor] camps at 14,000,000 . . . [They] have now become a basic fact in Russia's economy"; another professor by the name of Budenz ("the devout Catholic writer"), who pops up twice as an authority on the U.S. Communist Party (its leaders "had one common characteristic—a form of fright"); and even the Pope himself on the subject of the "moral wrong" of communism.

The 344 footnotes, however, do not cover everything, and some revelations come from Blanshard on his own authority. Without benefit of professors we learn that "there is no evidence that the fundamental outlook of the Communist leaders has changed" with regard to relations with the churches, since the days of the League of Militant Godless; that Stalin has been "exalted into a minor deity" by "systematic deception," "surpassing Hitler"; that Soviet labor unions have not a word to say about the running of their plants; that Moscow violates all its treaties, "deliberately makes peace impossible" and has "acquired new territories" (East Europe, China) "by treachery"; and that *Agitator's Handbook* had a circulation in 1939 of 650,000 copies, the top circulation for Russian journals at the time.*

Well, I had heard somewhere that *Pravda* (that's the paper which denies its readers the inalienable right to know who raped whom yesterday, and is "so boring" that nobody reads it) had a circulation around 2,000,000 in 1939—but this must have been red propaganda.

Of all the books of fantasy about the Soviet Union, Blanshard's deserves in my opinion to be preserved under glass for posterity. Students a century hence of the mass idiocy of the Western world in our day, looking back from the vantage-point of the all-socialist world

which by then will have been long established, will need Blanshard for enlightenment more than they will need Budenz (who anyway goes along in the package). Blanshard's is the most solemnly "liberal" and therefore most painful case so far brought to light of intellectual paranoia leading to delusions on an epic scale; and his parade of "authorities" will show these students of a less lunatic age how far the disease spread among "intellectuals" generally in the last days of capitalism.

What will delight them most as students of mental aberration is the perfectly straight-faced way in which Blanshard uses the United States as a "yardstick" for judgment of the early socialist world—the United States not as it really is (he never mentions that) but as it is supposed to be in its written principles and as we all wish it were. They will smack their lips and roar with laughter over such phrases, applied to "Western civilization" in the year of Korea, as: "A messenger of personal gentleness and love."

If—as I submit should be done—the reviews of Blanshard's book in "liberal" publications are also preserved for posterity, the final touches to the portrait of 20th century "Western liberal intellectualism" will be available to our unborn historians. They will note this, with the controlled fascination of antiquarians explaining a find of cartwheel-sized stone pennies in Yap: no reviewer in 1951 could even find it odd that a "scholarly" book about the Soviet Union is published without reference to the existence of an American-Russian Institute with its arsenal of facts—without reference to the writings of Rothstein, Pritt, Johnson, the Webbs, etc.* This, of course, our historians will have to try and explain with a description of the witchcraft of our day: the sacred tabus laid by official medicine-men Clark, McGrath &

* One more footnote (this still leaves Blanshard 342 ahead). There is a single reference to the Webbs, as follows: "Sidney and Beatrice Webb, in describing the leadership principle in force in Russia, speak of 'the vocation of leadership.' Both the idea and the words are used in exactly the same way in the Catholic system of power in appealing for 'vocations'." That is all.

Co. on all Westerners who have made serious study of the new life in the east their business.

Perhaps, when they make this study, our unborn historians will shed a tear on the graves of the blacked-out minority of 20th-century Western intellectuals who struggled against almost insuperable odds to retain their faith in

and use of the intellect. Meanwhile I have one to shed for the Pope, who—though Blanshard is willing to forgive present errors if the Vatican will just let itself be “contained”—is constantly getting compared with Stalin in the main body of Blanshard’s extravaganza. I am sure Blanshard has misunderstood him.

A Vital Study of a Major Theme

by THEODORE BAYER

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917-1923, by Edward Hallett Carr, *The Macmillan Co., New York, 1951. 430 pp., \$5.00.*

THIS is the first volume of a trilogy on the history of Soviet Russia, the second and third volumes of which are scheduled to appear shortly.

The present volume is divided into three parts, the first of which is a sketch of the revolutionary movements in Russia up to the Soviet Revolution. Main stress is laid on the development of the Bolshevik Party as seen through Lenin’s writings and speeches, which set forth the theoretical foundation on which the Party was reared, its organizational principles, and the tasks it assumed in given periods.

The second part deals with the Constitutional history from 1917 up to the formation of the Union in 1923, and the relation of the Soviet governmental institutions to the Communist Party.

The third part deals with the problems faced by the new Soviet State in its pioneering in the establishment of a multi-national state on the basis of complete equality and fraternal mutuality between Great Russia and many nationalities federated within it; and later in establishing a union between this federated Russia, RSFSR, and other republics such as the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, the Caucasian Federation and the Central Asian Republics.

Here the author examines the Marxist concept of the equality of nations and their right to self-determination. Professor Carr draws heavily on the work of Stalin, including both his pre-Revolutionary theoretical writings on the national question, and on his practical statesmanship in piloting the creation of the Union.

The author confesses that it is not his intention to write a history of the events of the Revolution, “but of the political, social, economic order which emerged from it.” This is a rather disarming statement which makes the data in the book concerning events, as well as positions taken by leaders and participants in the Revolution, the civil war and reconstruction period, secondary to its evaluation of the new social order which emerged in the Soviet Union and its impact upon the world. Therefore whatever critical remarks the first volume calls for should, in terms of the intention of the author, await the publication of the complete history.

However, we think it in place to mention Professor Carr’s earlier work, *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*, published in 1947 (Macmillan), which in summary fashion perhaps foreshadows the picture of the Soviet order that the next two volumes may spell out in detail. What the book on the Soviet impact stressed was that Soviet democracy is an enlargement upon the concept of democracy as held

in the West, which is political and formal, and that it includes social and economic democracy, with mass participation in its governing institutions.

In the sphere of national economy, the impact of Soviet planning constitutes a challenge which no Western nation can ignore; and along with it is the moral challenge of Soviet society:

"... The attention given to education and cultural activities does not suggest a narrowly materialist view of the task of improving the lot of the workers; and the degree of moral fervor for the social purposes of Soviet policy which is, according to all observers, generated among the citizens of the Soviet Union is an answer to those critics who used to argue that Marxism could never be successful because it lacked a moral appeal.

"The moral appeal is strongly reinforced by the demand, implicit in Soviet ideology, for social justice in the form of equality between man and man. The equality preached in the Soviet Union is not an equality of function or

an equality of reward. Socially important functions discharged or socially important work done are legitimate and relevant grounds for inequality. But equality, in the sense in which it is one of the fundamental purposes of Soviet social policy, means non-discrimination between human beings on irrelevant grounds such as sex, race, color or class."

Finally, in the field of foreign relations, Professor Carr believes that the Soviet Union is not an expansionist state:

"In general, the social and economic system of the Soviet Union, offering—as it does—almost unlimited possibilities of internal development, is hardly subject to those specific stimuli which dictated expansionist policies to capitalist Britain in the 19th century, and may dictate such policies to the capitalist United States in the 20th."

This Professor Carr believes is one important, overriding factor which makes co-existence with the Soviet Union on the part of the West entirely

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possible if the West so chooses. The West cannot avoid the Soviet challenge any more than it has to contemplate a war with the Soviet Union, but rather:

"The fate of the western world will turn on its ability to meet the Soviet challenge by a successful search for new forms of social and economic action in which what is valid in individualist and democratic tradition can be applied to the problems of mass civilization."

THE SOVIET STATE AND ITS INCEPTION, by Harry Best. *Philosophical Library, New York*. 448 pp., \$6.00.

MENTION of this latest of many similar books may be justified only as a time-saving device for our readers. It seems to us to be a collection of bits of information, presented without much correlated thought or imagination. Much of the book is overlaid with feigned sympathy for the sacrifices of the Soviet people in achieving their betterment.

The author appears to suffer from a bad conscience because he seems to be under an external compulsion to condemn what, by his own admission of great Soviet achievements, deserves to be praised. As an out he stresses sacrifices. Mr. Best would like us to think that it is preferable for successive generations to endure suffering rather than for one generation to consciously re-

solve to do away with these sufferings and be willing to pay the price for the social transformation required to put an end to misery. The smug Philistines have always thought so. T. B.

MOSCOW—AS TWO CANADIANS SAW IT, by Libbie and Frank Park. *Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society, Toronto*, 1951. 94 pp. 35¢.

TWO experienced Canadian observers, Mr. and Mrs. Park (she, a public health nurse with experience in many countries in Europe working for UNRRA; he, an attorney who directed publications for the armed forces with the Canadian War Information Board) have returned from a trip to the USSR and written a book based solely on facts. For many Americans and Canadians fed the lies in our daily newspapers and on the radio, the facts they cite will be sensational.

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Dear Reader:

Since our announcement in the August issue of the plans for a lecture tour by our associate editor, Sender Garlin, many readers have asked that he stop in their communities.

Arrangements have already been made for a large number of meetings in southern and northern California, in Oregon and Washington State. Mr. Garlin, who is an experienced and effective speaker, spent four years as a correspondent in the Soviet Union. His topic will be "What Chance for Peace?"

We have decided on this tour because we are convinced that few publications are as vital as New World Review in the fight for peace.

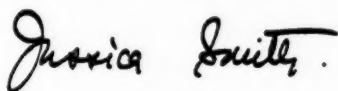
We are reaching more and more people through our magazine, having increased our circulation by 5,000 in the past few months. We regard Mr. Garlin's tour as an opportunity for us—through him—to get better acquainted with our readers. And we invite your aid in bringing new readers to New World Review by helping to organize a meeting in your community.

Mr. Garlin will be in southern California Sept. 17-Oct. 6; northern California, Oct. 8-27; Oregon, Oct. 29-Nov. 9; Washington, Nov. 11-24. Following his West Coast tour he will return to New York, stopping enroute for meetings in cities large and small. Arrangements can be made either for a public meeting in a hall or for an informal talk in homes of readers or their friends.

If you can help arrange such a meeting, communicate at once with Mr. Garlin, Room 310, 101 Post St., San Francisco 8, Calif.

Please let him hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,



JESSICA SMITH,
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