

NEW WORLD

JUNE
✓ 1952

Review

20¢



WHAT ABOUT THE GERM WARFARE CHARGE?
NWR Exclusive on "Lidice—Ten Years After"



LETTERS

Pleasant Rebuke

Montclair, N. J.—Thanks for soliciting my subscription at this late date—why wasn't I solicited 20 volumes ago? S'funny that none of my friends ever mentioned the NWR to me. I am more than pleased with reading and of being better informed.—M. Baer Salov.

U.S. Peace Directory

Chicago—The pioneer, 1951, edition of the U.S.A. Peace Directory listed 437 peace committees in 28 countries, and gave names and addresses of 3,000 additional peace committees in the U.S.A. alone. All peace committees and peace-active individuals who issue peace-action releases or publications, regardless of shade of opinion, are requested to send their future items to the compiler: Albert Bofman, U.S. Committee Against Militarization, 6329 So. May St., Chicago, 21, Ill.—Albert Bofman.

Says We're Partisan

Baton Rouge, La.—I am becoming doubtful. Is there nothing ever to be said on the other side of the question? My position is, "A plague on both your houses." I want NEW WORLD REVIEW but doubt if I can work for spreading the gospel so long as it appears partisan. I am all for the UN.—O.J.W.

Frederick Field

Petersburg, Alaska—With deep appreciation for a man like Frederick V. Field. May God bless him with a long, long useful and happy life! Many thanks for your good magazine. We are happy to know there are those who dare bring the truth to the people. We know it is the truth that shall make us free.

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KOREA AND GERMANY

World Peace in the Balance

THE U.S. POLICY of blocking armistice negotiations in Korea where the hated war is about to go into its third year, and simultaneously driving ahead with a program for a permanently divided Germany which could mean a new Korea in the heart of Europe, creates a grave new threat to world peace.

The North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war on Kojima Island risked possible massacre in order to dramatize before the world the methods of forcible screening and violence used against them, as admitted by General Colson, to compel them to declare their unwillingness to be repatriated. Such methods are in complete violation of the Geneva Convention which requires immediate repatriation of POW's, and bars any screening at all. Thus the whole position of the U.S. in using the issue of voluntary repatriation as a pretext for continuing the war, and refusing to return more than 70,000 of the 170,000 prisoners of war they hold, has been exposed.

Our last issue contained a comprehensive review of the long record of negotiations, showing the readiness of the North Korean and Chinese negotiators to make concessions at every point for the sake of peace, and the new obstacles continually raised by the U.S. in order to justify before the world the continuance of the war.

The same method of rejecting ne-

gotiations and pursuing a policy geared to war characterizes U.S. conduct on Germany.

The State Department's note of May 13 to the USSR, accompanied by parallel notes from Britain and France, can only be interpreted as a tactic to delay the negotiations proposed by the USSR, and provide time for pushing through the signing of the West's contractual agreement, designed to create a new war base in the West.

The Soviet note dated April 9 (referred to in our last issue as the note of April 11, its publication date) had reiterated the earlier Soviet proposal for immediate discussions with the U.S. Britain and France on a draft peace treaty with Germany. Answering a U.S. query, the USSR declared itself unequivocally in favor of free, all-German elections, but under conditions to be verified by the four occupation powers, rather than by the U.S.-backed UN commission.

In the face of growing apprehension among its own allies and the most conservative circles of Europe as well as millions of common people who see hope for peace in the Soviet proposals, the U.S. pushed ahead its own plans for Germany.

The U.S. note stated that the U.S. Government "is ready to begin negotiations with the Soviet Government," and then proceeded to outline conditions making the possibility

of such negotiations dubious indeed. It rejected the Soviet proposal for a neutral Germany that would not enter into any coalitions or military alliances with East or West and declared that it will "not be deflected" from its policy of integrating the Bonn government with the West.

THE U.S. REJECTED the Soviet proposal for negotiations on a German peace treaty on the ground that such a treaty could only be worked out in participation with an all-German government formed on the basis of free elections. The hypocrisy of this is clear from the fact that the Soviet note had itself proposed that such a German government participate in the treaty negotiations, suggesting only that for such negotiations to be effective it would be necessary for the other powers to reach some measure of prior agreement on the principles of a draft treaty.

The U.S. rejected the Soviet proposal for four-power verification of conditions for free elections, proposing instead an "impartial commission," but giving no indication of what the composition of such a commission should be.

The U.S. note implied that the Soviet proposals for a united, democratic, independent Germany, with means for self-defense, but neutral as between East and West, would mean an infringement of the future sovereignty of Germany. But the U.S. plan would turn Germany into a colony, occupied indefinitely by U.S. and other troops, its new Nazi armies under control of a U.S. General, and subject to foreign armed intervention if the U.S. should decide internal conditions warranted it.

That the United States has no intention of permitting the free all-

German elections it professes to support, is clear from the fact that Chancellor Adenauer, on whom the entire U.S. policy is based, could not possibly survive all-German elections. Within Western Germany opposition to the Adenauer policy of integration with Europe is mounting daily.

On May 16, the rightist Social Democratic Party, second largest in Western Germany, in a communique of its Executive Committee, formally rejected the Contractual Agreement and demanded new negotiations between the Western Powers and Bonn.

Adenauer has lost control over the Bundesrat (Upper House) which has veto power over decisions of the Bundestag (Lower House) which can repass vetoed measures only with a two-thirds majority. His coalition with the Free Democrats and the German Party is in danger. Both parties have threatened to oppose ratification of the Contractual Agreement in the Bundestag.

THE REVOLT extends to Adenauer's own Christian Democrats. His Bundestag floor leader von Brentano and others openly objected to provisions of the Contractual Agreement and called for four-power negotiations on unity.

The Bundestag's powerful Foreign Policy Committee has demanded restoration of trade with the USSR, the People's Democracies and China. Openly flouting U.S.-imposed trade restrictions, many West German businessmen are making contracts for such trade. Big Ruhr industrialists, lapping up the gravy from exports which are undercutting England, object to turning to arms production, and want the U.S. to supply all the arms.

The West German press is joining the revolt against Adenauer with

what is reported as "surprising unanimity."

Both Allied and Western German public opinion polls show popular interest in the Soviet unity proposals increasing.

Meantime, West Germany's new working class and powerful peace movement embracing all classes and many religious groups are making their opposition felt in million-strong voices. On May 11, 30,000 youths joined by caravans from all over West Germany, demonstrated in Essen for peace. Initiated by Ruhr steel workers, a movement is spreading to plants and factories throughout West Germany for immediate stoppage of work if Adenauer signs the agreement with the West.

The solid opposition throughout the German Democratic Republic is well known. Here there have been mighty demonstrations for unity and peace which have had a powerful effect on the people of Western Germany. On May 8, V-E Day, Premier Grotewohl warned that the signing of the Contractual Agreement between Bonn and the Western powers would carry with it the great danger of a fratricidal war of German against German and that if West Germany rearmed, East Germany would have to build its own army in self-defense. He made clear, however, that such a step would only follow similar action in the West.

IN FRANCE the opposition against American policies and resentment against the presence of U.S. occupation forces grows daily. A huge demonstration was planned to express this opposition when General Matthew Ridgway arrived to take over the NATO command from General Eisenhower.

The French people want peace, ne-

gotiations with the Soviet Union, no remilitarization of Germany to suit the aggressive designs of the West, no foreign troops on their soil. Even the militarist French circles who have supported the European army plan now fear the resurgence of a new Wehrmacht that might one day turn against France, and want guarantees against this danger from the U.S. and Britain.

In Britain the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party voted unanimously on April 30 for British participation in a four-power conference with the Soviet Union in a major foreign policy statement accepted by both wings. Key British unions like the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of Railwaymen have come out in support of this position. Popular demands for negotiations with the USSR mount daily in strength, embracing all sections of the people.

THUS there are grave doubts that the signing of the Contractual Agreement with Bonn will be ratified by all of the European member nations involved — Britain, France, or in West Germany itself, where opposition to the pact is widespread. Ratification of the European plan is equally dubious. This means that even though these war plans are signed, the peace forces can still defeat them.

The problems of Korea and Germany, dissimilar in many respects, are both focal points from which a new world conflict might well emerge. The American people have a grave responsibility in preventing this by speaking out with renewed vigor for a cease-fire in Korea now, for four-power negotiations for a united Germany, and for a Five-Power Pact of Peace.

—J. S.

GERMANY

Promise or Menace?

**Key issues discussed by British officer
who exposed Gen. Grow's war incitements**

by GERHARD HAGELBERG

ONE of the favorite topics of forums and lectures during the war, was "What Shall We Do With Germany?" The question is still with us today—and far more urgently, although we have "done something with Germany" now for seven years.

What have we accomplished? Germany is still without a peace treaty, divided, and from its western zone emanates again the threat of militarism and Nazism. Germany has in fact become the focal point of the danger of a new world war. In this situation, the Soviet Union has come forward with a set of detailed proposals which it believes would create a unified, democratic and peaceful Germany, the basis for peace in Europe and thus in the world.

Honest people will ask themselves who or what is responsible for the fact that so shortly after the defeat of fascism, West Germany is being rearmend and renazified. Where shall we direct our opposition to these developments? What must be done to stop them? These questions are ob-

viously important in evaluating the Soviet proposals.

A book by Richard Squires recently published in Berlin goes to the heart of the problem. *Auf dem Kriegspfad, Aufzeichnungen eines englischen Offiziers* ("On the War-path—Notes of an English Officer") achieved world fame for its revelation of the diary of Major General Robert W. Grow, former United States military attaché in Moscow, now facing court martial proceedings for his "indiscretions" (not, indeed, for his rabid calls for war against the USSR, but for carelessly leaving them about). But the Grow story occupies only a part of the book, which in the main is concerned with the occupation of West Germany.

Another exposé of western occupation policies? Yes, but a particularly interesting one. Its author is neither a journalist nor a politician. Before the war he was a student of literature and languages, not especially interested in politics. In the fall of 1939 he enlisted in the British Expeditionary Force in France. Three years later he was commissioned and last served as a staff officer with the rank of major in the British occupation army. He thus saw not from the outside, but experienced from the inside, and this is what led him to write a book as

GERHARD HAGELBERG is Associate Editor of the New York German language monthly "The German-American" and is the author of the pamphlet "Germany—Hope or Peril?" which has just been published. He has also been writing and lecturing on the Far East.

a contribution to the fight for peace.

Significantly, Major Squires begins with a recollection of the evacuation of the British forces from Dunkirk in 1940, which he sees as a betrayal of France motivated by secret political considerations. On the beach of Dunkirk, Squires left many illusions about the policy of the British government.

A year later, the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union. "If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible," advised Senator Harry S. Truman in June of 1941. While people in all countries marveled at the Soviet defense and rejoiced over Soviet victories, Truman's sentiments became the hope of world reaction. At a reception in North Africa in February, 1943, Squires reports, Winston Churchill strongly expressed a similar sentiment. This was also the attitude in upper army circles. The War Office, the Ministry of Information, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and high British officers constantly sought to minimize Russian victories and spread misinformation about the Soviet Union. If hatred of the Soviet Union and

lust for world domination influenced western strategy during the war, they certainly conditioned the occupation of Germany.

Western propaganda represented the American and British forces as the saviors of Germany, the apostles of the twentieth century, who would bring to the Germans the blessings of Anglo-Saxon civilization. But the Squires book shows that actually it was a horde of plunderers, officered by robber barons, which descended on Germany and introduced the morality of Wall Street and the City of London.

Squires points out that the tone of an army is set by its commanders. The commander-in-chief of British occupation forces from 1947 to 1950 was Sir Brian Robertson, who had left the service of King and country from 1933 to 1939 to guide the destinies of the Dunlop Rubber Company. The director of business operations on the American side was William H. Draper, former executive of the Dillon, Read investment house. Robertson and Draper supervised the activities of the brokers in uniform who occupied the offices of American and British military government on behalf of their companies.

The vast corruption in the lower

In West Germany. Troops receiving training in street fighting. Probably to inspire the youth of that sector in democratic traditions?

—GDR in Construction



ranks of the occupation armies, evidenced by the universal black-marketeering and the thousands of cases of assault, rape and robbery, is not surprising in view of the organized pillage carried on by their commanders.

Under cover of the occupation, Squires relates, the representatives of American and British big business "liberated" the files of German patent offices and forcibly exported without payment or with only token payment billions of dollars worth of commodities. At the same time West Germany was swamped with the surplus products of western manufacturers. The dismantling provisions of the Potsdam Agreement were used not to destroy Germany's war potential but to remove the consumer industries which before the war had competed with British and American firms.

This process, writes Squires, can only be described as the colonization of West Germany. Times have changed. The British colonizer of the old days—a daring young man with a sun helmet on his head and a revolver in his belt—has given way to the portly business man with a check book in his pocket. This new type of colonizer is far more inhuman than the old. He seeks to kill two birds with one stone: destroy the German peacetime industries in order to be safe from competition, but make Germany an effective, if not decisive, factor in support of his war plans.

And so while the soap factory was dismantled, to create a market for Palmolive soap, monopolies such as I.G. Farben were carefully protected and contact reestablished between them and their counterparts in Britain and the United States. To the German working people this has

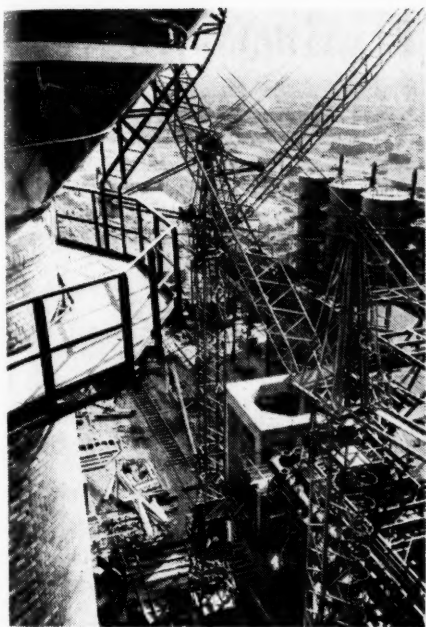
brought large-scale unemployment and growing poverty.

Who is responsible for the re-militarization and renazification of West Germany? As they viewed the first buds of reviving Nazism shortly after Germany's capitulation, Squires and his friends asked themselves: "Have the Germans learned nothing at all?"

"Yet, I believe," Squires continues, "we were all wrong in our judgment of the Germans. The Germans have learned quite a lot. It was our government, which had learned nothing and did not want to understand anything. The provocative attitude of the fascist elements in our zone was the result of our own policy."

The policy of the occupation authorities, Squires states, can be summed up in the slogan, "the enemy is on the left." Addressing the officers of the 53rd Division in August 1946, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in Germany declared: "Now that the war with the Nazis is over, the main threat to the western countries comes from Soviet Russia. We must therefore be prepared for a war." Still in the same year, high SS officers were brought to Britain and the United States "to execute special tasks." By 1948, 120 Nazi generals were occupied with "important historical and research work" in the American zone of Germany.

"Only a year after the surrender of the Nazis it became clear that our army command intended, with the transformation of West Germany into a military base, to put Hitler's fundamental strategic theories into practice," Squires writes. He cites an abundance of facts showing the extent to which these war preparations have already progressed. In each case it is obvious under whose



—GDR in Construction

In the German Democratic Republic.
Building for peace—the Ost Steel
Kombinat on the Polish-German border

auspices these developments are taking place, and the author's observations can be independently confirmed.

In connection with the Labor Service Units attached to the United States forces, for example, the *New York Times* of November 22, 1951, announced that the "more than 30,000 Germans" serving in these detachments were being provided with "a snappy dress uniform . . . similar in pattern to that of the United States soldiers" and added: "Although they are officially described as civilian employees of the U.S. Army, the labor service units are organized along military lines under former German army officers."

Do these machinations have the support of the German people? Major Squires has lived in Berlin

for the last couple of years, and he quotes the reaction of the typical West Berliner:

"We Germans believe in the future, and the future of Germany lies not in war, but in peace. In the ways of peace we want to show the world that Germans can just as well build as destroy. Take my word for it: The German people will be a valuable member in the family of peace-loving nations."

Major Squires' book contains important lessons which Americans in particular must master in order to fight effectively for peace. For sincere opponents of the remilitarization and renazification of West Germany, the question is not "What Shall We Do With Germany?" but "What Shall We Do With Washington?" After the Lisbon conference of the North Atlantic Pact Organization, only a mole can be blind to the fact that the rearmament of West Germany arises from and is the keystone of the military plans of our government.

Consonant with its policy of peace, the Soviet Union has proposed the establishment of a united, democratic and independent Germany. The Soviet action proceeds from the necessity of neutralizing the principal European base of the Pentagon strategists and gives encouragement to the peace movement of the German people by offering full scope for its legitimate national aspirations.

Major Squires' account of what we have done in Germany in the face of the growing opposition of the German people shows the justness of the Soviet proposals. In his stirring appeal to his own countrymen to recognize the danger and fight for peace, he also appeals to us to recognize our responsibility as Americans.

THE NEW FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

by A. VAKSBERG

The vast changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe in recent years have influenced the whole social fabric of those countries. This is seen in the new family relationships that have emerged and the new laws that help strengthen family ties. These new attitudes are set forth in the article below, which, slightly condensed, we have translated from the Soviet monthly magazine, *Family and School*.

NEW social relations are emerging in the People's Democracies and they exert a marked influence upon conditions of family life.

Family relations are undergoing a profound change, and this is so even though the new trend sometimes suffers setbacks and meets considerable opposition due to the fact that, in this realm particularly, the influence of the old bourgeois and even feudal (as in Albania and Bulgaria) ideology has always been extremely strong and deep-rooted.

It was this problem that the People's Democracies confronted in creating their new marriage and family laws. The lingering but strong influence of the old bourgeois laws, and especially those of the Church, had to be overcome. Family life and family relations in the past had always been regulated by strict rules established by the Church and made into law by the State. Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Moslem and other religions each developed their own set of rules and thus divided the people of a single country into different national-

religious groups. Yet, despite the differences, these rules had much in common. They bestowed despotic power upon husband and father; they curtailed the rights of wife and mother; they subjected children to blind and absolute submission to parents; they deprived illegitimate children of all rights and completely neglected them.

Tremendous work was done on clearing the soil in which the new family could sprout roots and begin to develop and grow. The separation of the family from Church rules and the abolition of obsolete marriage and family laws were some of the initial steps. For example, in Poland, according to Minister of Justice Sventkowski, 6,000 articles of the old code were abolished. Some had dated back to the eighteenth century.

The importance the new governments ascribe to the correct organization of family relations can be judged by the fact that they are reflected in the basic laws of the lands. In the Constitution of Czechoslovakia it is stated: "The State shall insure that

Does that smile on her face mean he's having a time with his son's toy? At any rate, this Czech family seems to enjoy spending an evening around the table



the family be the sound foundation of the development of the nation." (Sect. 10, Para. 2)

Democratization of the family contributes greatly to the establishment of complete equality between citizens—men and women.

"Men and women shall hold equal position in the family and the community and shall have equal access to education, and to all professions, offices and honors," declares Sect. 1 of the Czechoslovak Constitution. This is confirmed by thousands of factual examples of the active participation of women in all fields of industrial and public life.

To facilitate the active participation of women in industry and public affairs, the new governments try to do their utmost to lighten the burden of housework and the care of bringing up children.

The official Information Bulletin of the Rumanian People's Republic notes that the government has done a great deal to help the working mother by creating a network of children's organizations and institutions for the protection of mother and child. Since the day of liberation, 121 kindergartens and 188 nurseries have been opened, 2,996 seasonal kindergartens were organized in rural localities, and 3,755 maternity hospitals, 1,948 chil-

dren's dispensaries and 2,137 babies' milk kitchens are now functioning throughout the country. There are 73 boarding schools for children who live far from school. Expectant mothers are entitled to a long leave with pay, and during pregnancy they are transferred to lighter work but receive their regular wages.

Similar measures are in practice in all the countries of the People's Democracies.

Special aid is given to large families. The Czechoslovak Constitution stresses that "large families shall be granted special relief and assistance." In Poland, special subsidies to large families, beginning with the birth of the third child, were established in 1948. Where one of the parents is unable to work, the aid is given with the birth of the first child. In Rumania, this aid starts with the birth of the fourth child, but where there is no husband, the mother is granted the aid with the birth of the first child.

In 1948, the Czechoslovak Republic spent 1,441 crowns per child; in old Czechoslovakia the expenditure was 6.86 crowns.

In the old family laws in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the other People's Democracies, not a line was devoted to the upbringing of children.

There was a great deal of precise legislation, however, on the property rights of parents versus children.

The new codes see as the major duty of parents the rearing of their children in the spirit of the socialist society.

In Para. 35 of the Czechoslovak family code, it is stated: "It is the duty of parents to care for the physical and spiritual development of their children, to provide their upkeep and the kind of education that will enable them to engage in work suitable to their abilities and inclinations and socially useful."

In all the People's Democracies the school is separated from the Church, and teaching is based on truly scientific principles. Public schools are under instructions "to give children systematic, scientific knowledge; to develop in them socially useful work habits and skills; to lay a broad cultural foundation for further general and professional education; to rear them in the progressive democratic spirit so that they develop as useful builders of the socialist state." (From Para. 26 of the Bulgarian law on public education, Sept. 3, 1948.)

Close cooperation between school and family is necessary to accomplish

this task successfully. The Rumanian decree of Aug. 2, 1948, contains a special paragraph, "On the Reform of Public Education," dealing with this problem and requiring that the school be in close contact with the family and with public life.

The old laws did not concern themselves with the well-being of the family except in matters pertaining to property rights. People's Democracies take the institution of marriage, and the family, under their protection and provide favorable conditions for the well-being and preservation of the family. Equality between the two mates makes for a healthy family atmosphere.

The Czechoslovak newspaper, *Rude Pravo*, tells of a typical Czech family—the father, a foreman at a tire plant; the mother, a weaver at a textile mill. They have two sons, thirteen and eleven, who attend school and help their mother around the house. The parents at home share their joy in the achievements of their plants and they respect each other's work. The children are interested in the life of their country; they are concerned with the results of the industrial competition which their father has entered. The older boy, having



The story hour is a favorite time for this Rumanian working woman and her children



A nursery in Bulgaria. Expert child care leaves mothers free to participate in the life of their country

discussed with his father the progress of the fulfillment of the national economic plan, became interested and made a report on it to his class. The mother arranged for the younger boy and his classmates to make an excursion to her mill. Afterwards, the children made up an album "Textiles Produced in Our Country." Both parents are active members of the school committee. There are thousands of families like this in the new Czechoslovakia.

If the old bourgeois family laws concerned themselves exclusively with the interests of the head of the family, the father (or in his absence, the mother), in other words the rights of the strongest side—the parents, the new legislation sets forth as the foundation for regulating family relations the following principle:

"Parental rights and obligations are carried out solely in the interests of their children" (Para. 85, Bulgarian code on individuals and fam-

ily). The same thought is presented in the Polish family code: "Parental rights must be exercised for the well-being of the child and in accordance with public interests" (Para. 54).

The state takes such a profound interest in the correct upbringing of the child that through institutions of guardianship, it reserves the right to interfere in family affairs, in cases where parents misuse their rights and act against the well-being of the child and the public interests. In practice this occurs very seldom because working parents conscientiously fulfill their responsibilities to their children.

The marriage and family laws of the People's Democracies strive to strengthen the family. Though in principle they are not opposed to divorce, the people's governments try whenever possible to prevent a family break-up. Each case is weighed individually with special preferential consideration of the children's interests.

In the People's Democracies divorce cases are tried in a conciliatory procedure. This proves an effective factor in strengthening the family. Here is a case that was before a Bulgarian court:

During the preliminary hearings the court heard a teacher from the school attended by the ten-year-old daughter of the parents involved. The teacher told of two other children in her class whose parents were divorced. Those children, she said, were deeply depressed. The divorce resulted in a profound emotional trauma. Their school work suffered; they became detached from their school mates, lost their capacity for enjoyment, and are generally apathetic and listless. The teacher's story so impressed the parents that they decided to do their best to preserve the family.

Their Heart's Desire

**Grass-roots response to five-power pact
petition show growing movement for peace**

by THOMAS RICHARDSON

MILLIONS in America ardently desire peace. They want a Five-Power Pact which will settle the issues that now divide the world and threaten to hurl us into a new world war.

This is not wishful thinking. It is demonstrated by the activities of men and women in all walks of life—in every part of the country—behind the movement for peace.

All this offers new hope and encouragement. It also calls for greater efforts to build the crusade for a peaceful world.

In April, when the National Delegates Assembly for Peace, called by the American Peace Crusade, met in Washington, more than a half million signatures had already been gathered on petitions calling for a Five-Power Pact. This momentous fact was either ignored or distorted by the press, as is the continuing movement for peace in the U.S.

This campaign is deeply rooted in our country, as is evidenced by the results reported from coast to coast. Signatures fill the printed petitions issued by the national office of the American Peace Crusade; they are found on state-wide petitions as well

as the simple, homespun kind that come off the mimeograph machines or hectagraphs in local communities.

Port Angeles, Washington; Pocatello, Idaho; Lubbock, Texas; Salem, Oregon; Newton, Iowa; Pittsburgh, Kansas; East Palatka, Florida; Cicero, Illinois; Grantsburg, Wis.; these are but a few of the small towns and cities, where faithful peace workers are carrying on their job, in addition to the big cities and industrial centers. Petitions come from farm groups in the Middle West and pension organizations in Washington State.

From Denver, Colorado: "Teams of workers have gone into neighborhood blocks on evenings or on week-ends. About 75 per cent of the people contacted signed. Most signers expressed pleasure that someone was working to show our government how they feel about our present foreign policy. *Soldiers home from Korea were among the most eager to sign.*"

The Maryland Peace Committee reports on a week-end mobilization in Baltimore: "650 signatures were gotten in a community composed almost entirely of steelworkers and

their families. Half the signatures were obtained Saturday by 8 women on street corners in one and a half hours, one woman alone collecting 77 at that time. The remaining 325 were signed up by 10 canvassers in homes on Sunday. One peace worker signed up 40 steel workers and their wives in about two hours."

A young Negro woman, the wife of a longshoreman with a team of four other peace workers obtained 2,000 signatures in the Red Hook section of Brooklyn in 10 days.

Recently the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, at its annual conference, overwhelmingly adopted a resolution calling for a new policy of peace through negotiation. The Connecticut Council of Churches' demand for the dismissal of General Grow (whose tell-tale diary called for war against the USSR), the continued peace activities of the Quakers and other major religious groups,

all reflect the deep desire for peace among the people of our country.

One of the most significant developments has taken place in Washington State. Three mothers of sons in service, two in Korea, one in Alaska, have filed an initiative measure with the Secretary of State, to petition Congress to declare it to be the policy of the United States government to live in peaceful co-existence with all other nations, regardless of their economic and political institutions, and to implement this policy by calling a conference of the leading nations of the world to settle their differences by peaceful means.

As a result of this action, official petitions are being circulated to secure the signatures of 50,000 voters in the State of Washington by July 7th so that this Initiative will be on the state ballot.

These three mothers—Mrs. Mona

A few of the peace petitions issued by peace groups throughout the country



Thomas, Mrs. Ruby Davis and Mrs. Patricia Cary—say they want their sons home, “where they belong,” adding, “We believe that all American boys belong home. We have not been able to see where this Korean war makes sense. We deplore the dreadful loss of life suffered by both sides and the suffering it has brought to innocent civilians.”

The aim of the Initiative, according to its sponsors, is to achieve: 1) An outright expression of the sentiment of the people of Washington State against war; 2) A mandate to the Senators and Representatives of the State “to represent us correctly in Congress by working for peaceful negotiation of international difficulties”; 3) A forceful demand to our Government to make determined efforts to settle differences between nations.

Provo, Utah, sends in 183 signatures collected over a single week-end. A women's peace group in Los Angeles set a quota of 1,000 signatures to be raised in 10 days to be presented at a luncheon a few weeks ago for Dr. Willard Uphaus, National Co-Director of the APC. They gathered 2500 signatures! The Duluth Peace Committee reports that it has been challenged by the peace council in Superior, Wisconsin, on the other side of the lake, to a one

month drive for signatures. From Lubbock, Texas, a Negro mother sends in signatures on our national petition, showing the determination and courage of those in the South who fight for peace.

A young electrical worker from Schenectady, reporting on the campaign there, says: “Four out of five sign, and they're so darn glad someone is doing something about peace that they want to keep you there hours talking about peace.” A young Negro worker in Bridgeport tells us that as a result of his canvassing in the housing project in which he lives, a number of families have become friends of his family.

Frances Tandy, Chairman of the Oakland Peace Council, herself the collector of more than 600 signatures, reports: “All you have to do is go out and see people and talk to them about peace. Tell them the truth about the Korean war, taxes . . . they'll understand . . . and they'll sign.”

Out of all of this comes a picture of a country in which the people want peace and are looking for any means to express this sentiment. We are at the point where new victories are possible . . . peace in Korea, a four-power conference on Germany, an end to interference with the self-government of the colonial peoples such as Tunisia, a check to spending for armaments and an end to war-inspired racism here at home. All these hinge on and must be linked to the basic question of negotiations for peace among the five major powers. The campaign for signatures and expressions of opinion on this question must be speeded up and become the channel for the expression of the sentiment for peace among the vast majority of the people of our country.

THOMAS RICHARDSON is National Co-Director with Dr. Willard Uphaus of the American Peace Crusade. One of the leading Negro trade unionists in the country, he is former International Vice-President of the United Public Workers and former Chairman of the Anti-Discrimination Committee of that union. He was active in the People's Theater Movement in the South, and one of the founders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

GERM WARFARE

Is U.S. Using It in Korean War?

Evidence at hand makes strong case to back charges on bacteria that have stirred world

by BERNARD FRIEDMAN

THE SWEEPING accusation that large scale bacteriological warfare has actually become an instrument of war raises questions of deep concern to every human being.

Bacteriological warfare (BW) is a monstrous crime against humanity. It is designed to exterminate people on a mass scale. It is an aggressive weapon striking principally at the civilian population. In addition, it has the avowed purpose of undermining the basic necessities of life by infecting crops, cattle and the water supply with epidemic germs.

The science of bacteriology was laboriously developed in a struggle against the diseases afflicting people, domestic animals and food plants. BW is the complete perversion of this science. As Dr. Theodor Rosebury put it in his book, *Peace or Pestilence*, (1949):

If you want to understand BW you must figuratively stand on your head. BW is an upside-down science, an inversion of nature. Normally we study disease in order to prevent it or cure it. This is bacteriology right side up. But BW sets out to produce disease.

Furthermore, this weapon is unpredictable in its consequences. Dr. Rosebury pointed out that

... between BW bombs in refrigerated dumps and germs loosed to kill men, animals and plants a great hiatus stretches. What, really, can these germ bombs do? And how does one get them to do it? There is only one true way of answering this question at the moment—nobody really knows.

It is no wonder that the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925 prohibiting the use of asphyxiating, toxic or similar gases and of bacteriological weapons in war was signed and ratified by practically every major power in the world. Only Japan and the United States abstained.

At the 1949 Khabarovsk trial of twelve Japanese officers accused of bacteriological war crimes, the report presented by the medico-legal experts stated:

It is necessary to emphasize that some of the germs utilized by the detachments possess the power under natural conditions to form more or

BERNARD FRIEDMAN, a teacher of science, now giving courses at the Jefferson School of Social Science, is known to our readers through his articles on genetics in the Soviet Union. He has written this article in collaboration with a research scientist.

less stable seats of infectious diseases which have been liquidated or restricted by the progress of science, and which the accused tried artificially to revive.

Because it is a crime against humanity endangering the safety and well-being of *all* people, the charge that the United States has employed germs as a weapon of war against the Korean and Chinese people must be carefully and soberly examined.

The opening words of the message from Kuo Mo-Jo, Vice-Premier of China and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences to the renowned scientist, Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, on Feb. 25, 1952, startled the entire world:

The U.S. invaders in violation of all humane considerations have openly engaged in bacteriological warfare on a large scale in Korea.

From the 28th January to the 17th February the U.S. armies of aggression, in a treacherous effort to wipe out the civilian population of Korea, as well as the armed forces of the Korean and Chinese people, have spread by means of military aircraft both at the front and behind the fighting lines, large quantities of insects carrying the germs of plague, cholera and other contagious diseases.

On March 4, Dean Acheson issued a statement branding this charge as "entirely false" and "nonsense."

An official release from General Matthew B. Ridgway's headquarters on March 7 contained a "categorical denial" of the charges.

In sharp contrast to these statements, the Governments of Korea and China published solemn communiques of protest carefully enu-

merating the incidents on which the charges were based.

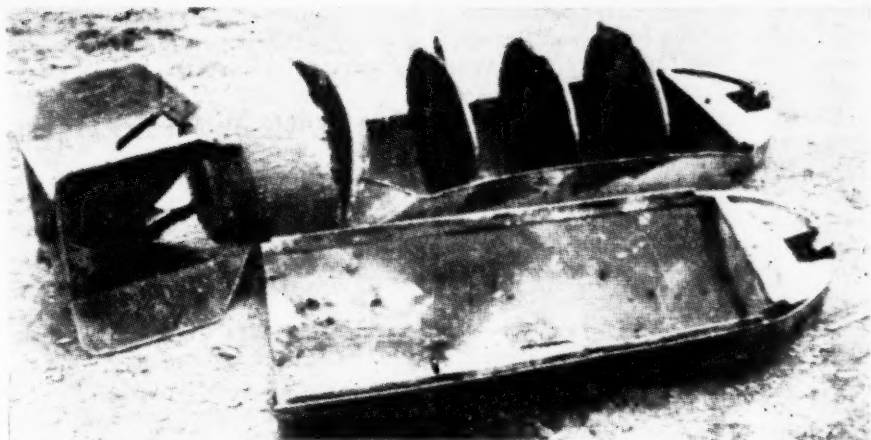
Thereupon "inspired" stories began appearing in the American press to the effect that the epidemics sweeping parts of China had a natural origin and that Chinese troops bound for Korea may have brought contagious diseases with them. Editorials were published conjecturing that the charges were possibly alibis for the epidemics concocted for domestic consumption, or preparations for an eventual breaking off of the truce talks, or simply part of a "hate-America" campaign to stir up the peoples of the East.

A Chinese plague expert, Dr. Wu Lien-teh, was brought forward to deride the medical services of People's China. Dr. Wu's value as a scientist may be judged by his belief that, "Man is but a victim of his circumstances and does not need the concentrated skill of a trained epidemiologist to cause him unlimited harm."

Although he was undoubtedly aware that the Koreans and the Chinese would not accept the International Committee of the Red Cross as an impartial agency, Dean Acheson proposed that it be permitted to send a commission to Korea to investigate the charges. The expected refusal to accept this offer was greeted as additional proof that the charges were false.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, as is well known, is a relief organization and not set up to be an investigating agency.

Of the International Committee of the Red Cross, it should be known that, after an "impartial" investigation, Otto Lebner, now representative of this committee in the Far East, gave the Nazi concentration camps a clean bill of health dur-



—People's China

Chinese describe this as a type of germ bomb dropped by U.S. planes. It splits into two parts on striking the ground, and releases its load of germ-carrying insects. N. Y. Times reported Pentagon spokesman declared it a bomb for leaflets, not adaptable for germ warfare. But N. Y. Herald Tribune quoted Maj. Gen. Bullene as saying the means of delivering germs to enemy territory are simple and involve equipment "such as used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets."

ing the last war. It should also be noted that it is in no way an international organization but a Swiss national organization.

While this war of words was going on, new evidences of the bacterial outrages were accumulating. The carefully documented report of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers gave real substance to the charges and caused many sceptics to revise their early impressions. The testimony of captured fliers and infantrymen, citing names, regiments, dates and places, fully supported the original charge. A world-wide movement against the unspeakable horror of bacteriological warfare gained momentum.

The Evidence

Eyewitness accounts and the published investigations of scientists present voluminous evidence to sup-

port the charges. Since the first dispatch of Wilfred Burchett, correspondent of the Paris *Ce Soir*, last February, many fully documented reports have become available.

Here are but a few of the highlights in connection with the evidence available from eye-witness accounts and investigations by scientists:

The Commission for Investigating the American Crime of Waging Bacteriological Warfare, composed of seventy prominent Chinese personalities, including many medical men and scientists, after intensive study both at the front and in the rear in Korea and Northeastern China, presented a detailed account on March 31, replete with facts and figures, dates and places.

A Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers investigated. The Commission was composed of eight outstanding jurists, six from Western countries;

five members were non-Communist. The Chairman was Professor Brandweiner, a well-known Austrian Catholic Professor of Canon Law and International Law, who was not even a Socialist. Their report reached the same horrifying conclusion: that BW is undeniably being waged by the U.S. armed forces in China and Korea. Photographs of the evidence, of the germ bombs, bacteria, and insects used, added additional weight to the charges. The presentation made by Kuo Mo-Jo to the World Peace Council in Oslo on March 29, which included films, photographs, and actual specimens, brought tears to the eyes of those who heard him.

Five British business men who recently visited Peiping before attending the International Economic Conference in Moscow heard the recorded confessions of four U.S. Air Force fliers shot down on a germ bombing mission, and were shown evidence of germ raids. "It is inconceivable that the evidence shown us was forged," said W. G. McClelland, one of the Britons.

They reported that the fliers, Pvt. Darling G. Shupes of Columbia, S. C., 1st Lt. John Quinn, Pvt. Lester Brown and Lt. Kenneth Lloyd Enoch of Youngstown, Ohio, had completed several such missions before they were forced to take to their parachutes' on January 13.

Rev. James Endicott, Editor of *The Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter*, for 20 years a missionary in China representing the United Church of Canada, and who for a period served the U.S. Army intelligence, recently returned from an extended visit in China during which he and his wife traveled in those areas reportedly subjected to BW. Rev. Endicott reported that it was clear the fliers' confessions were prompted by

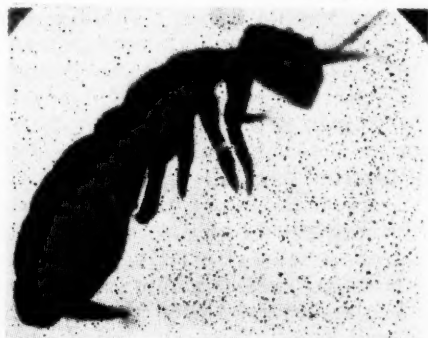
their feelings of profound shame after viewing the results of U.S. intervention in Korea.

Rev. Endicott described autopsies he had witnessed on people, for the most part children, suddenly stricken with death from diseases never before known in the area. He told of one locality visited where planes had dropped large quantities of anthrax-laden flies and spiders. The area had been burned over, but at one spot 200 black spiders were found in an area of about one square meter. They were of a kind not known in that locality. Farmers told how their neighbors had reported many strange flies and how three of those in whose houses the insects were found had died of cholera. It is important to note that cholera has never been reported in Northeastern China during March or April.

Statements of U.S. and British soldiers recently captured carry further confirmation of the charges. One GI, Cpl. Reinaldo Bonilla (30449984, 5th Infantry Div.) taken in mid-January south of Sanguyong, stated that on December 1, 1951, all

A micro-photo of one of the small, black germ-carrying insects found in the wake of U.S. planes. The actual size: 0.1 centimeters long, and 0.003 centimeters broad

—People's China

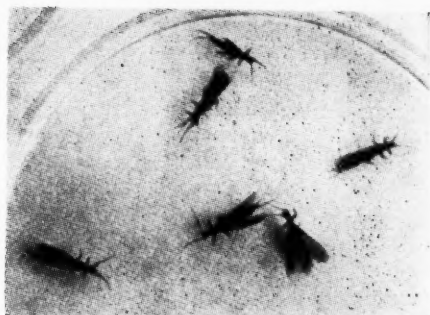


the members of his unit were given a new inoculation. No entry was made on their inoculation certificate, as was the custom. In January a light green medical gauze was given to the soldiers to cover their heads. They had to wash their hands with a yellow liquid each morning. Their position was sprayed with DDT every few days. No explanation was given for this unprecedented procedure.

Carefully documented reports from Chinese and Korean authorities and outside commissions enumerated the following charges:

Between January 28 and March 15, germs were scattered from planes on at least 226 different occasions, generally in foggy weather or on moonless nights, either by spraying or by the dropping of bacteriological bombs.

Among the infecting agents mentioned were rats, fleas, several types of mosquitoes and flies, spiders, crickets, ants, springtails and midges, as well as infected feathers, cotton, dead fish, pork and leaflets. On the spiders were found bacteria in the *pasteurella* group, of the type which produces plague in human beings and hemorrhagic septicemia in chickens and ducks. *Bacillus anthracis*, fatal to donkeys and infectious to humans, were found on feathers dropped by aircraft. *Salmonella typhosa* was found on stable flies, sunflies and midges. Springtails carrying rickettsial bodies were found near Mukden and in other areas. A particularly virulent strain of *encephalitis virus* was found to be carried by crane flies caught near the city of Anshan. Since March 9 a number of deaths from acute encephalitis occurred in Anshan and other cities. Cases of this type of encephalitis had never been re-



—People's China

Lethal germ-carrying insects found after U.S. planes had flown over the area. These fly and are at home on the ground or on water. Some insects found were of a kind that were never known in the specific locality.

ported in China before March 9th.

In all instances the presence of insects was unusual especially because of the temperature and the season, and also because of the limited areas in which they were found. Springtails carrying rickettsiae were discovered in the snow at a temperature well below zero. The inhabitants of the village had never before seen insects like these. *Hylemya* flies were found in great quantity near Fushun at a temperature of 14°F. These flies could not normally survive on snow and are never found in large quantities in that area until May.

With one exception, in every case investigated the discovery of insects followed the presence of U.S. aircraft in that particular region. Many types of bombs and containers used for dropping the germs were found. Containers loaded with germ-carrying insects bore the deceptive inscription, "Empty." Bombs normally used for disseminating propaganda leaflets were used for dropping germ-laden insects. In Kwantie in March a cleverly designed container made

of a plaster-like material was dropped from a U.S. plane. On striking the ground it broke into several hundred fragments which were scattered over a wide area. Large numbers of infected insects were later found in the vicinity.

The manner in which the evidence of the above-mentioned incidents has been presented, reflects a deep sense of responsibility and an acute awareness of the serious nature of the charges. Highly respected individuals from many countries who have studied the evidence accept it as irrefutable. Others, who still cannot bring themselves to believe that the U.S. Government would participate in such a monstrous crime, might agree with the recent statement of Kingsley Martin, editor of the influential *New Statesman and Nation*. Martin wrote in the publication's April 12 issue:

I have received and rejected several "appeals to humanity" against the use of bacteriological warfare in Korea and China. . . . This week, however, I have become converted to the view that the Chinese and Koreans have a case which deserves careful consideration. . . .

Attempts to Refute Charges

The *New York Times* of April 3, 1952, printed a full page devoted to an attempted refutation of the charges. According to the *Times* story, written by A. M. Rosenthal, "Photographs published by the Chinese Communists as proof of the use of germ warfare were exposed today as complete frauds."

The *Times* article based its conclusions on the testimony of Dr. C. H. Curran, chief curator of insects and spiders at the American Museum of Natural History, and Dr. Rene

Dubos, of the Rockefeller Research Foundation, and on statements by U.S. Army spokesmen in Washington.

The newspaper story has been blessed with official approval. Warren R. Austin, Chief U.S. Delegate to the UN, according to a *Times* article of April 7, sent a blistering letter to World Peace Council President, Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, accusing the great nuclear physicist of "prostituting science" in the interest of the "germ warfare campaign." Mr. Austin enclosed a copy of the April 3 article in which, he said, "competent scientists expose faked and clumsy photos."

Special attention was given to photograph No. 7 bearing the inscription "one type of germ bomb dropped by the U.S. invaders." Regarding this photograph the Army had the following to say: "This is a photograph of the U.S. 500 pound size leaflet bomb." The *Times* further declared that a Pentagon spokesman added that the leaflet bombs even theoretically were not adaptable to germ warfare.

Wires were crossed somewhere, however, and the *New York Herald Tribune* of April 6 quoted Maj. General E. T. Bullene, chief of the Chemical Corps as having a different opinion:

Actually he (Bullene) said retaliatory, bacterial warfare "does not involve some complicated super-weapon." The means of delivering germs to enemy territory, he said, are simple and involve equipment of the type with which the services now are "already well stocked . . . such as containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets."

On the germ warfare charges as a whole, Dr. Curran said it would take "millions of people to inoculate

Members of Commission of International Association of Democratic Lawyers arrive in Peking after their investigation in Korea. On the extreme left is Shen Shun-ju, Vice-President of the Association.

—People's China



sufficient insects to carry out a germ war even if a germ war of this type should be possible." Regarding the flies, mosquitoes and marsh spring-tails shown, he commented that they were "harmless insects incapable of carrying disease." He called the springtails "incapable of carrying disease," the flies, "not the kind of flies that could carry disease," and "perfectly harmless creatures" and the mosquitoes, not a member of "any group that is capable of carrying disease."

For an "expert" Dr. Curran is remarkably ignorant, for apparently he has not read the most elementary textbooks on parasitology. A quotation from a widely used text, *Introduction to Parasitology* by Asa Chander, (6th Edition, Chapman Hall, London, 1940, p. 452), makes this interesting point:

The simplest method of disease transmission by arthropods is indirect mechanical transmission in which the arthropods function as passive carriers of bacteria, viruses, protozoans, or worms' eggs, picking them up on the bodies or in the excretions of man and animals, and depositing them on food, in which they subsequently reach the mouth.

Dr. Curran himself in his book, *The Families and Genera of North*

American Diptera, written in 1934 (C. H. Curran, 1934, p. 385) refutes his more recent testimony:

Many entomologists believe that the house fly (*Musca domestica*) has been responsible for more human suffering than any other insect, and the evidence in support of this is very strong. The diseases carried on its body (in the form of causative organisms) are Typhoid fever, Dysentery, Cholera, Yaws, Anthrax and some forms of Conjunctivitis. Many other bacteria, some of them undoubtedly capable of causing disease, are also carried.

The fly is especially well adapted to carrying disease precisely because it is attracted to filth of all kinds, excrement, sputum, decaying flesh, etc., and transfers germs picked up from this matter onto food eaten by humans. Other kinds of insects, artificially laden with bacteria, could effectively transmit disease either by direct contact with humans or by contact with matter to which insects such as the fly or the mosquito are attracted. These insects could then transfer the germs directly to humans.

Dr. Rene Dubos, famous "expert" in the field of bacteriology, said that the photomicrographs of "gas

gangrene germs" resembled "hundreds of rodlike bacteria that could be found in the air and were harmless." He called others "absolutely insignificant" and "bluish impurities."

Dr. Dubos offered no evidence to disprove the validity of the photographs and the apparent ignorance of this "expert" is matched only by that of his colleague, Curran. Of "harmless" bacteria, an authority in the field, the *Text of Bacteriology* by Zinsser and Jones (8th Edition, D. Appleton & Co., p. 150) has this to say:

Disease producing bacteria have the same appearance as the others. The difference lies in the virulence of the organism which is the degree of their disease-inciting power.

Experiments performed on animals by Chinese scientists have established the virulence of these germs.

U.S. Policy On BW Warfare

"With the purpose of making this prohibition universally recognized as being incorporated into international law," the contracting parties "agree to apply this prohibition to the use of means of bacteriological warfare and agree to consider ourselves bound by the terms of this declaration." (Geneva Protocol, 1925).

The Geneva Protocol was signed and ratified by every major country except Japan and the United States. As if to bar future consideration of the treaty, President Truman had it withdrawn from the Senate on April 8, 1947.

On the basis of official acts and words one cannot but draw the conclusion that the use of bacteriological warfare is consistent with U.S. Government policy. Since 1943,

millions of dollars have been spent for research and development of BW. Camp Detrick in Frederick, Maryland, had, according to the Merck Report, a personnel of 3,900. The achievements there were called "most remarkable" by George Merck, Chairman of the U.S. Biological Warfare Committee, in an official report issued in 1946. Experimental BW laboratories were later established in Mississippi, Indiana and Utah.

In sharp contradiction to its "defense" purpose, (the reason given for undertaking work on BW in the first place) no relaxation of effort occurred after the war. According to Gen. Anthony Macauliffe, chief of the Army Chemical Corps, more than \$12,000,000 is being spent each year for the development of bacteriological weapons. An AP item in the *New York Herald Tribune* on April 6, 1952 reported that "the Army appeared certain today to receive more funds from Congress next year to study BW."

Since the end of the war, responsible Government officials have spoken in glowing terms of the use of infectious diseases and chemical poisons as weapons. On June 15, 1946, General Alden H. Waitt, then chief of the U.S. Army Chemical Warfare Service, reported in *Colliers*: "I believe BW to be a practical form of warfare and has great possibilities." On October 31, 1951, General Macauliffe spoke in favor of man-made epidemics: "BW represents an ideal diversionary weapon because it can be used unnoticed. The illness caused does not show up immediately. We can give the impression that death or illness arises from natural causes." (Reported in the *N. Y. Journal American*). Brig. General William Creasy, chief of



Frederic Joliot-Curie, world-renowned French scientist and one of the sponsors of the "Appeal Against Bacteriological Warfare" which urges an impartial international commission to investigate all the facts and evidence.

the Chemical Corps Research Command, on January 25, 1952, spoke from a "practical" point of view. He praised BW as "the cheapest type of warfare" and pointed out that it "reduces the enemy's ability to resist" at a "smaller logistical cost without destruction of the economy." In his statement to a Congressional subcommittee, Maj. Gen. E. T. Bullene, chief of the Chemical Corps, testified, as reported in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* on April 6, 1952, that the Army considers bacterial warfare "very urgent."

Neither these statements nor others of like nature have been repudiated by the Government.

"All evidence to date indicates that the axis powers were behind the U.S., the United Kingdom and

Canada in their work on BW," stated George Merck in 1946. His point of view did not, however, prevent the U.S. Government from hiring Nazi and Japanese BW experts. Among those employed by our government in 1946 was Ishii Shiro, who as chief of Detachment 731 of the Japanese Army personally directed the war-time bacteriological expeditions in China.

The shocking information regarding Ishii's activities is fully documented in the proceedings of the Khabarovsk war crimes trial. Two of Ishii Shiro's compatriots with similar occupational experience, Jiro Wakamatsu and Masajo Kitano, also landed jobs with the U.S. Army. Nazi specialists formerly of the German High Command Bacteriological Department whose talents are being used are Dr. Walt Wilkenning and Heinz Kling. Walter Schreiber, former general of the Wehrmacht medical corps, was, until recent public protest forced his dismissal, in the employ of the U.S. Air Force. At the Nuremberg trial, Schreiber, who was one of the leaders in this work in Germany, reported: "Tests in mass contamination were carried out in Poznan Institute. . . . Attempts were made to spread microbic emulsions by aeroplane and experiments with harmful insects were carried out."

"The essential thing is to kill as many Chinese and Koreans as possible," said General Ridgway, author of "Operation Killer" on February 18, 1951. U.S. planes have systematically and utterly destroyed North Korean villages regardless of their military value. In the process, jet planes have machine-gunned children at play and have showered the old people, the children, and the sick with jellied gasoline. A once beauti-

ful country has been converted into a veritable desert and millions of its inhabitants have met violent death.

Racist theories, "proving" inferiority of colored peoples, are used to justify oppression of colonial peoples. At the UN Assembly in Paris last November 13, Secretary Acheson reached an all-time low in describing the conduct of the government of China, representing over 450,000,000 people, as considerably below "the level of barbarism."

A government which fails to regard the people of China and Korea as equals would hardly treat them with respect.

In the light of the official policy of the U.S. Government toward the Chinese and Korean people and to the use of BW, the vigorous denials of Secretary Acheson and General Ridgway carry little conviction.

A government which ordered the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and which recently tested latest model atomic bombs in preparation for their future use exhibits little concern for the welfare of humanity. A government which gives priority to the production of the H-bomb may be considered prepared for other irrational acts. It seems reasonable to suspect that a government which spends millions to produce bacteriological weapons and whose responsible officials advocate their use would not hesitate to take the completely degenerate act of using these weapons against human beings.

A leading British Quaker, Joseph R. Sandy, calls upon Friends to give "earnest and prayerful" consideration to the charge of bacteriological warfare. In the British Quaker weekly, *The Friend*, May 2, he declares: "I am concerned with evidence alone, and I now have a great deal more of it, including accounts

of eye-witnesses just returned from China and Korea for whose integrity I can vouch."

On May 4, the Council of the Federation of American Scientists called for a "new and clearer statement" from the U.S. Government on the question of biological warfare. The Council did not accept the charges that the U.S. is dropping germ bombs in Korea, but uneasily declared that:

The question raised in the world's mind is not so much whether we did use BW in Korea but whether we are in fact prepared and willing to use it in the future. The question is given point by U.S. official statements that we are developing BW weapons and recent reports that the Defense Department is seeking funds for expansion of its BW program possibly including mass production of actual BW agents.

This leading body of American scientists further pointed to the vulnerability of the "massed millions of the Near and Far East" to a BW attack and declared, "... no good can be attributed to anyone willing to employ such means to gain his ends. Unfortunately the memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have prepared them to assume our willingness."

The *N. Y. Times* printed an editorial on May 7 headed, "Death of a Scientist." It bemoaned the fact that Frederic Joliot-Curie, "this once-great figure is no more," and further claimed that, "If M. Joliot-Curie were still a scientist today he would not be denouncing 'criminal American bacteriological warfare' but joining in the United States' demand for an on-the-spot impartial study of the Communist accusations." The fact is that on April 1, 1952, in Oslo, Frederic Joliot-Curie signed an "Appeal Against Bacterio-

logical Warfare" on behalf of the World Peace Council which contained the following unequivocal statement:

... the Chinese Committee for the Defense of Peace has proposed the setting up of an International Commission to gather *all the facts and all the evidence. The competence and impartiality of this commission must be beyond dispute.* To create it, we shall invite the participation of men and women outstanding in the fields of science, of law and of religion. We are sure that world public opinion will give its support to the efforts

of this Commission. (Our emphasis.)

We appeal to the conscience of all men and women and urge them to demand discontinuation of this bacteriological war and the prohibition of the bacteriological weapon.

Every well meaning American must support this appeal. Our government must be urged to make a clear and unequivocal statement dissociating itself from any further ventures into bacteriological warfare and ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

Paul Robeson—World Citizen

THROUGHOUT April, May and June millions of Americans are pouring out their love and homage to one of their greatest fellow-citizens, Paul Robeson, in countrywide celebrations of his 54th birthday this spring. And from all over the world have come tributes from people who see in Paul Robeson the symbol of what is best in America.

The U.S. State Department, in denying a passport to Paul Robeson, has only defeated its own purpose. No barrier can contain his mighty influence which is in the vanguard of the forces in the world today leading humanity to a bright future.

Paul Robeson is known and loved far beyond our borders, throughout the New World that embraces the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the People's Republic of China, the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the whole colonial world who are on the march, the peace forces everywhere. With his voice and his pen he has made mighty contributions to the understanding of this world so necessary for peace.

We of the staff of NEW WORLD REVIEW are proud to count Paul Robeson among our contributors. We join in this tribute to a great artist, a great human being, a great leader in the liberation struggles of all people, Negro and white, who are advancing toward a world of freedom, brotherhood and peace.



The Village That Wouldn't Die

***In 1942 the Nazis wiped out Lidice.
Today, 10 years after, it flourishes
as symbol of People's Czechoslovakia***

by ELEANOR WHEELER

Lidice, Czechoslovakia
SHE WAS CHIEF of the village administration, this woman who appeared so jolly and hospitable as she greeted us. But when her face came to rest the lines of deep melancholy were clearly apparent. So, too, the lines of tragedy emerged from the very soil we stood on, as we went over the site of old Lidice. It was here that Mrs. Kuzena Petrakova saw her miner husband and her three children for the last time.

For it was on this spot, on June 10, 1942, that the Nazis proclaimed that the name of Lidice had been wiped out. They announced that the little village had been made "an example" in reprisal for the assassination of Hangman Heydrich. The pretext was that parachutists involved had been harbored in the village.

The first sight of the village on the hill, with the modern houses, the baby carriages, neatly planted flower pots, gives the impression of an unusually pleasant but average little town. But when we followed a winding road down the hill, we were hurled back to the old Lidice by the simple memorial to the murdered men: a grass plot, surrounding

shrubbery, a cross and a simple plaque erected by the Soviet Army unit that freed the village.

Ten years is too short a time to erase the horrible events that the plaque commemorated and my guide, the chairman, Mrs. Petrakova, filled in the precise details of that terrible June day. All the men were shot, including boys in their teens. The 203 women were sent to concentration camps, 60 of them never to return alive. Of the 100 children sent off to "suitable educational establishments," only 16 were located after the liberation.

As we stood near the simple memorial, my companion recalled the scene of horror:

"Here the 173 men were kept in a cellar over night on the Horak farm. Over there the women and children were gathered until they were transported to Kladno and then shipped to Germany or to the gas chambers in Poland. Just below there, along that wall the men were shot. Their bodies lie beneath this memorial plot. The women did not know their men had been executed until they were crossing the border, returning to Czechoslovakia in 1945."

Mrs. Kuzena Petrakova, with two other survivors of Lidice, addresses a peace meeting in Prague



Suddenly this lyrical, undulating countryside did not seem so carefree. The cold horror of fascism crept out of the cellar stones. It contrasted with the present and followed us. Full realization struck us when in the museum we saw the traditional "last day of school" photographs taken of the Lidice children, just eight days before they were shipped away from their homes, most of them on the last journey to the gas chambers. Here sat the first class around their teacher, their faces shining in the sun, full of hope and expectations: their whole lives lay ahead of them and life seemed so interesting to those inquisitive little seven-year-old eyes.

In preserving this museum the people of Lidice are seeing to it that the world remembers what fascism does to ordinary people. Their rebuilt town is a warning to fascists that democracy triumphs in the end. The relics of the tragedy are a warn-

ing to democracy that fascism, in whatever guise it appears, must be stopped.

Here we saw the remains saved from burned houses (retrieved in later excavations). Here are the registration cards showing profile and full face views of the Lidice children before they were sent to be measured and the decision made whether they were "Aryan" in appearance and therefore capable of being "Germanized." In little glass cases are the clothes of the Lidice miners with the mine lantern at the head of the case—all as they had left it at the shaft at the end of their last shift. Then horrifying pictures of the Nazi soldiers exhuming bodies in the cemetery for the gold teeth, merrily tossing the loot in a basket and photographing each other as they went along. On the wall a big facsimile of the public announcement that the men of Lidice had been shot as a reprisal for harboring the "murderers" of

Heydrich and that unless the "murderers" were revealed this razing of villages would continue. Large photographs of Mrs. Petrakova's own husband and three children confronted us, almost accusingly. Here we saw views of the razed and plowed-over village, the fence that surrounded the territory and the sign that was posted, warning all passersby to keep away: "Wer sich dem Zaun nähert und auf Anruf nicht stehen bleibt, wird erschossen" ("Anyone approaching this fence who fails to stop at the command to halt, will be shot.")

All this must be known and felt before we can understand how the new Lidice came to be.

The Lidice residents think gratefully of the common people in America who contributed generously. They are appreciative of the 32,375 pounds collected by British miners, and of delegations from among British miners who visit Lidice every year. They are grateful for the collections in Egypt, Sweden, France and Czechoslovak societies abroad—all mainly from miners, as Lidice was a predominantly mining town, only five miles from the mining and steel center of Kladno. But the fact remains that the houses were built, the water system installed, pensions furnished to widows, education allowances given the Lidice children, furniture bought—almost entirely with Czechoslovak Government funds, and subscriptions from Czechoslovak miners. The present population of Lidice is 200. Before long it is hoped the village will have 600 inhabitants.

At the World Youth Festival in 1947, a pledge was made among the various delegations to construct the road connecting Lidice with the main Prague-Kladno highway. So many international groups worked on this

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, with their children, settled in Czechoslovakia. Mrs. Wheeler formerly worked for Religious News Service, now does translation work.

road that it was called "United Nations Highway." It leads up over the crest of a hill to the site of the new Lidice, with a view over the rolling Bohemian hills, gently wooded, and down to the little tree-lined brook which cuts through the old town of Lidice.

The houses at the top of the hill are of four basic types according to the terrain and the relation to the street, in this way avoiding monotony. The interiors are substantially the same, with the dining room in each type slightly different. There is a living room with large windows and a dining alcove with upholstered bench. In the living room of Mrs. Petrakova the attractive blue tapestry of the couch and upholstered arm chairs is protected from the sun by a tasteful hand-blocked linen cover.

The kitchen is streamlined and efficient, with attractive wide windows, the central heating is modern, the bathroom fully equipped. At the back of the entry hall there is a large bedroom with a big double bed, dressing table, wardrobe—all in polished fine wood. Everywhere there are convenient closets for linen and storage. Upstairs are two more well equipped bedrooms. Beside the big downstairs bedroom is a little room intended for a nursery. Mrs. Petrakova has here the picture of her three children who did not pass the test of race and were gassed as "unfit."

Beautiful children by any human standard. The little nursery has become a memorial to her children and her first husband.

When we sat down to talk in the living room, she told of her experience as witness in the Nuremberg trial against Frank. "Can you imagine it? That American judge leaned forward to me and said, 'Well, Witness, you had a hard time—but it could have been worse, too, now couldn't it?'"

This macabre story reminded me of the statement in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* for January 13, 1951, that the "destruction of Lidice had been carried out in a humane way." If there is a humane way to wipe out all the men of a village, three-fourths of the children and sentence all the women to concentration camp, perhaps they were right. But only if we compare it with the methods of cre-

ating new Lidices in Korea today with pestilence, napalm bomb, rape and torture. But there is no humane way and Lidice stands as a symbol of what must be fought. It stands as a symbol that there is no escape from fascism even for the unpolitical, that the only defense is a common front against it.

Mrs. Petrakova showed her understanding of this when she added to her description of their life and work that they would regard their efforts as wasted if they did not help prevent future Lidices.

Mrs. Petrakova recalls the past, not to mourn, but to help in the fight for a better and happier future, as these simple, eloquent words show:

"When I attended a recent meeting to select delegates for the International Conference in Defense of Children, I was overwhelmed when hundreds of fresh and lovely Young

1945. They returned to Lidice from Nazi concentration camps to find their homes destroyed, their men and children slain. But they've already built a new Lidice.



JUNE, 1952

Unforgotten Village

Spring came every year
to Kladno valley, blossoming with sheer
birth-joy. How all the children laughed to hear
the upstart songs of perky little birds!
There were sweet words
and sighing looks of lovers
slow-stepping over their earth's grain-cover;
and dishes clattered with a merry young sound
between the dreamy housewife's hands—
as if they too were leaping from the ground.
And men were deep at work within the land.

Spring came every year . . . until one year
the fascists came
shutting the valley's throat with noose of shame,
frightening the flowers with their boots,
wresting children from their mother-roots.

Pale were the women, paler than the mist,
when the men they had warmed in their beds and kissed
were strewn by the guns like wheat on the ground—
and tight on their hearts the barbed wire wound.

The helpless homes were toppled when
deep in the valley lay the silent men.
The colors of the Kladno valley wept.
The fascists sent reports. *Lidice slept*,
expunged from time and memory of men—

Then did they see rise terribly again
that Lidice—an angry flower-flame
bursting its seed over the earth's great ground.
Lidice a thousand cradles found.

No rest for fascists, no peace by night or day.
Wherever fascists turn . . . stands *Lidice*.

MARTHA MILLET
1942

Pioneers brought flowers to us. We must protect them. We must not let other women lose their children. Of course, our houses are fine, and we realize that we owe this all to a People's Government that has seen to it that all working people live better than before. But this does not bring

back our children. We will consider that we have failed if we cannot reach out through the Lidice symbol to appeal to all mothers to fight against the fascism that brought this tragedy to us and that is bringing it to thousands of women in Korea and Malaya today."



The "last day of school" picture of children of Lidice, taken just 8 days before the Nazis shipped most of them to the gas chambers

Macabre thieves. Nazi soldiers exhuming bodies from the Lidice cemetery to steal the gold teeth

THE LIDICE THE NAZIS RAZED

On June 10, 1942, the world was shocked to learn that the Nazis had razed the village of Lidice. A beautiful community (see above, left) near the steel town of Kladno, the invaders levelled it (see left), murdered all the men, sent the women to concentration camps and the children to the gas chambers





Some of the homes of the new Lidice (picture taken a year ago; landscaping is now completed). These homes, the water system and other public services, even the furnishings were supplied by State funds and contributions of Czech miners.

New homes have central heating. Furnace room of one of the homes

The world must never forget. The museum displays the relics of the victims so people shall know clearly the meaning of fascism



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LIDICE LIVES AGAIN

Mrs. Wachtrova and
her daughter in the
living room of their
new home in Lidice

Lidice refused to die. It stands proudly as a warning to fascism that democracy triumphs in the end; a warning to democracy that fascism, in whatever form it appears, must be stopped. There are now 200 villagers. They hope soon to have 600. They live in modern homes in an up-to-date community.

Mrs. Leferova, one
of the survivors of
Lidice, now a member
of the Czech
Parliament, entertains
a delegation of
miners from Britain



THUNDER OVER TUNISIA

**Poverty, oppression, absence of liberty
provide background for turbulent struggle**

by

ANDREW VOYNOW

IN MID-APRIL the world awakened to the startling realization that the imperialist powers within the United Nations were ready to go to any extremity to use that world body to perpetuate the status quo of subject peoples. They realized, too, that the NATO powers place their aggressive military designs above the aspirations of subject peoples for political and economic autonomy.

The revelation came from the UN Security Council itself. Eleven Arab and Asian nations had asked that body to place on the agenda for discussion "the present grave situation in Tunisia." The eleven nations—Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Yemen—were supported by Ethiopia, Lebanon, Liberia and Syria. The fifteen comprised one-fourth of the member states of the UN and nearly one-third of the world's population.

They were supported in the Security Council by Brazil, Chile, China, Pakistan and the USSR—five members. Two members were opposed to any discussion of the Tunisian problem—France and Britain. And, engineered by the United States, four nations abstained, which was tantamount to voting nay—Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey and the United States.

Early in the discussion, the President of the Security Council, Ahmed S. Bokhari, speaking for Pakistan and

urging the inclusion of the item on the agenda, declared:

The whole of Asia practically knocks at the door of the United Nations. Does it say, "Please punish the French?" God forbid. Does it say, "Please make the Tunisians free tomorrow?" God forbid. At this stage it merely says one thing: "Please, in heaven's name, discuss this question."

But if seven people in the Security Council are not available to discuss it, it will amount to this: that the eleven nations are told, "You can go to hell. We will not discuss your question. You may feel strongly about it, but we will not even put it on the agenda to find out what the truth is."

Seven nations, the required number to place the question on the agenda, "were not available." The Tunisian question, which a third of the world considered hazardous to peace and security, was not even to be discussed in the Security Council.

What was this question? For some time Tunisia had been asking France to fulfill long-standing promises of progressive reforms and internal autonomy. Instead of fulfilling her promises, France brought things to a head in the last week in March by arresting the Tunisian cabinet and all elements of opposition and forcing the Bey to appoint a pro-French Premier. The Tunisians protested violently against the

systematic terrorism of the French which included mass arrests.

It was this situation which the eleven Arab and Asian nations brought to the attention of the UN Security Council. This has a long history.

In 1881 the French military occupied Tunisia as a "temporary measure" and rapidly made it permanent in the form of a "protectorate." It was not long before the Bey of Tunis became a French puppet. But over the seventy years a national liberation movement grew in strength and was able to force some concessions from the French.

Tunisia has a population of about 3,500,000. Of these, 150,000 are French settlers, and another 100,000 are Europeans. Fully half the arable land is owned by 6,000 Frenchmen, and the overwhelming part of the other resources of the country, including its exports and its banks, are in the hands of the French or the other Europeans.

The Tunisians have no democratic representation at any level. Authority is actually in the hands of the Resident-General, who is appointed by the Foreign Ministry in Paris, by a Secretary-General, and by the French who hold more than half the civil posts.

Cabinet decisions must have the approval of the Bey, and are subject to veto by the Resident-General.

There is a Grand Council, which sits for a month annually to approve the budget, composed of two sections—one, French, elected directly by the 70,000 French voters; the other, Tunisian, elected indirectly and a poll tax is required for the Tunisian voters. But even the budgetary decisions of the Grand Council are not final: the Quai d'Orsay has the power to cut, approve or forbid expenditures.

There are two systems of law and courts. The Tunisian is applicable only to all-Tunisian cases. If a case involves a French citizen or a European, it goes before a French court.

With no constitution, no representative parliament, no actual voice in the running of the country, it is not surprising that the evils of rife colonialism are rampant in Tunisia.

Health conditions are abominable. One fifth of Tunisian babies—202 out of every 1,000—die before reaching the age of one year. There are less than 500 doctors for the 3,500,000 people. All Tunisia has only eight hospitals.

Schooling is hopelessly inadequate: of a total of 800,000 children between the ages of 5 and 15 in 1949-1950, only 164,000 attended school, and of these 35,000 were French.

Since the end of the Second World War, Tunisia has gone through five periods of famine, the worst being those of 1948 and 1950.

It was against these gross inequities that the Tunisian national liberation movement has struggled through the years. And the false charge of "communism" cannot hold water, because the Neo-Destour Party, leader of the nationalist movement, is dominated by those relatively well-off Tunisian groups who seek no fundamental change in economic and social relations. Two years ago the liberation movement won the right to half the seats in the Cabinet. Most recent demands, which have led to the present crisis, are comparatively modest. They seek some internal autonomy. As Clyde Farnsworth in the *World-Telegram* of February 29 wrote, they

do not insist on complete legislative powers in the beginning. They do not even insist on complete abolition of the Resident-General's veto, but would confine it to national security and foreign relations.

The Tunisians have been pressing some such demands for years. They have acted with moderation. They have not even asked for a revision of the Treaty of 1881 establishing the Protectorate.

But by May, 1951, it had become clear that such things as municipal reform could not be separated from the question of a representative Assembly, for which the Bey made a formal demand in his speech from the throne.

It was the adamant attitude of the French toward the Tunisian claims for constitutional reforms which compelled

two Tunisian Ministers to go to Paris last year to present their complaint to the UN. In January, they wrote to the President of the Security Council calling attention to the state of affairs in Tunisia, but their letter never saw the light of day until the Pakistan delegation asked, on March 29, that copies be circulated.

In the meantime, while arrests and riots took place at home, the Tunisian Ministers waited patiently for France to reach an amicable understanding. They tried various friendly approaches to the French Government—nothing happened.

There was strong feeling that the matter be raised in the General Assembly. Instead, fifteen nations asked the Assembly President to request France not to drive the Tunisians to a point of desperation. They waited in vain for an answer.

It was during all this waiting that the French Government used the axe. The Resident-General arrested the Premier and three members of his Cabinet. A fourth member, regarded as too old, was placed under house arrest. The two Ministers in Paris fled to Cairo. The nationalist leader had already been arrested. Hundreds of political persons, journalists, teachers, lawyers who had shown any nationalist sympathies were seized. All nationalist newspapers were suppressed. High schools were closed. Martial law was invoked. The Bey's Palace was surrounded.

The Bey was compelled to appoint a new, pro-French Premier (who, at the time the matter was brought before the Security Council, could find no one willing to join his cabinet).

Then the Resident-General declared that he had a program of reforms that he would negotiate with the new Government.

This sop was used as an excuse to prevent discussion in the Security Council. The United States, in abstaining, declared that it was more useful to concentrate on facilitating negotiations than to engage in debate. Ernest A. Gross, the U.S. delegate, declared:

The French program of reforms, in our view, appears to constitute a basis for the resumption of negotiations. . . .

But, as the Pakistan delegate pointed out: With whom were the French going to negotiate? With "their own stooges?"

And as for the French "reforms," Robert C. Doty, Paris correspondent, wrote in the *New York Times* April 2:

The first detailed analysis of the program of reforms . . . made it plain that the transfer of sovereignty to the Tunisians would be exceedingly gradual, so that the French would retain a large measure of control for some time to come.

The Tunisians had demanded a Cabinet free of the Resident-General. The French "reforms" propose to make the acts of the Cabinet subject to an administrative tribunal presided over by a Frenchman.

In reply to Tunisian demands for a representative parliament, the French offer a legislative council of 30 Tunisians, not elected, but appointed by the Bey. And a second chamber composed of an equal number of French and Tunisians, to consider budgetary and financial matters.

So there was no offer of real reforms and no Tunisian government with which the French could negotiate.

Yet, the United States, and other members of the Security Council, felt that France "is willing to go a long way toward meeting those [Tunisian] aspirations," as Secretary Acheson declared at a press conference on April 16. He felt that it was "a sound way to proceed" to give the French authorities and Tunisian "authorities" time to "discuss, negotiate, and find a solution."

What lay behind the abracadabra in the Security Council?

France, of course, fears that successes toward autonomy in Tunisia will arouse Algeria and Morocco to agitation for changes in their own status. Britain, too, looks toward her waning position in that part of the globe.

But what about the United States? What about our history-long traditions of fair play, of support to the aspirations of subject peoples to liberation and national sovereignty?

How is it that the United States refused even to support a Chilean proposal that the Tunisian question be placed on the agenda but to postpone consideration "for the time being"? Here the cold war enters the picture. The noblest traditions of the American people are discarded on behalf of NATO diplomacy. *U.S. News and World Report*, April 9, declared:

For the U.S., Tunisia is a delicate problem of strategy and leadership.



The U.S., as the strongest naval power in the Mediterranean, is directly interested in its own air bases in Morocco and Libya. In addition, France, a U.S. ally, has major air and naval bases near Bizerte and elsewhere in Tunisia. In World War II, U.S. troops found Tunisia a vital stepping stone to Italian Sicily, just 100 miles away. In Europe, the French alliance is a keystone of Western defenses.

Attempting to analyze the U.S. abstention, a writer in the *New York Post*, on April 16, said:

American refusal to support the French, it is contended, would prevent the Pinay government from mustering sufficient votes in the Chamber of Deputies to ratify the Lisbon agreements on a European army.

The shameful disregard of the rights of the peoples of the smaller countries shocked the world. When it became clear that the Tunisian question would be barred from the Security Council agenda, Professor Bokhari of Pakistan declared that day would go down in history

as the day on which the foundations were laid for the suppression of free discussion in the United Nations.

But the Arab and Asian nations together with a large number of the Latin American countries are determined to fight this abrogation of their rights. Two plans are afoot. One, to raise the question again before the Security Council, and the other, to marshal sufficient nations to call a special session of the General Assembly.

It is clear that the United States lost invaluable prestige and influence throughout the world, especially in Asia and the Middle East, through its behavior in the Security Council. It is more than a probability that the advancing movement of the peoples of the world may yet compel the Administration to assume a new position in keeping with our historical traditions and professed championship of freedom and opposition to colonialism.



The opening session of the International Economic Conference in Moscow in April

International Economic
Conference

What Brought Them Together?

***On-the-spot report of recent Moscow
parley describes basis for meeting
and sketches hopes for the future***

by RALPH PARKER

IT IS NOT to decry the importance of the results achieved at the International Economic Conference, held in Moscow in April, to suggest that its most remarkable feature was that it took place at all. So charged with suspicion is the international atmosphere today that the step from an expression of the will to negotiate to negotiation itself is fraught with difficulty.

What was it that brought 471 manufacturers, traders, economists

and trade unionists to Moscow from 49 lands? A common political creed? Hardly, when one considers the presence of people with views so divergent as those of Senator Daftary of Iran and Giuseppe Di Vittorio, representing the World Federation of Trade Unions; of Baron Allard, the Belgian Catholic banker, and Nan Han-Chen, President of the People's Bank of China.

Was it agreement on economic theory? Hardly, for Oliver Vickery, a

San Francisco industrialist, defended the principle of free enterprise; one spokesman for India favored large scale public works while another, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, pleaded for priority for village industry; Julius Schachner of Austria preached something very close to Neo-Malthusianism, and spokesmen of the People's Democracies listed the achievements of planned economy.

What then had brought them together in Moscow?

It was more than a year ago that the idea of such a conference took practical shape. Businessmen, economists and trade union leaders of a number of West European countries, perturbed by the economic difficulties of their respective countries, had reached the conclusion that an effort should be made to halt the process by which the geographical area within which trade was being conducted was becoming narrower and narrower.

They asked themselves whether the time was not ripe for an effort to secure a resumption of normal economic relations with the East European countries. Thus the idea of the conference was prompted by economic necessity, and the organizers were soon to find that there existed objective economic reasons why such a conference was not only desirable but vitally necessary at this juncture.

Now that the Conference is over, one can clearly distinguish three principal motives that brought its participants together:

1) The belief that a reversion to normal economic relations between

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Mikhail Nesterov, President of the USSR Chamber of Commerce

West and East might assist in overcoming the difficulties facing every country in Western Europe. This view found expression in the words of Lord Boyd-Orr, the well-known expert on nutrition who led the British delegation, who pleaded for concentration on what could be done within the framework of existing political and economic restrictions "regrettable though they are." Were an expansion of world trade to result from the Conference, he said, the resulting benefits would be so obvious that they could lead to a relaxation of these restrictions.

This point of view received substantial support among those Western delegations for whom an immediate resumption of East-West trade means relief from pressing economic and financial problems. Sidney Silverman, M.P., for instance, a prominent member of the British group, represents a Lancashire constituency

where over half of the working population is unemployed. To him, as to businessmen from Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and France, sales of cotton and woolen fabrics to the USSR and China, if possible in exchange for food and feeding-stuff, would bring about an immediate alleviation of their countries' ills.

The business deals concluded in the latter stage of the Conference were to show that even within existing restrictions there were fruitful possibilities of expanding East-West trade. English businessmen, for instance, returned to London with firm prospects of some 28 million pounds worth of trade with the USSR, China, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, Poland. The French group spoke of 30 billion francs as the total of deals concluded, while Italian and Belgian businessmen are reported to have concluded business on a similar scale. If only as a market the Conference deserves to be hailed as a success.

2) But the results went far beyond this. Many delegates had come to Moscow not so much to restore normal trade or to work within existing restrictions as to seek ways and means of establishing new patterns of trade. And while the first working group was working industriously to reopen channels along which international trade was flowing fairly satisfactorily four or five years ago, another group, concerned with the problems of under-developed countries, was pursuing a hitherto untrodden path.^[1]

It was in this group that one heard most forcibly expressed that impatience of Southeast Asia and the Middle East which was to give a special character to the Moscow Conference. This note was struck first when the

Iranian economist Hossein Daryush in the plenary session declared: "I have no intention of asking for alms for my country. All I ask for is the economic cooperation of other countries, on a basis of equality."

It was echoed by Mohammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, a Member of the Pakistan Parliament, who reminded the conference that Pakistan, fifth largest state in the world, was "only too impatient to overcome as quickly as possible the lag between its economy and that of the advanced states." Describing the large number of schemes on foot for the development of Pakistan's economy, he complained that the supply of capital goods they required had been adversely affected by the increasing military production in many of the industrial countries. Pakistan, he said, was exerting every effort to expand its trading relations in every direction and to promote its trade with the East notwithstanding the impediments.

Gyan Chand, an Indian economist, declared: "The first thing we must do is to develop our basic industries, which at present are non-existent. We must employ new methods of capital investments and import capital equipment. We can only solve this problem by establishing new and varied trade contacts. India will naturally appreciate any offer of capital goods from such countries as the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, with which our trade relations are as yet limited."

These vehement appeals for the establishment of a new pattern of economic relations between the under-developed and the advanced countries found most cogent expression in the speech of another delegate from Pakistan, the publisher Altaf Husain.

"It is highly significant," he declared, "that Generalissimo Stalin

had just forcefully reiterated his belief that the Communist and other social systems can peacefully co-exist in the world. The Pakistan delegation submits that the Soviet Union, which has made such phenomenal progress in the economic field, may now play a positive and beneficial role in the development of the underdeveloped countries. . . ." This speech evoked immediate response from the conference, and its argument was endorsed by Mr. Harold Davies, a British Labor M.P.

As a tribune where, in an atmosphere entirely free from any spirit of colonialism, the representatives of the underdeveloped countries could state their case for aid on terms of mutual respect, the International Economic Conference must be considered a great success.

3) The third principal motive bringing businessmen and economists to Moscow was the desire to discover the role that the Soviet Union, China, the German Democratic Republic, and the People's Democracies could play today and in the near future in international trade. Not even the most sceptical observer can have been disappointed in this respect for the Conference was remarkable for the clarity in which spokesmen for these countries outlined their plans and intentions.

The most outstanding of these contributions was the speech of Mikhail Nesterov, President of the USSR Chamber of Commerce, a speech hailed by some delegates as among the most important statements of economic policy made in recent times.

Stressing that it was not the intention of Soviet trading organizations to oust anyone from the world markets or to secure for themselves any special privileges, Nesterov as-

sured the conference that these organizations were prepared to consider specific proposals for expanding the USSR's foreign trade above its present level of 18 billion rubles a year.

In a key passage he declared that Soviet foreign trade organizations could purchase in Western Europe, the Americas, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Australia, commodities which they customarily export, and sell them Soviet commodities in which they are interested, in quantities that could raise Soviet trade with these countries in the next two or three years to 30 or 40 billion rubles, or to 10 to 15 billion rubles a year, compared with the maximum postwar volume of approximately 5 billion rubles in 1948.

This program of trade development would mean that in the next two or three years the Soviet Union's aggregate annual foreign trade could

Delegates going to the conference hall.
Lord Boyd-Orr, head of the British
delegation, is on the extreme left



be increased by half, or even doubled, providing employment for an additional one and a half to two million people in the countries which traded with the USSR.

Close attention was paid to Nesterov's statement that the USSR was prepared to purchase consumer goods, chiefly from West European firms, as well as raw materials, metals and other commodities, including raw materials for the manufacture of consumer goods, from Southeast Asia and the Near and Middle East.

Nesterov dwelt in detail on the patterns of trade he envisaged the USSR conducting with various countries. The Soviet Union, he declared, was prepared to conclude barter transactions, receive payment for goods in local currencies and spend them in the countries concerned. Much of the acuteness of the dollar-shortage crisis now afflicting most West European countries would, he urged, disappear if these countries were to resume, side by side with their American trade, commerce with Eastern Europe on the basis of reciprocal commodity deliveries.

No less precise were the statements made by the spokesmen of other lands of planned economy. Gradually an impressive picture of vast trade possibilities over the next two or three years was unfolded by leading bankers, economists and businessmen from the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic.

The President of the People's Bank of China spoke of the vast market created by the liberation of the purchasing power of hundreds of millions of peasants, and stressed China's importance as an exporter of food, an importer of machinery.

Mr. Otakat Pohl, for Czechoslovakia, responded to the mood of the

delegates from Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America by stating that during the next few years Czechoslovakia could assist these countries by supplying them with lathes, machinery, gasoline and diesel engines, irrigation equipment, tractors, automobiles, etc. In subsequent years Czechoslovakia could be counted on to supply complete sets of equipment for such industrial enterprises as sugar refineries, distilleries, breweries, etc.

"We fully understand and appreciate your endeavor to develop your native industry and utilize the resources of your countries, and to dispose of them as you see fit," Mr. Pohl declared. "Czechoslovak industry can assist you in this matter by supplying you with the necessary machinery and with complete sets of equipment for your factories, and also by imparting to you our technical and special experience. I here want to stress that we do not aspire to investing capital in these countries. It is our intention to help them on the basis of complete equality of rights, no conditions being attached except such as relate to trade."

The visitors to Moscow learned that they must put out of their minds the false conception of a Russian market capable of absorbing only low-grade merchandise. Many textile manufacturers from Lancashire and Yorkshire, Lyons and Fiumi found the samples of low and medium quality cloth they had brought with them discarded by their prospective customers and had to telegraph home for their highest ranges.

Many, too, who looked to the Soviet Union as a source of machinery, vehicles, prime-movers, and agricultural implements were astonished by the impeccable finish and the ingenuity of the exhibits displayed. They were no less surprised to find that

the USSR, to which manufacturers of machinery in the West are forbidden to export their goods, was in a position itself to export machine-tools, high grade steel and motor-vehicles. Later they were to hear from Nesterov that the reduction of the Soviet Union's trade with certain countries in recent years had not prevented successful fulfillment of its economic plans nor interfered with its steady progress. On the contrary, he added, this circumstance has in some cases helped to accelerate the development of new Soviet industries.

There is considerable irony in the fact that the American-inspired embargo on certain types of exports to the USSR should have placed that country in a stronger position to export these very types of goods into markets the Americans are unable to satisfy because of their own preoccupations with rearmament!

Delegates left Moscow far more sanguine about the possibilities of promoting international trade on a larger scale than they had dared to imagine possible. Without engaging in fruitless political discussion and with a singular lack of recrimination in their references to the obvious cause of most of the world's ills, they had, in the words of the Communiqué "unanimously established . . . that the volume of world trade can be increased considerably. . . . The Conference revealed vast potentialities for enlarging trade between the countries of Western Europe, the United States of America, Canada, the countries of Latin America, the countries of Asia and of Africa, the Soviet Union, China, the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. . . . The work of the Conference showed that economic progress in underdeveloped countries and the supply of



Oliver Vickery, a businessman from San Francisco, addressing the conference of people from 49 countries

machines and industrial plant to these countries as well as mutually advantageous relations between the prices of raw materials they export and the products they import are of vital importance for the development of international trade and peaceful economic cooperation."

The trade conducted during the Conference, amounting to several hundred million dollars, was an important token of the practical value of the Conference, although representing only a beginning.

In certain countries, particularly in Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, the orders placed and accepted will certainly place a powerful argument in the mouths of those pressing for the removal of present restrictions to East-West trade. But few delegates will labor under the illusion that economic health can be restored by trading within the framework of existing restrictions.



A group of delegates from People's China and Indonesia chat during an interval

The businessmen and economists who gathered in Moscow diagnosed the malady. Their appeal to the General Assembly to convene a conference of representatives of governments attended by business circles and trade unions, shows that they consider political action necessary if a cure is to be made. If and when such a conference is convened, its participants will not be able to overlook that radical change in the international division of labor which the Moscow Conference brought clearly to the foreground. The nations of the world, wherever they lie, are no

longer prepared to accept that hierarchical arrangement whereby to certain countries is assigned the production of agricultural goods and raw materials and to others the production of manufactured goods.

The impatient voices of the East, so insistent at Moscow, will continue to be raised at any international economic conference in the future. And in the long run the fate of world trade will largely depend on the spirit in which those voices are listened to in the advanced countries. That is the lesson that not a few delegates to the Moscow Conference took with them.

KOREA BLACKOUT

THE IGNORANCE in the USA regarding the Korean War is the result of a deliberate policy fostered by the Oligarchy and imposed upon every channel through which information reaches the American people. As a consequence, the people of the United States know only one version of the Korean War, the official version. For the most part they are not even aware there is any other version."

—From the Spring 1952 issue of Scott Nearing's World Events, which features a critique of U.S. policy in Korea.

HOUSING BOOM IN TIENTSIN

APARTMENTS totaling 50,000 rooms are scheduled to be constructed in Tientsin. Approximately one-fifth of this housing was begun in April, to be completed before summer.

THIS WIFE STAYED AT HOME

by MILDRED MACLEOD

“WELL, my dear, next month I’m going on a rather long trip—in fact, I’ve been chosen to go over and see how things are in Russia,” announced my good man when he came home from a meeting of the Joint Labor Council one night last August.

“Oh sure,” I rejoined, “and I suppose the following month you’ll be off on one of those rocket things to visit the moon and inspect safety conditions there.”

“No, really, I mean it! There has been an invitation extended from the All-Union Central Council of the USSR for 20 Canadian trade unionists to visit their country. They write us to be their guests from the time we reach their borders, and promise to take us wherever we wish to go. This was a special meeting called tonight and the boys nominated me, along with two others, for the honor. The others declined in my favor, so I’m it. Brother, what an opportunity!”

What an opportunity, indeed! To be able to get first-hand information about a country that had become a land of mystery would clear up a lot of questions plaguing us, and many others, too. I think I was just as excited about the prospect as he. And then I began to feel a little envious,

and think how I would be left home (with our two teen-aged boys, who are home very little) while he had all the excitement. “Home” is the basement of the house he is building in his spare (?) time—an excavated, dark spidery basement—and I could see that the term of our occupancy of the “underground” was going to be prolonged by many months with the builder going off on such a trip, with the subsequent speaking tours, and what-not. A very dim prospect, indeed.

“Ah, well!” I thought, I’ve had lots of practice, as indeed has every wife of a man as active in the politi-

Mr. and Mrs. Alistair MacLeod with their two sons in front of their home in Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada





Canadian delegation on Red Square. Mr. MacLeod is standing on the extreme left

cal and trade union world as my Alistair has been, ever since I met him. We have both been members of the C.C.F. (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) since its beginning, and in addition Alistair has always been a member of a trade union. Never a back-seat member, always in there pitching in one capacity or another. He just recently finished a term as president of his sub-local of the International Woodworkers of America. Being thus chosen to take such a trip was an honor he deserved, I felt, and I knew, too, that they could not have chosen a more reliable or honest man for the job.

The news of his forthcoming trip soon grapevined. Friends and acquaintances I met and talked with about the event could, I soon found, be placed in one of two categories—the “Isn’t it wonderful, aren’t you thrilled?” type, and the “My, aren’t you afraid to let him go? Such queer things happen over there” sort of individual. To the latter I replied that it was only the plane travel that worried me, and at that, I was no more fearful than to see him go to work every day. Such nasty things

happen to men working in saw mills!

There was a brief flurry of obtaining passport photos, vaccinations, new luggage and nylon garments (to make travel light and solve the laundry problem), while members of the Sponsoring Committee were busy with subscription sheets soliciting the funds needed for the trip from the men on the jobs. Unfortunately, many men were off work, for a dry summer had closed the woods; so in the end, much of the money had to be borrowed. Then he was off—a short boat trip from our Island to Vancouver, B.C., by train across the continent to Montreal, then long plane hops would land him on the other side of the globe, behind the fabulous “iron curtain.” No, I wasn’t really afraid—but my eyes and throat felt awfully queer as I watched him go up the gang-plank. It was a long, long way to Moscow.

A cablegram from London informed us of a safe crossing of the Atlantic; and with that much relief I had to content myself for the next three weeks, which was the length of time it took for his first air-mail letter to come from Moscow. That

MacLeod (foreground) with delegates who are receiving bread and salt, symbols of hospitality, from collective farmers whom they paid a visit



letter, with the foreign stamps and the strange, Russian lettering above the familiar handwriting, was looked upon with something like awe.

Two more brief letters of the "Having wonderful time, wish you were here" type arrived, and before we knew it, seven weeks had elapsed, and he was arriving home. Here he was, the same Alistair, but with the glamor of far-away places clinging to him. He was weighted down with increased baggage—gifts and souvenirs, and the most wonderful assortment of pictures, taken wherever he travelled. And what a story he had to tell! A story of tremendous achievement and construction on the ruins of Hitler's invasion, of vast territories being reclaimed by irrigation and tree planting, of a people working with determination to build a full life for themselves, asking only to be left in peace to carry out their plans.

Then began the round of compiling notes, writing reports, addressing meetings, and at the same time getting back to the job of earning a living and building a house. Meetings were fairly well attended, consider-

ing the times. The daily papers, of course, made themselves conspicuous by their silence regarding the returned delegates and their reports.

The first thing most folks want to know: was it a conducted tour? Did the delegates see what they wanted, or were they shown a "staged" picture of Russia? The party made a list of what they wanted to see before leaving Montreal. This they handed to the representatives of the All-Union Central Council who received them. They shook their heads over it. "How long can you stay?" they asked.

"Four weeks," was the reply.

"Well, now, you would need four months to really see these places. But we'll see what we can do."

There were times when the party regretted the length of their list! They flew 11,000 miles in the 26 days within Soviet territory. Sometimes they got to bed at 2 a.m. and were up again at 6. Moscow, Gorky, Tula, Stalingrad, Kirovgrad, Sochi (a health resort on the Black Sea), Dnepropetrovsk, Gagri (a Caucasian resort), Siwa (logging), Kalinin (collective farm), and other points

were visited. They stopped at Lidice and Prague in Czechoslovakia, and at Warsaw on the way home.

Communicating with the people presented no great difficulty, since Miss Wedro, the Vancouver delegate, could speak fluent Russian, and there were Russian interpreters supplied. Then, too, it was surprising the number of people there who could speak English. It seems that a foreign language is compulsory in school—not just in high school, but from the age of 9 or 10, and English is now the second foreign language spoken in the Soviet Union. The visiting Canadians chose workers at random at their places of work, for questioning. They were answered forthrightly, with no signs of fear or evasion. They also visited workers' homes, church services, people on the farm and at a remote logging camp. They feel that they obtained as true a picture as possible in the brief time they had.

Do Soviet citizens receive foreign news? Alistair reports that radios were plentiful, and some had short-wave. One of the factory girls they questioned was asked if she and her friends ever listened to "The Voice of America" broadcasts. She answered that they used to, but got "fed up" with it. Some of the delegates, including Alistair, were invited to speak over Radio Moscow. No suggestions were made as to what they should say, and they spoke directly over the network with no previous review of their scripts.

It is Alistair's conviction that war is the last thing on this earth the Soviet people, or their government, want. The whole country is geared to a peace-time plan of construction, in which every citizen has a part, and in which each will share the benefit. There are peace slogans and parades

everywhere. It is a punishable offense to advocate war. There are not even any militaristic toys among the children's playthings.

Is this, then, the country we are daily told we must arm ourselves against? Somebody is lying, and if it is my husband, then it is the first time in twenty years, to my knowledge!

After hearing about the marvelous opera and ballet concerts, the fashion show that he bullied the other men into attending, all the fabulous things on view inside the Kremlin, the interesting people he met—all I can say is, if there are any more trips to be taken, this little wife is not going to stay home. In the future, I'm going to adopt a "me too" policy. Do you blame me?

A visit to a Greek Orthodox Church MacLeod is the third from the left



"UNSHAKABLE FAITH IN PEACE"

Industrial, cultural progress in Hungary described by visiting French and British clergymen—saw no State-Church conflict



ON the invitation of the Protestant Churches, three British and nine French clergymen belonging to the Anglican, Lutheran and Reformed Churches, paid a ten-day visit to Hungary last September. Their aim was to acquaint themselves with the religious life of the country and with the institutions of People's Democracy.

Invited to give his impressions on Hungarian life, the Reverend Albert Finet of Paris, Editor of the Protestant review *Réforme*, made this statement:

"I have had the opportunity of visiting both agricultural and industrial areas. In the agricultural areas of the Great Hungarian Plain and beyond the Tisza, I was chiefly interested in the producers' cooperatives. I had long talks with the working peasants of the Petofi producers' cooperative. My chief interest, however, was not in the achievements of production, for Hungarian agriculture was formerly notoriously backward, and it would be difficult to compare it with our conditions in France. What I looked for above all was the transformation of the individualist outlook which is a characteristic of

the peasantry, and, indeed, this transformation is truly amazing. The peasants are confident and sure of themselves. Young and old join wholeheartedly in the work of the collective. I saw, in the Petofi producers' cooperative, that Hungary has succeeded in building a new collective life and a new economy for the peasantry.

"Among the industrial areas which I have visited, I have been deeply impressed by the giant Danube Steel Combine which is being built at Dunapentele. It is impossible to restrain one's emotion at the sight of this mighty town, created almost overnight from nothing but man's effort. The most striking thing is to see how the workers devote themselves to their work of peaceful construction."

The Reverend Finet had this to say about religious life and the situation of the Church of Hungary:

"Naturally, I considered that my most important task was to inform myself about the situation of the Church. For this reason, I visited several Protestant congregations in the capital and in the provinces, where I talked with leading person-



Members of a women's tractor brigade on Red Star Collective Farm near Turkeve, in People's Hungary

—Hungarian Bulletin

alities of the Church, with clergymen and with members of the congregations. I took part in services in the Szabadság Church in Budapest, in the village of Godollo near Budapest and in the town of Debrecen in Eastern Hungary.

"The services took place in an exalted and pious atmosphere. I have been deeply impressed by the complete identity of the congregation with the church, by the spirit of confidence and brotherhood established between the pastors and their flock and by the way in which they help each other in such a selfless way in their religious life."

The Reverend Dr. Bryn Thomas, an Anglican clergyman, stressed the perfect harmony existing between the Hungarian Church and State:

"The harmonious cooperation between State and Church is well illustrated by the fact that the State pays an average of 800 forints (about 24 pounds, or \$68) a month to ministers and priests, that is, it contributes this sum to the stipends of the clergy of all Churches.

"In 1950 the Hungarian People's Republic spent approximately 12 million forints (360,000 pounds, or \$1,000,000) on the restoration of

Protestant churches. It contributed 31 million forints (930,000 pounds or \$2,600,000) to supplement the stipends of Protestant ministers and 60 million forints (1,800,000 pounds or \$5,000,000) to supplement the stipends of Catholic priests. It was during my own stay in Hungary that the State allotted an additional 5 million forints (150,000 pounds or \$421,000) for the rebuilding of five Roman Catholic churches.

"It is true that in Hungary two archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church — Mindszenty and Grosz — were imprisoned. These two high priests, however, would have been brought before a court and given a severe sentence in any other country. We in the West must realize that in the East the people cannot forget the violent influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the field of politics, of which they were victims for such a long time. Today Hungary is governed by Hungarians for the benefit of Hungarians. A firm faith in the future radiates from the faces of the people, in the farmsteads, in the factories, in the schools, universities and in the Church alike."

Asked whether he had noted the will for peace of the mass of the Hun-

garian people, the Reverend Albert Greiner of Paris, Editor of *The Lutheran*, replied:

"The problem of peace is on the agenda in Hungary. It has given its name to a large hotel, to a street, to a cigarette, showing that every means is utilized to convince public opinion of the importance of peace.

"The Hungarian people, however, do not confine themselves to wishing for peace. They need it in order to carry out their plans of construction. I saw this in a concrete form at Dunapentele, where they are building a gigantic Steel Combine on the banks of the Danube, surrounded by a new city. The Hungarians want peace, they need it, and it is clear that they are doing everything possible in the interests of peace.

"Like all Western visitors, I arrived in Hungary with certain prejudices. My visit has enabled me to establish a human contact with the new Hungary. I have seen here men who live, work and strive to realize their plans and desires. Sometimes they succeed, and sometimes they fail.

"Behind the so-called 'Iron Curtain' I have found an active and animated life, diligent and hard-working people, inspired by the same ambitions as the masses of people in the West. From the moment that one has seen this with one's own eyes, it becomes easier to understand this new country, where one finds so many positive things, including religious life and the activity of the Church."

The Reverend René Rognon of Paris, a pastor of the Reformed Church, said:

"I feel that I have come to understand something of the new man in the making.

"I have been struck by the quickened rhythm of the work of construction. It is noticeable that everything

is urgent, that everything starts from the beginning. The new Hungary has to be built from its very foundations. The Danube Steel Combine, for example, is being built by tens of thousands of workers who, up to a year or two ago, were still peasants. Highly skilled workers and technical cadres will arise from among them when this great steel enterprise is completed. This is characteristic of the new Hungary, where man is the focal point of the great development which is taking place.

"Among the factories which I visited, I spent a great deal of time at the Kistext Textile Factory, whose achievements in social services, the nursery, the house of culture, the worker's club and sports stadium, have greatly impressed me. Far from being luxurious, these facilities are very simple, but they impressed me far more than a great show of luxury would have done.

"I formed the same impression in a producers' cooperative near Debrecen. It was not one of the 'millionaire' cooperatives. It was even fairly poor. Nevertheless, it was one of the thousands of cooperatives which have been formed recently, and which are going forward on the road to progress.

"I have seen countless examples of the desire for peace of the Hungarian people. In every country in the world, in the West as in the East, a great deal is said and written about peace. But with us, in the West, however, there is a certain defeatism underlying the declarations for peace. They try to make people believe that, although everyone wants peace, war is inevitable. In Hungary, however, all that is said and written testifies to a sincere and unshakable faith in peace, as do also the splendid facts of construction."

SAVING LIVES IN NEW CHINA

by WEN CHIAO

CHINA is far healthier today than when the new republic was founded two and a half years ago.

Old China was known for its extremely high mortality rate and over half of the deaths were due to such preventable diseases as tuberculosis, smallpox, typhoid, plague, cholera, etc. But New China has won great victories in destroying the causes of illness. No major epidemic has been reported in any part of the country during the last two years. (This article was written last October in Peking.)

Some 200,000,000 people, or nearly 30 times the number under the Kuomintang, have been vaccinated against smallpox. Over 90 per cent of the population in Northern China have been vaccinated since the beginning of 1950, as was practically every citizen in Shanghai in the spring of 1951. As a result, smallpox has been greatly reduced and

no cases have been registered ever since May, 1950, in Peking, Port Arthur, Dairen, Yingkow, Chinghwangtao, Chefoo, Amoy, Canton and a number of other cities.

There has been no occurrence of cholera, the dreaded summer scourge, throughout the country during the past two years, though about 60,000 such cases were reported in 1946. Bubonic plague, which for more than ten years took heavy tolls in Fukien, has not reappeared. Northeast China, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Chahar, Chekiang, Yunnan and other areas have almost been completely cleared of this plague. At present, more than 240 specialized teams and stations in all parts of China are on a constant alert against the outbreak of any epidemic.

Tremendous progress has been achieved in the field of urban health work. Water has been piped to more millions in the cities. Changsha, Sian and Lanchow are among those cities building modern water supply systems. Tientsin laid a new sewage system which exceeded the total length built in the last 11 years. Besides providing a new sewage system of 45 miles, Peking also dredged its three big lakes whose stagnant waters had become a health hazard. Miles of open ditches, most of which were choked with weeds and stinking sludge, were also cleaned out to eliminate the breeding grounds of flies and mosquitoes.

Many of China's cities were practically cesspools when they were liberated in 1949. At that time, Tangshan, a rail center in the east of Peking, had a 20-year accumulation of garbage and refuse. Peking had more than 200,000 tons of such waste which formed a serious menace to public health. Incomplete figures put the total amount of garbage and ref-

use carted out of China's cities in 1950 at 1,750,000 tons.

Industrial hygiene work has been given proper attention. Health centers have been set up in all large factories and mines of China. For the first time, the people are working under improved and sanitary conditions. Safety measures are strictly enforced. In Northeast China, the ratio of medical personnel to workers was 1 to 84 in 1950, as compared with 1 to 122 in 1949. Rest homes and sanatoria where the workers may stay, free of charge, are being established everywhere. The Labor Insurance Law which was put into effect in March this year further protects the health of the workers.

In the past, modern scientific medicine was simply unknown in China's vast countryside where over 85 per cent of the country's population live. For the lack of medical help, peasants often took to superstitious practices. It was not uncommon for a preventable disease to spread from village to village, causing a large number of deaths.

But things are entirely different now. County health centers are be-

ing expanded until 85 percent of China's counties now have such facilities. Each county in Chekiang, Shantung, Hunan, Shensi and Hopei Provinces and the entire Northeast China has a good health center. Throughout the country, the number of available beds in the county health centers has increased by 122 per cent and the working personnel by 46 per cent as compared with the Kuomintang period. Peasants have begun to receive popular health education from the literacy classes, health exhibitions and medical personnel specially trained to work in the villages.

Much effort has been made to lower the astonishingly high infant mortality rate which was formerly more than 40 per cent of the birth rate. This has mainly been done by re-educating the old-style midwives found throughout the countryside. Since 1949, over 90,000 of these midwives have undergone such training. At the same time, large numbers of modern midwives and maternal and child health workers are being trained. This accounts for the striking decrease in the infant death rate. In

They receive proper attention in the nursery while their parents are working in a factory in Dairen



the Palake Area, Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the infant death rate has been reduced from 42 per cent to 15 per cent, and in Heilungkiang Province, Northeast China, it dropped from 56 per cent to 15 per cent. China now has 750 maternity and child health clinics and 9,500 maternity homes.

More and more children are enjoying a healthful development in the nurseries, where they are provided with nourishing food and good medical care. The number of nurseries has increased 63 times since liberation.

There used to be an extreme shortage of medical personnel in Kuomintang China. In such a vast province as Sinkiang, which is more than double the area of France, there were no more than fifteen modern physicians.

This deplorable situation has been radically changed in New China. The number of students attending medical schools in China today is more than the number of doctors trained in China during the past 69 years. Old-style doctors who greatly outnumber modern physicians are also studying scientific medicine in classes specially arranged for them.

Medical work accomplished by New



Free medical attention, and this includes all hospitalization, is the rule now for the people of New China

China within the brief space of two years is only a beginning in view of the increasing demand for health services. All the medical workers are striving to further improve the health of the Chinese people.

SOVIET WOMEN WRITERS POPULAR

THE NEWSPAPER *Literaturnaya Gazeta* has issued figures showing the extensive popularity of Soviet women writers. Wanda Wasilewska's works have been published in editions totalling 7 million copies. Her novel *The Rainbow* appeared in more than 50 editions in 24 languages, including Mari, Tadzhik, Chuvash, Yakut and Komi.

Vera Panova's novel *The Bright Shore* has been translated into 10 languages and 750,000 copies published; her *The Fellow-Travelers*, in 12 languages, reached nearly one million copies.

The books of Anna Karavayeva have been published in more than 2 million copies. A. Barto's books for children run an average of 19,000,000. Marietta Shaginyan's books have been published in more than one million copies.

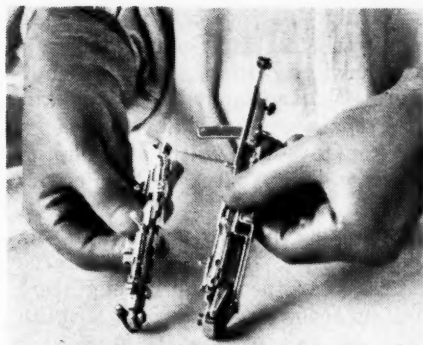
**in life-or-death surgery
this device insures—**

A STITCH IN TIME

DEATH from loss of blood because the attending surgeon is not able to suture the blood vessels quickly enough may soon be a thing of the past, thanks to a new Soviet mechanical stitcher.

This advance in medical science is due to the persistence and inventiveness, not of a doctor, but of a Soviet engineer.

Soon after Vassili Gudov graduated as an engineer the Nazis invaded his country. He saw the hospital trains filled with wounded and was impressed with the urgency of inventing a device that would stitch blood vessels mechanically, quickly, permanently and make possible the reunion of severed limbs.



The Soviet surgical stitcher, which has been used effectively in nearly every part of the circulatory system

The suturing of blood vessels has always been the most complicated of operations. Hand stitching with needle and thread is difficult and consumes much time. Besides, the silk thread becomes soaked with blood, swells, and often a blood clot forms, a plug of coagulated blood which obstructs the vessel.

Gudov began to study the elements of anatomy and physiology, surgery and hematology and finally decided that he could succeed only with the close cooperation of medical minds.

He went to see the surgeons at the Sklifosovsky Institute in Moscow. Writing in the Soviet illustrated monthly *Soviet Union*, Dr. P. Androssov, Chief of the Surgical Department of the Institute, says: "His first experimental apparatus betokened his inventive genius and technical mastery. A task that had seemed impractical was now accomplished in a simple way."

The first tests, on animals, proved that the problem had been practically solved. But five more years of painstaking work were required before the apparatus could be unhesitatingly used on man.

During this time a special laboratory was built and Gudov worked in collaboration with a group of engineers—N. Kapitanov, L. Kukushkin, F. Polyakov, A. Kakabyan and A. Strekopytov—and with a group of surgeons—P. Androsov, N. Petrova and M. Akhalaya.

Finally a reliable vascular stitching apparatus was created, and in March of last year the group of engineers and surgeons was awarded a Stalin Prize for this work.

Telling of an emergency case, Dr. Androsov describes how the apparatus works. A man, bleeding profusely from a thigh wound, was brought to the hospital. He was pale from great loss of blood and his pulse was extremely weak. He seemed doomed to die.

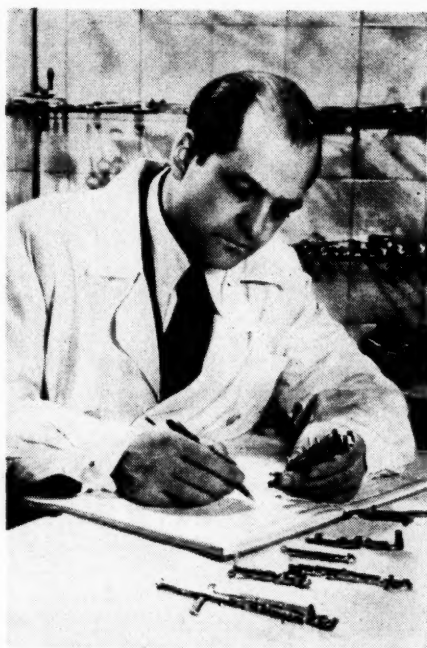
"We dissected the thigh tissue and exposed the injured blood vessels," writes Dr. Androsov. "After applying hemostatic clamps to the ends of the severed vessels, we turned up both ends of one of them like a cuff. With the aid of the apparatus we brought them together, just as the flanges of water pipes are joined.

"The vessel was now ready for suturing. The bare touch of a lever brought the device into action and the vessel was sewn up in an instant.

"Clips, the thinness of a hair, reunited the ends by a marvelously executed permanent suture. Circulation was fully restored and the potency of the blood vessels was unimpaired.

"Twelve days later this patient was discharged from the hospital in full health, his working capacity restored."

Gudov's apparatus has been used numerous times in what often seemed hopeless cases and has always proved an excellently functioning device. It has been applied to almost every part



Vassili Gudov, inventor of the stitcher

of the circulatory system: arteries, veins, the aorta, in all sorts of injuries and thrombosis cases. It is also of great service in plastic surgery, particularly in the building of an artificial oesophagus.

Gudov's stitcher puts lasting dependable sutures in blood vessels of any diameter, from 1.4 mm. to 12 mm. In not a single case has a stitch ever opened after the operation or the lever failed to feed clips at the critical time.

The apparatus is now being perfected to spread its use in surgery. It is assumed that it will become highly appreciated not only in general surgery but in the operating rooms of neurologists, gynecologists, urologists and other surgical specialists.

Where Does Mr. Kennan Stand?

A review by JESSICA SMITH

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1900-1950, and the Challenge of Soviet Power, by George F. Kennan, University of Chicago Press, 1951. 154 pp. \$2.75.

THE appointment of George F. Kennan as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow has been hailed in certain liberal circles as presaging an easing of the cold war. This appraisal seemed to have been confirmed by the interview published in *U.S. News and World Report* of April 18, 1952, and headed "A U.S.-Russian Deal? Latest Official Size-Up of Relations Between the Two Nations." A footnote explains that the "official" statements are paraphrased. From other sources it is learned that these statements parallel those made by Mr. Kennan to a specially selected group of reporters at an off-the-record press conference before his departure for Moscow. The views expressed in this interview, however, are at complete variance with the ideas on foreign policy and US-USSR relations set forth in Mr. Kennan's book.

According to the interview, the official, reportedly Mr. Kennan, replied in answer to the question as to whether things will get better between the U.S. and Russia, that there are indications that the Russian leaders would prefer a lessening of tension and declared flatly that a recovery of more normal relations is desirable.

It would be wonderful indeed if one could believe that a return to more normal relations is the purpose of Mr. Kennan's mission to Moscow. Is there any basis for such a hope, or was the interview held only to give the impression that there is, in order once again to thrust the blame upon the Russians if the hope fails to materialize? An

examination of Mr. Kennan's own record and writings should give the answer.

It was Mr. Kennan, then a counsellor in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, who as he watched the Soviet people joyously celebrating their release from the long agony of the war on V-J Day, was heard by our correspondent Ralph Parker, to say:

"They think the war is over, but it has only just begun."

And it was the same Mr. Kennan who on his return to this country, in his capacity as head of the State Department's Policy Planning Department, was a prime mover in developing the policies of "containment," of "confronting the Russians with unalterable counter-force," and providing a pseudo-philosophic justification for the cold war as preparation for the final destruction of Soviet power.

This was elaborated in an article first published under the pseudonym "Mr. X," in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947, and reprinted under his own name in this book. Here Mr. Kennan charged that Soviet leaders are under a compulsion to create tension with the outside world in order to maintain their authority. Yet, as the official of the interview, he now finds that the Soviet leaders desire a lessening of the very tensions he previously declared essential to their continuance in power.

The Mr. Kennan of the interview stated that the U.S. Government has never thought the Russian leaders wanted a third world war, that they would take such a step only with the greatest reluctance, and that there is no basis for believing that they are plotting an attack on the West like Hitler's.

Yet the whole basis of the "containment" policy outlined in Mr. Kennan's book is the thesis of "aggressive Soviet expansionism" and has been used as a spurious justification for U.S. war policies.

The Mr. Kennan of the interview piously disavows any desire or even possibility on the part of an outside power of intervening to change the Soviet regime, and expressed doubt as to whether the United States would be prepared to put another regime in its place. But in the "Mr. X" article he makes a definite plea for American efforts "to bring about the early fall of Soviet power in Russia," arguing that "the United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate . . . and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

Mr. Kennan carried this further in an April, 1951 *Foreign Affairs* article, also incorporated in this book, which is in effect an open appeal for the overthrow of the Soviet Government, and its replacement by a capitalist regime which, while "many features of the Soviet system will stick," would abolish the system of collective agriculture and bring back private enterprise and private profit in trade and many aspects of economic life. Mr. Kennan admits that the new Russia he yearns for could not be created wholly in the image of America, and that the change must be brought about mainly from within, by a young generation he feels can be influenced by America's example.

To implement this wish, Mr. Kennan himself became President of the Ford Foundation's "Free Russia Fund" (later changed to the East European Fund) which had the purpose of creating an anti-Soviet center in this country to assist in the desired overthrow of the Soviet Government through DP groups. Mr. Kennan resigned from the fund when his appointment as ambassador became imminent.

As to the lectures on American diplomacy for the past half century which make up the bulk of this volume, suffice it to say that they could best be described as a vain attempt to provide a philosophical justification for the maintenance of the status quo, for seeking the triumph of the process of decay over the process of growth in human affairs. Mr. Kennan has no quarrel with imperialism, and takes as a matter of course that world leadership (read domination) is the manifest destiny of this country. He would like to see a return to the pre-World War I balance of power. "It would be flattering to the vigor and incisiveness of Western policy" if the Munich aims had succeeded. He feels that war with Japan might have been avoided by recognizing the "power realities in the Orient" (i.e., Japanese interests on the mainland of China). He regrets that the wartime coalition with the Soviet Union gave the latter a voice in the postwar settlements—"Such collaboration [with either Germany or Russia] if permitted to proceed to the point of complete victory, would mean the relative strengthening of the collaborating power and its eventual appearance as a greedy and implacable element at the peace table." He believes, in short, that all foreign policy should be guided by "power realities" alone, and that there should be no such "legalistic-moralistic brakes" on America's drive to world domination such as represented by the United Nations.

Utterly ignoring the will of the American people or of any other peoples, Mr. Kennan sees foreign policy as the function of a special group of aristocrats of the intellect, like himself, who would operate in secret, unresponsive to the will of the people.

Thus he writes:

A good deal of our trouble seems to have stemmed from the extent to which the executive has felt itself beholden to short term trends of public opinion in the country and from what we might call the erratic

and subjective nature of public reaction to foreign policy questions.

But the will of the people cannot be ignored. Time will tell whether or not events will compel Mr. Kennan to revise his estimate of the "power realities" of today. For the real power resides in

the great world-wide movement for peace, and it is the compelling demand of the people of the world for a peace pact among the five great powers, for peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist systems, that will in the end decide the outcome.

An American With a World View

A review by **ROBERT MORSS LOVETT**

SWING SHIFT, by Margaret Graham.
The Citadel Press, New York, 1952.
494 pp. \$3.00.

IT IS the function of literature to gather the experience of an age and mould it into a tradition. The characteristic experience of the present age may be summarized as industry and war. There have been few significant American novels of industry compared to the immense output of the literature of war; and among the few Margaret Graham's *Swing Shift* deserves a place of importance. It is indeed a novel of both industry and war—the class war.

Swing Shift is the biography of Edmond McCaffrey, known to his associates and the labor movement as Mac. It is an authentic story, carefully compiled from public and labor records and the recollections of friends and co-workers. From a technical point of view the record is too voluminous, the characters too numerous and too slightly developed to satisfy the requirements of a novel, but they give the effect of a peopled world.

Ed McCaffrey came of Welsh mining stock, but after a brief apprenticeship in the mines of West Virginia and Ohio he broke with his industrial inheritance. The railroad fascinated him, especially the function of train dispatcher. "What I'm interested in, always have been, is the man a couple a hundred miles off, sittin' in that dispatcher's office, with his fingers on the whole layout—passenger—freights—everything." By sticking around a friendly dispatcher's office he

learned the game and got a job as substitute, which he came to prefer to a regular assignment. The "swing shift" with many transfers brought him into contact with many professional brothers, the bond of experience constituting a kind of *esprit de corps* which flowered into affection and loyalty. It is the distinction of Margaret Graham's book to make us feel the spiritual impact of industry.

Mac married, and with two boys growing up, sought a fixed location in Montana; but then came the Russian revolution. In its early days that "pleasant exercise of hope and joy" led him and his wife, Letty, to volunteer along with other American workers to give aid. The family was sent to the Kuzbas, where Mac's assignment was to set up a model train dispatching system, but where he turned his hand to anything necessary. These pages are the most fascinating in the book with their extension of comradeship across the barriers of race and language, a glimpse of the chivalry of labor. Letty could not take it. After a year she carried the boys back to Kansas, whither after another year Mac followed them reluctantly.

Mac's next employment was in Florida, where he became state head of the Train Dispatcher's Association. Although thus of the aristocracy of labor he was interested in the proletariat, the mass of casual cigar workers whom Samuel Gompers had left out of his craft union. The story now becomes the familiar one of Florida justice—frame-

up, trial, imprisonment for a year until the reversal by the state Supreme Court. Chief of Police Spitzer, Judge Putway, District Attorney Pillin are in the papers today—different names, identical behavior. Imprisonment is becoming so common a feature of the American way of life that it is worth remarking that even in Florida jails suffering is not so

bad as in the concentration camp in Remarque's *Spark of Life* or in the army stockade in James Jones' *From Here to Eternity*. Mac emerged unbroken, but he deserves to be remembered as spiritually among the martyrs of American labor who suffered for the common cause, with Frank Little, Joe Hill and Wesley Everest.

Answers to Most of Your Questions

A review by RICHARD MORFORD

WE SAW SOCIALISM, by Charlotte and Dyson Carter. In 2 Parts. Published by the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society, Toronto, Canada. Total, 396 pp. Part 1, 50c, Part 2, 75c.

NEARLY all the questions your neighbor raises about the USSR find an answer in the report of a personal visit to the Soviet Union in 1951 by two Canadians, Charlotte and Dyson Carter, she a graduate nurse and he a research chemist. There are answers for the honest questions of those who wish first-hand experience coupled with information gained by research. There are answers, too, for the baiting questions of anti-Sovieteers, familiar to those who speak at peace meetings these days.

The story of their visit has been published in two parts under the title *We Saw Socialism*. The first part appeared in June, 1951, the second in February, 1952—a total of 400 pages, permitting the Carters to detail scores and scores of experiences in wide travels in which they saw much and listened long. They asked countless candid questions of hundreds of people and received equally candid replies here recorded. The Carters draw many comparisons and contrasts between the way of life in Canada and that in the Soviet Union. But, almost equally, they point the distinctions between the way of life in the United States (of which they have considerable knowledge) and the Soviet Union.

The pleasure of the Carters' report is its extraordinary readability. They were enthusiastic over what they saw and heard, so they enjoy telling the story in a simple, intimate style, anticipating the questions of their readers. They do not try to obscure their conviction that the remarkable accomplishments of the people of the Soviet Union are those to be expected in a society whose foundation is socialism. The Carters say: "We saw socialism, not as a plan on paper, but as it is practiced by 200 million people who live in the 16 Soviet republics." Since "facts are stubborn things," the testimony of the Carters should commend itself to large numbers of American readers.

The Carter story will have great usefulness in the hands of peaceworkers who will be able to employ the material effectively in meeting their neighbors' questions. This report, soon to be published in a one-volume edition, and cheaply, should have wide circulation south of the Canadian border.

Essential Background On Germany

GERMANY—HOPE OR PERIL? by Gerhard Hagelberg. Published by The German-American, New York, 32 pp. 15c.

HITLERISM and the road that led to World War II and genocide took the lives of 27,000,000 people. One of

the alarming trends of the present day is the struggle of the western powers to enlist Germany as an ally in a new world war. Seven years after the Potsdam agreement of the major powers to bar a rebirth of aggressive militarism in Germany, the U.S. is pursuing a policy that directly contravenes the momentous decisions of 1945.

While written before the recent Soviet note proposing a solution of the German question, this pamphlet nevertheless provides the indispensable background without which the current situation cannot be fully understood. Here, in 32 pages, is the story of the resurgence of the cartelists, the elevation of former active Nazis to high places in the Bonn Government, the role of the Adenauer and Schumacher forces. It describes the growing resistance of the German people to the catspaw role assigned to them by the U.S. policy makers and gives the proof of their desire for a united, peaceful Germany.

Fully documented and cogently presented, this pamphlet by the associate editor of *The German-American*, progressive German language monthly published in New York, offers facts and analysis all Americans must be familiar with in order to influence those decisions which will be decisive for us and our children. Read this excellent pamphlet and you will be able to fill in the many gaps in the news dispatches from Germany in the daily press.

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A Good Supplementary Russian Reader

GRADED RUSSIAN READERS,
Books One to Five, Edited by Otto F. Bond and George V. Bobrinskoy, D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1952. \$2.60.

THIS is a collection of five booklets in one, formerly published separately by the same house. Selections from the classics of Russian literature, Lermontov, Pushkin and Turgenev, are successively graded so that they form in that way a good series for study and they are adapted so that the vocabulary and grammatical forms are limited. This makes for easier reading for students, but it is hoped the selections will serve not as ends in themselves but as an introduction to the full, unadapted, unabridged classics.

The use of footnotes to introduce new vocabulary is disconcerting and slows up both the reading and the learning process. All texts are well provided with accent marks (a great help for non-Russian readers) and, except for the Turgenev play, *The Provincial Lady*, the last of the series—5, well provided with drills and exercises of sufficient variety.

This collection can be recommended for use as a supplementary reader for Russian-language students.

B. K.

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(Continued from Page 2)

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Kalamazoo, Mich. — 1952 will go down in history as one of the worst in graft, political upheavals and financial chaos that has ever been known outside of Warren G. Harding's Teapot Dome scandals. You must read between the lines of the front pages of your daily newspapers to see what's behind the "red herrings" that the American people are being treated to. They spread that same thing across the pages of the press in 1931-32 during the days of bank crashes, Hoovervilles and five-cent apple selling. Remember, this took place under free enterprise, not under Socialism.—C.M.N.

A Plea for Peace

Wellesley, Mass.—War is savage, a hangover from the despotic ages, and should be cast aside by enlightened people. War not only demands men's lives, but casts their wealth, produce and natural resources likewise into the cauldron of destruction, thereby impoverishing generations to come.

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