

NEW WORLD

JULY
1952

Review

20¢

✓ SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓



THE SHAME OF KOJE
Articles on USSR, Germany, China, U.S.



Of Course! Any Others?

New Orleans, La.—If we paid you, say \$1 a month, in advance to pay for the postage, would you consider sending us back numbers of NWR? The issues are all so good: pictures, atmosphere plus *simple language*. Maybe others would join such a \$1 a month club. We are great believers, my husband and I, in the printed word as a medium for opening eyes. Each issue could become an organizer for study groups. Subject: World Truth.—Elizabeth Cousins Rogers.

NWR is topical, but readers know that "back copies" can be very useful in informing people who haven't seen the magazine before. Reader Rogers has an excellent idea, of course, and we wonder how many more NWR enthusiasts would like to join the "Dollar-a-Month Club."—Editor.

Likes Its Scope

Lansdowne, Pa.—Here's my contribution. I think that when you widened the scope of the magazine you made it even more interesting than before.—Lydia L. Reinhardt.

Moscow Radio Broadcasts

Schenectady, N. Y.—I used to hear the English radio broadcasts from Moscow but have since lost track of the schedule. Would you be good enough to print it. I'm sure others, too, would be interested.—A Faithful Reader.

Radio programs are broadcast daily from Moscow to the United States on the schedule and frequencies given below. Time is Eastern Standard.

Programs begin with the news and a
(Continued on page 75)

NEW WORLD *Review*

JULY 1952

We're proud to announce	3
Can We Afford to Lose Trade, Jobs?	
Victor Perlo	5
The Nazis Are Back	
Gordon Schaffer	10
Threat to World Peace	
Margrit Adler	15
We Can Have a Peaceful World	
Charlotta A. Bass	22
Blueprints Come to Life	
Eugene Kriger	28
Los Angeles Episode	
Corliss Lamont	33
I Want My Boy Back	
Ida Schnur	35
The Shame of Koje	
Jessica Smith	40
The Leningrad of 1952	
Ralph Parker	52
Twentieth-Century Tempo	
P. T. King	57
Four Short Years	
Dr. S. Leff	61
Save the Children!	
Ray Wechsler	65
Notables Write to President	68
Book Reviews	69

OUR COVER: With the Soviet fishing fleet.

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We're proud to announce

**Eslanda Robeson
is now associated
with NWR**

WE ARE PROUD to announce that Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, distinguished anthropologist and author, has consented to become associated with **NEW WORLD REVIEW** as Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions. This is an important forward step in the fulfillment of the aims of our magazine, since the great liberation movements among the colonial and dependent peoples today are such a vital part of the rising New World.

Eslanda Robeson's contributions will be invaluable in all phases of our work. Deeply interested as she is in the problems of the Negro people in this country and the dark-skinned people who make up the majority of the world's population, her concern extends to the whole problem of human relations. In her introduction to the book *American Argument*, written in collaboration with Pearl Buck in 1949, she expresses this concern in these words:

If we Americans begin here and now to practice Americanism as it is laid down in our beautiful and famous freedom documents, if we treat all Americans—and the people of the world—as human beings to be accepted (we have to accept them anyway; there they are), studied, understood, considered as human beings, regardless of race, color, sex or re-

ligious, political, economic or cultural systems, then we will surely have laid the foundation for peace—peace within our individual selves, peace in our country, peace in the world.

Born Eslanda Cardozo Goode in 1896 in Washington, D. C., where her father held a clerical position in the War Department, Mrs. Robeson is proud of her American heritage. Her maternal grandfather, Francis Lewis Cardozo, served during the Reconstruction Days as South Carolina's Secretary of State as well as Treasury.

"Grandfather," she says, "was quite a guy. He went to prison because he refused to go along with the corrupt politicians, later exposed, who insisted on defrauding the state through a notoriously illegal issue of bonds. He was cleared of the trumped up charge against him, but went in danger of his life from the Ku Klux Klan and the thieves who took over the state."

The granddaughter carries on these crusading traditions. It is interesting that she was nominated by the People's Party (Progressive Party) of Connecticut for Secretary of State in 1948, and for Congresswoman at large in 1952. She is now that party's State Chairman in Connecticut, and actively campaigning

for the National Peace Ticket of the Progressive Party.

Mrs. Robeson's earliest interests were in science, which from the beginning she was determined to use for the needs of the people. She studied at the University of Illinois and received her Bachelor's degree in chemistry at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1923. In 1921, she married Paul Robeson, then a law student at Columbia. During her student years and until 1925 she worked as a surgical technician and chemist at Presbyterian Hospital, New York City.

In the following years she traveled widely, living in Paris, Vienna, Barcelona, London, Moscow, and other places where her husband's concert work and their mutual interests took them.

In 1930, her first book, *Paul Robeson, Negro*, was published. She continued her studies in those years, specializing on the subject of Africa, the Negro, and later all colored peoples. This led her to the study of anthropology at London University and the London School of Economics. She made an extensive anthropological field trip through Africa in 1936, taking her young son, Paul, Jr., along. Out of this trip came the book *African Journey* (published in 1945). Later, an extensive stay in the USSR brought the Robesons into close contact with the Soviet people, and their own experiences gave them a living example of the true and complete equality of all peoples that has there become a fact.

After the family's return to this country in 1939, Mrs. Robeson went on with her writing, lecturing and other activities, and continued her studies and research work in anthropology at the Hartford Seminary Foundation. During the war years



Eslanda Robeson

she was active in the Red Cross motor corps in Connecticut. She has been associated with the Council on African Affairs since its foundation. Her travels since the war took her to the New China, where she attended the Conference of Asian Women in 1949 (see her article about Mme. Sun Yat-sen, "World Woman No. 1," in NWR for July, 1951).

The first of a series of articles on Africa by Eslanda Robeson will appear in our next issue. We know our readers will join us in welcoming Mrs. Robeson into the NEW WORLD REVIEW family. This association will enrich the content and extend the influence of our magazine, and help us do a better job toward strengthening the understanding and unity among all peoples essential to peace in our country and the world.

—THE EDITORS

NEW WORLD REVIEW

Can We Afford to Give Up Chances for Trade and Jobs?

by VICTOR PERLO

DURING April, an International Economic Conference was held in Moscow. It was attended by almost 500 businessmen, government officials, trade union representatives, the great majority of them from capitalist countries. An on-the-spot account was written for last month's *NEW WORLD REVIEW* by Ralph Parker. What does this conference mean for the people of the United States?

The press in this country gave a fair amount of space to the conference. But the accounts in almost all of the papers and trade journals followed the line of the official State Department briefing, as reported in the *Wall Street Journal*. It was admitted that the conference was a success. "Moscow Won a Victory at the Parley," *U.S. News and World Report* headlined its interview with Wilfred May, Executive Editor of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, who attended the conference. However, this success was pictured as a sinister attack on the United States . . . "the opening gun in the large-scale and dangerous economic offensive," said May. "It's an even bigger threat to the U.S. than Russia's proposals for a German peace," (*Wall Street*

Journal, April 15, 1952, account of the State Department analysis).

In short, it was a threat because it offered peace instead of war. The West European countries need the huge volume of peaceful foreign trade offered by the USSR, China, and the People's Democracies. They will tend to pull loose from the restrictions on such trade imposed by Washington. There will be another strain on the aggressive North Atlantic Pact Alliance. Mr. May complains that it will increase the cost to the U.S. of keeping the Western European countries in line.

India and the Latin American countries need the equipment offered by the USSR and Czechoslovakia. They will tend to shy away even more than at present from granting military bases to the United States in return for ephemeral economic "aid" that only leads to further impoverishment. Mr. May complains: "Our Point Four efforts will require a raising of the ante through the blandish-

VICTOR PERLO, a leading economist is the author of the recently published book "American Imperialism."

ments of Uncle Joe playing Santa Claus to the world's underprivileged." (*Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 17.)

The fears of the war profiteers that the conference would stimulate attempts by West European and Asian capitalist countries to free themselves from U.S. trade barriers have proven well founded. In the wake of the conference the West German Bundestag unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the end of most U.S.-imposed trade restrictions. A group of prominent Japanese announced conclusion of an \$84 million barter agreement with China. The *Times* of London urged that the Conference be regarded as a constructive peace overture. The Milan Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution in favor of increased East-West trade.

Through terror, new restrictions and distorted treatment in the coordinated press, the U.S. Government attempted to insure the isolation of the American people from the benefits offered by the Conference. In the wake of the Conference an American foreign trader, Victor Samaan, was arrested and threatened with scores of years in jail and a huge fine for the "crime" of selling bearings to Switzerland which were, allegedly, resold to Czechoslovakia. A new regulation has made it illegal to import goods which contain anything made in China. All U.S. passports were made invalid for travel in the USSR, China, and the People's Democracies on the grounds that a number of American businessmen had attended the International Economic Conference. True, the State Department had said that, despite its disapproval, businessmen who wanted to go would be given passports. But Acheson incorrecly assumed that everybody would be intimidated by

his words of wrath, whereas in fact several courageous businessmen did attend the Conference and brought home important tidings for the American people.

These the bi-partisans tried above all to suppress.

With all the attention given the Conference by the State Department and the press, they contrived to hide from the American people its most vital meaning for us. According to the official treatment, the Conference was of direct economic significance only to European and Asian countries. But the fact, so studiously ignored, is that the Conference offers economic opportunities of great significance to American workers and American capitalists.

M. V. Nesterov, head of the Chamber of Commerce of the USSR, offered at the Conference to buy 4 to 5 billion rubles worth of goods from the United States during the next two or three years. This is equal to one-fourth of Nesterov's total import proposals, and exceeds the offered purchases from any capitalist country.

Nan Han-Chen, head of the Chinese delegation to the World Economic Conference, said that "Sino-American trade can be restored and developed to a level higher than the pre-liberation years." He pointed out that since the peasants have gained the land "the increase of purchasing power of four hundred million peasants has caused an unprecedented expansion of our home market"; that American businessmen were forced to "lose a vast and reliable market with a population of nearly 500,000,000" solely because "of the blockade and embargo imposed by the American government" (interview with Joseph Clark, *Daily Worker*, April 2).

But such facts were either deeply



Delegates from Western Germany examine agricultural machinery displayed during the International Economic Conference held in Moscow in April

buried or completely omitted from all papers except a few progressive publications.

Apparently the bi-partisans fear that to present these facts, no matter how distorted, would stimulate the demand of the American working people for the relaxation of trade barriers. Of course, these facts are not secrets from the officials of the leading corporations in the United States. The columnist Ray Tucker reported:

Secretary Acheson could not prevent American representatives of General Motors, General Electric, International Harvester and the du

Ponts from attending the Moscow meetings. . . . But he established an effective boycott by indirection. He persuaded the directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to issue a public statement against participation by American firms. . . . *In view of the fact that most of these corporations look upon the United States government as their best customer during the rearmament period, none failed to heed Acheson's caveat, especially as he later reinforced it in his public statement. (Berkeley, California, Daily Gazette, April 14. My emphasis—V.P.)*

In short, according to Tucker, General Electric and du Pont prefer to

make plutonium and hydrogen bombs for the Pentagon than to sell generators and nylon to China and the USSR.

However, it is likely that the majority of the American people, and even most business firms other than the top outfits which monopolize war contracts, would make the opposite choice if it were presented to them.

The war program admittedly is reducing the living standards of American workers and farmers, through the highest tax load in our history, through inflation, through the wage freeze. Since it takes purchasing power out of the economy, it reduces civilian markets and is leading to growing unemployment. The slump in textiles, shoes, automobiles, and other consumers goods is continuing. War orders simply cannot fill the void. The New England shoe industry has a capacity of 200,000,000 pairs of men's shoes. Last year it turned out only 106,000,000 pairs. Obviously the problem of almost 50 per cent idle capacity cannot be solved by shoes for soldiers, but only by restoring the ability of the vast majority of the population to buy shoes.

Moreover, the financial community expects that the slump now afflicting the consumers goods industries will

spread to the basic heavy industries as well next year, when the use of steel and other materials in constructing new war factories is mainly completed.

Trade with the socialist world cannot solve our economic problems. But it can help. And jobs producing goods for peaceful foreign trade have a different significance to the worker than jobs producing war material. Foreign trade is financed by the goods sold us by other countries, not by taxes paid by American workers. Peaceful foreign trade takes away the excuse for the wage freeze, and other government regulations which cut the real wages of workers and increase the profits of the great corporations under the guise of "national emergency."

Thus trade with the USSR, China and the People's Democracies not only offers jobs directly, but gives hope for some revival of the ability of the American people to buy shoes and other needed items, with consequent revival of activity in industries producing consumers goods for the home market.

Moreover, trade with the socialist world offers opportunities to American businessmen not in the inner circles of the giant trusts. Military orders are handed out by representa-



Italian economists and industrialists at the machine tools exhibit during the International Economic Conference in Moscow

Businessmen from India study the exhibit of samples of grain shown the delegates in Moscow



tives of the trusts in government office. These trusts have no special influence with the foreign trading agencies of China, the USSR, etc. So it was that the Chicago businessman Edmund von Henke, president of the American Electric Fusion Company, came home from the International Economic Conference with buying orders for types of machinery hard to get in this country, and with selling orders for \$3,000,000 of American merchandise.

There is an incentive for the vast majority of Americans, regardless of their differences on other issues, to combine forces to break the Washington-Wall Street trade embargo.

In the Naugatuck Valley of Connecticut—the “brass valley”—workers are on part time or are unemployed because copper is going into war materials, not into the civilian products which these workers make. In April, while the International Economic Conference was going on, a most important conference was held in Connecticut on the initiative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Work-

ers Union (independent), which represents most of the brass mill workers. Leaders of the A.F. of L., the CIO and independent unions; the Mayors of Ansonia, Derby and Shelton; state representatives and Senators from both old parties; representatives of the Chamber of Commerce; the leader of the NAACP and leaders of other Negro organizations; representatives of veterans and religious organizations—all attended. They adopted a resolution urging, in addition to specific labor demands, more copper allotment for civilian production, an end of the Korean war, establishment of world peace, and development of world-trade on a peaceful basis. Then they sent a delegation to Washington to press this program on their representatives.

A similar community of interest exists in most areas of the United States. The International Economic Conference will bear its most vital fruit for us if it inspires from coast to coast such actions as that which took place in Connecticut.

EVEN THE BRASS ISN'T SURE

“I’M NOT even sure why we’re fighting” [in Korea]—Gen. Daniel H. Hudelson, commander of the 40th California National Guard Division, who served in Korea since February.

THE NAZIS ARE BACK

***But whether they stay depends
on unity of pro-peace forces***

by GORDON SCHAFFER

Despite a new effort of the USSR in its note of May 24th to the U.S., Britain and France for immediate negotiations on a German peace treaty with a united German Government set up on the basis of free elections, the U.S. pushed through the signing of its contractual agreement with the Bonn government on May 26. Secretary Acheson is trying to railroad ratification through the Senate.

The strong popular opposition throughout all Europe to this war-breeding move, and new efforts in London and Paris for negotiations with the Soviet Union, put it squarely up to the American people to do everything in their power to prevent ratification by the Senate.

IF THE "contractual agreement" with Western Germany were submitted for ratification to a free vote of the electors in any West European country—including West Germany itself—it would be defeated.

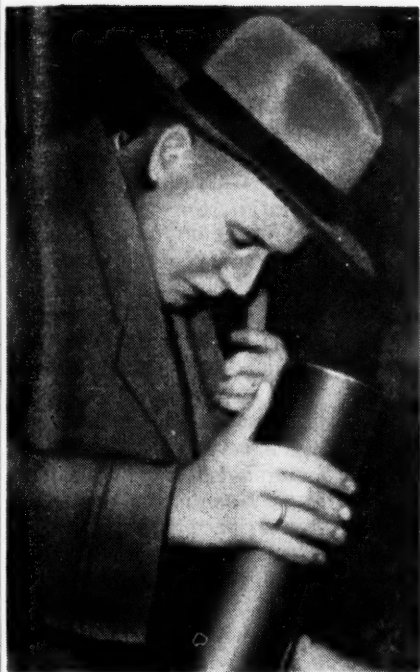
That is the outstanding fact about the new and dangerous phase of post-war international relations ushered in by the recreation of a new pro-Nazi Reich in Western Germany.

No one in Western Europe attempts to deny that the rearmament of West Germany has been forced on Europe by the United States.

In the coming months, as the governments of Western Europe seek to bludgeon their people and their Parliaments into ratifying the agreement signed in Bonn, the isolation of American policy in Western Europe will be plain for all to see.

I wonder whether the millions of sincere U.S. citizens who have honestly welcomed what they believed to be American help in the rebuilding of Europe, understand the change that has come over public opinion in Europe since the plan to rearm Western Germany was brought into the open.

If it had been possible to hide from the peoples of Western Europe the facts about the re-emergence of the Nazis in the West German Republic, it might have been possible also to persuade them that German armies were necessary to defend Western Europe. But Adenauer and his friends have been careful to insure that the world knows that the Nazis are back. The ex-Nazi generals have gone out of their way to tell the Western allies that they will agree to rearm only if it is understood that the new German army will be free to try to reconquer Eastern Germany



—GDR in Construction

Theodor Blank, Adenauer's "Security Commissioner," who announced West Germany would raise twelve divisions and an air force of 1,500 airplanes

and the former German territories now occupied by Poland and Czechoslovakia.

With the Western powers pleading with Western Germany to accept arms, why shouldn't Adenauer, the ex-Nazi generals and the Bonn Foreign Office (in which 130 high officials are ex-Nazis appointed by Ribbentrop, the hanged Nazi Foreign Secretary) let the world know that the Nazis are back?

In this way, they can force the Western powers to admit that they fought the wrong war, that Himmler was right when, after the death of Hitler, he offered to call off the war in the West provided he was given

assistance in fighting the real war in the East, that Rudolf Hess was right when he flew to Britain in May 1941 to ask Britain to let bygones be bygones in view of the Fuehrer's coming onslaught on the Soviet Union.

A West Germany which can patronize her allies because she was the first to wage war against "Communism," is in a much more powerful position to state her terms. Herr Blank, "Security Commissioner," of the Bonn government did just that when on January 10 of this year he announced that West Germany would raise twelve divisions of 13,000 men each, six of them armored with 280 to 300 tanks each, together with an air force of 75,000 men and 1,500 planes. At this time, French and British politicians were running round explaining that there would be no German general staff and that all German units would be integrated in a European army.

Of course Herr Blank was right and the British and French politicians wrong, because Herr Blank knows and the Americans know that once West Germany is rearmed it will be the strongest military force in Europe and will demand its dominant position in European "defense."

For those American generals and politicians and their yes-men in Western Europe who have now abandoned their theme of "negotiation from strength" and are demanding an ultimatum to the USSR to hand over the countries on her borders to the quisling administrators prepared by the U.S., this assertion of West Ger-

GORDON SCHAFFER, assistant editor of the London "Reynolds News" has visited both East and West Germany and written extensively on the German situation.

man strength is welcome. But for the peoples of Europe, it marks the end of an era.

Ever since 1945, the propaganda machine has been turned on to persuade them that the danger to peace came from the Soviet Union. Many of them, despite doubts and qualifications, accepted the policy of rearmament because of the power of this propaganda. Now the scales have been torn from their eyes. If they are to accept their new Nazi allies, they must agree that the war against Hitler was a ghastly mistake. They must admit that the men and women who died fighting the Nazis on the battlefields and in the liberation movements died in vain. They must be prepared to suffer the agonies of war anew in order to put right the mistake they made in defeating Hitler.

It may be possible to tell that story to the United States, where the people have never heard a hostile aircraft or seen an invader on their territory. You can't tell it to the peoples of Europe.

Almost every family in the formerly occupied countries has bitter memories of the years of Nazi terror. Talk, as I have done, to the ordinary folk in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway and you will see that whatever the Parliaments may do under American pressure, the peoples will never agree to march in alliance with the German Nazis.

In Britain, the people escaped occupation but they remember the years of terror from the air. Around St. Paul's Cathedral, in the center of the City of London, the wreckage of the bombed buildings is still uncleared after seven years of peace. The same is true of practically all the devastated towns and cities. Nothing will convince the British

people, with these witnesses to Nazi terror before their eyes, that the cause of peace is served by giving Western Germany a new Luftwaffe.

In West Germany itself, rearmament is opposed by a broad section of opinion which would almost certainly oust Adenauer in the event of free elections. The campaign against rearmament is supported by Dr. Gustav Heinemann, who resigned his post as Minister of the Interior in the Adenauer government, by Mrs. Helene Wessell, the leader of the Catholic Party in the Ruhr, by Pastor Niemoeller, as well as the Social Democrats and the Communists.

Their motives differ. Some are as anti-Soviet as Washington itself, but they have experienced war, and they know that if war comes, for Germany it will be a civil war. Others remember what happened to the flower of Hitler's army at Stalingrad and they are not prepared to throw themselves at the Red Army again.

Adenauer has selected this Nazi war criminal Ramcke, to head the formation of Western Germany's paratroops

—GDR in Construction





Big question for Germany: Division and dissension, or unity and peace?

I have been in German towns where in some of the younger age groups, there are seven women to one man, such was the toll taken of Germany's manpower by Hitler's war. The German mothers are not prepared to accept such sacrifices again.

As for Eastern Germany and the countries in Eastern Europe, devastated in Hitler's war, one thing is certain: U.S. insistence on rearming the German Nazis has rallied the mass of the peoples behind their governments as nothing else could.

To the peoples of Europe, East and West alike, the rearmament of West Germany means war—atomic war in which hundreds of millions face immeasurable disaster. And in the minds of these hundreds of millions the power deliberately creating the conditions for this war is the United States and not the Soviet Union. U.S. soldiers in Europe will find themselves more and more regarded not as allies but as occupa-

tion forces, as the plans for German rearmament go ahead.

That is the background to the Bonn agreement and no amount of political maneuvering can alter it. In France, the methods adopted to secure Parliamentary endorsement of the European Army plan were discussed in every Paris cafe. Everybody knew that the final vote was against the wishes of the people. The French government knew it, too, and that is why Ministers who worked with the Nazis in the Vichy government are now persecuting those who led the liberation.

If the same methods force ratification of the Bonn agreement through the French Parliament it will not bring France on to the side of the American-Nazi alliance. In Western Germany, the Adenauer government may get a paper victory but it will leave Adenauer and his henchmen more isolated than ever and it will turn tens of millions of Germans in West and East alike towards the plan for a united neutral Germany put forward by the Soviet Union.

In Britain the hurried signature of the Bonn agreement by Mr. Eden has at last forced into the open the under-the-counter coalition between the Tory and the Labor leaders. There are many rumors at Westminster to the effect that Mr. Morrison, during his period as Foreign Secretary, gave a pledge to the Americans that he would back up Washington's timetable for the signature of the agreement. Whether that is true or not, the fact is that Mr. Hugh Dalton made Labor support for the agreement impossible once he had made his broadcast declaring that German rearmament might prove "the road to hell." The cynics say that Dalton, who narrowly escaped losing his seat on the Party



A demonstration in the city of Heidelberg, in West Germany, protests Bonn's war policy and urges unification. The streamer on the right says: "They want us to die together—Forbid us to live together."

—GDR in Construction

Executive, was anxious to regain support from the Left, but whatever his motives he said what the movement was waiting to hear. From that time onwards trade union after trade union and the powerful cooperative movement have all gone on record condemning West German rearmament. When the question came before the Labor Party Executive, the trade union section, which represents the majority of the Executive and has always consistently supported the Right wing, swung behind the Bevanites. The result was that by an overwhelming majority the Executive condemned the Bonn agreement, demanding a vote of the German people before irrevocable steps were taken.

On the Executive of the Parliamentary Labor Party, the battle was fiercer, for Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Noel Baker, who both failed to achieve election for the National Executive of the Party, fought a rear-guard action in favor of German rearmament. Attlee and Morrison, were discreetly silent.

Then, when the question was debated in the House, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Noel Baker, who were the Party's chief spokesmen, shocked the rest of the Labor members by the timidity with which they dealt with

the government's proposals. Scores of Labor members who were hoping to join in the debate with a full scale attack were not given an opportunity to speak.

It was this fiasco which led *The Tribune*, the socialist fortnightly associated with Mr. Nye Bevan, to launch a fierce attack on Mr. Attlee's leadership.

"Mr. Attlee," said the *Tribune*, "has once more threatened the unity of the Party by not adjusting his views to the movement of opinion amongst the rank and file and also now amongst some of the top leaders of the Party. . . . We are given to understand that Mr. Attlee and those sharing his views believe that a ratification of the agreements with Western Germany is anyhow not likely this summer and if it does not occur this summer the intervention of the American elections will postpone it until the beginning of next year. . . . This is not leadership. It is just waiting for something to turn up. It is the paralysis of leadership."

Once again, it is the realization that the Bonn government is dominated by the Nazis which has made German rearmament impossible as far as the Labor movement is concerned. On this issue Attlee and those who still believe in the virtual

coalition with the Tories, can be isolated.

The coming months will see a strengthening of the opposition. If the Americans want a fascist Western Germany as their allies, if they want a new Vichy France, if they want Franco Spain, then they cannot have the peo-

ples of Europe. And if they plan war in Europe they might as well realize now that they and their fascist allies will "go it alone."

In the awakening of American public opinion to these simple facts lies perhaps the best hope that even at this eleventh hour sanity will prevail.

The "Contractual Agreement"

Strait Jacket for Germans, Threat to World Peace

by MARGRIT ADLER

ON MAY 11, 21-year-old Phillip Mueller was killed by the Bonn police, the first casualty of the Adenauer regime's participation in the so-called "West European Defense" set-up. This fateful union was consummated on May 26, with the signing of the "contractual agreement" by the Bonn government and the governments of the United States, Britain and France.

Phillip Mueller was one of 30,000 German youths demonstrating against the Bonn policy in the important industrial center of the Ruhr, Essen. The demonstration was one of countless protests against the agreement, which resembles more a colonial statute than a peace treaty. The peace-loving sections of the German population are pledged to prevent ratification of the "contractual agreement" and many conservative observers in this country, such as the *U.S. News and World Report* (May 30), grudgingly admit that ratification is not in the bag.

Opposition in Western Germany to this agreement is so widespread that it cannot convincingly be ascribed only to Communists. The Social Democratic Party, second largest party in the country, and the West German Trade Union Federation which has six million members, both boycotted the signing ceremony. The governments of all nine states of the Federal Government refused to declare May 26 an official holiday.

The signing of the pact culminates United States efforts since 1947 to create a complete split between Eastern and Western Germany and to tie Western Germany to the North Atlantic Pact program. This program depends on West Germany for men, materiel and bases, and Washington's determination to carry this program through prompted the re-

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jection of three recent Soviet proposals for four-power negotiations to conclude a peace treaty with a united, democratic Germany.

And since this agreement is a blow to the desire for peace and the national interests of the German people, it also heralds a new phase in the people's struggle against remilitarization and, as expressed in the Soviet note to the United States on May 24, "... makes it incumbent on the German people to seek their own ways of securing a peace treaty and the national unification of Germany."

To understand clearly the new developments of the people's movement in Germany during this period, the development of the peace movement in both parts of Germany must be kept in mind. About five and a half million Germans were killed in World War II—75 to 85 per cent on the eastern front or in connection with the invasion of the Soviet Union. According to the statistics of a reputable German organization, the "Reichsbund der Kriegs- und Zivilbeschädigten," of 100 German men born in 1924, 25 were dead or missing, 31 were seriously injured, 5 had received slight wounds and 2 became permanent invalids. Only 37 of the 100 were alive and healthy.

In this situation the great majority of Germans could have but one desire, to build up a life free of wars and economic crisis. Translated into political terms this meant a peaceful, democratic Germany.

In the Soviet occupation zone the Red Army immediately set out to lay the basis for the development of a democratic Germany, based on the principles of the Potsdam decisions. The property of war criminals and monopolies was expropriated without compensation. This involved 9,000



—The German American

Phillip Mueller, 21, murdered by Bonn police because, with 30,000 others, he demonstrated in Essen, the Ruhr, against the "contractual agreement"

industrial enterprises responsible for 40 per cent of the total production. Most of these enterprises were converted into "People's Owned Factories," some were administered by the Soviet military authorities under the reparation plan and gradually restored to the German people.

Similarly the basis for reactionary Junkerdom was destroyed in accordance with the Potsdam decisions. Under the land reform all holdings of more than 280 acres were expropriated. The 5,363,081 acres of land thus appropriated were distributed among landless and poor peasants; 385,000 new farms were created, offering homes to approximately 2,500,000 people.

In addition, Soviet military au-

thorities took all possible steps to strengthen and encourage the democratic movement. The schools and the judiciary system were completely reorganized. New teachers and judges were picked from the ranks of the working people and trained to safeguard the interests of the people. The old police apparatus was abolished and people's security forces established in its stead, with trusted and proven anti-fascists in the positions of responsibility.

The Soviet occupation authorities encouraged all anti-fascist, democratic organizations and movements within their zone. The result was that the trade unions, the Democratic Women's Federation, the Free German Youth, the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society achieved more and more influence in public affairs. The anti-fascist political parties carried on an energetic struggle against reactionary elements, so that, when the German Democratic Republic was founded in October, 1949, the constitution guaranteed the anti-fascist character of the state power.

War mongering, as well as any form of racial or religious discrimination or expression of national chauvinism was branded as a violation of the constitution of the Ger-

man Democratic Republic. This aspect of the constitution was enlarged upon in the "Law for the Preservation of Peace" adopted in December, 1950. This law makes it a criminal offense to publish militaristic, imperialist, racist or national chauvinist material, and subjects anyone advocating the re-establishment of aggressive German militarism and imperialism, as well as anyone favoring the integration of Germany into an aggressive military alliance, to prison sentences. It also forbids advocacy of the use of atomic, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction.

All these steps helped to bring under control those fascist-minded and militarist elements who stayed behind after the exodus of reactionaries, fleeing before the Red Army's advance on Berlin. In view of this, the announcement that an army will be built up in the German Democratic Republic as a counter-measure to the Western remilitarization and integration program, can be accepted as the justified measure of government in need to protect itself. The nature of the regime itself guarantees that such an army would never be used for aggressive purposes.

Since the end of World War II,

Lilly Waechter (left) was given a five-year prison sentence by a U.S. military court when she returned to her home in West Germany from Korea. She went with a delegation of women headed by Mrs. Monica Felton (right) who is prominent in the British Labor Party.



—GDR in Construction

a strong movement for a united Germany has been in existence. It was given strong support by the Soviet occupation authorities and later by the government of the GDR. West Germans, on the other hand, could only participate in these movements for peace and unity in defiance of their government's policy and often under severe difficulties imposed by German and occupation authorities.

As early as 1947, peace-loving Germans from all sections of the country came together in the People's Congress Movement for Unity and a Just Peace and to fight against the threat of a permanent partition of their country. In May, 1949, the Third German People's Congress constituted the National Front for a Democratic Germany. The only condition for joining the National Front movement was the willingness to fight for the national independence of the German people.

In January, 1951, 1,700 delegates from all parts of Germany convened in the industrial Ruhr city of Essen, Western Germany, in a "Save the Peace Conference." This conference proposed that the Bonn government hold a plebiscite on the question of remilitarization.

The Adenauer government rejected this bid in brazen violation of its own constitution, and when the people took matters into their own hands and conducted the poll unofficially, the government unleashed a wave of terror and repressions against the peace forces. In spite of this, the overwhelming majority of the people—between 70 and 90 per cent of those polled—expressed themselves against remilitarization.

On the request of the "Save the Peace Conference" the poll was also conducted by the government of the German Democratic Republic. There,

95 per cent of the voters went on record against remilitarization.

In March, 1951, a "European Workers Conference Against the Remilitarization of Germany" was held in Berlin on the initiative of the workers of a West German machine shop. There 894 delegates from all European countries met, among them 378 West German representatives. In their summary of the conference, the participants expressed the belief that: "... the German working people possess the strength to prevent the remilitarization of Germany."

The intense activity of the peace forces in Western Germany, which took the form of strikes, refusal by longshoremen to unload munitions, youth demonstrations for peace, women's congresses and delegations, peasant protests against maneuvers of U.S. troops on their fields, mounting demonstrations against the occupation troops and against the United States, sabotage of demolition installations and so forth, caused the Bonn government to resort to ever greater repressive measures against the peace forces. There are hundreds of cases of individual terror against peace fighters. One of the most blatant was the treatment of several thousand young Germans who went to attend an all-German youth peace demonstration on Whitsuntide 1950, in Berlin. Upon their return to Western Germany these youngsters were detained at the border by West German police, who tried to force them to register. But the young people refused to give in and after a two-day detention in a little forest, the Bonn police was forced to let them return home.

The brunt of Adenauer's attack against the peace forces, as in all Wall Street-dominated countries, was



Pastor Martin Neimoeller (left), prominent Protestant Churchman in West Germany, has called upon German mothers to oppose West German conscription. Dr. Gustav Heinemann, (right), former Interior Minister in Adenauer's cabinet, has been urging the unification of Germany.

—GDR in Construction



directed against the Communist Party. This party, in the Bundesrat and among the people, has been in the forefront of the fight for peace—in which millions of non-Communists participate—and despite a concerted campaign to suppress it, the government has not been able to break its influence. Notwithstanding the virtual suppression of the Communist press, the jailing of many Communists and vicious attacks against the Communist members of the Bundestag, the Party's prestige and influence kept growing.

The Adenauer government then resorted to a German version of the McCarran law, introduced in November, 1951. In its petition to outlaw the Communist Party and its "front organizations," the Bonn government named 37 organizations, all working for peace and against remilitarization, and reserved the right to add to that list. All these organizations, the government brief alleges, are part of a "plan of aggression."

In addition to these diligent efforts of the Bonn government to squelch all opposition, the American occupation authorities themselves participated actively in the witch-hunt. U.S. military authorities closed down innumerable publications for varying periods because they did not conform with Washing-

ton's idea of a "free press." Interestingly, this campaign against the press was started by General Clay in 1947, when *The German American*, progressive German language publication in the United States, was banned from the mails in Western Germany.

A recent achievement of Wall Street diplomacy in Western Germany was the arrest and trial of Lilly Waechter, a German housewife and old-time Social Democrat, who went to Korea as a member of a women's delegation and returned home to report on what she had seen. An American military court fined and sentenced her to a five-year prison term.

Yet, despite these and numerous other efforts to establish a police state in Western Germany, opposition to the policy of the Adenauer government and the Wall Street program for Germany has increased steadily, both in scope and intensity.

Pastor Martin Niemoeller, a leading member of the Protestant Church in Germany, called upon all German mothers to oppose conscription which the Adenauer government seeks to institute in order to fulfill its quota of 400,000 men for the European army.

Bishop Otto Dibelius, chairman of the Protestant Church Council of Germany, on May 11, chided the

Stalin's Greetings to Grotewohl

On May 8, the people of the German Democratic Republic celebrated the seventh anniversary of their liberation from Hitlerite tyranny by the Soviet Army. Prime Minister Grotewohl in a message to Stalin expressed the gratitude of the German people. Stalin's reply follows:

**Comrade Otto Grotewohl,
Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic,
Berlin.**

I beg the Government of the German Democratic Republic and you personally, Comrade Prime Minister, to accept my gratitude for the friendly message on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascist tyranny.

I wish the German people and the Government of the German Democratic Republic success in the struggle for a united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany, for the early conclusion of a peace treaty and for the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany, in the interests of Germany and of world peace.

J. STALIN

Western powers for delaying talks on unification and warned Adenauer's clique: "You politicians owe reunification to our people; unity must not be won by war; there must be talks between both sides; there must be understanding and agreement."

Also active in behalf of German unity have been Dr. Joseph Wirth, former chancellor of Germany and prominent member of the Center Party; Dr. Gustav Heinemann, former Minister of the Interior in Adenauer's cabinet, and Madame Helene Wessel, Vice-Chairman of the Center Party. The latter two founded an "Emergency Committee to Save European Peace."

All these persons and the organizations they influence favor negotiations with the Soviet Union and with the government of the German Democratic Republic in order to establish a united Germany. Their feeling is that Germany must maintain strict neutrality as a guarantee of peace in

Europe. Recently, for political reasons of their own, even the Social Democratic members of the Bundestag have voiced strong opposition to the policy of the government. Dr. Schumacher, commenting on the "contractual agreement," said that anyone supporting it ceases to be a German.

The ersatz-peace is even unacceptable to a section of West German industrialists. It gives Germany no freedom to trade unless this trade meets with U.S. approval. In the middle of April, the Foreign Policy Committee of the Federal Bundestag demanded the restoration of trade with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. In fact, at the Moscow International Economic Conference, extensive trade agreements had been signed between West German businessmen and the Chinese People's Republic. However, such trade is not one of the "freedoms" bestowed on the German nation by Wall

Street's colonial statute. There can be no question that, if ratified, this treaty will put even greater economic burdens on the German population. Taxes will be higher and so will unemployment in all industries not concerned with war production.

All these developments reflect a trend which militates against ratification of the Bonn treaty. As Drew Middleton wrote in the *New York Times* of May 25: "In Western Germany the main task of the Allies and the Federal Republic is to sell the treaty system." This sale will be difficult to consummate.

The struggle of the German people against this war treaty must be welcomed warmly by the people of the United States, because it serves our vital needs for peace and for relief from the crushing tax burden of the war drive. The actions of the German people should spur the struggle against ratification of this war pact in the United States Senate.

If united action by German, French and U.S. peace forces can prevent ratification and implementation of this war scheme, the world will be a long step closer to peace.

Senate Urged to Reject Contractual Agreement

ON JUNE 17, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee gave a perfunctory hearing to opponents of ratification of the contractual agreement with the Bonn government and the agreement to bring West Germany within the NATO system. Eighteen witnesses spoke on behalf of organizations representing more than a million Americans, their testimony being limited to ten minutes. Miss Mary van Kleeck, retired Director of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation and Associate Director of the International Relations Institute, appeared on behalf of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Pointing out that the resources of the Ruhr are a major war potential if put under the political control of the same industrialists and militarists who launched World War II, Miss van Kleeck urged that instead they be turned to peaceful uses under a united Germany:

"Because of its conviction that joint planning by the United States and the Soviet Union for the peace of the world, beginning immediately with a plan for Germany, is both possible and impera-

tive, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has asked me to express to you its hope that you will recommend to the Senate refusal to ratify the proposed contract with West Germany; and to substitute for it, a call for immediate negotiations between the four occupying powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France, directed toward unification of Germany, the restoration of its government and its enduring commitment to peace.

"The Council believes that the time is now for a momentous decision: The choice between a military plan, disastrous for all the nations involved, including ourselves, and a social-economic, technological plan, benefitting all nations, including the United States.

"Refusal by the United States to ratify this deal with the Adenauer government for the dismemberment of Germany would not only avert a disaster, it would signify that the United States intends to face its responsibility for negotiating a peace treaty with Germany, which would be the cornerstone of constructive development for all Europe.

Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass says:

"We Can Have a Peaceful World"

**Progressive Party's Vice-Presidential
Candidate tells how it can be achieved**

IT SEEMS to me that the most important problem before the American people today, and for that matter, before all the nations of the world, is the problem of the establishment of peace.

A few days ago I listened to a World Trade Program on the radio, in which there was a discussion as to what nations we should and what ones we should not trade with. One speaker was in favor of giving Germany a free hand, an independent "Go" signal to develop the industries it had before World War II. This, it appears, was to be done in order to make Germany one of our strong allies in case of a third World War.

But Russia, China, and East Asia presented a different situation. These, it was said, composed the Communist bloc, which means to us a non-friendly trade relationship. When the Soviet Union called an international trade conference recently, the United States tried to prevent American businessmen from attending, although a few managed to attend. Representatives of Britain and many other countries who attended, concluded trade deals which were profitable to all involved. Whereupon this government criticized those countries whose representatives attended the conference.

"But why should we criticize England, France, or any other nation for desiring friendly relations with Russia?" I ask. We cannot have world peace by harboring hate among nations, any more than there can be peace among neighbors by hating each other. Russia has the grain England needs. England has the manufactured products that Russia needs. Why not exchange? And thus promote world peace and friendship, instead of war and strife. It is this friendly exchange of goods, as well as of ideas, that will eventually bring about the peace we all say we so ardently desire.

AS I LISTENED to this World Trade Week program, I was reminded of the other things that were happening around me. After 40 years of bitter struggle as a working editor-publisher of *The California Eagle*, the oldest Negro publication in the West, I went to New York for a long rest. Possibly retirement.

I knew that the battle for peace and equal citizenship for my people in which I had been engaged over that 40-year period, had not been won. But I was determined to convince myself that I had done my part. I wanted to be smug in my retire-



Charlotte A. Bass, the Progressive Party Candidate for Vice-President

ment and watch the fight from the rear.

But how could I when things began happening, the same kind of things that had always aroused my fighting spirit!

In Florida, Harry and Harriet T. Moore, Negro educators and leaders in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were dynamited or bombed to death because they contended for that equality that is guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution.

I thought of Rosa Lee Ingram and her two young sons still confined in a Georgia prison. I remembered Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven. I knew we could do nothing about these, because these men were dead. But I knew there would be other Martinsville Sevens and other Willie McGees, unless this tide of terror was stopped which, headed by the infamous Ku Klux Klan,

seemed to be spreading across the nation. It flamed forth in Cicero, Illinois, when the home of a Negro veteran was destroyed and his family driven out. It found its way to Los Angeles, California, where the home of a Negro veteran and his family was bombed, as well as the home of a person who wished to sell to a Negro family.

I realized there could be no rest for me. I joined a mixed delegation and went to Mims, Florida, to the funeral of Harriet T. Moore. Along the route I saw the chain gang, great strong Negro men, with chains around their ankles, a white supervisor with a gun in his hand, standing over them. I saw shabby, run-down farm homes of sharecroppers, poor whites on one side of the road, and poor blacks on the other. In this picture alone, there at least appeared to be equality.

At the funeral of Mrs. Moore there were some faces that showed a patient kind of sorrow, this resignation of centuries to what was supposed to be the inevitable. But on the faces of others who marched by that simple casket, and looked down at their leader lying there, a martyr to the cause in which she and her husband believed and paid for with their lives, there was a bitter defiance, a firm resolve which said, "These things must stop! They shall not go on!"

I saw the shattered home where Harry and Harriet T. Moore were killed.

From Mims we went to Tallahassee, the State capital, where we visited Governor Fuller Warren and demanded a complete investigation of the Moore dynamiting case. We asked Governor Warren to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan in the state of Florida, and asked that he call a state-

wide conference at which all racial and national segments be invited to participate. This way, we thought, there would come about a better racial and national understanding among the people.

Governor Warren was the most affable among the Warrens we had met. He promised full support to all the demands we made. We didn't hesitate to call attention to the fact that in this brief visit to Florida, we not only saw but also experienced the full meaning of white supremacy, the bitter hatred against the Negro people in all walks of life. There was no evidence of the free world and the democracy described in the daily press and by way of television and the radio.

At the end of the Florida trip we went to Washington and visited the different departments of State, Justice, and Defense. We were concerned about what we had seen, heard, and experienced in Florida. And also about what was happening in the North, as well as in the South. Two Negro veterans, Wyatt and James Blacknall, had been shot to death in police brutality style, not many miles from where I live in New York. This brought to mind what had happened not so many months ago at Peekskill, N. Y.

EVERYWHERE in our own country, terror and unrest seem to be on the uptrend. I look about me, I see my own people in my own native land, and all colored peoples in the world, being oppressed while they reach out for that same independence which this nation achieved in 1776.

I realize there can be no rest for me, not until the goal of full citizenship has been achieved for my people and every other suppressed American minority. My people live segregated

lives in what we call the "land of the free." We are housed in segregated districts. We may not eat in certain places nor use common public utilities. It is well known that Negroes work for wages far below the wages paid white people. Of course this means that living conditions among us are frightful.

Statistics show that more Negro women die in childbirth than among any other groups. Negro children have ten years lopped off their life expectancy. And more Negroes die from tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other similar diseases than whites.

BUT FROM those government officials we visited in Washington, we received little hope and no promise that there would be a change in the status quo in our country. Those officials seemed to be more concerned with our foreign policy in Europe, than with what was happening here in the United States. For five years the tailors of the Republican and Democratic parties have been clothing our nation with what they see fit to call a foreign policy for peace. They tell us we must arm against grave dangers. But all the time they dig in our pockets to pay for what they call our foreign policy to bring peace. We know, however, that this foreign policy is a fraud and a failure. All this is done because, they tell us, there is danger of aggression.

We, the people, have been slow in understanding. We now realize that the arts of propaganda and all the sickening devices of hysteria, are used to create fear and misunderstanding. These government officials send our sons abroad, pour out our money to support reaction in Europe, Asia, and Africa. They destroy our liberties at home with their high

prices and high taxes. They have cut the real wages of 30 million American families by ten dollars a week since June, 1950. In seven years the Republican and Democratic parties in Congress have spent 300 billion dollars, more money than was spent by the government from 1783 to 1945.

But all that spending has not kept the peace. A whole nation in Korea has been devastated. Over a hundred thousand American casualties suffered in what the President calls "a police action."

The foreign policy is failing abroad. And we know it. It causes unemployment and resentment in Europe. It turns the colonial peoples of the world against us by supporting dying imperialism and the Malan fascists, who repress the deep and crying demand of peoples everywhere for freedom. It frightens the world by rebuilding a German army for war in Europe and a Japanese army for war in Asia.

LOOKING at this picture on both the home and foreign fronts, encouraged me to consent to become a candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the Progressive Party ticket. It is the first time in the history of this nation that any political party has named a woman, and a Negro woman at that, as a candidate for so high an office. I have accepted this manifest call to duty with a feeling of pride and humility. With Vincent Hallinan, that fearless fighter for the democratic rights of every American, running for President of the United States, I am sure that together we will present a united front for democracy at home, and for peace abroad that will point out to the American people the path they must chart to secure to our nation



Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party
Candidate for President of the U.S.

the blessings of that liberty it claims in the Constitution of the United States.

I call attention to the fact that Mr. Hallinan is serving a six months' term in prison for daring to defend that intrepid labor leader, Harry Bridges, in his fight against deportation. Mr. Hallinan is not the first person to conduct a campaign for the presidency from a prison cell. The late Eugene Debs was also so honored. And in the beginning of our history Matthew Lyon, the friend of Thomas Jefferson, was elected to Congress from a jail where he had been thrust because he dared to criticize President Adams. History may repeat itself. Who knows? The next President of the United States may be elected from a prison cell. And the next Vice-President may be a Negro woman, a fighter, so my friends tell me, for the things that are decent and right and American.

To bring about this decency and

freedom to America, we Progressives have agreed upon a tentative platform. It will be implemented and solidified in the convention held in Chicago in July.

Our Platform

Among those planks in that platform for which we shall fight, are the rights of freedom of speech, of worship, of assembly, the rights already guaranteed to us in the Constitution but which have been taken away from all American citizens by such laws as the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, and the investigations of the Un-American Activities Committee. We believe the doings of the Ku Klux Klan should be investigated as being most un-American, not the beliefs of the progressive men and women who are accused of being Communists.

We maintain there should be a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act, which would give to everyone a job according to his merit, not according to the color of his skin, or eyes, or hair. We believe the government of our country is responsible for the welfare of all American citizens, and when private enterprise does not have enough employment for all, the government must take cognizance of that fact and stand in the breach. We believe when there are not enough homes to house American citizens properly, the government should supply that want. And in all these activities of our government, there should not be one iota of discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin.

There are many other planks in our tentative platform which attest to our beliefs as American citizens. Federal aid to education, a public health program, the rights of the working people to organize—all the

principles which Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed and carried out in his administration, strengthened now and broadened into what that great President would have accomplished had he lived.

As for our friends across the sea, we believe that if we have full democracy and freedom for all here in America, there will be no trouble with anyone in Europe. Or Asia. Or Africa. Or anyone else in the world. Had we stayed at home and minded our own business, there would have been no need for a "police action" in Korea. The United Nations was founded for the expressed purpose of preventing another war. Its officials were intended to adjudicate disputes. But when the Security Council of the United Nations refuses to hear the complaint of any country, as it did in the case of Tunisia, in Africa; of North Korea, in the early days of the Korean trouble; of the downtrodden people of South Africa, can we blame those people if they rise up against their persecutors and decide to form a government that will deal honestly and justly with them?

DISPUTES with nations can be settled as peacefully as disputes with neighbors. IF we want to have those disputes settled. Can the reason for the long-drawn out peace negotiations, the cold war, the "twilight" war, the constant threat of another world holocaust, be that peace might bring an end to the bloated war profits our Wall Street Americans are enjoying?

Have you ever read the stock market reports following some of the "peace" rumors that have been put out? With a great sigh of relief they tell us that the "phony peace feelers" of Russia are not believed by the American people, and that the

stock market remained steady in spite of the threat of peace!

Why do we American people allow ourselves to be so hoodwinked by our Wall Street imperialists? Why do we not demand that they at least call the bluff of Russia, if, as they say, it is a bluff, and that we get down to brass tacks and talk about an honest peace for the world? There is nothing in our Constitution, nor in any concept of our government which says everyone with whom we wish to do business must agree with our ideas of government, or even with our economic ideas.

We certainly did not agree with the tsarist concept of government. Yet we carried on a lucrative trade with the Russian people in the days of the tsar. We did not agree with the emperors of Japan and China some years ago. Yet we virtually forced those two countries to open their doors to us about a century ago. Our merchants became prosperous on the trade carried on with imperialistic China and Japan. Why shouldn't we do the same today? We don't have to agree with everything that China does. We don't have to demand that China agree with us, in

order to be able to purchase their valuable products, and to have them take some of our surplus goods off our hands.

NO, WE DON'T need a war to keep up our employment, to boost our profits. We need peace, world peace. We need to be able to trade peacefully with the Soviet Union, with China, with all of Asia, with India, Africa, and all the rest of the world. Our men and women would have work just as profitable, our merchants would prosper better in a world of peace, than in a world where the nations are constantly at each other's throats.

Must we have war in order to have full employment? In order that our merchants and manufacturers may reap an unheard of profit?

Forbid it, Almighty God! Like Patrick Henry of our Revolutionary days, we pray the God of the working people to stop this useless, idiotic murder. We pledge ourselves, under Him, to do our utmost to bring about that day when we shall beat our swords into plowshares, and our spears into pruning hooks, and not learn war any more.

JUST ONE CONCLUSION—THEY WANT PEACE

"ANYONE who has visited the Soviet Union and had the opportunities to talk to its people and still more to observe the kind of work its people are doing and still thinks that the Soviet Union is anxious to make war with anybody, is almost certifiable [to a mental institution]. The people certainly want peace, and there is no reason to think that in this or anything else they are out of accord with their Government. I cannot believe that any government which either wanted war or even thought of it would have built a university on the Lenin Hills in the last three years which is the only outstanding building to be seen for miles from the sky."

—Mr. Sydney Silverman, M.P., upon his return from the International Economic Conference in Moscow.

When Blueprints Come to Life

**How the Soviet people have linked
the great Volga and Don rivers**

by **EUGENE KRIGER**

Man's history-long battle with nature reached a high point on May 31 when the great Volga and Don rivers were linked by a system of canals. The Volga-Don Canal is just a part of an immense waterway and hydroelectric project that will transform a vast area of the USSR: it will connect the Black, Caspian and Aral seas with the Baltic, it will irrigate millions of acres of land, and generate enormous electrical energy. The article below, slightly abridged from *New Times*, by the well-known Soviet author Eugene Kriger, tells the exciting story of the construction of the Volga-Don Canal.

I AM WRITING from a town which does not yet figure on any map, for it did not exist until last year.

It is called Novosolyonovsky, and is located on the Don. It is the construction headquarters for the Tsimlyanskaya hydro-technical development, one of the key units of the Volga-Don Canal, which is called upon to link these two great rivers, open a waterway connecting Moscow and many other Soviet inland cities with Rostov-on-Don and the Black Sea ports, and quench the thirst of 2,750,000 hectares (6,800,000 acres) of sun-scorched steppe-land in the Rostov and Stalingrad regions.

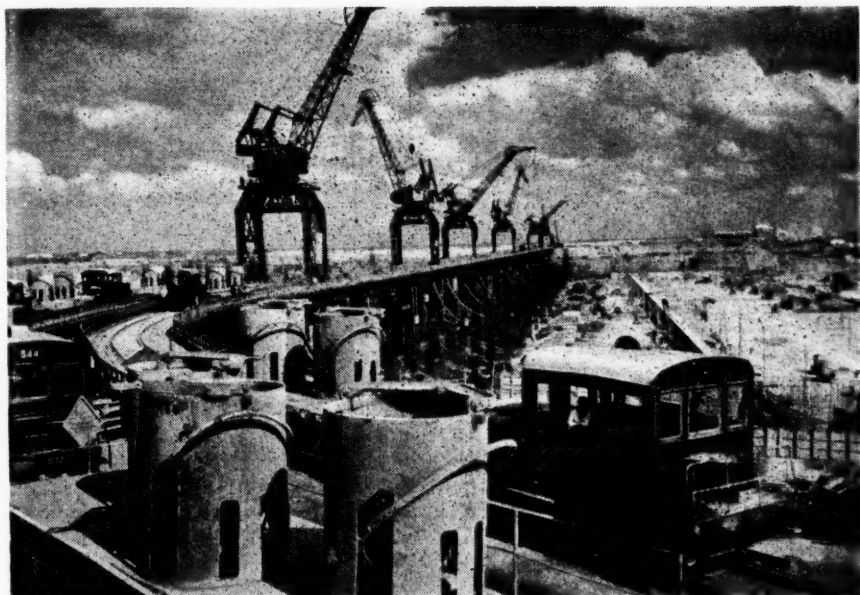
This gigantic hydraulic engineering project has already been carried out in the main, and the builders have entered upon the final, but nonetheless crucial stage of construction, which still involves a tremendous amount of work.

With the advent of spring, the Don waters began to fill the Tsimlyanskaya reservoir at an ever-increas-

ing rate, so that soon a shipping channel will take shape all the way from Stalingrad to Rostov and the first turbines to go into operation at the Tsimlyanskaya Hydroelectric Station will start to produce electricity.

The hydraulic installations at Tsimlyanskaya raise the Don water level by 26 meters (85 feet). The dam is creating a reservoir 30 kilometers (18 miles) wide and stretching nearly 200 kilometers (124 miles) up the river. The total length of the irrigation network created in the Rostov and Stalingrad regions exceeds 30,000 kilometers (18,600 miles); besides wheat, the land it will water will produce crops never before grown in these parts, such as cotton and rice, and the vineyard areas will be expanded.

In the very first years of operation the cargo tonnage of the Volga-Don navigation canal is scheduled to reach a figure that the Suez Canal attained only 52 years after it was opened.



A general view of the construction site of the Tsimlyanskaya Dam a few days before the Don was directed through the spillway into the reservoir

It took the Kiel Canal 14 years and the Panama Canal 9 years to bring their tonnage up to this level.

From time immemorial the area in which the Tsimlyanskaya development is being built was flat, monotonous steppe country. Now, however, a great fold in the earth's surface meets the eye of the observer scanning the surrounding landscape from a surveyors' tower on the banks of the Don. This high, even ridge is man's correction to local geography—an earthen dam buttressed on two sides on a reinforced concrete overflow dam some 500 meters (1,640 feet) long.

One of the greatest dams in the world, this thirteen-kilometer (eight-mile) rampart will hold in check the huge reservoir called the Tsimlyanskaya Sea. One can only marvel at

the fact that it was completed in the main inside one year. In the channel of the Don it will rise to a height of 35 meters (115 feet), dropping to 27 meters (88 feet) farther up the valley and to 15-22 meters (50-72 feet) on the riverine terraces.

The dam could not have been raised within such a short time if ordinary excavation methods had been used. Soviet engineers devised a much more efficient method. Beginning with the spring of 1951 dozens of floating suction dredges went into action. Agitator screws cut into the sand under the water and powerful pumps sucked it up with the water, driving it over considerable distances to build up the hydraulic-fill dam.

One thing that strikes the visitor to the great Construction Works of Communism very forcefully is the

ability of Soviet men and women to discern the future in what they are doing today. Wandering among the maze of installations and structures on the Tsimlyanskaya hydrotechnical site, you run across posters bearing the words of writers and poets. On a fence enclosing an area where reinforcing was being fabricated we saw these lines by Mayakovsky in huge letters:

*I praise my land
as it is today,
But thrice-praised
my land of tomorrow.*

Who was it that remembered these appropriate lines of the great poet? Ordinary Soviet people, the builders—concrete workers, electric-welders, crane operators, bulldozer drivers, excavator men and the hosts of others on the construction sites. In each of the millions of cubic meters of concrete poured, in each pier raised for the overflow dam and the power house they see the full grandeur of the project as a whole, sense

the purport of their labor to transform vast tracts of Soviet land.

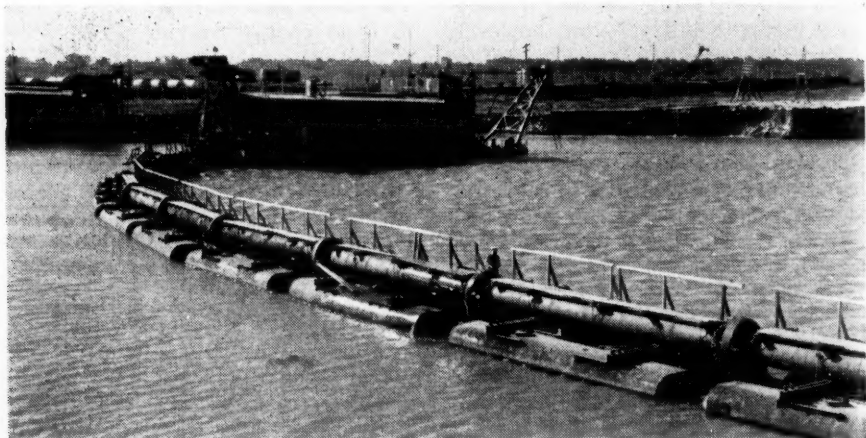
These people are building the future. Already today they can visualize the transfigured Don, the handsome ships cruising from the Soviet capital via the Volga to the Don and farther on to the sunny, evergreen shores of the Black Sea.

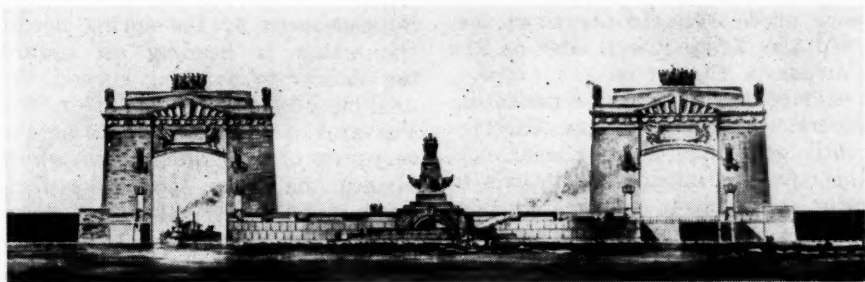
The waves of the Tsimlyanskaya Sea lap in the midst of what only a short while ago was a flat expanse of snow-covered steppe. And in the very midst of this steppeland stood the great hulks of the locks with powerful cranes at work, lowering sub-assemblies of the head installations and the steel gates into place.

It was strange to see all this on what was still dry land, a good distance from the Don. But a young engineer was already painting us a picture of the future.

"By the opening of this summer's navigation we'll have sculptures on the locks over there," he was saying. "And here we'll lay out a garden. All the roads in the area will be lined with trees. As for the economic as-

A suction dredge which helped speed the work. It takes the sand from the river bottom and pumps it to the site of the great hydraulic fill-in dam





Architectural drawings of some of the sluice gates at the Tsimlyanskaya reservoir, part of the Volga-Don Canal system that links the two great rivers

pect, cargo tonnage handled by Don River shipping will increase five or six times in the very first years of operation of the canal. Lands hitherto dead will come to life with new farm fields, gardens and woods, as well as new towns and villages. Even the climate is going to change. It's a pleasure to work when you know it is going to be like that. . . ."

These words partly explain why the Volga-Don builders have such signal accomplishments to their credit. For one thing, the projected time span allotted for the job has been cut by two years. At first it seemed impossible that anything of the kind could be done, but employment of the latest mechanized methods made it possible to set an unprecedented pace.

The scale of the work slated to be completed at the Tsimlyanskaya development within a brief space of time astounds even experienced hydraulic engineers. The development consists of nine main elements: the earth-fill dam mentioned above; the reinforced-concrete overflow dam; power house with four turbine sets; fish elevator to lift fish coming up the Don over the dam; a navigation canal with two locks; outer and trans-shipment ports and timber ele-

vator on the Tsimlyanskaya Sea side; head installations of the Don trunk irrigation canal; bridges across the canal for a railway line and motor road, and two settlements for the workers and engineers who will operate all these installations when they are ready.

One of the innovations in hydraulic engineering introduced at Tsimlyanskaya is the assembly of the turbines and other equipment for the power house simultaneously with the final stages of the basic construction work. Outstripping time and upsetting old technical standards and traditions, the installers did not wait for the power house to be completed, but, under the open sky, began the assembly of the rotor of the first turbine, whose hub alone (with parts) weighs 70 tons.

The nucleus of the installation group consists of people trained by the renowned Stalin Engineering Works in Leningrad, which makes the most powerful turbines in the Soviet Union. Prominent among them is job superintendent Sergei Petrov. He has taken part in the construction of some 17 Soviet hydroelectric stations and assembled more than 30 turbines of various sizes and types. He has worked in the moun-

tains of Georgia, in the Urals, beyond the Arctic Circle and on the Dnieper.

Alongside this veteran installation expert work young people, only recently graduated from college.

By finding ingenious solutions to technical problems and inventing devices to speed up assembly work as they go along, the two generations of installation workers have saved months of precious time.

February 1, 1952, was a memorable occasion for the builders, for on that day they swung the Don from its old course and directed its flow towards the Volga. Dredges, walking excavators and explosives removed the cofferdams which had protected some of the construction sectors, and Don water rushed through a tunnel into the diversion canal and began coursing up to the Karpovka pumping station.

Here the first of the station's three powerful pumps with a capacity of 45 cubic meters (1,580 cubic feet) per second began pumping the water up to the next step in the hydraulic ladder—the Karpovka reservoir.

Besides the Karpovka reservoir with a projected volume of 155 million cubic meters (5,440,000,000 cubic feet) of water, there will be two other huge inland lakes in the Volga-Don canal system: the Varvarovka reservoir, 124 million cubic meters (4,352,000,000 cubic feet) in volume, and the Bereslav, with a volume of 48 million cubic meters (1,684,000,000 cubic feet).

Early in April the level of the Karpovka reservoir rose 13 meters (42 feet), and reached the second step—the Marinovka pumping station—where the water was raised another 20 meters (65 feet) and directed along the canal to the next link in the system, the Bereslav reservoir.

Supplemented by the spring floods, the water is heading on toward the Varvarovo pumping station, the final lap of the man-made river. The Varvarovka reservoir will be on the very crest of the Ergeni height which divides the Volga from the Don. From there, the water will flow down to join the Volga near Stalingrad, and the great inland waterway joining the White, Baltic and Caspian seas with the Azov and Black seas will be complete.

THE BUILDERS have their own songs. One can hear them at concerts in the club, but mostly they are sung by the builders at work. One of these songs was composed by an electric welder. It is about the people who are devoting all their physical and mental energies to one of the biggest construction undertakings in history; they are savoring life to the full, for they know that their labor is a thing of beauty and they have their eyes turned toward the future.

One incident that is etched in my memory is the time the workers, who had assembled the huge installations in record time, had just finished hoisting a very heavy part. The leader glanced at his watch and said in a voice a little unsteady with emotion: "To the minute! Soviet estimates always tally!"

The air about us trembled with the roar of machinery. And at that moment a new note mingled with the steel symphony of construction, the familiar voice of Paul Robeson carried from afar by the radio loudspeakers. He sang of the sons and daughters of his people on the banks of the Mississippi, of their sufferings, their hopes and their dreams. How thrilling it was to hear that familiar voice, the voice of a friend, here on the banks of the Don!

Los Angeles Episode

by

CORLISS LAMONT

BY CHANCE I happened to be in Los Angeles on a speaking tour during the celebration of World Trade Week, May 18-25, and so was able to obtain at first hand information concerning an incident typical of the prevailing American attitude toward the Soviet Union.

To help publicize World Trade, a special committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce sponsored an All-Nations Festival to be held at Sportsman's Park beginning Sunday, May 18. On May 5, Mrs. Claire A. Bourelle, Chairman of the Festival, telephoned the American-Rus-



sian Institute of Los Angeles and officially asked it to participate in the Festival and to put up an exhibit on Soviet Russia. The Institute was agreeably surprised and naturally accepted the invitation.

Accordingly, Mrs. Reva Mucha, Executive Secretary of the Institute, and her assistants had their booth ready for the opening day. The Festival Committee arranged to hoist the Soviet flag over the booth. The exhibit consisted of pictures and posters showing consumer goods, trade unions in action, different racial and national groups, Soviet sports and the great hydroelectric and afforestation projects. Literature available to the public at the front of the stand included the Soviet Constitution, a brochure on the sixteen Union Republics of the USSR, a catalogue of Soviet newspapers and magazines, and an issue of the Information Bulletin published by the Embassy of the USSR at Washington, D. C. and dealing primarily with the recent International Economic Conference in Moscow.

During the morning of May 18, Chairman Bourelle visited the Soviet exhibit and congratulated those in charge for the fine job they had done. Spectators showed great interest and took some of the displayed literature.

At 1 p.m. a reporter from the Los Angeles *Examiner*, a Hearst daily, turned up at the booth and angrily protested its inclusion in the Festival. He returned a little later with Mrs. Bourelle and she requested that all the literature be removed. The American-Russian Institute complied. About fifteen minutes later she came back with the *Examiner* reporter and several FBI agents and ordered the exhibit closed. While the

CORLISS LAMONT, philosopher, teacher and writer, has long been active in the promotion of American-Soviet understanding. Dr. Lamont has just accepted the unanimous invitation of the State Executive of the American Labor Party to run for Senator from New York in the coming elections.

Institute people were dismantling it, someone unfurled a large American flag in front of the booth; and Mrs. Bourelle had her picture snapped while taking the oath of allegiance to the flag.

The next morning the Los Angeles newspapers all ran sensational stories about the routing of red propagandists at the All-Nations Festival and the courage and alertness of the Festival authorities in taking prompt, effective action to offset a new Soviet plot against America. The Hearst *Examiner* printed big black headlines full across the top of the front page, as if a new world war had broken out.

This whole disgraceful episode brought out only too well the hypocrisy of official American policy in

promoting a World Trade Week while sabotaging normal trade relations with the Soviet Union; the unscrupulous practice of some American newspapers and reporters of cooking up their own American-Soviet crises in order to stimulate sales; the cowardice of individuals in governmental or semi-official positions in yielding to anti-Soviet pressures from the reactionary right; and the dishonesty of the American press in refusing to publish the full facts about events in the United States or abroad which involve the Soviet Union or American-Soviet relations.

The World Trade Week incident also showed that those concerned with American-Soviet understanding in this country react calmly and courageously to such provocations. The American-Russian Institute held a public meeting a few days later, at which I was one of the speakers and at which Judge Moffat of Los Angeles was chairman. The hall was crowded. And it seems probable that the Hearst attack actually increased the size of the audience.

"HE HAS TO STAND," SIR

THE HORRIFYING effects of the napalm bomb, now being used by U.S. forces in Korea, are described in "Korea Reporter," by Rene Cutforth, BBC's Korean correspondent:

In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said: "He has to stand, sir, he cannot sit or lie." He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but a crust like crackling which broke easily. . . . I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up along the Korean front.

I Want My Boy Back

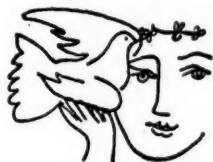
San Francisco mother calls for end of war in Korea, return of American POWs

by IDA SCHNUR

We consider it a service to the American people to publish below the speech made by Mrs. Ida Schnur of San Francisco before 3,000 persons who attended the Peace Festival at St. Nicholas Arena, New York, on May 28. The Festival was organized by the American Peace Crusade, the New York Peace Institute and a number of other co-operating peace agencies. Honorary Co-chairmen of the APC are Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, distinguished sociologist and author, and Prof. Anton J. Carlson, Chairman Emeritus of the Physiology Department at the University of Chicago and former head of the American Physiological Association. Co-chairmen of the N. Y. Peace Institute are Rev. Edward D. McGowan and Rev. Reginald Bass. After reading the *New York Times*' story of Mrs. Schnur's arrival in New York to give her son's letter to Trygve Lie and to get help from Mrs. Roosevelt, the Peace Festival invited Mrs. Schnur to tell her story.

Mrs. Schnur's son, Paul S. Jr., enlisted in the Army Engineers at the age of 18. Awaiting discharge after a three-year hitch, he was shifted to Korea. He won the Infantry Badge and the Bronze Star. Captured in November, 1950, he is now at POW Camp 5, Pektong.

I'M Ida Schnur. My son is a prisoner of war in Korea and I am here to bring you a message from *him* and his buddies. As soon as we heard that Paul, Jr. was a prisoner, my husband and I wrote an open let-



ter to President Truman, in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which is published where we live. We asked him a simple question—to help us get our boy back. We asked him to call an

end to the shooting so that all our boys could return home to build their young lives in peace. The President did not answer our plea—but we received hundreds of wonderful responses from other parents, and typical Americans who feel that the Korean war is senseless and a waste of our greatest national wealth — our young people. Most of these people wanted to know "What can we do to help?" They wanted to get together at a meeting to plan how we can make this great project come about. But before we could get together the negotiations seemed to be near a happy conclusion and we waited. We are still waiting.

And now the war seems to be

spreading. We read in the papers of new and bigger air raids. And with each word tearing into my heart, I whisper to myself—I *must* do something. But what? *What?*

Finally the answer came to me from my son and the other American boys in the prison camps.

This month I received two letters he had written in February and March. One of these told me that practically the entire company of 396 POW's read our open letter to the President and some of the other boys wrote to their parents asking them to support our appeal. Many of these others are Negro soldiers, Britishers and Filipinos. He told us that with few exceptions, "everyone here wishes you good luck in anything you do to help secure peace. We all are hopeful that we will soon be able to return home."

Another boy, from Syracuse, New York, wrote me: "If there were only thousands of people who would do the fine thing that you are doing, I know that Paul and also myself would not be here as prisoners of war much longer."

The other letter from my son told how the POW's were writing their parents asking them to do what they can to secure an end to the war. And he enclosed an "Open Letter to the American Public," written on rice paper and signed by 94 American and British POW's. He said: "We hope that you can put it to some good use and feel that it might carry a little weight because it tells what we, as prisoners of war, think and want." Here is what they said in "An Open Letter to the American Public":

"We the undersigned, American and British prisoners of war, who have seen the suffering, bloodshed and destruction of war, wish to make known our desire for an early settle-

ment and an end to the Korean conflict.

"Recently we heard that both sides in the fighting had downed arms only to resume hostilities again, on the orders of the President who gave as one reason the safety of the prisoners of war being held by the enemy.

"How, may we ask, does continuation of slaughter at the front insure our safety? On the contrary, we do not feel safe at all. Air battles are continually being fought above our camp and we are filled with fear every time the alert is sounded and planes come over. On several occasions different camps have been subjected to bombing and strafing by our planes, causing casualties not only among the American and British prisoners of war but to the civilian population as well. Surely this fact, alone, disproves the presumption that continuance of hostilities ensures our safety?

"We would like to inquire also as to what is to be accomplished by continued fighting after agreement has already been made on the cease-



fire line? Must killing and destruction go on merely for the sake of killing and destruction?

"We ask you, as American citizens loyal to American traditions, to do all in your power to secure the

issuance of a final official cease-fire order that will enable all of us to return to our homes where we are entitled to pursue happiness and live out our lives as useful citizens. Further, we appeal to all peace organizations, churches, Quaker organizations, trade unions and all others who want an end to the war to band together now and raise a unified and mighty voice that will be heard.

"We earnestly desire that it be known that we want no more killing and destruction in Korea and no future wars for ourselves or the coming generations."

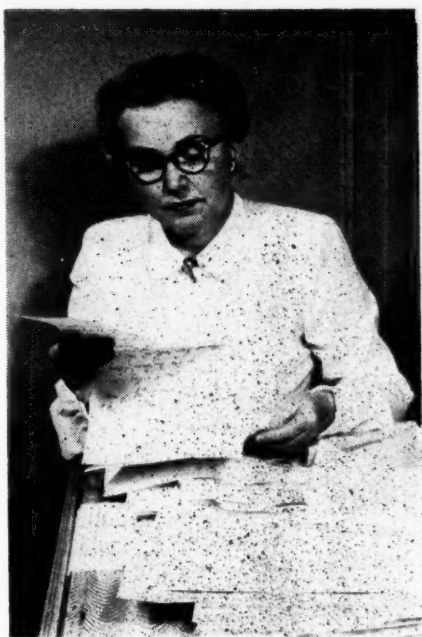
Mothers! Fathers! You who have sons in Korea—brothers, sweethearts, or others in our armies or living in the shadow of the draft—I appeal to you!

What would you do? Surely no less than they ask. Perhaps I'm selfish. I want my son back. But it means your sons and loved ones, too. Help me reach these parents. Who are the boys on the petition? Is Cpl. Earl L. Beck from New York? Where is Pvt. William Hinkle's home? Who are the parents of Cpl. Carl Raup? I must find them before it is too late.

This is the first time that I ever spoke to more people than can squeeze into my little living room. And I'm standing here trembling. But surely, I am ready to give my life if it would save my son's.

I came to New York to see the UN delegates, the press, anyone who will help me. Some of the reporters were as sympathetic as the women I've met traveling. But some were like the man at one big press agency who said—at first—no, they could not do anything because it was too controversial. And then he told me: We must win in Korea. Yes, he said, even if it means *full scale world war*.

JULY, 1952



—Balcombe-Lessinger

Mrs. Ida Schnur with the letters she received after her open letter to the President asking him to end the war

Let me ask you: is that not "too controversial" for us parents to swallow? Let's not leave it to the newspaper generals. It's too important. We parents must get together while there's time. I must see them *soon*. I know they would make the same sacrifices as I, to save their sons.

But—you must tell me *who they are*. Where can I find them? How can we get together, to bring about peace—the only guarantee that our boys will return. Help me find them. Tell your neighbors and friends about my plea. Tell them to write to me at 1250 Jones St., San Francisco, Calif.

I call to you from my mother's heart—you must help me find those others.

Together, we parents can win—for our sons.

COME HOME

an critic loyal to
all in your power to
final official peace five
of us - return to
entitled to receive
our lives is useful
to all peace organ-
izations, trade unions
on and to the way for
a unified and mighty
force.

desire it be known that we
hated destruction in Korea
and ourselves on the coming

Think you,
P.C. Paul R. Schum Jr.
P.A. 19291229

M. Maurice C. Gild
RA 11454117

P.C. Robert H. Nichols
P.A. 12230788

Harold M. Danner
P.A. 18-301-314

James B. Schum
P.A. 15-291-649

Donald L. Gay
P.A. 1117178

Henry C. Gomer 13250790
James A. Goudron.

CN/X 4710.

W. N. Gluck
22511001.

W. H. Gluck
P.A. 7042

J. J. Gluck
7890786

J. J. Richards R.A.
P.A. 1117178

Richard Morrison
P.A. 17-5508

W. H. Gluck
P.A. 1117178

410960 A. D. Dole, Trooper
313072 Horvath James
5733709 Munkley Alfred John

22374842 Keas, William Edward

4589335 Hubert William Payne

11173012 Arthur Calvelley.

3387588 Reynolds Frederick

4545784 Charles Holland.

2219086 Robert Cognaren.

22275546 Robert O'Brien

22202455 R. W. Maguire

7042276 P. Morgan

6280243 J. P. English

6748240 J. P. Smith

11191701 J. P. Smith

2046134 J. P. Smith

W. H. Gluck

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J. & Cord, Colorado

W. E. R. Dege

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W. E. R. Dege

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to pursue happiness and live as useful citizens.
Further, we appeal to all peace organizations,
churches, Quaker organizations, trade unions
and all others who want an end to the war
to band together now and raise a unified and

mighty voice that will be heard.
"We earnestly desire that it be known
that we want no more killing and destruction
in Korea and no future wars for ourselves
or the coming generation."

JULY, 1952

THE SHAME OF KOJE

The record shows POW issue is used to block truce and prolong the cruel and hopeless war in Korea

by JESSICA SMITH

AS THE "nasty and cruel and hopeless" war in Korea—to employ Walter Lippmann's description—goes into its third year, the whole world stands aghast at the continued stalling by the United States of the 11-month long armistice negotiations. The horrors of napalm bombing continue on an ever larger scale, turning what still stands in North Korea into blazing ruins, adding thousands more civilian victims to the millions already killed and maimed. American homes are desolated as our casualty lists grow. New threats to bomb the mainland of China heighten the danger of new world war.

It is a year since Jacob Malik, Soviet UN representative, set in motion the armistice negotiations by a broadcast suggesting terms that could end the war. During the Sixth UN Assembly Session in Paris the Soviet delegation headed by Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky, repeatedly sought UN action to end the Korean war, and also called for a special high level Security Council meeting to that end. All these efforts were blocked by the U.S. In the course of the truce talks the North Korean and Chinese negotiators have made continued concessions* but each time

agreement seemed near, the U.S. representatives raised new obstacles to peace. There remains only the issue of "voluntary repatriation," the nature of which has been exposed by the Koje Island scandal.

The burning shame all decent Americans must feel over the whole ugly war in Korea is now intensified by the wanton massacre by U.S. troops of unarmed prisoners-of-war on Koje Island. U.S. paratroops and infantry moved in on the prisoners who had resisted the lawless and forcible screening, and attacked with tanks, flame-throwers, grenades and bayonets. The press reported that the troops shouted Confederate rebel yells, underlining the white supremacist nature of the whole Korean war. U.S. military authorities tried to hide the nature of the attack by declaring proudly "not a shot was fired." But a U.S. corporal, Walter Yanualivic, told a reporter: "Lord, it was bloody. . . . We fought them with bayonets and we fought them with fists." (N. Y. *World Telegram*, June 10) The two-and-a-half-hour pitched battle ended with half the compound buildings burned to the

* See "Who Is Stalling in Korea," by Maude Russell in the May NWR.

ground, and the whole place "a flaming, bloody, desolate ruin." Among the ruins lay 39 dead and 150 wounded Korean and Chinese POWs, one American killed by his own hand grenade, 14 wounded Americans.

"The situation now looks mighty good," gloated the camp's new commander, General Boatner.

The Repatriation Issue

The American reading public is given the impression that the attack was made necessary by the attempts of the prisoners on Koje Island to run their own camp, thus flouting the authority of the U.S., whereas the real issue is the forcible screening and the unspeakable brutalities to which the prisoners have been subjected.

Our government, refusing all further concessions, says it will

never back down on the principle of "voluntary repatriation."

Yet it has repeatedly declared it will strictly adhere to the Geneva Convention of 1949 on prisoners of war. Article 118 of that Convention states: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after cessation of active hostilities." Article 7: "Prisoners of war may in no circumstances renounce in part or entirely the rights secured to them by the present convention." The meaning is unmistakable. No screening is to be permitted. Yet not only has the screening been carried through, but the events on Koje Island have revealed the coercive and violent methods used.

After the exchange of prisoner of war lists, the Korean and Chinese delegates indicated they would consider an arrangement whereby ap-

"Lord it was bloody! We fought them with bayonets and we fought them with fists!" a U.S. corporal told a reporter, commenting on the June 9 attack on Compound 76 on Koje. Some of the 150 wounded Korean and Chinese POWs are shown below. Thirty-nine were killed. One American was killed in the bloody battle, and 14 wounded

—*Wide World*





—Wide World

Dense pall of smoke over Compound 76 on Koje Island, as troops "burn out" POWs who refused to be screened

proximately 116,000 of the 170,000 POWs held by the Americans would be repatriated. This was on the basis that South Koreans who had fought with the North Korean army might reasonably be expected to wish to return to their homes in South Korea, since POWs cannot return to the army in any case.

The Americans had at first indicated that this arrangement would be acceptable. (At one point Admiral Libby told the North Korean and Chinese negotiators that most of their prisoners wanted to be exchanged.) When an armistice on this compromise basis seemed to be in sight, the American negotiators suddenly cut the number they would return to 70,000. U.S. Colonel George Hickman was quoted in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* of March 26 as saying: "We came up with a figure so low they could not accept it."

While earlier reports by correspondents of what was going on in the POW camps had been suppressed, news began to seep through during February and March. It became

clear that the U.S. was not only carrying on interrogation of the POWs, but was using force to win them over to the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek regime. On March 7, 1951, the *New York Times* reported the departure of a third group of interpreters from Formosa as "civilian employees of the U.S. Army" on Koje Island.

A *New China News Agency* (London, May 8) dispatch provided an insight into the nature of the pressure put on the POWs to resist repatriation. The information was given by several Nationalist Chinese agents of the U.S. forces, captured after parachuting to the rear of the North Korean and Chinese military lines, who had previously been engaged in work among the prisoners on Koje Island. They reported that they had regularly brought in large groups of Chiang Kai-shek agents from Taiwan, and detailed them as "instructors" and in other positions in the POW camps, where they set up branch offices of the Kuomintang. Under threats of beating and deprivation of food the POWs were forced to attend "lectures" by Chiang's agents.

Depositions told how Chiang agents organized an "Oppose Communism Resist Russia National Salvation Brigade," forced POWs to join on pain of death, and tattooed "members," using force if they resisted, with the words "Oppose Communism Resist Russia" in Chinese and English. The report continues:

The special agents then compelled the captured personnel to declare that they did not want to return to their homeland, and made them sign a petition . . . which read in part: "I readily refuse to return to the Communist side, I demand to join the Nationalist Army on Taiwan to coun-



Relaxation in a North Korean POW camp. These American prisoners of war try to forget the prolonged truce negotiations by playing a game of checkers

ter-attack the mainland, and I support the just voluntary repatriation stand taken by the United Nations forces." The special agents forced the captured personnel to put their fingerprints in blood to this bogus "petition." The agents intimidated those prisoners who had been tattooed by saying: "You have been tattooed, it would mean sure death if you returned home," and also resorted to the threat of "no signing, no food."

When these facts became known, both the North Korean and Chinese governments broadcast reassurance that POWs thus tattooed would have nothing to fear on repatriation.

The pro-American British paper *Observer* confirmed the sending in of a large number of Chiang agents last year in its issue of May 18. And the British *Church Times* told of the Americans drilling it into the prison-

ers that they would be punished or probably executed if they went home.

The Red Cross Report

Delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross conducted an investigation of the first violent incident on Koje Island on February 18, in which one American soldier and 69 prisoners were killed and 142 prisoners wounded. This report was withheld from U.S. correspondents covering the Korean war. We have the initiative of I. F. Stone of the N. Y. *Compass* to thank for running down a copy of the April issue of the *International Red Cross Review* published in French in Geneva, which carried the report. A full translation of the text was published in the *Compass*, May 27.

The Red Cross Committee, operating under U.S. auspices in South

Korea, is not considered impartial by the North Korean and Chinese authorities. For that very reason, the extent to which it confirmed their charges of POW conditions, however cautiously, is significant.

The Red Cross delegates' investigations covered the period February 5-22. The first part of their report covers the physical conditions at the Koje Island camp where they found overcrowding, inadequate sanitary facilities and clothing, insufficient medical supplies, unsatisfactory food and considerable illness.

They learned that many of the prisoners previously reported as unwilling to be repatriated were now asking to be sent back to North Korea, and that the U.S. camp authorities had ordered a rescreening. Their report states that a "trusted spokesman" of the POWs told them that the internees "would not allow themselves to be questioned anew, alleging that pressure had been brought to bear on them during their first interrogation."

While the delegates did not witness the events of February 18, they gathered information on what happened from the "trusted spokesman" and from the U.S. officer then in command, Colonel Fitzgerald.

Arriving at the camp in the early morning hours of February 18, the Red Cross delegates learned that "the new reclassification operation had been undertaken before dawn, with the support of troops, without the prisoners being previously advised of what was to take place."

The report then gives the following account of the pre-dawn massacre as learned from the trusted spokesman:

On the 18th of February about 4 a.m., troops representing about one

regiment entered armed without warning into the section.

Nearly all the internees were kept under guard in a tent. The troops surrounded the other tents, including that of the trusted spokesman. Thus the latter did not have a chance to get in touch with the camp authorities.

The internees were forced to stay in their tents under threat of bayonets. When, not knowing what had happened, one or another tried to leave his tent, he was greeted with shots. Seized with fear, thinking they were all going to be killed, the internees went out to defend themselves and see what was going on. The troops attacked them, using their arms. . . .

The trusted spokesman saw some of the troops kick the dead. The remains were placed on a truck, without check-up and without medical check of each corpse. Certain of the internees were thus, in the belief of the trusted spokesman, treated as dead while they still lived.

The latter part of the attack took place in the presence of Colonel Fitzgerald, troops continuing to fire for some time despite the trusted spokesman's repeated pleas that they be withdrawn. Colonel Fitzgerald failed to keep his promise to return later for a conference.

This report confirms that pressure was used in the first instance to get the prisoners to declare their unwillingness to return to their homelands, and that the bloody massacre of Feb. 18 involved a forcible attempt at re-screening.

The General Dodd Incident

In the *New York Post* for June 5, Robert S. Allen gave some highlights of secret testimony of Army Secretary Pace and Army Chief of Staff Collins at the Senate Armed Services Committee's hearing on the Koje incidents. It had been brought out that

shortly before General Dodd was seized by the POWs, South Korean guards had killed and wounded a considerable number of prisoners. The prisoners demonstrated in protest, and indulged in some name-calling and rock-throwing, whereupon the guards opened direct fire. After Secretary Pace had testified on these events, Senator Wayne Morse (R., Ore.), turned to him and the following colloquy took place:

"Mr. Secretary, would you say it is accurate to state that a number of prisoners who made insulting remarks and threw stones at their South Korean guards were shot to death by hotheads among these guards?"

"I believe that would be a fair statement," conceded Pace.

"Now let us suppose," continued the Senator, "that the incident was placed before an international tribunal. Based on the information we have, do you think our case would fare very well before such a tribunal?"

"No, I do not," admitted Pace.

Thus the record, however limited our knowledge of the full details, shows clearly why the prisoners, whose demands for decent treatment and an end to forcible screening had

been repeatedly ignored, decided on the seizure of General Dodd on March 8 to dramatize their situation before the world.

Ordered by Brig. Gen Charles F. Colson (appointed to replace General Dodd), to release General Dodd or face the use of force, the POWs outlined their terms. In a written reply, General Colson acknowledged their charges and agreed to their terms, declaring:

With reference to your item 1, I do admit that there have been instances of bloodshed where many prisoners of war have been killed and wounded by UN forces. I can assure you that in the future the prisoners of war can expect humane treatment in this camp according to the rules of international law. I will do all in my power to eliminate further violence and bloodshed. If such incidents happen in the future, I will be responsible. . . .

Regarding your item 3 pertaining to forcible screening, I can inform you that after General Dodd's release, unharmed, there will be no more forcible screening or any rearming* of prisoners of war in this camp, nor will any attempt be made at nominal screening.

* This referred to the POWs complaint of arming the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek agents operating among the prisoners.

Gen. H. L. Boatner, in charge of Kojoe, serves an ultimatum to POW leaders. His arrogance is typified in the following quote: "I know Orientals. The best way you can help yourselves is to be obedient and respectful."

—Wide World





Patton tanks are moved to high vantage points so that they can overlook the camps on Koje

—Wide World

On receipt of this pledge, the POWs faithfully kept their part of the bargain and released General Dodd unharmed.

The U.S. reneged on the agreement. General Mark Clark, successor to General Matthew Ridgway as U.S. Far Eastern Commander, announced that General Colson's reply was made "under duress when the life of General Dodd was at stake," and called the POW demands "unadulterated blackmail."

Yet the day after General Dodd's release, a press statement based on a talk with General Van Fleet, 8th Army Commander, said "General Dodd . . . reports that his treatment was respectful, courteous and dignified."

U.S. authorities held General Dodd incommunicado from the press for two days. When correspondents were finally permitted to see him, he read a prepared statement, and newsmen were not allowed to question him.

No repudiation either then or later has been made by either General Dodd or General Colson of their acknowledgment of the prisoners' complaints. All repudiations have been made by General Clark and Pentagon officials who, blandly denying any forcible screening, have sought to place the whole blame on the Koje prisoners.

It has since been revealed that General Van Fleet's military board of inquiry which first investigated

the incident, cleared Generals Dodd and Colson, and their superior, General Yount, who had approved their agreement. But General Clark arbitrarily reversed this finding, and on his orders Brigadier Generals Dodd and Colson were demoted and General Yount reprimanded.

War vs. War Prisoners

It was then that Brig. Gen. Hayden L. Boatner was put in command of the Koje Island Camp with instructions to bring "order," by force if necessary. Paratroops were sent in to back up the new regime, tanks and machine guns trained on the prisoners.

General Boatner declared that the Geneva Convention had been applied and would be applied to the prisoners. But there is nothing in the Geneva Convention to justify the almost daily toll of dead and wounded prisoners of war that followed.

On May 23, General Boatner told the prisoners with racist arrogance: "I know and understand Orientals. . . . The greatest way you can help yourselves is to be obedient and respectful."

On May 26, he told newly arrived British troops how he intended to adhere to the humane principles of the Geneva Convention:

"We don't want to kill prisoners. If you get into a fight, slash him, use the butt of your rifle and give him the knee in the groin. . . ."

While some troops moved in on the camps with tear gas and bayonets, others were rushing to completion "smaller and more manageable compounds," and evacuating the civilian population from their homes on the island, which has a population of 25,000. It was not reported whether the sacred "voluntary" principle was applied in the case of these hapless civilians.

A *New York Herald Tribune* dispatch on May 30 declared:

About 100 Allied troops wielding bayonets and throwing tear gas bombs yesterday raided an unruly compound on Koje containing 3,350 prisoners, destroyed their headquarters and seized red flags and knives. There was no bloodshed, the Army said.

In this "bloodless" operation, five North Korean POWs somehow managed to get killed and several others wounded. The story described how American and British troops first dispersed the prisoners, and then more British troops moved in and demolished POW headquarters, medical dispensary and smashed up shacks with pick-axes. These were crude buildings put up by the prisoners themselves when they had been dumped on Koje Island with no proper facilities for their care, and compelled to sleep on the ground.

At one point a curfew was placed on singing. It seems that one of the major complaints against the prisoners was that they sang day and night.

On June 4, General Boatner himself led a "three-pronged attack supported by flame-throwers." Persistent but officially denied reports that food rations were being withheld from the prisoners were confirmed by the *New York Times* story (June 5) of this noble exploit:

General Boatner followed up the raids on compounds 85 and 96 with delivery of sand in rice sacks instead of food, as a stern reminder to prisoners that they were going to be disciplined for their defiance.

The bloody massacre of June 10, described earlier, was the climax when, according to the *N. Y. World Telegram* of June 10, in the process of breaking up the compound into smaller units:

Tough American paratroops whipped 6,400 Communist war prisoners into submission today in a savage battle of tanks, bayonets, flame throwers and bare fists against spears and arrows.

The death toll was 40, the wounded 164. "Hot dog! Hot dog! See 'em run!" the correspondents heard General Boatner yell as he scored his famous victory.

The "Model" Pusan Camp

Before the Dodd episode, it had been reported that prisoners not wishing repatriation had been transferred and that only the "hard core of Communists" who desired repatriation were held on Koje Island. (It was never explained why if only 70,000 wanted repatriation, 80,000 POWs were retained at Koje.)

At the Pusan camp, on the mainland, it was reported all POWs had insisted they would resist repatriation. A *New York Times* dispatch on May 17, datelined "An Anti-Communist Camp in Korea," described the idyllic conditions at Pusan, the exemplary behavior of the prisoners which even made guard towers unnecessary. Asked what he would do if any of the prisoners wanted to escape, the camp commander said: "I'd just stand here and hand out candy bars as they went by."

This pretty picture was shattered and the falsity of the whole "voluntary repatriation" issue further exposed when what the press described as "battle-toughened Allied guards" moved in on May 20. Result: one dead and 85 wounded POWs, one Allied soldier slightly hurt. U.S. troops took charge after what press reports described as "five weeks of defiance." If these POWs were so devoted to their captors, what were they defying?

The embarrassed Pentagon finally came up with the explanation that "pro-Communists had slipped in and twisted good prisoners into fanatics." General Van Fleet laid it to "an attempt by fanatical Communist prisoners to resist proper medical treatment of patient inmates." This was indeed far fetched, when *better* medical care and food were among the prisoners' demands.

Harvest of Hate

Last December there was joy in thousands of American homes when the exchange of POW lists brought news that missing sons, brothers, husbands, loved ones were alive and might soon be coming home. The joy has since turned to despair.

The "humanitarian" concern of the Administration lest North Korean and Chinese POWs be sent home against their will, does not extend to the thousands of American prisoners who want to come home. Does it perhaps fear the effect of their stories of the good treatment they have received in North Korea, already testified in thousands of letters to their families? And what of those atrocities they were supposedly suffering at the hands of their captors, the stories of the 6,500 supposedly "massacred" last November, in a hoax so raw that even Pentagon

officials were compelled to disavow it? Nothing is heard of all this now.

People all over the country are expressing their horror at the way our government is using the POW issue to prevent a truce and at the brutal actions against the prisoners. The press is being flooded with letters to this effect. Local unions, church groups and numerous organizations are demanding an end to the war in Korea.

The American Peace Crusade is combining its nationwide campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact with a demand that the Administration comply with the Geneva Convention "for exchange of prisoners without delay" and bring an immediate end to the Korean fighting. The Progressive Party nationally, and the American Labor Party in New York State have asked for a full-dress Congressional investigation of U.S. treatment of prisoners-of-war in Korea. On May 15, 500 delegates to the annual convention of American ex-POWs at Albuquerque, N. M., demanded that the Government agree to immediate exchange of prisoners of war.

Even Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who has supported the aggressive policies of our government in Korea, has raised sharp questions about its conduct of the POW issue. In her syndicated *Scripps Howard* column of May 15 she wrote of the screening process:

"It is a question in my mind whether one can say that people who are prisoners of war are making such free decisions." She added that the U.S. would raise the same objections as the North Koreans and Chinese "if suddenly we heard that our prisoners were screened and that anyone who did not want to return to our soil would be kept on Communist territory." One might

also ask what the U.S. reaction would be if American prisoners were being killed in armed attacks against them.

U.S. policies are reaping an unprecedented harvest of resentment and hate throughout the world. The most revealing commentary is the fact that they have led to new pressure in West Germany for the freeing of the Nazi war criminals condemned at Nuremberg.

According to a *New York Times* dispatch of June 6, West Germans are asking why German generals should suffer imprisonment for the same things American generals are doing in Korea. *German Future*, organ of the Free Democratic Party of Adenauer's government coalition, noting the use of arms, tear gas and tanks against the POWs, declared: "In Nuremberg this would have meant a death sentence."

United Nations circles are deeply disturbed by the lawless actions carried on in its name by the U.S., which acts without consulting allied governments, and the gross violations of international covenants of which the UN is supposed to be repository and guardian.

In April the Canadian Government called the attention of the U.S.

to the terms of the Geneva Convention on repatriation. On May 26, the Canadian Government protested the dispatch of Canadian soldiers to Koje Island without prior consultation.

The British Press from left to right is scoring U.S. actions. On May 8, the Conservative London *Times*, referring to the Geneva convention, said editorially:

It should not be thought that the Communists have no case at all. For nearly 200 years it has been accepted that belligerents should return their prisoners of war when hostilities have ceased.

Writing in the *New York Times*, May 29, Raymond Daniell, reporting from London on the British Government's decision to send Field Marshal Alexander, Minister of Defense, to visit the Korean front "to relieve British anxieties," declared:

... there is a widely held suspicion that the United States itself wants to forestall an armistice for the present and is using the prisoners-of-war issue as an excuse. . . . The constant reiteration of Communist charges that the United States is resorting to bacteriological warfare has raised doubts despite categorical

American prisoners of war in a camp in North Korea. The sign behind them reads: "We will always remember the kindness of the Chinese People's Volunteers and their help."



government denials. In short, the Korean war, never popular in this country, is growing ever more unpopular and the American conduct of it is constantly more suspect.

Labor M.P.s have been subjecting the Tory Government to a barrage of criticism in the House of Commons for its support of U.S. policies. On June 11, the Parliamentary Labor Party officially called on the Churchill government to censure the United States for its conduct of the Korean truce negotiations and its handling of the Koje camp, and to recognize the Peking government and withdraw recognition from Chiang Kai-shek as soon as an armistice was concluded. Foreign Secretary Eden conceded that the events at Koje were "most deplorable."

The Korean Crime Personified by Rhee

The depths to which U.S. prestige has sunk is pointed up by the fact that even U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee feels free to defy American demands that he at least give his terroristic regime in South Korea some outward semblance of democracy.

Defying the Assembly, Rhee imposed martial law in May declaring it was necessary because he had uncovered a "Communist Plot" against his government. An AP dispatch from Pusan said that U.S. diplomatic sources there called this charge "eye-wash."

Yet it was this liar's word that an invasion had been started by North Korea that provided the pretext for sending U.S. troops and planes into action to support what the record clearly shows was an invasion set in motion by Rhee himself to prevent peaceful unification of the country at a time when an election even under his own terrorist methods had shown

the lack of popular support for him.

With Presidential elections coming up, Rhee seized dictatorial rights under martial law, arrested twelve Assemblymen and numerous other opponents for the non-existent plot. The Premier and Vice President of his government, both his own appointees, resigned in protest, charging Rhee with an attempted coup d'etat to keep himself in power.

Rhee was censured by the U.S., British, French and other governments, by UN Secretary General Trygve Lie and by the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

His answer was to ban the Voice of America and U.S. publications, and to threaten the ousting of all UN agencies from the country if they did not stop "interfering with internal affairs."

Indignation in UN sources comes a little late against this regime set up by the U.S. and sponsored by the UN itself, which has not changed its nature one iota since Walter Sullivan reported in the *New York Times* in March, 1949: "Large sections of Korea are darkened by a cloud of terror probably unparalleled in the world."

On June 12, Premier Nehru of India warned UN countries: "Support of any regime of President Rhee means support of the very things the UN is against."

Which only means that the whole Korean war, started in support of this regime and carried on in the name of the United Nations, is against the very things the UN is supposed to be against.

The pattern of U.S. foreign policy which all the major party candidates are pledged to carry on, despite demagogic promises about peace, has been consistent and clear. It means



POWs in a North Korean camp keep in trim, and find relaxation in a game of soccer. U.S. and British POWs not only have an opportunity for sports, but are able to observe their religious and national holidays.

support of the Neo-Nazi Adenauer Government, in the West, the Japanese warlords in the East. It means support of the monarcho-fascist Greeks and Turks, support of the Francos, the Chiang Kai-sheks, the Bao Dais, the miserable little kings like the one in Cambodia, the evil old dictator like Syngman Rhee, who has called for the use of the atom bomb against his own people. It means suppression of the workers everywhere, of the Negro and colonial peoples, of all the peoples looking forward and upward determined to lift their backs and walk erect in the sunshine of freedom, a good life and peace.

Recently General Eisenhower, acknowledging there is "little threat of war" from the USSR, made clear a main aim of the NATO-Nazi army is support of reactionary regimes and suppression of colonial liberation movements. And John Foster Dulles, a chief architect of the Korean war, advocated unleashing a "preventive" war wherever a reactionary regime is endangered by the opposition of its own people. This means regimes

like Rhee's, which Dulles considers "democratic" and "healthy."

The ugly little war in the POW camps of Korea is part of the ugly big war being carried on against the Korean people, against all the liberation forces in the world. It is not good patriotism, it is not good Americanism to support wars like these, fought to destroy all that is best and most progressive in the world, and threatening a worldwide war engulfing all humanity.

Can our consciences permit us to be silent?

The time is now, especially in this election year when the people's voices must be heeded, to speak out loud and strong against all those who would continue these un-American policies seeking to turn back the wheels of history.

The American people must demand an end to the Korean war *now*, an end to the plans for a new Korea in Europe through the splitting and rearming of Germany, negotiations with the Soviet Union for peace, and a Five-Power Peace Pact to end forever the threat of war in the world.

The Leningrad of 1952

*Scars of war covered by new construction
that will make it a dream city of our era*

by RALPH PARKER

THE MORNING PLANE from Moscow to Leningrad lands soon after noon on the airfield near the Pulkovo Hills, giving you a brief glimpse of the domes of the new Observatory as it dips in. And then the bus takes you into the city.

Coming into Leningrad this way, along the Moscow highway which becomes the Stalin Prospect when the city begins, you are in new Leningrad almost till you reach Labor Square and the first canals. The Germans were close to the outskirts for over two years on this side of the city, and every suburban building in the line of fire between the trenches and the first apartment houses was destroyed. They have not been rebuilt. Instead the flat open fields have been planted out as orchards as part of the plan to make the landward approaches to the city form a Green Belt. The highway, too, has been tree-lined.

Eight years ago I drove along this road to the front. Then there were notice boards with lurid pictures and the words "Death to the Enemy." Three years ago I passed this way again to attend the Pushkin anniversary celebrations. Then the notice boards bore quotations from Russia's greatest poet. Today one reads

"Miru-Mir!"—"Peace to the World."

Quite suddenly you are in a new city, met by tall, flat-roofed houses beyond strips of unfenced lawn. There are over 100 construction sites on the Stalin Prospect and in the side roads off it. This new neighborhood is being carefully planned. The city's architects—there are 1,200 of them—work according to norms which lay down the amenities that have to be provided for every 1,000 inhabitants of the neighborhood under development—day-nurseries, schools, shops, public gardens, theaters, cinemas and so on. The population density is about 200 per acre, and it is the intention that this should be even throughout old and new Leningrad, which means that a considerable thinning out of population from the older parts of the city is envisaged.

Several methods of construction are being used simultaneously. Some houses are brick clad with hard cement slabs, and using Karelian granite for ornamental sections. Ceramics are as yet being used less

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New apartment houses on Stalin Prospect, Leningrad. Virtually this entire area has been built anew, for it was destroyed by Nazi shell fire

than in Moscow or Kiev. On the other hand, there has been pioneer work in Leningrad in the use of panel construction. These panels have a stone facing, a center of aerated concrete and plaster inside, the units being screwed together without the erection of a metal frame.

Elsewhere on the Stalin Prospect, the portal frame method is being used, practically all material being handled by crane.

But, diverse as are the construction methods used, a fairly firm control over the design of the new building is exercised. Leningrad architects consider that new buildings should be linked in outward appearance with the tradition of the architects of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Petersburg, arguing that the city plan on which they are working is a logical development of the original plan.

Their respect for the past is great. The palaces of the Neva Embankments, the Nevsky Prospect and the quays of the city's innumerable canals have been restored with a far greater solicitude for their original

state than was shown by the last Romanovs and their hangers-on, who smothered the Winter Palace in dull brown paint and reduced many facades to grey uniformity.

It is to the credit of the present administration of Leningrad that the vista between the Manège (now a Winter Sports Stadium) and the front of the Engineers' Palace, for many years blocked by ugly buildings, has been reopened. The visitor may also find himself reflecting, during visits to the Annichkov Palace, now the Palace of Pioneers, or the mansions now occupied by the Societies of Writers and Architects, that they could scarcely have been better preserved when occupied by their previous owners.

But, lest the visitor should have any doubts about the Leningrad architects' capacities for originality, let him visit the new sports stadium on a foreland between two branches of the Neva. Originally planned in 1932 with the participation of Kirov, this gigantic stadium seating about 100,000 people in comfort was opened last year.

It is built of sand, covered with a concrete shell, the sand being pumped through pipes from the bed of the Gulf of Finland and laid in a circular mound with a hollow center, the stadium. Surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the other by a park where the Leningraders in tens of thousands planted saplings in 1945, it already resembles a natural feature, a new hill in this low lying neighborhood.

Its top is as broad as a promenade and from there the public that gathers to watch sporting events looks out over a truly magnificent view, completely unlike those usually associated with athletic stadiums in most cities.

Academician A. Nikolsky, the chief architect, intends to embellish this stadium with a colonnade and a tall tower, drawings for which he com-

A crane loads pre-cast floors on a truck. Pre-fabrication has enabled Leningrad to speed its housing plan

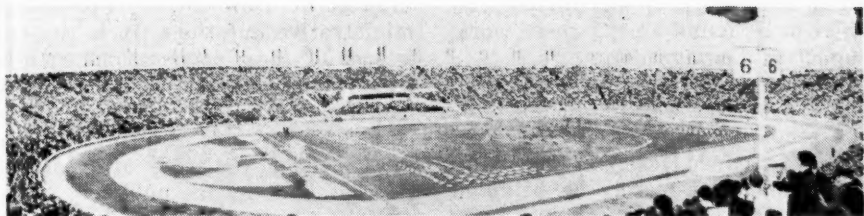


pleted during the siege of Leningrad when, as he puts it, he "was nourished by his dreams."

The last few years have seen considerable changes in the Hermitage Museum, which has been extended to take in most of the rooms of the neighboring Winter Palace. The unique collection of Scythian gold, started by Peter I and increased by the finds of the many expeditions the Hermitage has sponsored into Southern Siberia, the Crimea, Kuban and Ukraine, has been supplemented by the fruits of Professor Rudenko's work in Asia. Unearthing a series of Kurgans within which there were Scythian tombs whose temperature had been ingeniously stabilized at freezing point over a period of about 2,400 years, Rudenko found an exceptionally rich collection of leather accoutrements and harness, textiles and personal ornaments which allow considerable light to be thrown on the vexed question of the links between various Scythian tribes inhabiting the Eurasian land mass.

In the main halls of the Winter Palace, a permanent exhibition has been mounted to illustrate the level of native technical culture existing in Russia at the end of the seventeenth century, thus enabling the visitor to see in correct proportion the contribution to Russian culture, sometimes exaggerated, of the foreigners Peter I invited to Petersburg.

In another part of the Palace, the large French collection has been re-hung and, in order to put an end to certain rumors, I should like to put on record that the permanent collection of nineteenth century French painting in the Hermitage now on view includes such works as Renoir's *Girl with Fan*, and the portrait of Jeanne Samary, Monet's



Kirov Stadium. Sand pumped from the Gulf of Finland was laid in a circular mound, with a hollow center. It was covered with a concrete shell

Field of Poppies, three or four Gauguin Tahitian scenes, Cezanne's Man with Pipe and Still Life—one of the famous Apples series—two Van Gogh's and two exquisite Paris landscapes by Marquet.

Professor Artamanov, the museum director, told me when I asked whether the early Picasso's I had seen at the Hermitage in 1948 were on view, that they were being hung together with the fine collection of Fauve paintings, and would soon be on view.

He also told me that the average Sunday attendance at the Hermitage was 15,000 and that during weekdays the number was rarely less than 1,500. A million people a year treading the great formal staircase that leads to the Throne Room of the Winter Palace, a staircase once reserved for royalty and its minions!

Nowhere in Leningrad can you forget the blood that was shed to establish the power of the Soviets thirty-five years ago, and to defend that power when it was challenged by fascism's armed might. It is not only out of respect for their intrinsic value as works of art that the statues of the tsars, even the cruellest and most stupid of them, have been left on their pedestals. They are a constant reminder of the scale of their victory to the people of Leningrad today.

And with what dignity and assurance the new rulers of Leningrad conduct their affairs. We were privileged to be received by the Chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet in the presence of many of his closest assistants in the magnificent palace that a Grand Duke once owned. Hearing these elected representatives of the people, men and women in their early forties, who bear the responsibility of administering a budget of 2,000 million rubles a year, whereof nine-tenths is being spent on developing and embellishing the city, what struck one was less the fact that they were men and women of the working class than that they were so highly educated, so fully qualified for their several tasks, so calm and confident in their approach to their duties.

The Chairman was once a manual worker, but he was also a diplomaed engineer; his deputy, a woman, had been a weaver, but she was also a candidate for a doctorship in philology; the chairman of the permanent commission on power and fuel was the son of a tram driver and a school teacher, but for many years before being elected a deputy he had headed the city's largest power plant. As an expert on English municipal government who was present commented, you would not find such high qualifications among the middle-

class councillors of an English city as is to be found among these working class Leningraders.

The other striking fact was that these men and women, installed by the people in the palace of the Lensoviet, remained closely in touch with the people. Not merely by being at the people's beck and call but functionally connected with them through democratic organizations.

The City Soviet has 1,444 elected members, who in turn elect an executive committee of 25, and 14 permanent commissions each of about 18 people. These commissions, covering such matters as Trade, Education, Health, Social Services, Housing and Communal Services, have wide powers to co-opt. The Trade Commission, for example, brings its numbers up to about 100 by co-opting members to assist it in the supervision of the larger retail distribution outlets in the city. The Budgetary Commission, with 16 permanent members, co-opts 57 specialists, including the chief accountants of various factories, students and financial experts, when faced with the task of drawing up the annual budget.

The work of the City Soviet is paralleled by that of each of the 23 regional soviets, who also have their executive and permanent committees and also coopt widely from the ranks of ordinary citizens. Additionally they are assisted by the members of the 2,000 cooperation-committees, recruited among volunteers on a territorial basis, that have recently appeared in Leningrad as in other cities and which reflect a growing

interest of ordinary citizens in administrative questions. It is the existence of these cooperation-committees which makes sense of the Chairman's claim that the principal business before every meeting of the City Soviet is the study of questions laid before it by the public.

Since the days of the first "subbotnik," when the inhabitants of revolutionary Petrograd gathered for voluntary work in the running of their city, there have been many examples of the civic spirit of the people. One of Nikolai Tikhonov's most vivid war despatches from within the besieged city was that in which he described how the hungry but undaunted people turned out by the tens of thousands to clear the streets at the first signs of spring. And I well remember how in 1945, a few days after the end of the war, I saw men and women returning from work lay aside their briefcases to join lines working in the rubble, and on Sundays watched them planting trees and shrubs to replace those that had been torn down for fuel.

Such sights are now commonplace in other lands, in other cities where Socialism is being built by the people's own hands. And today in Leningrad, a city of such serene and perfect beauty, it is not always easy to remember that here is the origin of that spirit of selfless collective work for the benefit of all. As we left the great hall of the Leningrad City Soviet, the Chairman reminded us of that cardinal fact, when he expressed his satisfaction at having received us in the very cradle of the Revolution.

EAST GERMANY GETS MORE FACTORIES

THE USSR has turned over 66 factories in East Germany, hitherto run as Soviet state concerns, to the German Democratic Republic.

Twentieth-Century Tempo

For the People, Not for Profit

by P. T. KING

INDUSTRIAL development, in the less than three years since the establishment of the Central People's Government, has made great strides in China. The technical improvements and industrial achievements are in direct contrast to the run-down state of the economy left behind by the Kuomintang. In view of the U.S.-imposed blockade and embargo and the campaign against U.S. aggression in Korea being waged by the Chinese volunteers, New China's industrial development has been phenomenal.

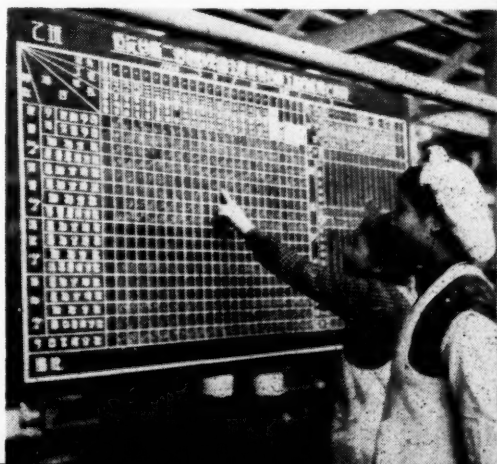
The tremendous gains in industry in 1951 have been highlighted by the pace set in Northeast China. Productivity in state and public enterprises shot up more than 24.8 per cent over 1950, while the ratio of industrial output to overall production rose to 52 per cent. The total value of production in industry and agriculture in 1951 was 13.5 per cent over 1950.

Aside from the steep rise in industrial output there have been a host of other developments in both light and heavy industry. Precision machinery, ranging from tools to equipment, as well as a wide range of industrial and chemical products, pharmaceuticals and dyestuffs that formerly had to be imported from

abroad are now being manufactured in China—something unique in the country's history.

For example, East China, the nation's largest single administrative area, no longer relies on imported drugs as was the case before liberation. The East China branch of the state-owned China Pharmaceutical Company is able to produce and supply sufficient quantities of all basic drugs. The price of domestically manufactured penicillin is cheaper than imported brands. Streptomycin is also being made available. Some drugs, such as specific remedies for

This board shows the progress of the emulation campaign in the Hang Yuan Cotton Mill, Tientsin. These campaigns have helped to increase output



kala-azar and schistosomiasis, are in sufficient quantities to be sent to areas outside of East China.

Politically enlightened, the liberated workers of the new China have sparked the drive to speed up industrialization. To cite a few examples:

- Sung Chun-hua, a worker in a North China paper mill, succeeded in re-installing a paper machine, a job that experts under the direction of American technicians, failed to accomplish.
- Wang Chia-tsen, a worker in the No. 4 Power Plant in Tientsin, converted a turbine generator from 60 to 50 cycles, a task American-trained engineers had been at a loss to complete.
- China's first four-cylinder engines have come off the line of an auto factory in North China, and Chinese jeeps are now being manufactured.

Chao-Kuo Yu, famous lathe turner, addresses a meeting. Workers thus explain their methods, helping all to increase China's industrial output



- Trolley cars and buses are also being made in China.

In coordination with industrial plans for new China, heavy industry, such as steel, iron and machinery, has made striking progress since liberation. Statistics reveal that whereas the number of new establishments applying to open business in the textile and dyeing industry, which is representative of light industry, showed an average increase of 34 times between January and August of 1951 when compared with the corresponding period in 1950, the increase in the number of machinery works was more than 108 times. Coal output in the Tatung colliery in Chahar province was 284 per cent higher in 1951 than in 1950.

The basic reformation of the nation's industrial setup has been made possible by planned production. The change in production policy, the efforts of the workers, jointly-operated enterprises and centralized administration have all served to put China's backward and stagnant industry on the road to real recovery.

The series of production conferences held under the sponsorship of the Heavy Industry and Light Industry Ministries of the central government have helped in planning organized production. The lead taken by public-owned enterprises and the placing of orders by government organs with private firms, coupled with the organized supply of materials and the readjustment of production costs between various parts of the country, have served to stimulate the output of essential products, especially steel and iron, machinery, electric and chemical products.

To a great extent, industrial advance has been attained with the application and perfection of new work methods based on the experi-

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Apprentices have a real opportunity to learn trades in the New China.
These students are undertaking practical work in a railway factory

ence of Soviet production innovators. With industry in the Northeast taking the lead, many of these methods are now being applied. Reduced waste, higher efficiency and high-speed cutting, which has brought on a new phase in the machinery industry, are some of the results of the influence of Soviet technicians.

Since liberation the responsibility system, under which workers are assigned definite tasks, has been widely adopted. The result has been better maintenance of machines and tools and the reduction of waste to a minimum. This system has simultaneously laid the foundation for the payment of wages on the basis of work done. The carrying out of safety regulations in factories has been another factor in stimulating production.

Workers in China now know that they are not working for the benefit of a handful of foreign and Kuo-

mintang capitalists, but for themselves and for the good of the entire nation. In private industry, whereas management is entitled to a fair and legitimate profit, the workers, organized and with a new attitude toward labor, have a strong position. At regular production conferences of industrial plants, rational suggestions of workers have been adopted and put into practice, while problems related to production and technique are ironed out, such as in the matter of machinery installation, operation, factory safety measures, and production efficiency.

Under the guidance of the labor unions better relations have been established among apprentices, workers and technicians. In many factories technical research committees have been set up, which are devoted to technical study and the exchange of experiences. Scientists, engineers and technicians are engaged in study-

ing the needs of production and are exerting every effort to assist in improving work. Half a million technicians will be trained in the next few years in special courses in technical institutes and trade schools, according to an announcement by Premier Chou En-lai on April 14.

The production emulation drives launched by workers all over China are an important factor in the sharp increase in industrial output. Entire branches of industry as well as individual factories have been vying with one another in improving quality of output, lowering production costs and economizing on raw materials. From these nation-wide drives have emerged labor heroes such as Ma Heng-chang and Ho Chien-hsiu, as well as many others who have made definite contributions to industry.

Setting ten production records and improving eighteen kinds of large and small factory tools, Ma Heng-chang's team of ten workers in a Mukden machine shop has given the nation's workers a mark to shoot at and has been a powerful stimulant to the national emulation drive.

Absorbing the experience of the

Ma Heng-chang team—which consists of technical mutual-aid groups, regular technical research, constant improvement of technique, rigid protection of machines, the responsible shift system and conscientious training of apprentices—more than 5,000 groups of workers have sprung up all over the country to answer the production emulation challenge issued by Ma Heng-chang.

Ho Chien-hsiu, a 17-year-old worker in a state-owned cotton mill in Tsingtao, has won national fame by drastically improving her working efficiency through revision of her working methods.

The remarkable development of new China's industry is inseparable from the guiding role of planned production. Timely collection of products, organized supply of materials, the placing of processing orders, guidance of production policy, aid to private industry in the form of government orders and contracts, introduction of a budget system, the rational readjustment of labor remuneration have all been carried out successfully.

The striking achievements in the short period of liberation mark only the first step in China's industrialization. They pave the way for greater progress. With the economic construction of People's China unfolding on a nationwide scale, heavy industry will continue to forge ahead rapidly. Light industry, as a result of the increased purchasing power of the workers and the huge market brought on by land reform which turned tens of millions of impoverished peasants into heavy buyers, is thus faced with an ever-expanding market for the first time in its history.

(From *China Monthly Review*)

NEW WORLD REVIEW

I Accuse!

First-hand Report Of Germ Warfare

BY DR. JAMES G. ENDICOTT
(Just back from China)

36 pp.

25c

Order through New World Review

Four Short Years

Health services in Rumania put on unified basis as millions benefit; infant mortality rate cut in half

by DR. S. LEFF

Improved medical service and health protection is only one aspect of the many-sided advances the Rumanian people have known since their liberation from Hitler's yoke by the Soviet Army seven years ago this month, which opened the way for liberation from their own oppressors and the formation of a People's Republic.

Celebrating liberation day, the Rumanian people see tangible results of the five-year plan entered upon in 1950 to create an economic basis for socialism. Substantially aided by the USSR, industrial output in 1955 is scheduled to be two and a half times that of 1950. Industry is providing modern machinery for the socialist forms of agriculture that are developing. Living standards are rising rapidly and housing, schools, hospitals and cultural institutions are being built on a vast scale. The great Danube-Black Sea Canal and the large new hydro-electric stations open prospects for further development of the country's natural resources and productive power and serve as schools for the workers in new techniques and skills.

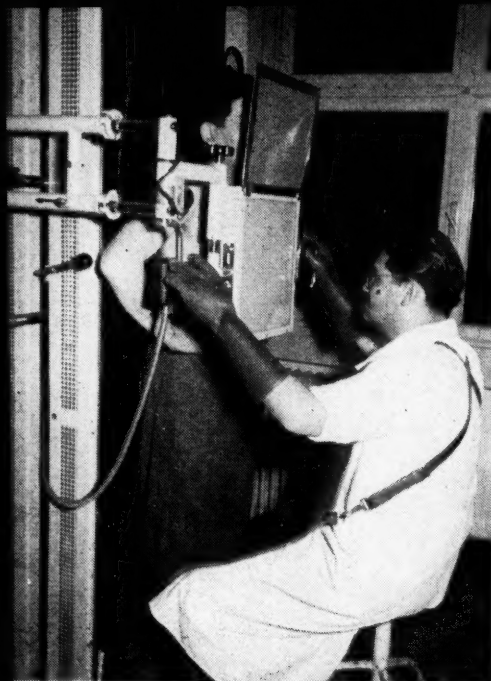
THE health service of the Rumanian People's Republic is only four years old. It had no tradition on which to build, and inherited a burden of sickness, disease and ignorance brought about by the poverty of the people and the almost feudal conditions in which they lived. In addition there was the chaos created by the war and the Nazi occupation.

Granted the best of intentions, what could a struggling young democracy achieve in the way of building a health service, in these difficult post-war years? Last summer, I was given the opportunity to see for myself and, prepared with a good supply of notebooks, I went.

First, I had an interview with the Minister of Health, during which I was asked what I wanted to see, and a full program was drawn up to fit in with my requests.

The outstanding impression of the Rumanian health service is the extent of building and expansion—the creation, almost before one's eyes, of modern hospital buildings, health

DR. S. LEFF, a British physician, describes Rumania's public health services on the basis of his own first-hand observations during a visit to that country. We are reprinting his article, slightly condensed, from the "New Central European Observer."



Fluoroscopic examination at a clinic.
Medical service in Rumania is free

centers, sanatoria; miles and miles of white corridors, but anything but cheerless—striking, in fact with their colorful decorations, wall charts, flowers everywhere.

The keynote of the health service is that it is free to all, inclusive of all aspects of health matters, including preventive medicine. And it is unified.

This unification of different sections is important in a properly planned service; although it does not mean the curtailment of individual effort in any one front. For example, I spent some time in the Institute of Endocrinology and spoke with the professors and learned they were doing very special research along a line of their own. It does mean there is a proper link-up with treatment at all stages of a patient's illness and cure, which is most important

from the medical and individual point of view.

The heart of the service is undoubtedly the health center, and I visited many. They varied greatly in buildings—some had been converted from old hospitals or institutions, others were newly-constructed with the most modern planning and equipment.

All of them had rooms for all sorts of specialist treatment: ear, nose and throat; dental; X-ray department; equipment for the treatment of rheumatic complaints, and so on. The doctor for the district, or for the factory or enterprise (according to what sort of health center it was), not only saw his patient at the center, but followed his case and treatment right through to the hospital, if it was necessary, and was also encouraged to see him in relation to his home surroundings and to take into consideration any home difficulties he might have.

One very fine health center I saw in Bucharest had a floor set aside for a night sanatorium. This center was attached to a very big factory which had thousands of workers, and any the doctor felt were suffering in any way from stress or strain could have a week or two, or a month, at the night sanatorium. The worker would work normally during the day, but would have the great benefit of quiet, rest and special diet if needed. This must have saved many from real breakdown in health, and is certainly preventive medicine in practice.

The health center also carries out health education and training for motherhood, and provides supplementary food and distributes baby clothes when needed.

A tremendous campaign of health education has been carried out since the beginning of the new service, the

inspiration coming from the Ministry of Health and the Public Health departments. They have worked on the principle that "the health of the people is the concern of the people," and have scored great achievements to prove the value of this approach.

For example, after the war there were 72,000 cases of typhus in Rumania. Through the trade unions, the Red Cross, women's organizations and the health service itself, a great battle was waged throughout the country. In 1951, there were only 370 cases of typhus. The people had freed themselves, and it was a lesson they will never forget.

I spoke to the two men who are leading the fight against tuberculosis in Rumania — Professor Nasta and Professor Poppa. They are determined to enlist the whole people against this killer.

Both these doctors have practiced medicine for many years, and they both described T.B. to me as "a social disease." The important thing to them is that the present government also recognizes it as such, and gives every aid through the improvement in housing, the increase in social services and the provision of free sanatoria and holiday and rest homes for the workers.

It is with realism that these professors are teaching the young doc-

tors to consider the patient not simply as a diseased organism but as a person with difficulties and troubles, all of which must be considered in the treatment.

A very interesting aspect of the service is the tremendous change in the treatment of mother and child since the new government took over.

I visited a small maternity home with only five beds, which served a little village outside Bucharest. A doctor and three assistants were always on duty, and while I was being shown around, a new Rumanian citizen was born in the adjoining room. The place was simple, bare of all but essentials, and scrupulously clean.

I spoke to three mothers whose babies had been born a few days before. Their smiles spoke eloquently of the improvement in their way of life this service had meant.

Even more eloquent to technical minds should be the fact that since 1946, the infant mortality rate in Rumania has been exactly halved.

The aim of the Ministry is that all babies should now be born in proper maternity homes and hospitals, and to that end a vast scheme of building has been going on, not only in the towns but all over the widely scattered agricultural areas.

Today about 90 per cent of births take place in hospitals, and this could

The free medical services to all the people of Rumania include dental treatment (left) as well as eye examination and treatment (right)





Rumanian working women spending their vacation at a rest home that is run by the trade union

only be because the women themselves are wide awake to the significance of modern and skilled treatment for maternity. Women workers get full pay before and after birth for about a month, and after the baby is born and the mother returns to work, she is paid an additional allowance because of the extra "mouth to feed."

The wide network of day nurseries and kindergartens insure the best conditions for the baby and toddler.

The day nurseries, like other aspects of the health service, are of course expanding all the time, and all new factories and apartment houses are planned with this special accommodation for the nought-to-threes (from three-to-seven there are nursery schools which all children attend, and from seven onwards the regular schooling).

What is the attitude of the medical man to this planned health service? What does he stand to lose or gain in comparison with what had been in the past? Does he in general consider it from that standpoint? I spoke (through the interpreter, and sometimes directly in English) with many doctors during my stay.

Those doctors who had practiced

medicine for many years in the past naturally found a greater effort was needed to adapt themselves to the new circumstances. The vast differences in earned income had gone, and also the remoteness of the doctor and specialist from all other sections of the health workers. What has been gained above all is the knowledge of working in a team, backed with all the resources of the country devoted to restoring people to good health and keeping them fit.

In such an atmosphere, those who have a genuine interest in medicine cannot fail to respond; and from professors to newly qualified doctors, many of whom I met and spoke with at great length, I got an over-all impression of great enthusiasm for the new opportunities that were opening up in the field of medicine.

One doctor, a specialist of renown, said: "For many years I have been a doctor. Only in the past four years have I really been practicing medicine."

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Save the Children!

Cold war warps minds and spirit of new generation, World parley told

by RAY WECHSLER

FIVE HUNDRED FIFTY-EIGHT people from sixty-four countries—pediatricians and psychiatrists, teachers and lawyers, bricklayers and carpenters, miners and housewives, they all came to Vienna in the spring of the year. Brown and black, yellow and white were drawn together in deep anxiety for the present and the future of the world's children. Common to them all was a deep love—the love of children. The story that they told was sad—it was horrifying. Even those of us who have spent our lives in our own countries, working with and for children, could scarcely accept this picture of misery, sickness and hunger.

They came from the four corners of the world—from Europe, from Canada, Australia, India and Burma, from Japan and China, from North and South Africa, from all parts of Asia, from Egypt, from Viet Nam, from Cuba and Mexico, from South America, from the Soviet Union and the East European Democracies. This was truly a General Assembly of the United Nations, united to consider the facts about health, care, education and culture of the children of the world.

And what did the delegates, in General Assembly in Vienna hear?

Country after country told of the undernourishment of the children of their lands. In Tunisia, an inquiry revealed that 54 per cent of the people lacked 1,000 to 1,500 calories per day: this is not even sufficient to exist. In Cuba undernourishment is very pronounced. In Chile only 11 per cent of the 32,376 children investigated were sufficiently nourished. That country even lacks the most basic element—water. In Brazil, breast feeding is almost non-existent, because the mothers are seriously exploited, and as there is no animal milk, the mothers have to feed their babies on tea, mate and camomile tea. In Algeria, children of four or five years start early in the morning their daily occupation of looking for scraps of food among the refuse. Three million families in Italy lack homes of their own. Asked what he most wanted, a little French

RAY WECHSLER is a distinguished educator and social worker especially active in work with handicapped children. She was the head worker of the Federation Settlement in New York City and of the first Young Women's Hebrew Association in Canada, and has been educational director of the YMHA and the YWHA in the Bronx.



"The child needs peace as the flower needs sunlight," says the booklet from which this picture was taken. It was issued by the Women's International Democratic Federation, in Berlin

boy said, "I want a bed of my own," echoing the cry of millions of children in his own country, in Italy, in Spain, in Greece, Germany and in England. Echoing in fuller measure the cry of the black, brown, yellow and white children in the colonial empires of the world.

American comic books, American films, war, horror and sex, do their part in perverting the naturally healthy instinct of the young. Delegate after delegate rose to decry the vicious poison emanating from the U.S. and dominating the cultural life of many hundreds of thousands of innocent European children.

Mme. Parfionova, leader of the delegation from the USSR, was warmly applauded when she reported on the great solicitude shown by the Soviet people towards their children, who are educated in a spirit of peace and friendship towards all peoples. Mme. Parfionova declared:

In the Soviet Union, it is a great joy to each mother and to each family when a child comes into the world. That is understandable because in the USSR the cultural and living conditions of the working people are continually being improved.

Mme. Parfionova called upon the delegates to unite all their forces in

the struggle against a new world war. She urged that more money should be spent on health instead of bombs and tanks, and that a Five-Power Peace Pact be concluded. She declared:

We must protest against the bacteriological warfare in Korea and demand the prohibition of atomic weapons, bacteriological weapons and all other weapons of mass extermination. It is imperative for the widest circles of the public to oppose the literature and films which are poisoning the minds of children through war psychosis and sowing the seeds of race hatred and atrocities. We must form permanent national and local committees in defense of children to broaden the international movement in defense of the right of children to life, to health and education.

Of conditions in the Western countries, Professor Monod, French Honorary Director of Secondary Education, said: "They are in possession of the necessary social institutions and organizations, but in spite of this, the wounds which we inflicted on the children during the last war have not yet been healed."

Right now this same generation is subjected to new and damaging influences by the impressions of the cold war and the armaments which

follow in its wake. The armament budget grows in the USA from 65 per cent to 85 per cent. The social budget has been lowered in a number of states, while at the same time prices are rising. From June, 1950, to December, 1951, they have risen 30 per cent in France, 28 in Belgium, 22 in Norway. It is necessary to emphasize the harm done under these conditions to the health of the children. There is a dire housing shortage in France, in England, Belgium, Denmark and other countries. "Buildings are being put up for youth," said Professor Monod, "but they are all military barracks."

High prices create imminent dangers. The permanent French council started an inquiry among French men and women who were asked to list their problems. Ninety per cent of these answers gave first importance to world peace; then came food, even before housing. Rationing cuts out essential foods, and this is equally true in England, foods like meat and butter. Austria announces a diminution in the general consumption of white flour, butter and cheese.

I want to tell you of an incident in Vienna. For days, we Americans walked around fearing to look at the noble woman who represented Korea. We dared not raise our eyes. The American report was read. I began to walk back to my seat. A woman rose from her seat on the presidium and came towards me. As her deep-set, warm eyes looked into mine, she took me in her arms and embraced

me, kissing me on both cheeks. Yes, a Korean woman took an American woman into her arms and the American, with tears in her eyes, returned humbly to her place.

Who did the Korean woman embrace? An individual? No! It was YOU—you who are reading this—and her eyes sent you a message. No, it was an urgent prayer. "Work for me—for my children—for my country's children."

Yes—it was you and groups like you all over our vast, powerful and beautiful country. "Work for peace," she said. I saw it in her pleading eyes. "Go over the length and breadth of your land and tell America what war has done to my children, to their homes, to their schools, to their churches, to their libraries, to their hospitals, and to their mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers. Tell them what many of the delegates here present believe, that bacteriological warfare has been waged against our little ones. Plead with them to urge all Americans to raise their voices and demand that your country sign the Geneva Convention banning this type of warfare."

To those of you who will demand this, insistently, loudly and courageously, the Korean delegate added: "Work yet harder, friends, the hour is late—and may the tragically urgent need of all the world's children lend victorious strength to the only noble war mankind can wage—the war to insure a fruitful, happy life to those who are the hope of the world—our children."

RESOLUTIONS ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN

THE CONFERENCE for the Defense of Children in Vienna adopted resolutions on improving the education of children, the health of children and on the influence of literature, press, radio, cinema and art on the moral and cultural development of children.

Notables Write to President Truman

A GROUP of 41 prominent Americans have sent a letter to President Truman declaring that U.S. denials of using bacteriological warfare in Korea are "less than convincing" and demanding that our government ratify the 1925 Geneva Convention against germ warfare as a first step to "convince the peoples of the world that our words are genuine." The letter was transmitted to Mr. Truman by the American Peace Crusade.

"As we recall the purposeful and planned destruction of the Korean countryside, the command to 'kill anything that moves,' the million casualties among Korean civilians, the vast sums of money being spent by the United States on bacteriological warfare research and the boasting by military spokesmen of our progress in this field, we can understand how the world can believe that those who would use burning gasoline would not hesitate to employ death dealing bacteria.

"The honor and integrity of the United States are at stake before the world. Every man and woman of decency in our country must insist that our government take steps to end this intolerable situation in which people in other countries can believe us guilty of methods of mass slaughter that even the Nazis did not use. And denials of these charges will not suffice. What is needed is an action which will convince the peoples of the world that our words are genuine."

Signers of the letter include Prof.

Robert Morss Lovett, former Governor of Virgin Islands; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois; Prof. Theodor Rosebury, bacteriologist, one of the directors of the U.S. Armed Forces bacteriological warfare research during World War II; Dr. Clementina J. Paolone; Paul Robeson; Harry Bridges; Prof. Philip Morrison, who worked on the A-bomb; Mrs. Charlotte Bass, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party.

Other signers of the letter include Fred Stover, President, Iowa Farmers Union; Willard Ransom, President, Indiana State NAACP; Rev. Stephen Fritchman, First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles; Hugh Bryson, President, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; Arnaud D'Usseau, playwright; Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director, American Peace Crusade; Scott Nearing; Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild.

The Paris *L'Observateur* (which expresses a political viewpoint similar to *The Nation*) said editorially: "The hypothesis of an *experiment* with certain bacteriological weapons by the Americans (an experiment of a nature to make the negotiators at Panmunjom reflect) cannot be discarded *a priori*." The publication at the same time printed the statement of Marc Jacquier, lawyer at the Appeals Court in Paris and member of the lawyers' commission to Korea which found that the evidence on the use of bacteriological warfare could not be refuted.

How the UN Functions

A review by JOHN PITTMAN

THE UNITED NATIONS AND POWER POLITICS, by John MacLaurin, Harper & Brothers, 1951, New York, 468 pp. \$5.00.

THIS book will retain its timeliness for some time. It supplies a first-rate description of how the United Nations functions. It records the main UN developments up to the end of 1949, and is therefore useful as a book of reference. And, most important from this reviewer's viewpoint, it is strongly partisan in the cause of agreement among the big powers to settle their disagreements peaceably and not by war. It is, therefore, a useful work in the cause of peace.

The chief merit of this work, and its uniqueness in the present atmosphere in the United States, is its indictment of the policies of the United States and United Kingdom governments in respect to violations of their pledges under the Charter. The author condemns the cold war, the North Atlantic Alliance, the Washington-dictated restrictions on East-West trade, the machinations by the U.S. and British governments to by-pass the Security Council and the principle of great power unity and unanimity, the gang-up of imperialist "white" governments against the underprivileged "colored peoples" in the colonies and trust territories.

Every real fighter for peace can agree with him when he says: "There is no hope for peace and progress unless we make our governments devote their efforts, not to winning the cold war, but to ending it. Let them cease to tell us that they have been forced into the cold war because the Russians have thwarted all their efforts to make the UN work. That is an untruth:

whatever views one may hold of the policy which the Russians might pursue in the UN if they were dominant there, the ascertained facts are that many of the U.S.-U.K. moves the Russians have opposed at Lake Success have been unscrupulous and undesirable moves. Our governments have not yet tried an honest UN policy. Nor can we accept the argument that a conciliatory policy towards the Soviet bloc is doomed to failure. We do not know because that, too, has not been tried."

Peace forces will find in the book numerous examples and explanations to support this conclusion. The UN records, indeed, allow no other conclusion. However, the author has not made the most of these records. His explanation of UN developments incline to the viewpoint of a "plague on both your houses." He often ascribes to the Soviet Union motives as inimical to the cause of peace as those of the governments of the United States and United Kingdom. And he readily accepts the State Department version of Soviet motives in such cases as the Korean conflict and the Iranian affair of 1946. Moreover, the author seems never to lose an opportunity for praising the Tito regime. And his concluding chapter, "Towards World Government or War," finds in the sovereignty of the nation-state the source of all evil. "The goal," as he sees it, "must be a world of federal states." It is unfortunate that unclarity reflected in such an approach, which provides ammunition for the very cold war forces the author assails, should dull the edge of his plea for a peaceful approach to international differences. Discriminating readers, however, will be able to extract from the book its main content, which serves the cause of peace.

A Fine Novel of Old Poland

A review by AMY SCHECHTER

A LANTERN FOR JEREMY, by V. J. Jerome, *Masses & Mainstream*, New York, 1952. 288 pp., \$2.50.

THIS is not just another nostalgic tale of old-country boyhood although its action is seen through the eyes of the little Polish-Jewish boy, Jeremy, who lives with his uncle, a tannery-worker, and his aunt, in the town, or village of Vorkyrts. The ghetto town the author calls Vorkyrts is near enough to the great textile center of Lodz to be caught up swiftly in the tide of struggle rising to its crest in the revolution of 1905. The story begins when Jeremy is seven, ends when he is nine, as Poland is swept by mass strikes and demonstrations against tsarist oppression, and the ill-paid, heavily burdened Jewish tanyard workers in Vorkyrts, and lumber-workers, carpenters, shoemakers, and Polish workers on the big neighboring estate have begun to enter the struggle.

Certainly this is not a complete story of the period; but, keeping within the framework he has set for himself by telling the story through the boy, making it subsidiary to the story of the opening up of the mind and heart of the boy himself, the author still does show the major lines of development of the period, the feel of it, its essence, with remarkable clarity and simplicity and often considerable force. This is one of the first books in English to give some idea of the role played by Poland's Jewish proletariat, and the unity developed between them and militant Polish labor, in the decades of struggle that helped to clear the way for the free Poland of today.

Since it is written sensitively and expertly and with human warmth and lyricism and has much application to things of today, the book should have a

very general appeal. But it will be especially welcome to Jewish readers who, like the reviewer, are sick of the negative and perverse vogue for novels treating Jews, as well as Negroes, as passive victims, sick of two-by-four Dostoyevskys who glorify oppression, suffering and degradation and have hatred only for those resisting it. Among other things *A Lantern for Jeremy* will help to correct the idea that the Warsaw ghetto uprising was a mystical, isolated phenomenon without roots in Poland's past or meaning for the future.

The heart of the book is the story of the slow progress of Jeremy's tannery-worker uncle, a gentle, orthodox man, to whom at first his boss is a little god, to an understanding of where he stands as a worker. There is no phony sudden conversion by "outside agitators"; he begins to feel the influence of the organization called here "the Brothers and Sisters" (whose members, some of them local, some of them young men and women who have left the village for Lodz and other proletarian centers and returned to help their fellow-villagers), only as hunger and heavy toil and the impact of war open his eyes to the realities of his life.

There is a large vividly-drawn gallery of people, workers, bosses, shopkeepers, some splendid pictures of women including Jeremy's upstanding aunt and the girl Frimmet who becomes a revolutionist, and the Polish mechanic, Yanek, she loves, who works with the Jewish Self-Defense organization the local Jewish population sets up as tsarist-inspired pogroms sweep the land, and is killed protecting his Jewish friends from hoodlums sent in from outside Vorkyrts.

All this is told through the eyes of the intelligent, inquisitive, deeply im-

pressionable youngster, and told not with cute childishness, but definitely the way such a boy, reared in a worker's family, and being in the midst of life, would see it. Many chapters also deal with his personal life, in the cheder, the synagogue, at play, roaming the meadows outside the town. The specific Jewish peoples' culture of the town is shown with warmth and understanding—the new, expressed in the songs sung by the “Brothers and Sisters” coming together in the workers' homes, the traditional culture, expressed in the gay Purim parade, when Jeremy's uncle and the others, leaving work for a day, become gallant horsemen, riding in colorful costumes through the streets.

One feels that perhaps too much is crowded into the less than 300 pages;

that the unity of the book could profit if some of the less relevant episodes were omitted.

The author is now on trial in New York as one of sixteen Communist leaders, the “overt act” charged against him being his essay, “Grasp the Weapon of Culture”; and a specially relevant contribution the obviously autobiographical book makes is the unsentimental but moving picture it paints of the family life of a child who will later become a Communist, a glowing contrast to the comic strip horrors of the family background of a “Communist” as described in current stool-pigeon confession sagas. There is poverty and hardship in the little earth-floored ghetto shack, but also dignity and friendliness and love and understanding.

Fancy Rationalization

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, 1951-1952, *The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.*, 1951, 479 pp. \$3.00.

THIS fifth volume in a series of annual treatments of foreign policy questions, which are part of the Brookings Institute program of research and education in international affairs—a program endowed by funds from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation—repeats the pattern set by earlier volumes, both as to content and to form. The material is highly abstract and is presented as conflicting ideas. The origin of these ideas and opinions, for instance, is never identified, nor are the probable beneficiaries of different lines of policy identified. The solutions are presented as alternatives, and the editors observe a formal impartiality by refraining from indicating their own preference. So that the entire picture given is presented as if the problems of foreign policy were not matters of

life or death to millions of human beings at the present moment, nor even matters of bread, land, liberty and peace for mankind, including 155,000,000 Americans, but were merely mental exercises, like problems in calculus or physics.

However, beneath this facade of impartiality, the content unravels as a rationale of the current policies of the Washington Administration. Alternative solutions presented to each problem exclude any real opposition to the current policy; they represent merely different tactical approaches for achieving the aims of the billionaire American banks and trusts. Moreover, in the mainly expository section of the work, the part dealing with the present position of the United States in world affairs, the reader is deluged with all the clichés and stereotypes which Secretary Acheson and John Foster Dulles have used to justify the policies they pursue. As could be expected, this section is filled with distortion and evasion of fact.

The burden of the entire work is to

justify the program for organizing war under the pretext of defending the "free world" against "Soviet aggression." However, a discerning reader will find no clearer revelation of the real ends of Washington policy, and no more cynical admission of the shocking means which the rulers of the United States are prepared to use to achieve those ends. Finally, the problems themselves are a kind of inverted measure of the power and scope of the world forces of peace and freedom.

J. P.

Turning the Tables On the Inquisitors

MAN BITES DOG, by William Mandel.
*Published by The National Guardian,
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Introduction by Cedric Belfrage. 24
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WILLIAM MANDEL, a writer on Soviet affairs authored a book for the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1944. Prof. Owen Lattimore was at one time associated with the IPR. Hence, according to the familiar McCarthy-McCarran syllogism, Mr. Mandel must come to be grilled by a Senate subcommittee.

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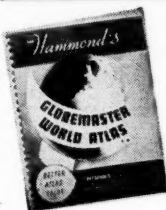
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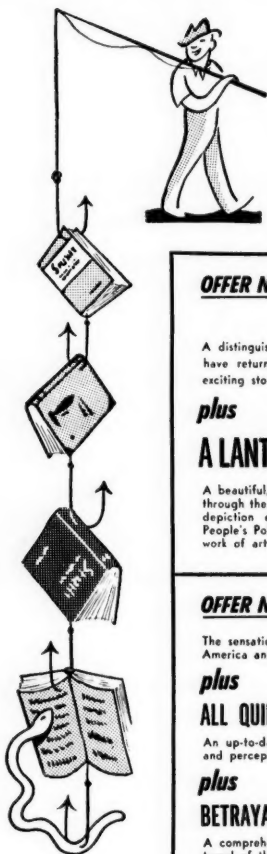
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