

NEW WORLD

AUGUST
1952

Review

20¢



**USSR • Africa • Poland's Jews • Katyn Forest
Stone's "Hidden History of Korean War" Reviewed**



A Student's View

Arcadia, Calif.—Your magazine presents facts and descriptions of what is taking place in the USSR, China, Eastern Europe and the Far East very objectively, without showing any prejudice. We in the USA don't get very many facts concerning these peoples, and what we do read is against them so as to distort our views and foster hatred among people. I do not believe this is advancing the cause of world peace at all. I have shown my copy of NWR to many of my friends at college and they have shown a great deal of interest. We should all work for peace between China, USA, USSR, and all nations of the world. I am sure that ideal, which I hold dear, will eventually be achieved.—California Student.

Not For Burning

New York City—Some people will go to great lengths for democracy. Mr. H. Jenichen of San Francisco informs us in somewhat mixed metaphors in the April issue that when "New World Review" arrives he throws it in the fire and thus keeps the flame of democracy burning. NWR is such a small magazine it doesn't make much of a blaze. Now take that issue of "Collier's" which won World War III. What a bonfire that would have made! Mr. Jenichen, like Mr. Fry's lady, NWR is not for burning.—Samuel Buck.

Praises Review

Bucks County, Pa.—. . . I especially liked the review of the film, "Peace Will Win," which you published in your March, 1952, issue, and I hope that you will publish more material on films from the new world."—R.W.H.

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AFRICA—

No Longer the "Dark Continent"

by ESLANDA ROBESON

AFRICA is no longer "the Dark Continent."

It is the continent of dark people, the African people—200 million of them.

The 5,000,000 white people in Africa are the very small minority, though a raucously vocal and enormously powerful and aggressive minority.

With the arrogant characteristic of the white colonial West, Africa was called the Dark Continent, not so much because its inhabitants were dark, but because the people of the West knew so little about it—it was unknown, mysterious. . . .

The colonial powers of the "free world" have always thought and spoken of Africa in terms of *themselves*, not in terms of the African people; in terms of raw materials, cheap labor, areas for expansion and settlement, strategic bases and military man-power, always for themselves, not for the African people.

MRS. ESLANDA ROBESON, distinguished anthropologist and author, is now associated with New World Review as Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions. Beginning with this article, first of a series on Africa, her articles will appear regularly in NWR.

The 2,500,000 white people in the Union of South Africa think and speak of South Africa as the "white man's country," and are preparing to fight to the death to make it so, and never mind the 8,000,000 Africans whose homeland it is, the 1,000,000 colored people whom they sired, the 350,000 Indians whom they imported to work on their sugar plantations.

These arrogant white settlers in South Africa are so brazen as to call themselves South Africans, and contemptuously call the Africans Kafirs, blacks, natives—and class them with the flora and fauna.

"This is a white man's country," shouts stubborn, fanatical 78-year-old Prime Minister Daniel Francois Malan, of South Africa, "and we mean to keep it so!"

Well, well, we shall see.

How white can a country be, with 2,500,000 white people, 1,000,000 not-so-white colored people, 350,000 tan Indians, and 8,000,000 brown and black Africans? Certainly not pure white, not milk white, nor cream colored, nor even dark ivory. Dr. Malan or no Dr. Malan, South Africa is a dark man's country.

It is possible that the reign of the white man will not continue for long, and not only in South Africa, but

in all Africa south of the Sahara.

The colonial—white supremacy—white man's days are surely numbered in Africa. The signs are posted everywhere—in North Africa, in West Africa, in East and Central Africa, and in South Africa.

And this Western colonizing white man can read, so at long last he is fearfully reading the handwriting on the walls, in the sands, in the mud; the sign says: Africa for the Africans. Foreigners go home!

AFRICA for the Africans, and why not?

Ever since the exploration, invasion, conquest and prolonged occupation of Africa by the white colonizing foreigners, no one seems to have considered or planned for the welfare of the African people, and the African people have been forcibly prevented from planning for themselves.

Explorers thought of Africa in terms of discovery and adventure, with the accompanying fame and prestige, for themselves and their mother countries.

Missionaries thought of Africa in terms of religious conquest for the church—their own particular church.

Traders thought of Africa in terms of business and quick big profit for themselves. Investors ditto.

Settlers from Europe thought of Africa in terms of a much higher standard of living with much less effort and investment, plenty of land, plenty of cheap labor—for themselves.

White government officials from the mother countries in Europe thought of Africa in terms of the protection of their own nationals (investors, settlers, traders, missionaries—probably in that order), in terms of raw materials, areas for ex-

pansion and settlement, strategic bases, military man-power—all for the mother countries. And they brought in armies to secure all these by force.

In all the plans for Africa, practically no one considered the African people, their security and protection, progress and happiness. Quite the contrary. And this was very stupid of them, because of course, Africa is the African people—200 million of them.

THESE 200 million Africans resisted, continuously but unsuccessfully before superior weapons, the invasion, conquest and occupation of their homeland. They watched the activity of the traders, missionaries, settlers, investors, government officials and soldiers.

They have come to the conclusion

This is "home" for this child and countless other African children. Africans are protesting such abysmal poverty.

—Council on African Affairs





Demonstrators in Johannesburg, South Africa, demand land and housing.

that they do not like these white foreigners, do not like their ways of life, and now want them to go back home where they belong.

This is not surprising, when we look at what these foreigners have been doing.

You would not like it either, if company arrived, uninvited, stayed for centuries, took over your house and grounds, made fun of you, called you insulting names, drove you away and then ordered you to come back and do all the heavy and dirty work, told you what to do, think, say and believe, and killed you if you did not obey them.

You would not like it either, if the visitors did not allow you to live in the towns in your homeland, but herded you like animals into reservations. My mistake. Not like animals. The reservations for the animals—Albert Park, Kruger Park, etc.—are far more spacious, beautiful, and well kept than are the re-

servations for the African people.

That is the kind of thing the people from the Western colonial powers, the "free world," have been doing and are still doing in Africa.

And now the African people feel that enough is enough. They want their land back, and they want the uninvited and very unwelcome visitors to go home to their mother countries.

But the Africans are reasonable people. They wouldn't mind too much if some of the less offensive visitors stayed on, since there is plenty of room; but they insist that these visitors behave as visitors, not as if they owned the place.

AFRICA for the Africans, and why not?

There is a great fire, purifying and rapidly spreading all over the world: A Go-Home-Fire.

Peoples everywhere want the visitors—however long they have been

visiting—to leave and go home. And if a few of the visitors remain, the people insist that they act like visitors, and mind their manners.

This Go-Home-Fire raged in Indonesia, and most of the Dutch went home. It burned in India, Burma, Ceylon, and most of the British went home. It is burning furiously now in Indo-China and Malaya, where the French and British are desperately but unsuccessfully fighting the stubbornly spreading blaze. It is flaming in Korea, where the Korean people long for peace so they may rebuild their devastated land.

This Go-Home-Fire is smouldering all over the Middle East and in North Africa; in Iran, Tunis, Morocco, Egypt it may blaze up at any moment.

It is smouldering even in Western Europe and in Japan, where in the night, people paint signs on public walls: Americans, Go Home.

It is smouldering in Latin America.

THE VISIT (colonialism) is over.

It was a very prolonged and fabulously profitable one for the visitors, but devastating for the unwilling hosts. But it is finished now. It is time for the visitors to leave, and

go home. If they don't leave quietly, they will surely be thrown out.

And why not? Enough is enough, and there comes an end to everything.

These visitors have behaved very badly, have abused hospitality, have made themselves obnoxious — and that's an understatement.

They could so easily have made themselves welcome. If they had been reasonably polite, considerate, helpful, they might have been invited to remain indefinitely.

It wasn't as if they didn't know how to behave. They knew better. When the British went visiting in France, when the Dutch went visiting in Belgium, and vice versa, they knew they must respect and abide by the laws and customs of whatever country and people they were visiting.

But when they all went to Africa and Asia, where they thought nobody important could see them, they behaved like arrogant, greedy, vicious and destructive animals. The veneer of civilization proved very thin indeed!

No wonder they were not welcome. No wonder they have been asked, and now *told*, to leave and go home.

CHINESE WRITTEN CHARACTERS MADE EASY

A DISPATCH from Peking reports that a simplified method of teaching Chinese written characters in order to speed up the literacy campaign is now being popularized among thousands of soldiers and workers in China. The initiator of this method is Chi Chien-hua, teacher in a unit of the Southwest Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who started this short-term method on the basis of his own teaching experience. He employed a system of phonetics developed some 40 years ago by Professor Li Ching-hsi, now head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at National Peking University. A student learns these Chinese phonetic symbols first and then uses them to master difficult Chinese written characters. After 150 hours of study concentrated within a two-to-four-week period, a student can read newspapers and simply written booklets, as well as write short letters and articles.

TOWN IN THE DESERT

Never heard of Takhia-Tash? Its one of the major construction centers of the age

by

NIKOLAI KRIVENKO

The Main Turkmen Canal, extending 680 miles, will connect the land-locked Aral Sea with the Caspian. It will irrigate 5,000 square miles of virgin soil and water 27,000 square miles of pastureland in the Kara Kum Desert. It will also bring electricity to countless villages and towns, many of them newly arisen.

The Soviet Government made the decision to build the canal in September, 1950. It is scheduled for completion in 1957.

Headquarters of the vast army of construction workers on the project is the town of Takhia-Tash. Though only one year old last April, it already offers them the amenities of urban life. The article that follows describes the newly arisen "town in the desert."

AS YOU APPROACH Takhia-Tash by car in the late evening, coming from the city of Tashauz, regional center of North Turkmenistan, there is nothing for many miles of the way to indicate you are in the vicinity of a great construction site. The dusty road seems to wind endlessly over the flat sand and clay hills. Pitch darkness lies all around; only the unusually large stars sparkle coldly in the far heavens.

The car climbs a hill, turns sharply, and suddenly you face a sea of electric lights. The settlement is still eight or nine miles away, but the floodlights and the windows of houses shine so clearly they seem close at hand, and the stars in the southern sky no longer appear so bright.

A short time ago the name "Takhia-Tash" was found only on large-

scale maps of the district: it is the ancient name of a high, sharp point of rock jutting out over the bank of the Amu-Darya River ("Takhia-Tash" means the "stone cap"). The name no longer recalls the promontory. Takhia-Tash today is a new town on the bank of the Amu-Darya—it is the headquarters of one of the great Stalin Construction Works of Communism.

In April, 1951, on the site where the new settlement now stands, the first temporary quarters were built for the workers and engineers who had come to the construction. The first and most urgent problem that confronted the Takhia-Tash builders was that of housing. Every day new people were arriving from all parts of the country, many brought their families, and all had to be housed and

provided with normal living conditions.

At first pre-fabricated, standard-type cottages were brought to the site from Siberia and other lumber districts of the country—they could be set up in minimum time. Later, the construction of brick houses began. By request of the builders, N. Orlyankin, an engineer and Stalin Prize winner, one of the inventors of macro-cellular concrete, flew to Takhia-Tash from Moscow and showed the workers how to use this new building material.

The settlement daily grew and improved. Today the people of Takhia-Tash proudly call their new settlement "our town," and they have every reason for this: Takhia-Tash will soon become a city in the full sense of the word.

How did Takhia-Tash look in April of this year, exactly twelve months after the first house was erected?

The newcomer, emerging in the early morning from the two-story Takhia-Tash hotel, first notices the merry groups of children hurrying to school.

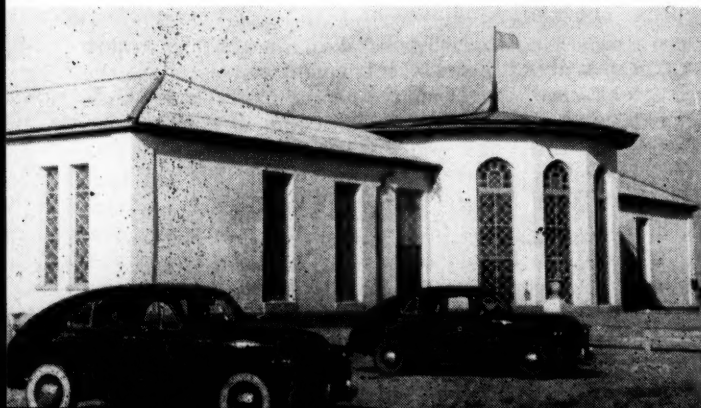
In this settlement, only one year old, a secondary school has been functioning for eight months. The foundations of the school were laid on August 5, 1951. On September 1, when the school year began through-

out the Soviet Union, lessons commenced here as well. Even the people of Takhia-Tash, who are used to speedy building, note with satisfaction that they completed their school in record time. The school is attended by children of twelve nationalities; the Turkmen Canal is being built by all the peoples of the USSR in fraternal cooperation.

On passing the school, we come into one of the town's main streets—it is the Street of Peace. The builders of Takhia-Tash want the streets of their town to bear names dear to the heart of every Soviet citizen: There are a Lenin Street and a Stalin Street and an Avenue of the Great Construction Works of Communism, and a boulevard has been laid out which is to be called the Boulevard of Victory.

These avenues are being lined by handsome, bright, modern houses in which bricklayers, excavator operators, engineers, chauffeurs and teachers live. In front of the dwellings, gardens are being laid out and fenced off, and in them the heedful tenants are planting young trees.

The month of April, 1952, was generally noteworthy in the history of Takhia-Tash as a month in which the town and its outskirts were turned into a garden city. This spring, 250,000 poplar, elm and ash saplings have been planted here. With time,



Restaurant in Takhia-Tash, new town in the desert settled by the workers on the Main Turkmen Canal

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REVIEW



School in Takhia-Tash for construction workers' children. When the town was one year old, the school had already been functioning for eight months.

they will form a wall, sheltering the town from the northeastern and southwestern winds, they will decorate its streets and avenues. This work is being directed by Yelena Feodorova, Stalin Prize winner, who has in her time planted greenery in many Central Asian cities.

The outlines of the future city can already be clearly seen in the Takhia-Tash of today. In addition to the one-story cottages, two-story houses are being built. Bread no longer has to be transported here, the town has its own bakery. A large restaurant, bath-house, polyclinic and a garage have been opened. The first section of the water main is already in use and the sewage network is being completed. A kindergarten has been opened for fifty youngsters. A subsidiary hot-house farm is being laid out where early vegetables will be grown. There is a post office, an interurban telephone exchange from which one may call Moscow and other cities, and stores and shops to cater to the people's needs. And the sprinkling trucks which flush the streets several times a day have quite an urban appearance.

With nightfall, life in Takhia-Tash

NIKOLAI KRIVENKO, a Soviet journalist, is well known to the readers of newspapers and magazines in the USSR

and its environs does not cease. Under huge floodlights, the quarries, port, railway station and airport work uninterruptedly. Materials and equipment for the great construction arrive constantly.

Work is not the only activity in the evening. You will find many people in the library which contains more than 7,000 volumes, or the gymnasium, or attending a new film. An open-air movie, seating 500 people, was completed by May 1st. Next on the plan is a large club house with a moving picture hall, a lecture room, special rooms for work of the various circles, a library and a gymnasium.

More than 150 buildings have been erected on the bank of the Amu-Darya during the year, but this is only the beginning. According to the general plan the town of Takhia-Tash is to consist of three districts (so far, one has been completed); further housing construction is planned (chiefly two- and three-story houses will be built), as well as the erection of an automobile repair shop, a hospital, a cold storage plant, a vocational school, and many other buildings.

The day is not far off when the word Takhia-Tash, the name of a new city, the first on the route of the Main Turkmen Canal, will appear on all maps of the Soviet Union.

The Progressive Party Stands for Peace

by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

AS THE THIRD national convention of the Progressive Party was called to order in Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, on July 4, it was reminiscent of a meeting in that place thirty-two years ago. At that time a very serious effort was made to organize a third party in the United States. The need for such a party appealed to progressives all over the country. The forward movement represented by the Bull Moose campaign, and the early years of the Wilson administration, had been brought to a tragic close by our involvement in the First World War. That it should be resumed after the war was the desire of the intelligent American public which had learned a lesson in 1912-14. It was obvious then, as now, that neither the Democratic nor the

Republican Party was a vehicle for progress. Accordingly a group of liberals formed a committee of correspondence which met with such widespread response that they felt justified in calling the emergent body the Committee of Forty-Eight States.

This coincided with a movement among leading trade unionists for the organization of a new party which would represent the interests of the workers and farmers. And so, in July, 1920, the Committee of Forty-Eight met in Chicago at the Hotel Morrison at the same time that a convention of trade unionists met at the Ashland Auditorium. Efforts to harmonize the views of the two groups proved unsuccessful. When the views of labor prevailed, the Forty-Eighters sulkily returned to the Morrison Hotel, to hatch vain political empires. The remaining delegates nominated Parley Parker Christensen for President as candidate of the Farmer Labor Party. He received only about a half-million votes, since lack of unity in progressive ranks prevented an effective campaign.

Four years later the name Progressive Party was adopted, with Senator La Follette as candidate, as had been the original intention in

PROF. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, eminent author and critic, was for more than 30 years a member of the English department at the University of Chicago. Former Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands in the Roosevelt era, Professor Lovett is the author of numerous books, the most recent the autobiographical "All Our Years." He, with Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, is honorary co-chairman of the Progressive Party and is currently a candidate for Governor of Illinois on that party's peace platform in the 1952 elections.



The keynote of the Progressive Party Convention demonstrations was peace

1920, on a platform of peace, repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles and resumption of progress.

This time there was a measure of the unity that is so necessary for success. The Railroad Brotherhoods lined up; the Socialists came in; the old guard of liberals was there, and Mr. La Follette received ten times the vote of Christensen.

But it was too late. The country was already launched on the high tide of financial prosperity for which both Republican and Democratic Parties claimed they were responsible. If it is conceivable that the Progressive Party could have won, the world might have been spared the financial orgy, the panic and depression, Hitler, the Second World War, the war in Korea, and the present reign of fear.

The liberals did not abandon the cause of a third party, but their efforts proved abortive until the close of the Second World War, like that

of the first, called for aggressive effort to avert a repetition of the calamity.

In the voice of Henry Wallace, now silent, a large mass of American citizens felt they had heard the call of their deep desires for security and peace. With the help of the political genius of C.B. (Beanie) Baldwin, a new Progressive Party was organized, with results that are now history. The real measure of the impact of its '48 campaign is to be found not in the million and a half votes for Henry Wallace, but in the fact that President Truman rode into office by giving lip-service to some of the basic principles for which the Progressive Party stands.

The shattering of the illusions thus fostered by President Truman's betrayal of every promise made to the people, the growing understanding that both the old parties are committed to a program of war in the service of the monopoly interests, opens the way for a great new mobilization of the people in this year's campaign.

Today, more than ever, the demand for recognition of human rights above those of property calls for a realignment of parties in the United States, taking on a special coloring in view of the danger of world war in which humanity will be sacrificed to material power. The Progressive Party meets this demand.

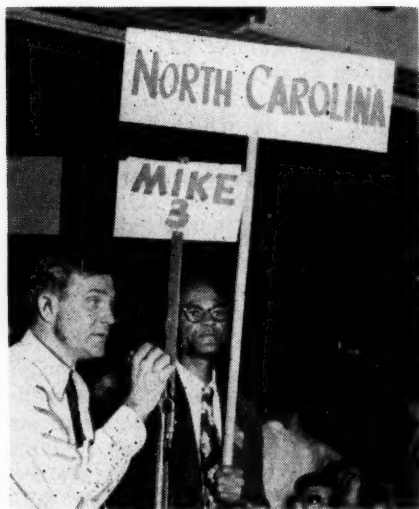
The majority of its members have already courageously stood the test of the obstacles placed in the way of launching a new party—the personal sacrifices, the heavy toil of political effort, the desertion of trusted leaders—all of which they experienced in the '48 campaign and after. Workers, teachers, clergymen and others who supported the Progressive Party lost their jobs. Meet-

ings were broken up by the police and the American Legion. Strenuous efforts were made to prevent the appearance of the candidates of the party on the ballot. In two great states, Ohio and Illinois, the effort was successful.

Against a background of continued repressive efforts, with the struggle for recognition on the ballot going on in Illinois and several other states, the Progressive Party, undaunted, met for its third national convention in Chicago, and set about launching its 1952 campaign.

There were present 1797 delegates from 41 states, and hundreds of observers determined to organize local support. They did not suggest the well-groomed liberals of the Committee of Forty-Eight—rather the Bryan democracy and the populists, a likeness emphasized by the great number of women, mothers with children, and Negroes. They had arrived after journeys of one to three nights, by train or car, their expenses in

Delegates from North Carolina take the floor to address the Convention



many cases paid by collections from their neighbors, and they were received hospitably in the homes of Chicago members of the Progressive Party. Altogether the atmosphere was that of a great homecoming family celebration.

The delegates listened to a magnificent keynote address by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and a vigorous challenge by the Permanent Chairman, Vito Marcantonio. The most dramatic feature was the response of Vivian Hallinan, in accepting the nomination for President on behalf of her husband, and the addition to her speech by her oldest son, Butch. He once remarked that in this campaign an entire family is running for the White House, Vincent Hallinan, in jail for contempt of court in his defense of Harry Bridges, his charming wife and her six "Wild Irish Rogues," two of whom were with her on the rostrum.

Another high point was the acceptance of the nomination as Vice President by Mrs. Charlotta Bass, the first Negro woman ever to be nominated for this high post. A former Republican, her forthright and fighting speech was a ringing challenge to the white supremacy and reaction represented by the two old parties. She told how when the Progressive Party was born in 1948 she found for the first time in her life "a party that provided a home big enough for Negro and white for native and foreign born, to live and work together as equals."

The most important aspect of the convention is to be seen in the platform. The committee gave many hours to a detailed examination of the draft prepared for their consideration, to which many groups had been asked to contribute their ideas. It was presented in full to the dele-

Negro and white, they join in the fight to smash Jim Crow and win peace for the world.



gates and discussed at length on the floor, a democratic proceeding successful by reason of the skill of chairman Marcantonio and the patience of John Abt, as secretary of the committee.

When it is considered that the platform runs to seven thousand words dealing with the war in Korea, the Rights of Labor, Full and Equal Rights for the Negro People, American-Soviet Understanding and Cooperation, Jobs, Security and Freedom Under the Bill of Rights for All Americans, the debate on the floor may be regarded as a triumph of democratic procedure. If one is skeptical as to the ability of the American people, rank and file, to govern themselves, the intelligence, patience and fairness of this proceeding will reassure him. The platform as it emerged from its testing is a great document worthy to stand as a declaration of independence and democracy on this hundredth and seventy-sixth anniversary of the event which made July Fourth our Independence Day.

The complete contents of this great document should be known

throughout the land. In this article I have been asked to deal mainly with the peace proposals of the platform.

Going right to the heart of the most vital issue before us today, the Preamble opens with the words: **THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT PEACE.**

It declares that the touchstone by which every voter can test the sincerity of each political party's claim to be the peace party of 1952 is whether the party has a program for ending the useless and senseless war in Korea. It points out that the Democratic and Republican Parties offer no such program because that war, and the billions spent in preparation for an even bigger war, have been profitable business for the giant corporations these parties serve. It affirms that only the Progressive Party has a program to end the war in Korea, and backs up this statement in the peace section of the platform with the concrete proposal:

Agree to a cease-fire in Korea today, without any ifs, ands or buts. Propose an immediate armistice at the agreed-upon demarcation line;

all disputed questions, including the exchange of war prisoners, to be settled by civilian representatives of all nations involved in the war after the fighting stops.

On the over-all issues of peace, the Preamble states:

American - Soviet understanding and cooperation still remain the key to peace. Despite the differences in political and economic viewpoints between the United States and the Soviet Union, whatever mistakes each may have made, whatever the shortcomings of each great country may be, they can and must work together on the basis of mutual self-interest and the dictates of survival, for world peace, far-reaching disarmament and normal international trade.

This is implemented in the Peace Plank of the platform by the declaration that the way to peace is through negotiation of differences among the nations, by rejection of the idea that war is inevitable and by reaffirmation "that peaceful co-existence of the Soviet Union and the United States is both possible and essential, without the sacrifice of a single interest of the American people, based upon peaceful competition between the two systems in the service of humanity."

Declaring that the best defense of America is peaceful relations with all nations, the Peace Plank follows up its proposal for ending the war in Korea with a demand to stop the rearmament and renazification of a disunited Germany, and calls for the working out of an agreement at the conference table with England, France and the Soviet Union for a united neutral Germany. It opposes the rearming of Japan and calls for a conference to renegotiate a peace treaty.

The Peace Plank calls for an international agreement outlawing the use of the A-bomb, and the H-bomb, with effective control and inspection. It urges ratification by our government of the Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of germ warfare, and action in the UN for progressive universal disarmament.

Other important points in the Peace Plank include admission to the UN of all applicant nations, including the People's Republic of China; recognition of the People's Republic of China; withdrawal of recognition from fascist Spain; defeat of UMT; repeal of the Draft Law; abolition of barriers to peaceful trade between America, the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe; support of demands for independence and freedom of colonial peoples all over the world; the end of support to fascist and racist regimes; and a conference of the five great powers as the only peaceful means for securing an overall settlement of differences.

The declaration on peace, along with all the other sections of the Progressive Party platform, envisages the restoration of the true America of a great and creative people by applying the vast resources of our land to peaceful pursuits for the benefit of our own citizens and all mankind.

I believe this platform represents the thought and aspiration of all forward looking Americans, and will serve in this year and in subsequent years as a comprehensive program for democracy, a test of our faith.

**AFTER YOU'VE READ
THIS ISSUE
Give It to a Friend**

Resurrecting GOEBBELS' BIG LIE

***U.S. Congressional group revives Nazi
propaganda hoax as weapon in cold war***

by SENDER GARLIN

THE WITNESS stepped briskly to the stand, clicked his heels and gave the Nazi salute. He was about to testify before an American Congressional committee. *Scene:* Frankfurt, Western Germany, now under American occupation. *Time:* more than seven years after the Hitlerite regime had been "destroyed forever."

Spectators tittered, according to press dispatches, and members of the U.S. Congressional committee tried hard to conceal their embarrassment.

The witness was Hans Bless, former Nazi soldier. He was brought forward to corroborate the original charge by Nazi Propaganda Minister Goebbels that the Soviet Union was responsible for the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers whose bodies were found in the Katyn Forest, near Smolensk, in the spring of 1943.

In Washington—one month before the Frankfurt incident—a man whose face was hidden by a pillow-slip mask testified he saw Russian firing squads in 1940 execute 200 Polish officers and pile their bodies in a mass grave. As for the witness, there was no name, no address, no occupation, no background. Committee spokesmen

merely identified him as a Pole who had "fled from a Russian prison camp."

The committee heard numerous witnesses, the majority of them breathlessly eager to reiterate the Nazi version of the killings. Among them were cronies of the Polish fascist, Gen. Anders, anti-Semite and Russophobe. Early in July of this year the committee brought in its report. Its findings could have been predicted with unerring accuracy the day the committee was constituted by the House of Representatives.

Why, after eight years, does a campaign develop to switch the blame from the Nazi killers to the Soviet Government?

It was not long after the cold war agitation reached its peak that reactionary groups in the U.S. saw an opportunity for beating the war drums by disinterring the Katyn Forest incident for which world opinion had almost unanimously condemned the Nazis, too well known for their systematic extermination of whole peoples (genocide).

Ten years ago the Archbishop of York, the Right Rev. Cyril Forster

Garbett, had accused the Germans of "indescribably horrible" treatment of Poland—"a brutal, cold-blooded policy of murdering a nation, which will go down as one of the great crimes of history." (New York Herald Tribune, July 25, 1942.)

But newspaper files yellow rapidly and reaction is relentless. A campaign led by a former U.S. ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, and fronted by Max Eastman, Clare Boothe Luce and James A. Farley, resulted in the adoption of a Congressional resolution "to investigate Katyn Forest." (Lane's activities in Poland and his ambiguous relationship to those seeking the return of the old feudal, semi-fascist regime brought Polish Government charges that he participated in acts directed against the Polish state and its independence.)

The House resolution on Katyn Forest was adopted September 18, 1951 and the committee promptly set about pillorying the Soviet Union and its people under the guise of an "impartial investigation" headed by Rep. Ray J. Madden, Indiana Democrat. One of the most enthusiastic supporters of the resolution was the unspeakable John Rankin of Mississippi who told his colleagues in the House that the probe "will help you understand the difference between Yiddish communism and Christian civilization." And every member of the House who spoke for the resolution showed advance acceptance of the Nazi version of Katyn Forest.

Behind the Mask

That the State Department not only welcomed, but unquestionably encouraged the rigged Congressional investigation, is a clear conclusion. The \$100,000,000 subsidy for terrorism provided for in the so-called Mutual

Security Act calls for just such activities and more—including espionage and sabotage directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The State Department's role is further evidenced by (1) Secretary Acheson's sharp attack on the Polish Embassy in the U.S. for its criticism of the Congressional committee's activities and (2) the State Department reprisal against the Polish Information Service which followed—prohibiting it from publishing anything but routine press releases about Poland.

Whether the hearings were held in Washington to feature masked, anonymous adventurers who "fled from the Soviets" or in Frankfurt, Germany where pro-fascists gave the Nazi salute, the end result was the same. It provided the members of the committee with headlines and the warmongering press with the kind of "newspaper copy" that suits the sabre-rattling policies of the Administration.

What were the purposes of the hearings, as developments proved?

- To discredit the Roosevelt Administration and its policies by casting doubt upon the validity of the Nuremberg trials.*
- Show that certain New Dealers favored the Russians and "went along" with them on the Katyn Forest issue; and that some of them or like-minded persons still

* A dispatch from Frankfurt, Germany, in the New York Times, of April 24, 1952, reported that "the hearing by a special committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on the Katyn Forest massacre of World War II developed into a discussion of, and by inference, an attempted attack on the objectivity of the court during the Nuremberg trials—to the obvious delight of the German spectators." When the House resolution on Katyn Forest was under consideration, Rep. Rankin demanded that the "investigation" include the Nuremberg trials. This New York Times dispatch would indicate that his desire found an echo among the spectators in Frankfurt.

No face, no name, no address, no identity, yet a Congressional committee heard this "witness" and permitted him to "enact" the Katyn massacre.

—Wide World



operate in the State Department and other agencies of the U.S. Government. (Example: MacArthur's keynote speech at the G.O.P. convention.)

- Whitewash the Nazis in order to make more palatable their use (as in Western Germany) as a gendarmerie against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, and against a peaceful, unified, democratic German Republic.

- Pinning the Katyn Forest crime on the Russians makes it possible to justify the use of napalm bombs and germ warfare against the Korean and Chinese people. For this purpose the Congressional committee must indict the Russians and absolve the criminal fascists.

In view of the historical record (which condemns the Nazis for the crime) and the aims and activities of the Congressional committee (which seeks to whitewash the Nazis, refurbished today as allies), it is understandable why the Soviet Government indignantly rejected as "an insult" Rep. Madden's invitation that it present testimony to the House committee. A similar response came from the Polish Government. Both

called attention to the report of the "Special Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of the Circumstances of the Shooting of the Polish Officers, Prisoners of War, in the Katyn Forest." First made public eight years ago, this Soviet report stood unchallenged until now. Moreover, this is the first time in history that a legislative group of one government has called upon another government to testify at hearings of this nature. The U.S. State Department transmitted the request of the Congressional committee. Can this be viewed as anything but studied provocation?

In this connection, it is worth recalling what took place in the British Parliament during the war—both as supporting evidence that the Nazis were guilty at Katyn and as a commentary on the declining political morals of the present day. When a question was put in the House of Commons, at the time Stalingrad was the battlefront of the world, aimed to insinuate Soviet responsibility for Katyn, Foreign Minister Anthony Eden rejected it indignantly as insulting to the British Government.

What is the background of the bloody Katyn episode?

In the spring of 1943, the Soviet

How They Came to Smolensk

AFTER Hitler's attack on Poland in September, 1939, the semi-fascist Polish government collapsed, surrendered Warsaw to the Nazis without a struggle. In this situation the Soviet army occupied the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia which had been forcibly seized by Poland in 1921 and held against the decisions of the Allied Peace Conference that these territories belonged to Russia. The 14,000,000 Byelorussians, Ukrainians and Jews in this area had been subjected for two decades to the oppression and terrorism of the Polish Colonels clique. The Soviet occupation, acknowledged by Churchill at the time as an important move in stopping Hitler's eastward drive, opened the way for

these peoples to rejoin the Soviet republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia. The Soviet army was welcomed by the people and by most of the Polish troops. The only resistance came from those Polish officers who had not already fled the country, by some remnants of the Polish troops who had been used to oppress the local population, by the landlords and local fascists. These Polish officers were held as prisoners of war at Smolensk. Had Smolensk not been seized by the Nazis on July 16, 1941, soon after their invasion of the USSR, these Polish officers would have been included in the amnesty extended to all Polish POWs in the USSR under the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 31, 1941.

armies were beating back the Nazi invaders. What they were losing on the field of battle, the Hitler gang sought to recoup on the propaganda front. On April 12, 1943, the Axis shortwave broadcasters announced to the world that they had discovered in the Katyn Forest, near Smolensk (which they had occupied since July 16, 1941) a mass grave containing the bodies of more than 10,000 Polish officers. They charged that the Russians had killed these officers in 1940, long before the Germans had reached the area.

The whole world knew the Nazis had committed similar crimes not only against the Polish people but against millions in other lands they had invaded. Aware that it would take a great deal to put over the Goebbels version, the Nazis rounded up a panel of "experts" from Nazi-occupied countries to confirm their charge.

As soon as the Nazis were driven out of the Smolensk area, on Sept. 25, 1943, the Russians put teams of scientific investigators to work on the Katyn incident. The Soviet investigating commission was headed by the famous scientist, Academician N. N. Burdenko; the Soviet Union's foremost novelist, Alexei Tolstoi; and the Metropolitan Nikolai, head of the Russian Orthodox Church. All foreign correspondents then in Moscow were invited to visit Katyn. The group that viewed the horrifying scenes consisted of 17 correspondents, including Kathleen Harriman, the daughter of the then U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and John Melbe, acting director of the Office of War Information in Moscow.

The Polish prisoners of war—taken at the end of 1939—had been employed on building and repairing of highways in the vicinity of Smolensk (230 miles southwest of Moscow).

The Russians were unable to evacuate these prisoners in time and they, together with part of the guards and camp personnel, fell into the hands of the Germans.

Criminals Exposed

Goebbels told the world the Russians had slain the Polish officers in 1940, long before the Nazis had reached the Smolensk area.

Evidence, however, showed:

- The condition of the bodies and uniforms belied three years of burial. Medical examination of the cadaverous tissues disclosed that the bodies had been buried for approximately two years; that the Poles were shot, not in the spring of 1940, as the Nazis asserted but in the autumn of 1941 when Smolensk was under German occupation.

- Letters and clippings found on many of the corpses were dated 1941, after the Germans had reached the region.

- Witnesses in the area, some of whom had served the German occupying forces, had seen Polish officers escorted into the woods, heard the sound of bullets, and then had seen the Nazis return alone.

- The victims were shot with revolvers of German make — produced by the firm of G. Henschau & Co., Durlach, near Karlsruhe.

After taking testimony from witnesses, weighing the evidence of the medical experts and sifting documentary proof found in the mass graves, the Soviet commission concluded that the Polish officers were shot in groups by German occupation authorities in the autumn of 1941; that the slaughter was carried out by a German military institution which concealed its identity under the code name of "Headquarters of the 537th Construction Battalion," and was headed by Lt. Col. Arnes; that, in order to increase the number of "victims of Bolshevik brutality," the Nazis had brought corpses of Polish war prisoners who had been shot by them from other localities and had placed them in open graves in the Katyn Forest.

The report of the Burdenko Commission was issued January 24, 1944. More than half the issue of *Pravda*, authoritative Soviet newspaper, was devoted to the findings of the Commission. (March 3, 1944).

The Katyn massacre became a count in the Soviet indictments against the German war criminals at Nuremberg. Here, in a court governed by rules of evidence and with the Nazis permitted to present their case in full, all available data was presented.

One of the most conclusive pieces of evidence against the Nazis at Nuremberg came from a Bulgarian

One of many headlines and articles that appeared in the American press deriding Goebbels' version of Katyn.

'Massacre' of Polish Officers By Russians a "Nazi Fake"

Special to The Post
Washington, Apr.
German story about

of what
NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1943

member of their own commission that had pinned the killings on the Russians. Prof. Marko Markov, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Sofia University, testified that the commission had been permitted to examine only eight bodies and had then been compelled to sign a report which it had not only *not* prepared, *but had not even been permitted to read*. The nub of this fraudulent Nazi report was that the bodies of the Polish officers had been in the ground three years, and that therefore the Germans could not have buried them there.

More recently, anti-Soviet propagandists have tried to create the impression that once the Soviet case on Katyn Forest was presented at the Nuremberg trials, no further mention was made of it. The plainest answer to that is that the convictions and executions of the Nazi war criminals on trial constituted proof of the validity of the charges. The fact that the Katyn incident had been brought into the case as part of the indictment against Hermann Goering was admitted by Dr. Otto Stahmer, who was one of the coddled witnesses before the recent U.S. Congressional committee at its recent hearings in Frankfurt. This Dr. Stahmer was attorney for Goering at the Nuremberg trials.

What was the nature of the Nazi "commission of experts"?

The Nazis, after trying desperately to give their "commission" a broadly international character, finally had to reconcile themselves to representatives from their satellite or occupied countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Croatia, Holland, Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, Rumania, Slovakia, Hungary and France), together with a lone representative of the so-called International Committee

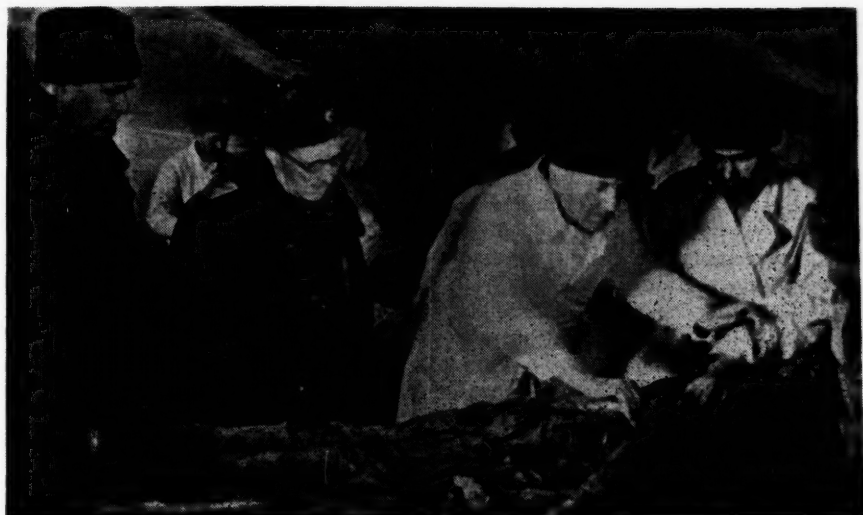
of the Red Cross,* Prof. Naville of Geneva. The group consisted of 13 foreigners and 27 Gestapo agents. The few intimidated witnesses the Nazis rounded up in the Smolensk area were under armed guard, according to Prof. Markov, one of the "commission" members. The entire group, he said, spent only two mornings in the Katyn Forest.

Forced to Sign—or Else

Another member who was impressed into the group has declared that the Nazi report on Katyn was formulated and written by a German doctor from Breslau (now Wroclaw), a Dr. Buhtz, who then forced members of the delegation to sign it. He is Dr. Frantisek Hajek, Professor of Forensic Medicine at Charles University, Prague. In a statement to *Lidove Noviny*, organ of the Czechoslovak Catholic Party, March 11, 1952, Prof. Hajek said that dissection of several of the corpses showed that "*they certainly had not lain there three years as the Hitlerites claimed, but had only been there for a very short time, about one year at the most.*" He added that "*the uniforms were in good state; one could unbutton them without the cloth dissolving and tobacco in cigarette cases was yellow and unspoiled by dampness.*"

The manner in which the Nazis organized their "impartial commis-

* The Soviet Government, of course, rejected indignantly the demand of the Polish exile regime in London that the International Committee of the Red Cross conduct an investigation. It was a representative of this Committee, Dr. Otto Lehner, who provided Hitler with a whitewash report on the Terezin concentration camp in Czechoslovakia. The Committee did a similar job for the Nazis in a report on Buchenwald, horror camp where 55,000 were murdered in a variety of ways, many of them after suffering starvation, torture and medical experimentation. This so-called "International Committee of the Red Cross," incidentally, is not an international organization, but a Swiss national group. Dr. Lehner is now the committee's senior official in the Far East.



Medical examination of the cadaverous tissue of the Katyn victims disclosed the Poles had been shot not in the spring of 1940, as the Gestapo had asserted, but in the fall of 1941, when Smolensk was under Nazi occupation.

sion" is described with great vividness by Prof. Hajek:

"The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Protectorate handed me an order from the Nazi occupiers to go to Katyn, pointing out that if I did not go but excused myself on ground of illness (as I had tried to do) my action would be regarded as sabotage and at best I would be arrested and sent to a concentration camp."

The medical examination made by the Soviet commission January 16 to January 23, 1944, showed that none of the corpses are "in a state of putrescence or disintegration" and all the 925 corpses examined "are still in some state of preservation."

The Soviet investigators noted "the complete identity of method in the shooting of the Polish war prisoners and in the shooting of Soviet civilians and Soviet war prisoners as widely practiced by the German fascist au-

thorities on the temporarily-occupied territory of the USSR, including the cities of Smolensk, Orel, Kharkov, Krasnodar and Voronezh."

It was the Nazi contention that the Polish officers were killed in 1940. It was the Soviet Government's conclusion — after its investigation — that they were slaughtered, some in the forest itself, others in camps on German-held Russian soil, in August and September, 1941.

What U.S. Reporters Said

Correspondents from the United States, Great Britain and other Allied countries wrote long accounts about Katyn which almost unanimously reflected the conviction that the Nazis had committed the killings.

The famous war correspondent, Quentin Reynolds, in his book *The Curtain Rises* (Random House, 1944), reports how he and other newsmen in Moscow "laughed" at

Goebbels' suggestion that the International Red Cross be sent to Smolensk to check on the Katyn charges. "We knew," Reynolds writes, "that any Red Cross commission sent to the occupied territory around Smolensk would see exactly what Goebbels wanted it to see—and nothing else. . . . Then we were shocked to see the Polish government in London was actually taking the story seriously."

Reynolds then tells how "Alexander Werth, Marjorie Shaw, Ralph Parker and two or three others who knew the Polish Ambassador [Romer] well hurried to the embassy." The ambassador, Reynolds reports, "told Alexander Werth [noted British correspondent who writes frequently for the *Nation* here] that he did not for a moment believe the Dr. Goebbels story of the 10,000 dead Polish officers." (Emphasis added.)

To William L. Shirer, author and radio commentator, the Nazi Katyn Forest story appeared as "a crude propaganda trick." (*New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 16, 1944.)

Harrison Salisbury, then *United Press* correspondent in Moscow, and now the *N. Y. Times* man in the Soviet capital, visited Katyn and has described his impressions in his book, *Russia On the Way* (Macmillan, 1946). Writes Salisbury:

"When I was in Russia we were taken up to Smolensk at one time to attend an inquiry into the murder of some 11,000 Poles in the Katyn Forest. The question at issue was whether the Poles had been killed by the Germans or the Russians. *I think there was no real doubt in the minds of the correspondents who went to Katyn that the job had been done by the Germans.*" (Emphasis added.)

In a dispatch to *The New York Times* from Smolensk that took more

than three columns, its Moscow correspondent, W. H. Lawrence reported on January 27, 1944 that "the Russians presented documentary evidence that the prisoners had been alive after March, 1940, and let us read a letter from a Polish prisoner, Stanislaus Kuchinski, written but never mailed to his wife in Warsaw on June 20, 1941, just two days before the German invasion of the Soviet Union began."

The date is significant, because the Nazis said the Russians killed the Polish prisoners in March, 1940.

More from Lawrence's dispatch to *The Times*:

"The first witness was Parfan Kiselyoff, 73, who said he had signed a German document stating that the Russians had killed the Poles after he had been tortured. He described in detail his full connection with the Katyn Forest incident. Among the tortures employed, he said, were threats to pull his veins out and to crucify him on a tree in the forest where the Poles were buried.

"Matthew D. Zakharoff, 50, also had been whipped and tortured by the Germans until he signed a document asserting that the Poles had been shot by the Russians in 1940. He asserted that he repeatedly refused to give false evidence, but finally succumbed to German pressure after the third beating with a rubber whip."

Commenting on various news dispatches attributing the killings to the Nazis, the *New York Times* said editorially that "the Katyn mystery still needs corroboration. But it fits the Nazi character. This is the kind of 'propaganda' stunt that would have seemed a bright idea to Goebbels and Ribbentrop, and that Himmler would have been only too happy to carry out." (June 30, 1945.)

It was not long after World War

II began that the Nazis stood guilty of genocide before the entire world. They specialized in mass extermination—by starvation, bullet, gas oven and live cremation—of millions of Jews and Slavs, especially Poles. (Americans, too, learned of the bestiality of the Nazis in the Malmédy massacre of U.S. soldiers.) The Hitlerites murdered 7,000,000 Polish citizens, including 3,000,000 Jews. In all of Europe 6,000,000 Jews were put to death.

Today, when the Soviet Union is recovering from the loss of life and destruction wrought by the Nazis and is fashioning a new and better life for its people; when Poland is becoming stronger, creating a new social system (building on what were liter-

ally ruins); and with millions throughout the world persevering in the fight for peace, the hate-propagandists fasten on the Katyn Forest crime, not as a means for establishing the truth, but to stir new wars—and new Katyns.

The master-minds of "Operation Killer" — the napalm destroyers of Korean mothers and children, the experimenters of the atomic bomb and germ warfare—cannot claim before the peoples of the world that they "come into court with clean hands."

Undoubtedly, in the days to come, other attempts will be made to officially lay fresh "crimes" at the doorstep of the Soviet Union. Americans should be alert to the character of the perpetrators—and their motives.

"RETALIATION"—OR PRETEXT?

THE STATE DEPARTMENT has ordered the Soviet Union to suspend circulation in this country of all publications issued by the Soviet Embassy. The Department simultaneously announced the suspension of its own Russian-language magazine, "Amerika," distributed in the Soviet Union. The order bars distribution of the bi-weekly English-language Soviet "Information Bulletin," a well-illustrated slick paper magazine, and the "Information Bulletin" supplement, a mimeographed weekly digest of translation from the Soviet press.

In a note delivered in Moscow by Ambassador George Kennan, the Department said it was suspending "Amerika" because of "the progressive restriction" of its "full distribution and free sale" by the Soviet government. . . . A bitterly-contested order issued by the State Department March 20 shifted the offices [to Washington] from New York where "Amerika" had been published since 1944.

On April 15, the *New York Times* reported that 70 of the 75 employees of the magazine, including all key staff members, were leaving their jobs rather than move from New York.

"In consequence," the *Times* said, "these sources predicted publication of the magazine will be impossible for months to come, a situation that may be a prelude to its abolition."

Despite charges of lack of reciprocity "Amerika" enjoyed roughly the same circulation in the Soviet Union as the Soviet "Information Bulletin" had in the U.S. The figures are 15,000 for the Bulletin, 13,000 for "Amerika."

—From *The Daily Compass*, July 16, 1952

"The child needs Peace as the flower needs the sunlight"

*In Moscow, Mukden and Sofia they enjoy
life where new worlds are being born*

by NORA K. RODD

"THE child needs Peace, as the flower needs the sunlight." This is the call of the mothers of the world to all who love children to band together to save them from the horrors of war and the very preparation for war. For children are in danger. While their little bodies are being crippled by jellied gasoline in Korea, their minds are being tortured by bomb drills in our big cities and by the whine of the hateful siren at noon-time. More than 4 per cent, the psychologists say, will develop serious mental illness.

There are lands where children are happy; where they are not afraid; where they have palaces and railways and theaters and newspapers of their own.

On our way to and from Korea in May and June last year, the members of the Women's International Commission were able to visit some of the nursery schools and kindergartens in Moscow, Mukden and So-

fia, where children are the first consideration and where, in the words of Soong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), "the people have taken possession of their own."

In Moscow

ON a sunny morning in May we drove along the blue waters of the Moscow Canal, over the Moscow River, past the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest, out into one of the older residential districts on the outskirts of the city, to visit a children's home. There are fifty-five in Moscow alone — homes for those children of the war whose parents did not return, or who have since died because of the war. It was a kindergarten of three "houses" in a large old home, set in a garden of trees and flowers.

The 120 children were in three classes—the three- to four-year-olds, the five to six, and the six to seven-year-olds, each group with its own doctor and two medical nurses, as well as its own two special teachers.

The littlest ones were having a story when we arrived. The five to sixes were playing games and feeding their pigeons; the older ones, parading with flags and singing vigorously. Potted plants and hanging baskets brought the garden in-

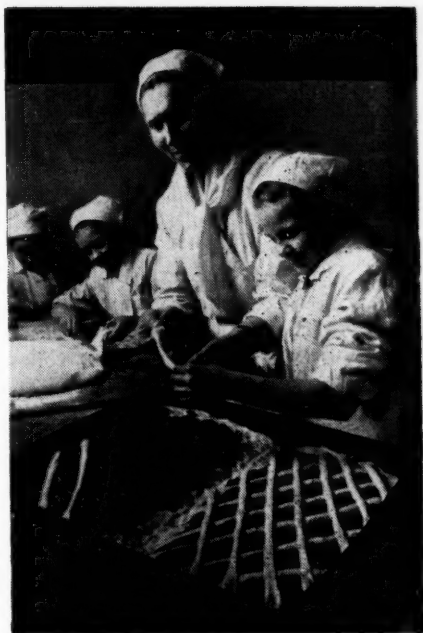
NORA K. RODD, a Canadian, has been active in church work, YWCA work and the WCTU. Recently she has been engaged in work for peace and in the Congress of Canadian Women. It was as a Canadian delegate that she was on the Women's International Commission to Korea.

doors and served both for decoration and for nature study. The quiet-voiced head-mistress was middle-aged and motherly. As we sat at tea with her and one or two of the younger teachers, observing their pride and dignity, we thought of how Chekhov had longed for a happier life for teachers, and how the poverty and shame of the village teachers haunted him.

Now that children come first, the teacher's lot is a happy one, and salaries are commensurate with those of engineers. In the old days "there was really no need" to educate the children of the poor. It was much easier to hold them in obedience if they were illiterate and ignorant. But a new world is being built, and culture and education are now accessible to the whole people—a world that is possible only when the people's minds become "enriched by all the treasures created by mankind."

The schools for orphans receive the tenderest care. Like all schools they have their parents' committees—these children are eagerly adopted by factories, universities and individuals—which exercise particular solicitude for these special homes. They are like all schools in the Soviet Union, under the one ministry of education, and programs of study are uniform. At the age of seven the children go to another Home until they are sixteen. But they often come back to visit their old home!

The daily routine in Soviet nursery schools depends partly on the hours of work of the parents. In this home the children rose and went to bed at eight. Before breakfast there is a walk or a game outside. In the morning lessons there are drawing, singing, reading, and much story-telling. For the little ones the lesson period is 20 minutes; for the middle



Girls in a children's home in Moscow find it fun to make tasty pastries.

group, 25 to 30 minutes and for the older ones, 40 minutes.

The objective is to train for leadership and to bring children up in the collective spirit—to love people and to love work, and to be courageous children of their country. Much attention is given to speech. The children are taught to read and write, and in their games which are the chief method of teaching, artistic talents are encouraged—singing, drawing, modeling—and these are given further attention in the network of Children's Palaces.

While they are out walking the children observe animal and plant life and "they draw what they see." After lunch there is a nap of one and a half hours and then games until six, with "afternoon tea" in between.

In summer all kindergartens go to the countryside and there the older children cultivate their little gardens, helping to raise the food they eat. There is a close tie-up between theory and practice and even the youngest children learn to be self-reliant. Their days are filled with activity they can master, and the emphasis is on love.

In Mukden

ON THE day before International Children's Day our car rolled along the busy streets of the old industrial city of Mukden. Behind the walls of shops and ancient temples and factories and homes, brief glimpses of the green of early spring could be seen but no lawns and gardens open to the street as in the West. Then through the gateway in one of these walls, and we were in a Children's Garden indeed, with 97 little people like flowers in their gay cotton aprons, holding us and calling in every key, "Health to the Aunties!" Behind them stood their young teachers in semi-military dress—this was the nursery school of those in the People's Liberation Army.

The whole compound was a playground, bounded by the three houses that made up the nursery school. In full sun stood the dappled hobby horses, and in the shade along the wall was the garden of potted plants for little hands to tend. On the far side rose a grassy hill—the air-raid shelter, companion to the taped windows we saw throughout the city.

It was about time for lunch and while the children went off we were taken to see the houses with their individual wash basins and beds and chairs, all graduated to suit the three separate age groups. Over the fragrant tea and red cherries we learned how important in the Common Pro-

gram is the work of the nursery schools, and the role that teachers are playing in the education of a country that in 1949 was 80 per cent illiterate.

The nursery schools which are being set up as rapidly as teachers can be trained, are a project of the China Welfare Institute, headed by Madame Sun Yat-sen. The purpose of the Institute is to make the emancipation of women and children as complete as possible, as quickly as possible, and so there is operated a network of maternity, health and child-care centers, particularly throughout the textile districts, where often over 80 per cent of the factory workers are women.

"Children cannot be free whose mothers are not free," says Madame

Mrs. Nora K. Rodd makes friends with the children in a nursery in Mukden.



Sun Yat-sen. The new Marriage Law (in force since May 1, 1950) provides that both husband and wife shall be free to choose an occupation, but the woman's emancipation from the age-old customs of feudalism can become an accomplished fact only as the people understand, and as they see that the lot of the children is improved.

Education in China must be people's education, since it is the working people that form 80 to 90 per cent of the population, and the task of spare-time education for the peasants is one of the biggest in China.

All who can help with the Literacy Campaign are called in. "We must give the laboring people the honor that is due them," and here the teacher plays an important part. She must be a teacher of teachers, helping others to pass on what they have learned. Polygamy, concubinage, prostitution and the sale and exploitation of women and children are unlawful now. They have been swept away by the new land reform that gives women their equal share; by the trade union right to equal pay, and the new equal right to divorce. The nurseries serve as training places for the mothers as well as the children, teaching the rudiments of hygiene and child care, with emphasis on healthful living—to know the value of cabbage and beans and soy-bean milk which all can afford and of living in the sun and air.

This school had been organized a year ago with 20 students. Now there are 36 on the staff, giving each teacher or trainer four children for her special care.

Our young hostess was 27 and the mother of three children—two with her in the nursery and the year-old baby in a school for infants nearby. Gracious and confident, her eyes shin-

ing with the happiness we saw everywhere in these New Women of China, she was living fully, helping the people, above all the women, to understand their new status in the community and in the nation. "The labor of simple people is surrounded with honor and respect. They are honored for their contribution to society."

With over 20 million children in the primary schools and nearly two million in secondary schools, the aim is to wipe out illiteracy in from three to five years. These nursery schools are pointing the way to a thousand children's Cultural Palaces. The city of Mukden is showing the way.

"Our country has become a singing and dancing and acting country," said Madame Sun Yat-sen in her Message from New China, in November, 1950, "In Mukden there are 350 amateur theatrical groups with over 12,000 members—most of them factory workers. China has never seen such far-reaching cultural activity. There is a Children's Theater, dedicated to children and run by them. . . . 100 talented youngsters. . . ."

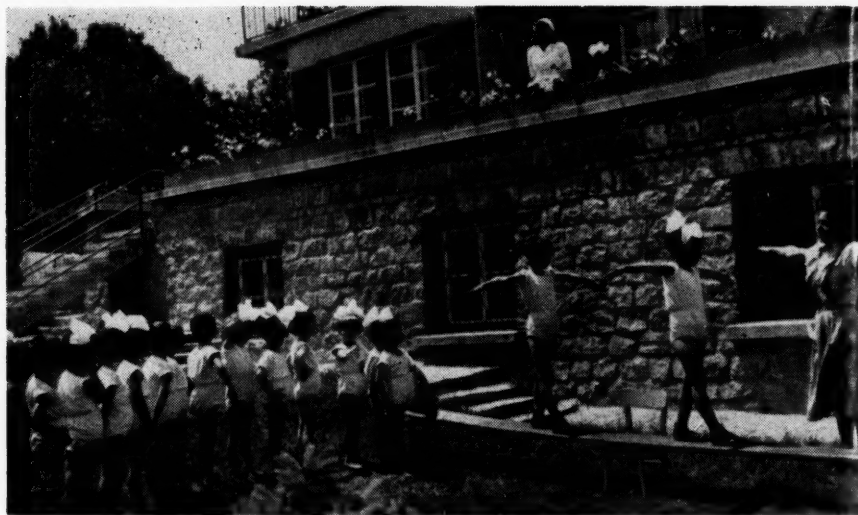
We had seen it all at its very beginning. Not beauty and luxury for the few as in the past, but for all.

In Sofia

THE young Chinese wife of a Bulgarian doctor in Sofia, was asked how she was able to carry on her full-time work as interpreter and at the same time care for her two children. She replied: "Oh, Sofia is such a happy city to live in! There is a day nursery in almost every block, and they are just like fairyland!"

We set out to see for ourselves.

Sofia is an old city at the foot of Mount Vitocha in a mountain pass on one of the early trade routes be-



They learn the art of balance by walking the length of a raised board. This is a nursery school for children of night postal workers in Sofia.

tween Italy and the East, and as one village after another becomes incorporated, it clambers up the mountain side.

Well up the way stands an old and battered village school. It had served as fortress as well as school, but now it was being washed and painted and little cots were being set up in readiness as a summer nursery for the children of the agricultural workers. Here the children would eat and sleep and play in the mountains while their fathers and mothers gathered the black cherries and luscious strawberries and filled their baskets with roses in the perfume-laden air of June.

In the center of the square stood the village pump, and around it children from a visiting village school were waiting to sing for us. They too were on holiday in this mountain nook, their young teacher with them. Their songs were of peace and love of country and sung right lustily. A

girl of ten or so stands out and recites the meaning of the Five-Year Plan, "We shall have larger carts and better roads for our mothers and fathers to come to market on, and more schools,"—so simple and so real! The teacher gathered them in a ring and around they flew, dancing on the green.

Coming down to the city we visited a nursery school set high on the hillside in a former summer villa.

This was a day-and-night nursery in two age groups—three to five, and six to seven—for children of night postal workers. The children rose from the small chairs in the big circle to greet us, and began to sing—acting out their songs. They sang first of peace, and then of the elephant, and the owl, and then they sang their song of Stalin, a name beloved in all the countries liberated from Hitler and fascism. When it was time to go the children gathered on the open veranda behind the

long box of petunias and sang once more, their throats strong as their brown legs, and their pink and blue bows flashing in the sun. As we backed down to the road they called out their last goodbye. "Give our love to all the children in your country!"

Carefree and happy children! For they live in a land where the goatherd's boy is now studying to be a specialist in languages; where the daughter at the cooperative farm—her brown toes twinkling in the sand—is already at the university, and is majoring in chemistry. A land where the peasant mother no longer need nurse her babe in the field while the oxen wait at the plow . . . where there are villas of rest and culture now for the thousands, and buses to the mountains . . . and winter holidays too, for all!

Down into the New old Sofia we came, with church bells calling and young and old crowding into the street, singing and laughing—people building a new life, unafraid. "Laughter is a great thing," said Gogol. "It does not take away one's life or property, but the guilty stands before it as a tied-up rabbit." The people are laughing. They are building Peace.

"Sofia is such a happy city . . . and the schools are just like fairyland!"

•

WHERE budgets are large for armaments they are small for education. In countries girding for war they are closing schools. . . . It is as if there

were a war on the children of the world! A frightful picture of greed and shame, but this is the negative side only. In the midst of this gallop to destruction the conscience of mankind calls STOP!

Those "who have a feeling for decency and justice," those who signed the Stockholm Appeal over 500 million strong; those who signed the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact in numbers of more than 600 million—those who will not see the children of the world destroyed—have held a Conference on Defense of Children and their Appeal has gone out to every land, "The children of the world are in danger. Save the children!" It is an appeal to the heart and conscience of humanity:

Let us devote all our strength and unite our efforts to insure for all the children of the world the right to life, health, and to moral and intellectual development. . . . Let us act to make our governments bring to an end the wars which are killing the children of Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya. . . . Let us demand the condemnation and the banning of the horrible crime of mass murder of children by atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons. Let us proclaim the right of colonial peoples to free themselves from the oppression which is stifling them and sacrificing their children. . . . Peoples of the world, let us strengthen the bonds of fraternal collaboration in order to save the children.

As we act to awaken our people, to save the children of the world, we save ourselves.

HOW TO MAKE FRIENDS ABROAD

ACCUSING the French nation of moral disintegration, ex-Nato chief Eisenhower, G.O.P. Presidential candidate, recently told a Nebraska G.O.P. caucus that half the French are "agnostics and atheists," they have "no brains" and "you find no atheists in foxholes."

ART and REALITY in the USSR

by
CHARLES WHITE

IT IS NOT LONG since I had the opportunity to meet and exchange ideas, questions, problems and solutions with artists from 74 countries. The meeting took place during the historic occasion of the World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace in Berlin, in August, 1951. Here was a magnificent world demonstration of the consciousness of people of the fact that only peace allows art to develop, that peace alone inspires and furthers creative work. And

CHARLES WHITE, well-known American Negro artist has exhibited in many galleries and museums both here and abroad. In America his work has been shown at the Whitney Museum, the Brooklyn Museum, the Library of Congress and elsewhere.



—drawn by V. Vysotsky

Charles White

through art, through culture reflecting the joy of living, the beauty of life, the indestructible will of the people for peace is expressed profoundly and articulately.

Of the countries represented I will deal more specifically with the art of one particular country, the Soviet Union. This is mainly because the significant personal experience I had during my stay abroad, was the opportunity to make a comprehensive study of art in the Soviet Union and to meet and discuss art with a number of the leading artists.

While I stress the significance of this rich experience during my visit to the Soviet Union, its impact on my human and artistic consciousness was evident on my first contact with it in Berlin. Evident, too, was the acclaim accorded it by the thousands of people who daily filled the huge art pavilion. For here was art that reflected reality objectively—an art that in this context reproduced the essence of

warmth, sensitivity and penetrating human qualities that exist in man; an art that examined and exposed the core of man's basic struggles and triumphs over nature, over life, in order to build anew, and make a better way of life for all mankind; an art that meets this great artistic challenge with love and understanding.

As I stood before hundreds of paintings, sculpture and graphic works, I began to think about my years of formal study of the history of art. And a blatant fact revealed itself. This was my first introduction to Russian art. Russia has been ignored by omission and distortion in the considerations of art historians, critics, and artists alike, in the vast world of art. This is a gross violation of one of the most deeply rooted of all art principles, that art has not been permitted to transcend geographical boundaries and political beliefs.

The real tragedy of this is realized when we take cognizance of the fact that a majority of artists of the world are not at cross-purposes in goals or objectives. Most artists throughout the world are concerned with human-

ity, with life, a fact that was borne out in the International Art Exhibit at the Berlin Festival.

For here was representative art from over a hundred nations reflecting the culture and history of the peoples' struggles for peace. In this single theme, there was international unity that transcended all political, religious, ideological barriers—a united front in artistic and human consciousness. Herein was a base for working out our common problems and developing a deeper understanding of our varied cultural heritage. It did not involve the acceptance of a common political belief before the establishment of this unity. What was most evident was the acceptance of a common purpose and ideal in a real universal sense, in the warm sensitive human content of all these works of art.

The leading artist representatives of these many nations, qualified on a high authoritative level as people's artists, were unanimous in their opinion that the artists of the Soviet Union are in the forefront in giving leadership in the major question that confronts all artists, the question of art and reality. The significance of

The Heraldry Hall of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.



this unanimous opinion cannot be underestimated. Yes, the question of the world importance and significance of Soviet art is indeed a poignant one. One which every artist truly concerned with the relation of art and reality must face and evaluate in terms of his objective ideals and values.

For the great world treasury from which we the artists seek knowledge of our craft and guidance in our struggle with form and content, must include the art of the Soviet Union.

I spent many, many hours studying the collection of Russian art in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow and the Hermitage in Leningrad that houses the international collection. In the Tretyakov Gallery is the most comprehensive collection of Russian Art dating from the eleventh century to the twentieth century. Here is the art heritage of Russia with its own national characteristics, its own stages of general national development. Not unlike that of the history of Italian, German, French and Spanish art.

As in the history of Western European art during certain periods of social development, the art reflected foreign influences and imitative factors often occurred. Yet it developed and maintained a strong individual national character. A character that while reflecting the influences of Byzantine, Romanesque, German, is definitely a Russian one with its own traditions and traits. So the art of today is a direct outgrowth of not only the theory of socialist realism but is of necessity linked solidly with the cultural heritage and traditions of the Russian people.

The paintings, the sculpture, the architecture, testify to the fact that the Russians have likewise given careful and penetrating study to the

teachings and findings of the world masters, from which they have taken and integrated that which would enhance and complement their own cultural heritage, but never at the expense of others or detrimental to their own. The perceptual powers, the reciprocal relation between the real and ideal, the old and new, are found in Repin as in Rembrandt, in Surikov as in Daumier, in Mukhina as in Rodin.

As the proof of the pudding is in the eating, the acid test of art is the response of its consumers, the people, the masses, not just a segment of intellectuals.

What a completely new experience it was for me to see the corridors of the Tretyakov and Hermitage Museums filled with people. People from the factories, the schools, groups of school children with their teachers, soldiers on leave, visitors from other cities, all eagerly studying or discussing the merits of the art.

But what is more basic is the interrelationship between the artist and people. The artists take into full consideration requests, reactions, critical evaluations of their audiences. The artist educates as well as receives education from his public. After every public exhibition, open discussions and forums are held, where the works are fully evaluated. The participants represent trade unions, farmers, institutional bodies of various kinds, professional organizations and artists. Open discussion and criticism plays a major role in the development of the artists and laymen alike.

It was pointed out to me by the many artists I met that the struggle to raise the ideological and artistic quality of the art work is a constant one. And that meeting the high standard set by the people is a real

Visitors flock to the Tretyakov Galleries in Moscow to see the work of the 19th century painter Surikov.



challenge, one that the artist regards as his major responsibility.

Perhaps there is much that I have stated in this article that will lead many to differ with me, for the art of the Soviet Union is a particularly controversial issue here in the United States, for reasons much too obvious to enumerate here.

However, we here in America have a glorious history and a rich folk tradition. We are a people representing varied cultural backgrounds, but

linked in our common struggle to achieve the fulfillment of the four freedoms. The artist must seek in his art as well as in his ideological beliefs to link his creative works with that of history, folk culture and common struggle. He must seek to produce art which stimulates man's thoughts, feelings, dignity and beauty and nobleness of purpose in life. Art is truly an ideal medium to glorify the beauty of life and to give substance and reality to lasting peace.

LONDON AND MARK TWAIN IN HUNGARIAN

NEW EDITIONS of the works of Jack London and Mark Twain featured last year's book publication activity in Hungary. Favorite Jack London writings included in the new edition were "The Call of the Wild," "The Iron Heel" and "The People of the Abyss." The Mark Twain selection was the perennial popular "Huckleberry Finn."

More than 2,000,000 volumes on a variety of themes were sold during the winter book sales between the 10th and 31st of December, of last year. The sales were accompanied by lectures by prominent writers who discussed their work with the audiences.

Other literary items:

Budapest radio commemorated the birthday of Charles Dickens and paid tribute to his work. Many of his books have been translated into Hungarian in the last few years, and have attained great popularity.

A tribute to the Scottish national poet, Robert Burns, was broadcast on the Hungarian radio on the 193rd anniversary of his death.

Vacations



Sailing in the Soviet Union is an increasingly popular sport. Workers' organizations, through their trade unions, have their own yacht clubs. These boats, from Leningrad, are racing on the Gulf of Finland.

It's not just a full creel that these men enjoy. Its also the relaxation, the friendship and the break in the day's fishing for a good snack that makes it a holiday to remember.



Good vacation aboard the floating rest home plying the Ob River in Siberia.



Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure.

The right to rest and leisure is insured by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

Constitution of the USSR. Article 119

Whether its the seashore or the countryside, boating or swimming, touring or just a good old rest, the Soviet Constitution guarantees those who work time off with full pay for their favorite fun.

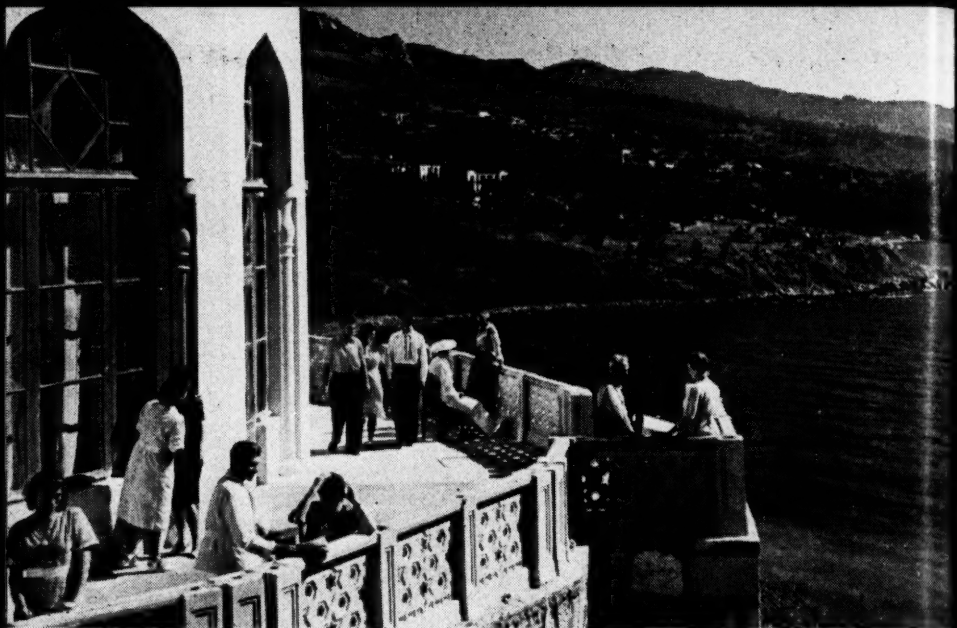
Morning setting-up exercises (right) at a sanatorium on the lovely coast of the Black Sea.



Off to camp! Children get their share of vacation time, too, in the USSR

Khimki Reservoir on the Moscow-Volga Canal seems a good bathing spot for these Moscow youngsters.

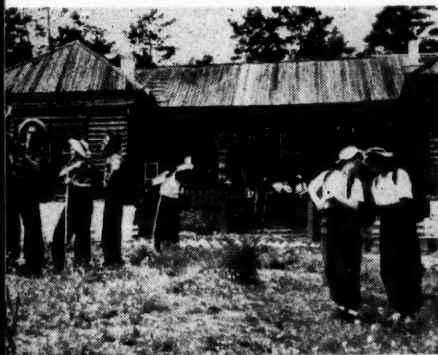
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eria.



A veranda overlooking the Black Sea at a trade union sanatorium in the Crimea. Soviet trade unions have 1,150 sanatoriums and rest homes at their disposal.

Preparing for a hike at a tourist cabin in the Urals (below). Students boating on the Moscow River (bottom)

Rest home of Magnitogorsk steel workers. Last year 2,500,000 vacationed at trade union homes and sanatoriums.



The Truth

About Poland's Jews

First-hand report from Warsaw gives lie to slanders in the war-inciting press

by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

WE LEARN from various sources, we who live in the People's Democracy of Poland, that the reactionary American press has once more started an odious campaign of lies about anti-Semitism in this part of the world: anti-Semitism, mind you, that is reported as officially sponsored, officially encouraged by the present government, and said to be directed against the tragically small minority of 60 to 70 thousand Jewish citizens now alive.

To us here the lies are obvious. But how refute them? By facts and figures? By citations of the law? Or rather, by living voices, scenes and images, individual narratives of Gehenna experienced and hope regained? Perhaps by a combination of all of these. But no words, in any style, will be eloquent enough for the truth.

The basic law of the land, the new Constitution, is unequivocal on the subject. Article 69 states that citi-

DR. MARGARET SCHLAUCH, now teaching at Warsaw University, was a professor at New York University until recently. She has also taught at Chicago University and Johns Hopkins.

zen members of all such groups are assured of equal status with all other citizens, regardless of nationality, race or creed. They share equal social, political, cultural and economic rights—and of course equal responsibilities, too. Formerly, under tsardom and Pilsudski's fascism, Jews were barred from many jobs. They were restricted in the arts and professions; they were barred (except for a very small number) from the universities. In actual practice, they couldn't be bus or trolley-car conductors, they couldn't be foremen in most factories (and in most cases not even simple factory workers), not to speak of civil servants, bank employees and bank directors.

Today all of these positions are open to Jews. Of the youth surviving Nazidom, 80 per cent are attending higher schools. There is no limit put upon anyone's career, except that imposed by native gifts and the willingness to work. All who work have the same rights to free vacations, free medical care, easy access to recreational and cultural benefits and activities.

Nor is any forfeit required, such as abandonment of religion, linguis-

tic, ritual or other traditions of national culture, in order to have Jews participate thus on terms of civil equality in the People's Democracy of Poland. Jews (like all other citizens) are free to be as orthodox, as reformed or as independent as they choose. Article 70 of the Constitution expressly forbids the exercise of compulsion upon anyone to force him either into participating or *not* participating in religious observances.

Moreover, this negative statement is far from doing justice to the actual practice of the Polish government in respect to the Jewish religion (as also to the Christian religion—but that is another story!). Not only is the Jewish community protected from interference with its religious life from without. To assist it internally in the continuance of traditional rites, special shops are provided to handle ritually prepared meat and fowl and kosher products; the budget sets aside quantities of flour and meal and wine for all seasons and particularly for Passover, at favorable rates; funds are given outright for the restoration of cemeteries, the rebuilding of synagogues, the construction of monuments—and all this, at a time when the national economy is under considerable strain due to the staggering task of reconstruction and the transformation from semi-feudalism to socialism.

And here are a few facts on culture in general. The budget of the government includes a subsidy for a daily Jewish newspaper called *Folksstimme*, and a literary monthly called *Yiddishe Shriften*; for the printing of books, for a theater, and for education in the Jewish language. There are ten houses of culture, 45 cultural centers (individual club rooms, etc.), 26 free libraries, all devoted to activi-

ties conducted in the Jewish language. The state-supported theater gives hundreds of performances annually, appearing in the various principal cities. (Just recently, their company was in Warsaw, appearing in a lively musical comedy with "social significance.") In addition, there are thousands of performances of amateur plays and concerts in the clubs and cultural centers. In 1951 the audiences at the latter totaled 117,000. As for the publication of books, an average edition of one work today runs to 5,000 copies for a population of less than 100,000 people; whereas before 1939, for 3.5 million people, a single edition ran to only 1,000 copies. The Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, supported by the government and by its 10,000 members, sponsors and directs many of these activities.

Such is the truth about the law and the government policy.

But, some American readers may say, we have been told that anti-Semitic outbreaks continue to occur in Poland. Could it be that despite the fine words and intentions, the reality is still evil, as it was in the past? What about it?

There is reason for the confusion of readers only partly informed about the situation. The chronology of events is important for understanding it, however. True it is that some outbreaks did occur in the years just after the war. Unhappily, the basis for them was present in the three-fold heritage of pogromist tsardom, native dictatorship, and Nazi occupation. Irresponsible social elements deeply affected by these regimes were whipped into action by a corrupt political group making a bid for power after the war. The riots occurred while Mikolajczyk and his so-called Peasant Party (representing

The Polish government subsidizes the Jewish newspaper "Folks-Stimme," the masthead of a recent number is shown to the right, and a literary monthly, "Yiddische Shriften," below



IDISZE SZRIFTN

ה'תש"ב 25 גר.

ייִדישע שריפטן

פאר ליטעראטור, קונסט און געזעלשאפטלעכע פראגן

זעקסטער יאָרנאָג

(וואַרשע, אויגוסט 1952)

נומער 4 (60)

the wealthy landlords of old Poland) were still in the coalition government. They were conspiring with émigré interventionists as well as foreign governments abroad desiring to discredit the new Polish government and pave the way for a reactionary coup, for an armed attack by western powers (on the pretext of "restoring order"), and for a violent restoration of the old landlords and capitalists as a ruling class.

But Mikolajczyk was foiled, and his role as native reactionary, traitor, and agent of foreign imperialism was made finally and abundantly clear.

Since the disappearance of himself and his party—there is absolutely no social base for it today—there has been no outbreak of anti-Semitism in Poland. The psychological traces of the evil may still be detected here and there, in individuals who are politically backward, but the social atmosphere in general is completely cleansed of it, public life is a daily education against it, and—given peace—the next generation ought to be quite free of it.

So much for the general situation.

If one undertakes to document it by talking to individuals and evoking reminiscences from them, the stories are shattering in their impact and unanimous in their testimony concerning present conditions.

There is one man I have met, for instance, whose appearance permitted him, although Jewish, to pass as a non-Jewish Pole and to live outside the Ghetto during the entire period of the occupation. His full-time job was the coordination of Jewish and non-Jewish groups in the underground, for rescue and relief work, and in preparation for an eventual uprising.

Thinking back over the years of horror, his mild blue eyes behind the professorial-looking glasses begin to smoulder afresh. "My first wife," he says, "died in Treblinka; my son was sent to a work camp, but he was helped to escape by a Polish girl—not Jewish—who brought false documents and money to him in 1943. My little girl, ten years old then, was saved by a Polish woman and taken to a Christian religious home for children in Warsaw. Here the direc-

tor and all of the staff knew her story—but not one of them ever said a word to betray her.”

He himself pretended to be a business man leaving his house daily for his office. But his landlady and neighbors knew something about his activities and the meetings that were held in his room, and they too kept silent. “Of course there were people who betrayed—for money, just as there were people who helped us—for money. But I could tell you hundreds of stories of disinterested sacrifice and patriotic solidarity—by workers and priests, by housewives and school children, by peasants and intellectuals.”

This man remembers vividly the overt anti-Semitism practiced by the Bor-Komorowski clique who treacherously provoked the premature uprising, hostile to the approaching Soviet army, back in 1944. He described the forcible exclusion of Jews from air-raid shelters, the retention of the Nuremberg laws up to the last day, the use of Gestapo materials and tools and methods during an ostensible revolt against the Gestapo.

About the situation today, he speaks with the greatest enthusiasm. The difference between the present and the past, he says, is that between day and night. “If only,” he adds with somber reflectiveness, “if only the many we have lost could have lived to see the difference!”

Another survivor to whom I have talked is by contrast far less militant in temperament and less political in her interests. She is an acquaintance with whom I occasionally go to plays and concerts. Shrewd, skeptical, incisive in her comments, this member of the working intelligentsia (as we call it here) comes from a middle-class background and has always maintained an attitude of rath-

er humorous detachment from events, except when their horror was too great to be ignored. For she, too, has a tale to tell of massacred relatives, of escape from the Ghetto, of concealment and constant danger.

“In many ways,” she says, “I’m too old a dog to be taught new tricks about living. But I do see a great change for the better. There is no doubt that everything possible is being done to fight the traces of the ancient hatreds and discriminations still remaining from the old life.”

The testimony is strengthened by another acquaintance, also an older woman, who is not Jewish but Catholic, coming from a like middle-class background. She is expansive, generous and sympathetic. If you mention the days of the Ghetto agony, her face becomes almost distorted with remembered sufferings once witnessed and shared.

“The children!” she exclaims. “I shall never forget them! Coming out of the sewer-holes at night, in these parts of the city, and begging for food. Little skeletal gnomes! Some of us fed them as best we could. How could we refuse? But some hardened their hearts and sent them away. It was dreadful!”

What of the change, I asked; what comment?

“Do you know,” interposes her husband with notable objectivity, “we ourselves let dreadful things happen in the past. We shut our eyes to them. There *had* to be a change. I see it now.”

Considering that this couple fared rather well in the old days, and had no immediate cause to fear Pilsudski’s fascism, as did the Jews, their words are a tribute both to their own honesty and to the profundity of the transformation in recent years.

Details of the Warsaw Ghetto monument. It is inscribed in Polish, Jewish and Hebrew: "To the Jewish People, Its Heroes and Its Martyrs."



And now, a younger woman comes to mind, of still another background. She is of Jewish working-class origin, having worked formerly as a machine sewer in a factory for fur-lined articles. In December of 1942 she escaped from the Ghetto, was twice concealed by Polish families, was caught in a general roundup and sent to a German work-camp, later to Oswiecym. In the former, she says, she was protected by the silence of her Polish fellow-prisoners who said nothing about her Jewish origin un-

til one informer revealed it to purchase favor for herself. After that, the girl was sent to the concentration camp. On the whole, the solidarity among the women was remarkable. "We even got help, food and other things smuggled in to us, from German working women when we were in the camp in Saxony. Yes, we did! Such things happened to us!"

This survivor is, even today, thin and tense to an almost painful degree. It is easy to believe her when she says: "I was a living skeleton to-

wards the end. Dreadfully ill, exhausted, unable to leave my bunk—nothing stayed alive in me but my breath, it seemed. And yet—do you know, when I talked to American soldiers afterwards, in 1945, I found that lots of them just wouldn't believe what I told them about the camp—not unless they had seen some place like Dachau with their own eyes! They'd shrug and say: 'It couldn't have been that bad.'"

Her eyes blazed. "Write to those people," she cried. "Try to tell them what I remember. The children dropping dead in the streets, like flies, from hunger. Shot down, too. And the grown-ups lying dead in the gutters. The bodies I'd see, as I walked to work before dawn, while I was still here and had my job in Warsaw; the bodies, some covered with newspapers, some just lying there, waiting to be taken away after daylight. Tell them in America," she said, "it's the children I think of most. I have two of my own now, and when I think that maybe the fascists will be sent against us again, fascists of any name—tell them, I'm ready to fight them myself. I'll do it if I'm armed, and I'll do it with my bare hands if not. But I'll fight!"

It was a passionate and solemn warning. I wish, as she said, that I could convey it to all the people of America: to the millions who have

the hearts and imaginations to share in sufferings not experienced by themselves, and vision enough to accept and act on the truth when it is effectively placed before them.

Nothing could symbolize more effectively the true attitude of today's government—the gratitude of People's Poland to its Jewish citizens for their incalculable contribution to the common national cause—than the public ceremonies held recently on the anniversary of the Ghetto uprising. At the entrance to the leveled area, now covered with grass and weeds, which was the heart of that desperate revolt, there stands a monument inscribed in three languages (Polish, Jewish, Hebrew): To the Jewish People: Its Heroes and Its Martyrs.

Here a military guard of honor stood at attention, a military band played, the words of reverence were spoken, and the heaps of flowers were laid down for memory's sake. How dramatic is the change from past to present! You can walk by that monument at any time, you can look at the stone faces emerging from the stylized flames cut in relief, at the clenched fists, the arms upraised to cast grenades, the babies held aloft in their mothers' arms—and above it, around it (because the gaping ground opens a vast reach of sky to your gaze, unexpectedly here in mid-city) there is peace and silence. The clouds move slowly beyond the rim of houses in the distance, the sun shines, visitors pause, look, and speak in lowered awe-struck tones. The message goes home. The people learn.

This is hallowed ground, already legendary as Thermopylae in the annals of human glory. The Warsaw Ghetto belongs to all mankind. And Poland—today's Poland—is proud of it.

Woodworking shop of a Jewish children's home near the Polish capital.



U. S. POLICIES ALARM AUSTRALIANS

(By an Australian Correspondent)

A DEPUTATION of 300 angry people gathered outside Parliament house in Canberra. It was the most representative deputation yet to visit the national capital, and it was protesting, on February 27, against perhaps the most unpopular Bill submitted by an Australian government. The Bill was to ratify the U.S.-dictated Japanese Peace Treaty, which provides for the unrestricted rearmament of Australia's only potential enemy—Japan.

Mass deputations to Canberra are rare. The capital is about 160 miles from Sydney, nearly 300 from Melbourne, and 600 from either Adelaide (to the west) or Brisbane (north). Remote to most Australians, it seldom answers to the hopeful translation of the Aboriginal word *canberra*, the "Meeting Place of the Peoples." More accurate is the latter-day gibe, "six suburbs in search of a city." Studded over a large, low landscape, the neat suburban homes of civil servants wait unconfidently for the day when a lively metropolis might arise among the scattered white official buildings.

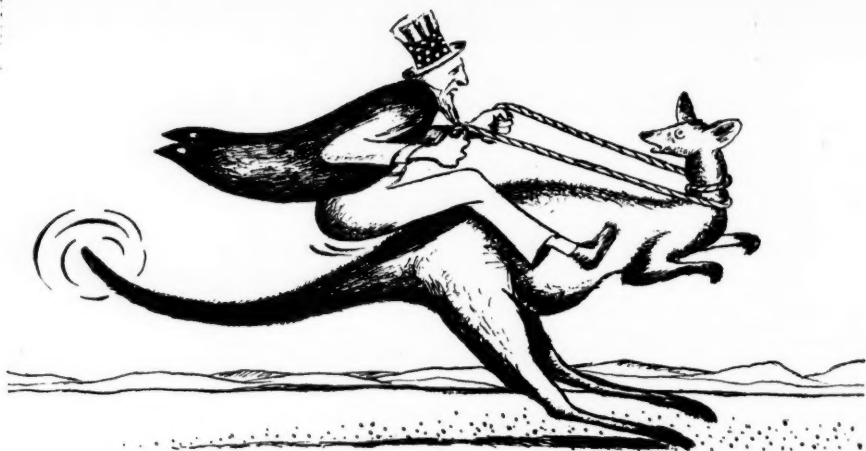
Members of Parliament visit the bucolic capital when Parliament meets, and disperse in haste on the day Parliament adjourns. But last February 27 the Parliamentary lawns had a plebeian air. The people had arrived—symbolically at least, in the mass deputation consisting of dele-

gates from homes, factories, mines, farms, churches and the people's organizations. With it the deputation bore large packets containing petitions signed by thousands of Australians protesting against the rearming of Japan.

The arrival of the deputation outside Parliament House threw the building into turmoil. Politicians scurried hither and thither, some of the more timid Labor Party members hiding lest they should be called upon to speak with members of the deputation. Police and officials were much in evidence but did not dare molest the visitors, although a law forbids assemblies near the House.

An angry murmur went through the deputation when it was reported that Dr. Evatt, leader of the Federal Opposition, refused to accept the petitions for tabling in Parliament. The delegates instructed that the petitions be taken back to Dr. Evatt, with a message that he was supposed to be representing the Labor Movement and it was his duty to take them.

Dr. Evatt later agreed to accept one copy of the petition "as a document." He also permitted himself to be interviewed by the leader of the deputation, George Grant, who is a member of the Australian Labor Party and general secretary of the Miners' Federation. About the same time, Prime Minister Menzies agreed to see eight members of the deputation. Other



delegates poured into the Parliamentary building and buttonholed every M.P. they could find.

The mass deputation did not succeed in its object. The ratifying Bill was passed by the House of Representatives the next night after a debate which, according to the daily press, "reached new peaks of sound and fury." The Senate passed it some days later, and the Australian Government thus became one of the first to ratify the so-called Peace Treaty with Japan.

Americans may well wonder how an Australian Parliament could permit itself to ratify a Japanese Peace Treaty which places no restrictions on the revival of Japanese fascism and militarism. And Australians were alive to that danger. Laborite Kim Beazley expressed a general view when he said in Parliament that "it is far more likely that Japan will choose a policy of oceanic expansion again, instead of trying to embark on the futile task of throwing herself against the Russian bloc."

Even the Government did not really like the Treaty, which it forced through by weight of its Parliamen-

tary majority. The Government spokesmen were uncertain and defensive. In the words of *Argus* columnist Dr. Peter Russo, they were "trying to put a case against which their instinct and conscience rebel."

(The Australian Government is an uneasy alliance between the Liberal Party, representing the biggest monopolies and financial magnates, and the Country Party, which is dominated by big landowners and companies that exploit the countryside.)

The Government was embarrassed by the Treaty. The Labor Party opposed it. The Communist Party campaigned against it. The man in the street resented it. Who, then, was *FOR* it? Answer: the U.S. State Department.

The Japanese Peace Treaty was dictated to the Australian Government by the U.S. State Department, acting in the interests of Wall Street. The Australian Government was able to get it through Parliament partly because the pill was sugared by the Security Pact, which came before Parliament in the same session. Australians, alarmed by the idea of a resurgent Japan, took comfort in the

belief that the USA would come to the rescue if the Japanese militarists cut loose again.

The Government did not pretend to be acting independently in ratifying the Japanese Peace Treaty. And, for that matter, Australia has never had an independent foreign policy. Up to the Second World War she followed—not always quietly—Great Britain's lead. But when Singapore, Britain's "Bastion in the Pacific," fell ignominiously to the advancing Japanese in 1942, Australia turned—"without pangs," as the then Prime Minister Curtin said—to the United States. Since then, dependence has given way to subservience and to downright betrayal of national security.

Wall Street, acting through governmental and private channels, has made a powerful, continuous and many-sided assault on Australia's national independence. Imposition of the Japanese Peace Treaty is the most recent and most damaging attack. But Australians have also noted with misgivings such facts as: 1. dollar loans are followed by visits of American "economic advisers"; 2. American capital investments in Australia are now equal to British investments, compared with one-fifteenth of British investments before the war; 3. the U.S. industrial attache in Australia sits on the platform of Australian trade union congresses, where no representative of a Churchill or a Menzies Government has ever sat; and 4. the Defense Preparations Act, which dooms as non-essential many Australian businesses not producing for war, was admittedly discussed by Prime Minister Menzies in Washington before being presented to the Parliament of Australia.

Subordination of Australian to American interests has been a gradual process. It began when the Labor

Government at the end of the war accepted the aggressive American leadership in foreign affairs. At first Labor had certain reservations; but the many consequences of the Cold War—political, economic and strategic—have increasingly facilitated American domination of Australia.

British influence has not been ousted. The economic, cultural and traditional ties are strong. Affection towards the Mother Country—still "Home" to many Australians—is possibly strengthened by resentment towards the United States. Does British influence, then, counter-balance to some extent the weight of American domination? On the contrary: Britain's own subordination to the U.S. actually increases Australia's subordination to the U.S.

If Australia is to have an independent policy in the Far East (or even at home) she must develop the forces for independence amongst her own population. That these forces are already powerful was shown by the nation-wide opposition to the Japanese Peace Treaty, an opposition which united the working class and a large section of the middle classes.

Hope for an Australian policy play-

THE AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT FACES ITS PROBLEMS



ing an independent, progressive role in the Far East cannot, however, rest with the Australian Labor Party. The weakness of the Labor Party was clearly exposed in the struggle against the Japanese Peace Treaty. The Labor Party opposed this Treaty in Parliament while discouraging mass protest outside Parliament. While voting against the Treaty, it could not suggest an alternative when challenged to do so; the obvious alternative—measures for a democratic Japan with armed forces limited to the needs of self-defense—was disqualified, because it was the policy advanced by the Soviet Union.

The Australian Labor Party draws most of its funds and votes from the Australian trade unions, but in all basic matters it carries out the policies of reaction. It has been called the left wing of the Liberal Party. Thus, not long after World War II, when the Labor Party was in office, it formed an alliance with Wall Street against the Soviet Union, against the People's Democracies and against the national liberation movements in Asia. Today, when it constitutes the Opposition in Parliament, it still supports Wall Street's war policy, and

confuses the Australian public with anti-Soviet statements and chauvinistic scare-mongering about "Asiatic hordes."

And yet, through all the confusion, one trend is clear: the growing popular opposition to U.S. war policies. The struggle over the Japanese Peace Treaty released many springs of criticism. For the first time, attacks on American policies and on the war in Korea found their way into the commercial press. And two Labor Party Senators who publicly branded the U.S. as an aggressor in the Far East were not rebuked by their Party—a revealing index of growing public awareness and of anti-war sentiment.

Since that mass deputation went to Canberra on February 27, the economic consequences of the Cold War have become apparent in Australia. The boom—marked by full employment ever since the war—is over. The economic crisis begins. Today the perspective is for the development of a broad, organized, active people's movement, led by a united working class, and inspired by the vision of world peace, national independence and an Australian People's Government.

PROSPERITY OR DETERIORATION?

WAR PREPARATIONS are making ever deeper inroads in the [Australian] national budget. Direct military expenditure in the current fiscal year comprises 200 million Australian pounds (nearly four times last year's figure). The government's three-year "defense plan" is to cost 885 million Australian pounds, equivalent to two complete budgets of the early post-war years. This plan has already led to the abandonment of projects vitally important to agriculture. . . . By the spring of 1951, food prices were double, and prices of industrial goods three times what they had been before the war, and they continue to climb. . . . Will [Australia's] manpower and material resources be used to make the country a military base and testing range for deadly weapons, or will they be employed to develop its industrial and agricultural production? That is what will determine whether the economy of the fifth continent will continue to deteriorate or whether it will prosper.

—From *News*, July, 1952

USSR Moves to Ban Germ Warfare

FEW THINGS revealed more clearly than the recent debate in the UN Security Council on the Geneva Protocol, the grim determination of the war-makers to keep themselves free to use any and all methods of mass destruction.

In sharp contrast is the significance of the Soviet move to win universal ratification of the Protocol which would bar such methods. Experience has shown how difficult it is to mobilize the people anywhere into the armies on which the U.S. can rely to carry out its war aims. That is why our government considers it so important to hold on to atomic and bacteriological weapons, and why the banning of such weapons would be the single most important step in averting world war.

A resolution calling on all states that have not yet done so to join and ratify the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of bacteriological weapons was introduced in the Security Council on June 18 by Jacob Malik, Soviet representative in the UN. This move was in line with the consistent Soviet efforts to achieve international agreement on the banning of all weapons of mass extermination.

Mr. Malik's brief speech proposing this resolution made the following main points:

- The Geneva Protocol has been of outstanding significance in international relations during the past 25 years, and was effective in restraining the aggressive states from using chemical and bacteriological weapons during World War II.

- The UN General Assembly in its disarmament resolution of December, 1946, recognized the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction as an urgent need.

- At present there are differences of

opinion among statesmen and civic leaders of various countries concerning the permissibility of the use of bacteriological weapons.

- It is therefore necessary to draw the particular attention of the Security Council to the statement contained in the Geneva Protocol that the use of asphyxiating, poison and similar gases or other substances in warfare, to which bacteriological weapons were subsequently added, has been justly condemned by public opinion of the civilized world.

- Under a specific provision in the Protocol, the signatories assumed a formal international obligation "to do their utmost to induce other states to join the present protocol."

- The Geneva Protocol was signed by 48 states, including all the Great Powers, and ratified by 42. Only six of the signatory states failed to ratify it: the United States, Japan, Brazil, Nicaragua, San Salvador and Uruguay. Only two states, the U.S. and Brazil, out of the eleven members of the present Security Council have not ratified the Geneva Protocol.

- The fact that the overwhelming majority of the states of the world, including the permanent members of the Security Council, with the exception of the United States, have signed and ratified the Geneva Protocol "proves indisputably that it has become a standard of international law equally binding, as the Protocol says, on the consciences and the practical actions of nations."

- Present differences of opinion on permissibility of the use of bacteriological weapons, and the fact that preparations for bacteriological warfare are now under way in a number of nations, create a threat to international peace. This makes it necessary that the

Security Council, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace under the UN Charter, examine this question.

• By appealing to all states which have not thus far joined or ratified the Geneva Protocol, to do so, the Security Council would emphasize the great international significance of the Protocol and of the obligations emanating from it, thus making an important contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security.

It had been generally expected that Mr. Malik would take up the charges that the U.S. has been using bacteriological weapons in North Korea and China. Ernest Gross, U.S. representative, who had declared in advance that "We welcome the opportunity to show up again the Soviet falsehoods," was thrown off base by the fact that Mr. Malik confined himself to the question of ratification of the Geneva Protocol as the main issue.

In the debate on the resolution, Mr. Gross asserted that the United States would not ratify the Geneva Protocol, and is "completely unwilling to participate in committing a fraud on the whole world through paper promises." Declaring that the Soviet Union, by its bacteriological warfare charges "had set the stage for using those weapons itself," he tried to read a sinister meaning into the two reservations made by the USSR in signing the Protocol. These were to the effect that the pledges were binding only in respect to other ratifying states, and would not be binding with regard to an enemy state which first used germ warfare against the USSR.

Soviet efforts to secure ratification of the Geneva Protocol by all states, thus eliminating the need for a reservation regarding utilization of germ warfare against a non-ratifier, coupled with the vigorous Soviet efforts to mobilize world opinion against any use of bacteriological weapons, would seem to be a very strange way indeed of "setting the stage for using such weapons."

In any case, the fact that twenty

other nations, including Britain and France, attached the same reciprocity reservations as did the USSR when they signed the protocol, exposed the fraudulence of the Gross charge.

Mr. Gross said there was no point in going into the reasons the United States had not ratified the protocol for a number of years after 1925, and declared that President Truman had withdrawn it along with other pending treaties as "obsolete."

Insisting that bacteriological warfare should be considered only as part of a comprehensive plan including international atomic control and a trustworthy disarmament system, Mr. Gross proposed referring the Soviet resolution to the Disarmament Commission (where only recently the United States has rejected any discussion of the bacteriological warfare question).

Commenting on the debate in the *New York Times* of June 20, UN correspondent Thomas J. Hamilton wrote:

One of the most important parts of Mr. Gross' speech was the omission of even an implied pledge that the United States, in keeping with the spirit of the Protocol, would not use bacteriological warfare unless the enemy used it first. According to influential quarters here, a clear statement from Mr. Gross, or better still from President Truman, is badly needed to counter the continuing attempt by the Communists to convict the United States of at least a pre-disposition to use germ warfare.

But no such statement was forthcoming. The extent to which this omission troubles the other delegates who were nonetheless forced to follow the U.S. lead when it came to voting, was apparent from the fact that Mr. Hamilton mentioned this point in all his subsequent dispatches on this issue. In the *Times* of July 7, Mr. Hamilton commented:

This omission was due, it is understood, to the fear in Washington that, if such a pledge was given, Communist propaganda would then concentrate on the absence of a pledge regarding atomic bombs—a

Our Supreme Task - To Halt the War

THE WHOLE WORLD is looking to the American people to raise their peace efforts to new heights, to bring an end to the war in Korea with its ever mounting casualties for all concerned, and halt the drive to new world war.

Hopes of peace in Korea have been raised in recent weeks only to be dashed again. In June the North Korean and Chinese negotiators broached a new basis for settling the prisoners of war issue which the United States has made a pretext for blocking a truce. A report by Robert Trumbull from New Delhi to the *N. Y. Times* of July 19, revealed that just before the saturation bombings of the Yalu power plants, the new plan had been "conveyed through the Indian Embassy in Peking and from New Delhi to London and presumably from there to Washington. . . ."

The answer was the U.S. destruction of the Yalu plants, followed by the heaviest bombing raid of the war on Pyongyang, North Korean capital, resulting in the death of hundreds of civilians and the wounding of upwards of 10,000.

America's allies were aghast at these blows to peace.

Meantime the U.S. Senate rushed

through ratification of the agreements with Bonn perpetuating the splitting of Germany, and reviving a Nazi army to threaten anew the peace of Europe. But in West Germany, in Britain and France, the people's resistance to these war plans may well block ratification.

The Berlin session of the World Peace Council, representing 800,000,000 people throughout the world, met on July 1 and issued a call for the defeat of the Bonn agreements and the convocation of a four power conference for a peace settlement with a united Germany. It called for a real peace treaty with Japan to replace the present war treaty, for an immediate armistice in Korea, and for a new world peace congress in December.

The people of America have already shown their power in blocking UMT. Through moves for peace initiated by the Progressive Party, the American Peace Crusade, the American Women for Peace, through parallel actions of religious and labor groups, and through spontaneous actions in many communities, the American people can and must bring an end to war and the threat of war. World war is not inevitable. Peace can be won.

much more valuable weapon that, it is agreed generally here, the United States *must remain free to use for the defense of the free world.* (Italics ours.)

Mr. Hamilton gives the whole game away. He reveals that the United States does not wish to reach agreement on atomic energy control for fear of having to give up the atomic weapon, and that its proposal for including discussions on the bacteriological weapon with those on atomic energy control was only a ruse to prevent any

action which would force it to give up the bacteriological weapon. This was further confirmed when, after having employed the usual arm-twisting methods to bring about the defeat of the Soviet resolution by the abstention of all the other Security Council members when the vote came, Mr. Gross promptly withdrew his own resolution referring the question to the Disarmament Commission.

Next on the agenda was a United States resolution under which the Security Council would ask the Interna-

tional Committee of the Red Cross to investigate charges that "the UN forces defending South Korea had used bacteriological warfare." In the discussion as to whether this item should be included on the agenda, Mr. Malik proposed that if an investigation was under consideration by the Security Council, representatives of the North Koreans and Chinese who had made the charges should be permitted to take part in the discussions. This proposal was rejected under U.S. pressure, and Mr. Malik refrained from participating in the discussion. He vetoed the resolution when it came to a vote on the ground that no action would be legal without hearing the Chinese and the North Korean side of the story.

Privately, some of the delegates were reported to have expressed regret over the introduction of such a resolution by the United States, which could only be considered as a provocation, since any investigators designated would necessarily have to be acceptable to both sides. The North Koreans and the Chinese had officially made clear that they could not accept any commission of the International Committee of the Red Cross as they did not consider it an impartial body, although they had expressed willingness to accept any really impartial group of investigators. Mr. Malik had also expressed his objection to this Committee, as being not truly international, but a body of Swiss citizens used as tools of American policy. This Committee, furthermore, had covered up Hitlerite atrocities during the war and Otto Lehner, its representative at UN headquarters in Korea, had given a clean bill of health to Nazi concentration camps visited during World War II.

The United States delegation then tried to get support for a resolution which would condemn what it called the "Soviet-sponsored" campaign on germ warfare "as a threat to international peace and security." Unable to line up enough votes behind this move, the U.S. presented a resolu-

tion calling on the Security Council to "condemn the practice of making false charges," such as the charge that the UN forces in Korea had waged bacteriological warfare, and that in view of the refusal of the governments and authorities making the charges to permit an "impartial investigation," the charges "must be presumed to be without substance and false." Eight countries voted with the United States. Prof. Ahmed S. Bokhari of Pakistan abstained on the ground that since there had been no investigation the Council had no right to condemn the charges as false. Mr. Malik's veto defeated the resolution.

Once again, while the United States was able to win votes by operating its mechanical voting machine, it was at the price of its international prestige both inside and outside the United Nations. Signatories of the Geneva Protocol were put in an embarrassing position in not being permitted to live up to their obligations of trying to get all nations to adhere to its terms. Failure of the United States representatives to make any pledge not to employ bacteriological weapons except in retaliation, exposed before the people of the world its determination to remain free to use them. And the bombing of the Yalu River power installations that took place while these debates were going on raised new dissatisfaction in UN circles over the actions committed in its name raising new dangers of world war.

Although the Soviet resolution to secure general ratification of the Geneva Protocol was defeated, the effect of the USSR's action in mobilizing world opinion cannot be overestimated. Worldwide opposition to the use of bacterial weapons can have the same restraining effect as the Stockholm petition to ban atomic weapons (signed by more than a half billion persons) and the ever-growing movement for peace, have already had in staying the hands of those who might otherwise not have hesitated to use these deadly weapons of destruction.

—J. S.

The Threat Against Books That Changed the World

**Free publishing in the U.S.
menaced by trial of ideas**



Alexander Trachtenberg
head of International
Publishers

FOR the past 28 years a publishing firm in this country has been issuing books that have had a special appeal to serious Americans seeking clarity on the complex political and social questions of our times. These Americans have included teachers, students, trade union leaders and rank-and-file unionists.

The director of this firm—International Publishers—is Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg, a man who has not only edited and directed the publication of the books he has issued but has participated actively in the political and social movements of our day.

As a young man at Trinity College and Yale University, where he majored in economics and labor, Mr. Trachtenberg headed socialist study societies among students. He became a leader of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which was founded by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Florence Kelley and others.

In subsequent years he served as economist for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and was research director of the Rand School of Social Science where he edited the famous American Labor Year Books. A keen student of the Russian revolutionary movement, Mr. Trachtenberg has taken a special in-

terest in advancing American-Soviet friendship.

Since March 3, Mr. Trachtenberg, together with 15 co-defendants has been on trial in Foley Square, New York, charged with violating the Smith Act by conspiring "to advocate and teach the principles of Marxism-Leninism," and "to publish and circulate . . . books, articles, magazines and newspapers" advocating these principles.

Although Mr. Trachtenberg proudly acknowledges that he has advocated the principles of scientific Socialism throughout nearly a half century of public activity, there seems to be little doubt that he is now being persecuted because he is a publisher of Marxist classics which are on the shelves of every reputable library in the world, and of works of universally recognized importance in the fields of history, philosophy, literature, economics and science.

There are those (including the majority of the U.S. Supreme Court) who say that the reading and circulation of social doctrines are not in themselves evil, but that the aims of those who "teach and advocate" may be evil. But this argument has been effectively demolished in the now-famous dissenting opinion of Justice William O. Douglas of the United

States Supreme Court (joining with Justice Black) against the Court's decision upholding the Smith Act. Justice Douglas noted:

The crime then depends not on what is taught but on who the teacher is. That is to make freedom of speech turn not on *what is said*, but on the *intent* with which it is said. Once we start on that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen. . . . We then start probing men's minds for motive and purpose; they become entangled in the law not for what they did but for what they thought.

Thought-control, then, is the sole aim and purpose.

That is why we regard the current trial of Mr. Trachtenberg and his colleagues as a threat to the liberties of all Americans, regardless of their political views or affiliations.

The trial of the 16 itself—despite the charges of “overt acts” in the indictment—has disclosed that it is nothing more nor less than a trial of books, the majority of them works issued in this country under Mr. Trachtenberg's editorial direction.

In attempted justification of its war program, the Administration is circulating the big lie of the threat of Soviet aggression. One aspect of this is the charge that Communists everywhere are advocates of force and violence and act as agents of the Soviet Union in plotting the forcible overthrow of the government. In attempting to keep from the people the Marxist classics which set forth the basis for the real Communist position on this question, the government is robbing the people of their main defense against these criminal falsehoods that are pushing them toward war. It is not a question of agreeing with the Communist posi-

tion, but of understanding it. To arm the people with the truth is the best defense against war. By a reckless use of quotations from another time and period, the government has tried to prove that the Communists today, in teaching—for example—the history of the Russian Revolution, are advocating the same methods for the United States.

Lenin emphasized again and again that “Marxists must take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of *reality*, and must not cling to a past theory, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, and only *approximates* to an inclusive grasp of the complexities of living reality.”

Direct reference to Lenin's own writings makes it clear that even in 1917 he advocated a peaceful transition to socialism, and emphasized that: “In order to obtain the power of state the class conscious workers must win the majority to their side.”

Only such a study of Lenin's writings can make clear that Marxism-Leninism is no blueprint determining in advance the tactics to be used by Communists, but always takes into account the given situation and relation of forces: that history teaches that the beneficiaries of dying systems, reluctant to give way to the new, invariably resort to violence to maintain themselves in power.

The sociological bookshelf of this country would indeed be barren without the published works of those titans of political thought: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Without International Publishers and the outstanding work of its director, the American reader and scholar would be deprived of access to a vital body of literature, ranging back over the past century, on political economy, history, philosophy, the labor movement,

"AN ATTACK ON KNOWLEDGE"

"AS A SCIENTIST I could not fail to speak in warning against those who would make publication of serious works attempting to deal with the desperately grave problems of the science of society itself a crime. I am convinced that most thoughtful Americans entirely independent of their agreement with or even acquaintanceship with the ideas conveyed by the books of International Publishers would agree. The freedom of serious publication deserves defense not only in principle, not only because of its implications for all the other freedoms, but perhaps above all pragmatically because an attack on publication is an attack on knowledge, and therefore on the chance for our country and for all nations to come through these critical days without disaster."

—Professor Philip Morrison,
noted nuclear scientist

and cultural and scientific subjects. The long-neglected history of the Negro people found a publisher only when International undertook this great task, culminating in the monumental four-volume "Life and Works of Frederick Douglass."

To readers of NEW WORLD REVIEW in particular, there is special significance in the numerous books on the Soviet Union made available by International Publishers.

But even more important than the specific knowledge on the Soviet Union that has been made available through this publishing house, is the basic knowledge of the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism essential

to an understanding of the Soviet Union and the new People's Democracies. Today 800,000,000 people who have taken the road to socialism are living in societies motivated by these principles. How can we possibly understand the new form of society they are building if we are to be deprived of access to the great body of literature which explains why they have taken this course, their current policies and the shape of the future they are planning? This knowledge is essential if there is to be peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and socialist sections of the world—if we are to assure peace for mankind.

The defense of Alexander Trachtenberg is as important to those who disagree with the ideology of the books issued by International Publishers as to those who accept it. Moreover, it is undeniable that this publishing house has been a great catalyst of ideas bearing upon the problems facing the American people. Especially in these days, when conformity has become the crowning virtue, is it vital for America to have "constructive dissenters" in the spirit of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Walt Whitman and Eugene Debs.

"When we start ransacking our college, university, public and private libraries to start bonfires," Prof. Fowler V. Harper of the Yale Law School has said, "we will be on a one-way street—and it leads directly to fascism. The concentration camps will not be far away."

That is the meaning of the persecution of Mr. Trachtenberg. That is why all Americans who cherish their civil liberties and what the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes termed "free trade in ideas" must support the fight for free publishing in our country.

USSR Cuts Book Prices

***They do not live by bread alone
—And now that's cheaper, too***

THE recent price reductions in the Soviet Union, the fifth since the end of the war, affected books as well as consumers' goods and food. A ceiling has been placed on retail book prices for the future, and prices of those already in circulation have been reduced by an average of 18 per cent.

Writing about these measures in *Izvestia* for April 6 of this year, L. Grachev, head of the Chief Publishing Company (Glavpoligrafizdat), attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, explained that they had been taken as part of the government program to advance the cultural growth of the country and "make all workers and peasants cultured and educated people." He points out that the task "of creating an abundance of spiritual culture in our country" must go hand in hand with that of creating an abundance of material goods.

The following facts about the status of publishing in the USSR and the new steps to make books more accessible to all the people are gleaned from his article.

Under the Soviet regime more than a million titles have been published, with a circulation of 14 billion copies. Large sums are assigned by the government to extending the material and technical foundations of the publishing industry. Bookselling outlets are growing year by year.

In the last three years alone 2,170 new book stores have been opened and 1,300 permanent book stalls (kiosks). In the last four years book stores and kiosks in the cities and district centers of the country have increased in number two and a half times. For the people of the collective farms, state farms

and machine and tractor stations books are available in over 20,000 village stores and over 4,500 kiosks. In addition, 4,300 consumers' cooperative stores in the countryside have book departments.

A special effort has been made to meet the cultural requirements of the people of all the various nationalities and those in outlying districts along with those of the urban centers, where prices in the past have been lower.

A book stall for students of Moscow University is set up on the campus. It specializes in books on physics, mathematics, chemistry and geology.



Thus while the over-all average reduction is 18 per cent, the percentage reduction is greater for books issued by local publishing houses.

Price reductions vary for different types of books. For political, socio-economic and children's books, belles lettres, literature on music and art, reference books, dictionaries and encyclopedias, retail prices have been reduced in central publishing houses by 10 per cent and in republican, regional and local publishing houses by 30 per cent. Similar reductions have been made for textbooks for elementary, intermediate and high schools, trade schools, factory schools and training courses for mass professions.

The reductions have been still greater in the case of popular-scientific, agricultural and geographical literature—15 per cent in the central and 35 per cent in the regional and republican publishing houses. Thus the peasants may now buy considerably more agricultural books than heretofore and young people and workers have greater access to scientific and technical knowledge.

The greatest reductions have been in textbooks for higher educational institutions. Thus in scientific, technical and methodological literature prices have been lowered by 20 per cent in central and 40 per cent in local publishing houses.

In 1952, over a billion books will be published in the USSR. The greatest increase will be in political and artistic literature. Thus in addition to millions of new copies of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Government Publishing House will publish 639 belles lettres titles, with a general circulation of 58,600,000, an increase of 20 per cent over the number of books of this type published last year.

Publishing plans for this year include the complete collected works of Chernyshevsky, Dobroliubov, Nekrasov, Alexey Tolstoy, and others. Publication will be continued of the collected works of Gorky, Gogol, Leo Tolstoy, Ostrovsky, Uspensky, Bazhov, Balzac, Dreiser, Nexo. A start will be made on

issuing the collected works of Belinsky, Goncharov, Vishnevsky, Pavenko, Fedin, Ehrenburg, Victor Hugo, and others.

In addition, the State Publishing House will publish 98 separate titles of the classics of Russian literature and 200 works of Soviet writers. There will be a considerable increase in the publishing of works by writers of the people's democracies and also by progressive writers of capitalist countries.

Textbooks have priority in the plans of the scientific-technical publishing houses. The central publishing houses of Glavpoligrafizdat alone will publish during 1952, 77 textbooks for higher educational institutions with a total of 2,500,000 copies. For the pupils of elementary, intermediate and high schools there will be available by the beginning of the new school year 176,000,000 textbooks in the languages of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The author notes that while great progress has been made, publishing still lags somewhat behind the demands of the people and the needs of the national economy. He notes that the writing is not always on as high a level as it should be, a situation which calls forth justified criticism on the part of the Soviet public. He declares that it is important that all books issued in the land of socialism should be on a high level not only in their content, but in their artistic form and printing. In conclusion, he states that the workers in the publishing industry and trade will take it upon themselves to work tirelessly to give to the Soviet people more good, low-priced books.

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Unmasking the Korean Warmakers

A review by JESSICA SMITH

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR, by I. F. Stone. *Monthly Review Press, New York*, 1952. 364 pp. \$5.00.

THE Korean War has come to be almost universally spoken of, even in the press that has done most to fan war hysteria, as "the most unpopular war in American history." Yet, while longing for the war to end, millions of Americans have been won to an uneasy acceptance of it as a necessary evil by the official version that here was a clear case of aggression by the North Koreans that had to be stopped as an example to all aggressors that such actions were no longer to be tolerated. This version was circulated against the background of years of official propaganda about the threat of Soviet aggression by which our government has sought to justify its whole warlike policy. Thus the North Korean Government, set up by the people of that section of the country during its occupation by Soviet forces after the Allied defeat of Japan, was alleged to be a Soviet "satellite" acting at the behest of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Stone, as the publishers of *The Hidden History* point out in their preface, at first accepted the official version of the war's origin. This book, based wholly on United States and United Nations documents and what Mr. Stone calls "respected American and British newspaper sources," is the record of the complete reassessment of the origin and course of the Korean war to which a detailed study of these sources led him.

This reassessment is the great positive value of the book, which must commend it to the attention of all those who sincerely want peace. If the people who hate the Korean war can be convinced

through this book that the war is not only hateful but senseless and unnecessary because there was no aggression by the North Koreans, then their passive antipathy can be transformed into an effective mass opposition to the war which can compel its ending.

The conclusion that there was no aggression by the North Koreans is inescapable from the facts presented by Mr. Stone. And this remains true despite Mr. Stone's tendency to put some of his most damning conclusions in the form of questions, and his inexplicable comment near the end of the book that "who started the war and why is still a mystery." For he himself furnishes the key that unlocks any such mystery not only by his masterful marshalling of facts, but in the words with which he ends the book. The key is in his final statement that "the dominant trend in American political, economic and military thinking was fear of peace." He clinches this by quoting the shocking confession of U.S. General Van Fleet that "Korea has been a blessing. There had to be a Korea either here or some place in the world."

It is impossible to cover within the compass of a review all the wealth of documentation and fact which add up to incontrovertible proof that the war in Korea was deliberately planned, provoked and prolonged by Washington. What is particularly significant is that while Mr. Stone has not utilized any material from North Korean sources, the "respected" sources he does use lead to the same picture of a war started by Syngman's Rhee's South Korean Government, with the blessing of the State Department and the Pentagon, and the direct connivance of John Foster Dulles, General MacArthur, the China Lobby and Chiang Kai-shek.



—Wide World

John Foster Dulles (left) on the 38th Parallel five days before the Korean conflict broke out, confers with Maj. J. W. Bilello, U.S. senior advisor to the South Korean 7th Division. On the right, peering across the boundary, is the United States Ambassador to South Korea, John J. Muccio.

Mr. Stone debunks the whole "surprise" theory of the origin of the war. He quotes UN Commission documents to the effect that their field observers investigating along the 38th Parallel commenced on June 9 (the war began June 25) "to report developments likely to involve military conflict." He recalls John Foster Dulles' eve-of-the-war visits with MacArthur and Syngman Rhee, his promise of aid to Rhee's Assembly on June 19, his jubilant prediction in Tokyo on June 22 that the U.S. was about to take "positive action to preserve peace in the Far East," and notes that the "positive action" came within three days. He links these machinations with the presence in Tokyo at the same time of the U.S. chiefs of staff, and the series of meetings of American, British and Australian big brass in the Pacific area. The author recalls that soon after the war began an intelligence officer at MacArthur headquarters told correspondents that the North Korean army had not carried out its mobilization plan by June 25th and had only six full divisions ready, although their plans called for thirteen to fifteen. He points to the confession of the State Department's John Hickerson at a Senate hearing that a draft resolution condemning North

Korea as an aggressor and empowering the U.S. to act under United Nations authority, had been prepared before hostilities commenced.

Mr. Stone reveals the whole shabby fraud by which the United Nations was stampeded into the struggle after the U.S. had already acted, on the basis of a message from the UN Commission on Korea, then in Seoul. This cable, Mr. Stone recalls, merely reported that "the South Koreans alleged that they had been attacked and that they also denied the North Korean radio account that the South attacked first, that the North repelled the invaders and then went over to the offensive."

Mr. Stone emphasizes that this cable made clear that observers in Seoul were still unable to decide who was the aggressor, and that there were no UN observers at the Parallel at the time. He records that in a later cable the same day the UN's own commission suggested mediation rather than the military sanctions that the UN so precipitately undertook on the basis of this report from one side only.

Mr. Stone shows further that there could be no advantages at all for either North Korea, the Soviet Union or China in the launching of the war, but that it

"solved many political problems for the anti-Communist side." Syngman Rhee, who had just suffered a disastrous defeat in the elections in which he won only 45 of 210 seats, and was facing a loss of power under the peaceful unification program proposed by North Korea, won the military support through which alone he could hang on to power. Chiang Kai-shek got American military and naval protection to hold Taiwan against its legitimate possession by the Chinese People's Government. The outbreak of the war solved Dulles' and MacArthur's problem of how to satisfy the Japanese desire for a peace treaty, and at the same time continue U.S. military occupation. And, as the whole book shows, it gave the U.S. government a pretext for further building up the military economy it has imposed on the people of this country and its whole war program.

New details are added to the sordid MacArthur story. His provoking of intervention by the Chinese volunteer forces, his evil efforts to extend the limited war into a world war, his alibi for his southward retreat from the Yalu river by conjuring up phantom Chinese "hordes."

Mr. Stone is too inclined, however, to place the main war guilt on the MacArthur-Dulles-China Lobby cabal, and to exonerate President Truman and Secretary Acheson, although as his own record shows, the main differences were in tactics and timing and not in basic aims. However, he leaves no doubt of the Administration's direct responsibility for continuing the war along the very lines for which MacArthur was presumably fired, and for blocking the peace talks. He shows up the clumsy pretexts and lies, such as the hoax of the supposed atrocities against U.S. POW's, employed by the U.S. negotiators to prevent a truce agreement.

It is regrettable that Mr. Stone did not include in his book any adequate description of what the Korean war has meant to the people either of Korea or of our own country. Only a few pages deal with the terrible devastation

of the Korean land, the death and suffering inflicted on millions of civilians under the deadly rain of U.S. napalm bombs. There is too little on the cost of the war to the American people in terms of bereaved families, and its economic consequences. This of course is in part due to the limitations which Mr. Stone has set himself in basing the book on government policies as revealed through a study of documents rather than the results of those policies in human terms.

It is also regrettable that Mr. Stone too easily accepts some of the current cold war shibboleths about the Soviet Union when he speaks in broad, general terms. And the irony of it is that Mr. Stone's own powerful, documented case against the instigators of the Korean war inferentially refutes many of the cold war concepts about the USSR and its foreign policy to which the author gives credence.

We could wish that Mr. Stone had gone further in relating the war in Korea to the broader issues involved in the worldwide conflict of today of which it is an expression.

Yet the overall contents of the book are of immense and positive significance. Many of the facts it presents are known to our readers. But they have a new and compelling impact when they are all fitted together and supplemented by additional data which Mr. Stone's exhaustive researches have brought to light.

Mr. Stone and his publishers deserve great credit for putting into the hands of the American people such an important weapon for cutting through the lies that have entangled us in the Korean war and clearing the way to the peace for which millions long.

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See Back Cover

The London-Berlin Plot of 1939

A review by GERHARD HAGELBERG

MOSCOW, TOKYO, LONDON: Twenty Years of German Foreign Policy, by Herbert von Dirksen, University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. 276 pp. \$4.00.

THE Soviet foreign ministry published in 1948 the second volume of "Documents and Materials Relating to the Eve of the Second World War," consisting of papers of the German diplomat and landowner, Herbert von Dirksen, found by the Soviet Army on his estate. These documents set forth the attempts of Western ruling circles to make common cause with Hitler against the Soviet Union. Now von Dirksen himself has come forward to testify to their authenticity in his memoirs.

Unwittingly this book offers incontrovertible evidence proving the correctness of Soviet policy in taking such steps as the German-Soviet non-aggression treaty in 1939. The falsification of the history of this period continues to be a major occupation of anti-Soviet and anti-democratic elements.

Herr von Dirksen was ambassador to London from spring 1938 until the outbreak of the war in Europe. Previously he had headed the German embassies in Moscow and Tokyo. Here are the salient facts from his account of German-British relations.

To initiate negotiations on the highest level, the Chamberlain government dispatched Lord Halifax to Berlin for a personal talk with Hitler in November, 1937. Hitler, however, did not react to Halifax's "acknowledgment of Germany's merit as a bulwark against Bolshevism," raising instead various Anglo-German issues, particularly the colonial question.

A conversation between Hitler and British ambassador Sir Neville Henderson followed in March, 1938. For "a

genuine and cordial friendship" with Germany, Henderson submitted as the main British proposal a grand scheme for a new colonial regime in the Congo Basin with German participation. He stressed that no other power had been informed of this offer.

These direct negotiations with Hitler were not pursued for lack of a satisfactory response and under the impact of the Austrian *Anschluss* followed by the Czechoslovak crisis. However, Anglo-German contacts continued. In July, 1938, Captain Fritz Wiedemann, personal adjutant of the Fuehrer, was sent to London on a "secret, highly important, political mission." According to von Dirksen, "He was to sound the British government as to whether the visit of a highly placed personage, i.e., Goering, for the purpose of a frank talk on the possibilities of an Anglo-German understanding, would be acceptable."

Lord Halifax welcomed the plan provided a favorable time were chosen. At the same time, the *Gauleiter* of Danzig, Albert Foerster, met with Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Sir Alexander Cadogan, and Winston Churchill. A third visitor from the highest Nazi circles was Konrad Henlein, head of the Nazi party in the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia, who had long conversations with Lord Vansittart, Churchill and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

On an official level, economic agreements relating to the Austrian *Anschluss* were concluded on July 1, which, von Dirksen writes, "not only exercised a favorable influence in the City and on economic relations, but they also created a more favorable atmosphere in foreign policy." On a visit to Sir Horace Wilson, Chamberlain's personal adviser, von Dirksen was invited to see

Chamberlain himself who asked that Germany do nothing precipitate regarding Czechoslovakia but give the British government time to find a solution and also welcomed a visit of a high Nazi.

Following the Munich conference, the British overtures moved toward a climax, despite growing criticism. In public speeches, leading cabinet ministers requested Germany to make her demands known in order that negotiations might begin. Colonies, raw materials and disarmament were referred to; privately, delimitation of economic spheres of interest was raised as a subject for discussion.

During a visit to London in December, 1938, Hjalmar Schacht "met the greatest readiness" on the part of British officials and financiers "for commercial negotiations on the broadest basis with Germany."

Lord Runciman, commissioned by Chamberlain to deal with German affairs, and Lord Halifax elaborated the economic questions with von Dirksen. Anglo-German business gatherings took place "in a most friendly atmosphere," attended by British cabinet members. A visit by the German minister of economy was suggested to reciprocate for the proposed trip to Germany by President of the Board of Trade Oliver Stanley and Minister for Overseas Trade Robert Hudson, cancelled at the last

minute by Hitler's invasion of Prague. From the German side, feelers were put out for a non-aggression treaty.

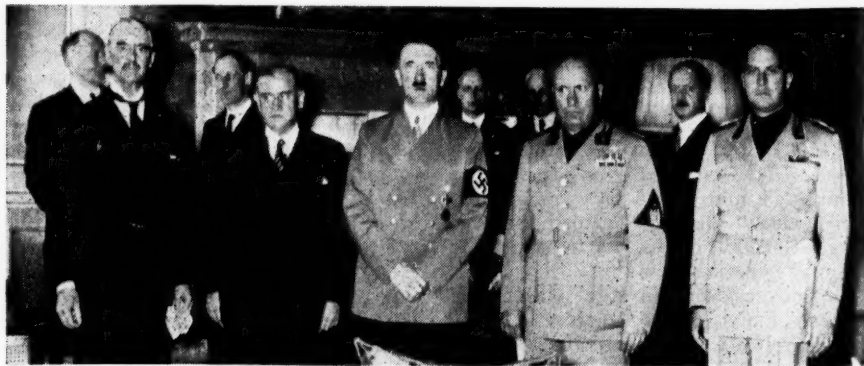
Public reaction to Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia forced an interruption in British overtures. Contact was re-established at a luncheon in the home of Under-Secretary of State Richard Butler, attended by von Dirksen, Lord Halifax and German Embassy Counsellor Theodor Kordt. Following this, von Dirksen had talks with Sir Horace Wilson (which means, with Chamberlain), Lord Chatfield and Lord Runcimen. Direct contact between Hitler and a leading Englishman was explored.

The grand finale in British appeasement efforts was reached in July, 1939, a few weeks before the outbreak of the war. On British initiative, conferences began in utter secrecy between Sir Horace Wilson, Hudson, Helmuth Wohlthat, high official under Goering, and von Dirksen. Hudson broached to Wohlthat "far reaching plans for a joint Anglo-German working arrangement" of carving up the world, including the USSR, into gigantic economic spheres of influence. This program was developed by Wilson to extend also to political, military, colonial and financial matters. In the City a billion pound loan to Germany was rumored.

Proposals going even beyond Wilson's

These are history's Munichmen. Left to right they are: Neville Chamberlain and Eduard Daladier with Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Count Ciano.

—Wide World



were carried to the German embassy by a prominent member of the Labor Party, Charles Roden Buxton. He offered British recognition of a German sphere of activity in eastern and southern Europe; efforts to induce France to rescind her alliance with the Soviet Union; and termination of Anglo-Soviet negotiations.

Wilson in turn gave these discussions official status in a conference with von Dirksen. To get the ball rolling Wilson suggested secret negotiations in Switzerland for a non-aggression and non-intervention pact by which "Great Britain would be set free from the responsibilities which she had undertaken" toward Hitler's future victims. "Germany could then put forward her claims to Poland by way of direct negotiations." This was Wilson's view

according to Herbert von Dirksen.

To fully understand this perfidy, it must be remembered that Britain since the spring of 1939 had been negotiating with the USSR to organize joint resistance to German aggression. Von Dirksen plainly regarded British moves in this direction as fake, pointing to the second level caliber of the British delegation in Moscow. Reporting to Germany on July 24, he stated that prevailing sentiment in the highest government circles was that "an understanding with Germany was still the most desirable and highest aim. . . ." In connection with Wilson's final proposals, von Dirksen asked himself: "Were these overtures really serious?" and concluded: "I could express my full confidence in Chamberlain and in the initiative of his cabinet."

Americans for Peace

A review by DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

SPEAK OUT—America Wants Peace.

A Diary by Arthur D. Kahn. Independence Publishers, P.O. Box 334, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y. Deluxe cloth edition, \$3; Paper, \$1.35.

THIS is the record of a six months speaking and organizing tour of America on behalf of peace. Reading Mr. Kahn's chronicle you get the feeling that you are meeting—face to face—American men and women, dedicated to the cause of peace.

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The Key to Peace

FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE,
by Joseph Stalin. International Publishers, New York, 1952. 48 pp., 20c.

ON MAY 17, 1948, Joseph Stalin reaffirmed what he and other leaders of the Soviet people have stated on numerous occasions: "The government of the USSR believes that in spite of differences in economic systems and ideologies, the co-existence of these systems and the peaceful settlement of differences between the USSR and the U.S.A. are not only possible, but absolutely necessary in the interest of universal peace." This booklet contains speeches, statements and interview by Premier Stalin underscoring and developing this major theme. Read it and you will be convinced that it is the key note to peace.



Preparatory conference for the Peace Conference for Asia and Pacific Regions

Far East Peace Parley Soon

THE PREPARATORY meeting for a Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific Countries was held in Peking from June 3 to 6. Present were 47 delegates from 20 countries of Asia, Australasia, North and South America. The delegate from the United States, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, was elected to the presiding committee.

At the close of the conference the delegates issued an appeal to the peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries to unite and strengthen and broaden the movement for peace.

The appeal spoke of the heavy losses in human life and material treasure suffered by the people in the present wars in Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya, and the menace to the peace of other countries represented by their continuance; the danger of a revival of Japanese militarism under the separate peace treaty and military pact; the aggressive agreements infringing upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of many countries and weigh-

ing upon their national liberation movements. It outlined constructive steps to end existing conflicts, avert the threat of war and secure the peaceful co-existence of countries with different political and economic systems, and urged a program of international disarmament and banning of all means of mass destruction, concluding:

We cannot sit back and wait for peace; the peace-loving peoples must unite and win a peaceful life. . . .

We urge all peace-loving men and women and organizations in the Asian and Pacific countries, irrespective of political opinion, religion, nationality and occupation, to tighten their ranks under the leadership of the already existing preparatory committees and of those still in process of formation in order to discuss the above-mentioned questions and elect delegates, so as to make it possible to convene in the near future a peace conference of Asian and Pacific countries to be held in Peking, which will elaborate effective measures for reenforcing the peace and security of our countries.

How the Nazis Met Their Doom

THE FALL OF BERLIN, directed by M. Chiaureli, camera by L. Kozmatov, music by Dmitri Shostakovich, produced by Mosfilm Studios, released by Artkino Pictures.

THIS huge-scale impressive film covers events of the massive Soviet counterattack that ends when Soviet troops, pushing their way west from Stalingrad through their own devastated countryside, finally, after great battles, plant their standard atop the gutted Reichstag building. It is very much a film concerning today as well as a record of history. The climactic scenes in the Nazi Chancellery as the Soviet siege closes around Berlin, and finally, in Hitler's deep underground bunker, are completely relevant at this time when the German people are struggling to keep their land from falling to the surviving Hitlers, Goebels and Goerings.

The presentation of the Nazi gang is not pleasant—they are not shown as kindly, human, noble-hearted fellows in the style Hollywood set with its portrait of Rommel in "The Desert Fox"; but this film was not made as a prop in the campaign to reconcile the Germans and the rest of Europe to the use of these same murderers as strawbosses of U.S. domination. The outer portrait of Hitler is said to be based on the study of thousands of feet of Nazi-made film about the Fuehrer; it is also said that the real thing was so humanly-speaking unreal, that reality had to be considerably modified to achieve a believable presentation.

The Fall of Berlin rises to great dramatic heights in its closing sequences when at last Hitler is confronted by the people he has brought to their destruction. Germany's mothers, Germany's people, are symbolized by Hans' mother, a brief role that is one

of the most important in the film, and is magnificently played by the actress, V. Andzhaparidze. At first Hans' mother is shown as a secretary, part of the bunker's furnishings, obediently taking down Hitler's orders to his generals, his vainglorious ranting and exhortations. As Hans, a roundfaced young sentry, brings word that the Soviet troops are almost at hand, she hears the Hitler command to open the floodgates that will allow the river to flow into the subway where tens of thousands are taking refuge. (The order is recorded fact.) Suddenly she comes to life as a person, flings herself before the Fuehrer, pleads for the people against the frightful order.

The camera moves to the sluice-gates slowly rising, and among the crowded subways as the deluge sweeps down on the horror-stricken people. Then back to the bunker, as Hans' mother rushes out cursing Hitler and the Nazi rulers. Young Hans has been hit as he leaves the bunker; his mother throws herself on his body, crying "Give me back my son! Give me back my Germany!" And here the Shostakovich score mingles the music of debacle with the pompous Wagnerian strains of the *Wedding March* played as Hitler, utterly careless of the people, goes through a weird travesty of a marriage ceremony with Eva Braun.

The film begins with peace—Soviet schoolchildren picking flowers in a meadow outside a steel town not far from the border, the steel mill personnel celebrating the achievements of husky Sergei Ivanov, who has topped production records. It ends with peace—won through the terrible sacrifices of war, as Sergei, in Berlin, a hero of war as well as of labor, finds his beloved among the slave-laborers he has helped to free, while the songs of a great victory celebration fill the streets of the German capital, and the first

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Germans come out to meet the Soviet forces.

This final chorale, making skillful use of folk themes from many Soviet lands, is one of the many memorable things in the Shostakovich score, which is a complete unified work in itself—strong, direct and beautiful, in form rather similar to his *Song of the Forest* cantata—but an organic part of the film. Memorable also is the lyrical music of youth and love and the gentle Russian countryside that carries the spirit of the young lovers in the early part of the film, before their country and their town is invaded; and the dirge mounting to defiance played as Sergei, passing through his town on his way back from Stalingrad finds it in ruins, his people murdered or enslaved, and falls weeping to earth beside the charred remains of his home.

Although under different direction and totally different in approach, this is a sequel to V. Petrov's *Battle for Stalingrad*. It has tremendous moments, but to this reviewer the epic Petrov film is, as a whole, more powerful, more complete, more moving. Sometimes director M. Chiaureli's efforts to show colossal events both in far focus and in short focus—in human terms—are eminently successful, as in the sequences of Hans' mother; sometimes his people become only token human beings and the action mechanical. And Gelovani's portrayal of Joseph Stalin as leader of the Soviet people fails to achieve the deeply impressive and at the same time living quality of the presentation in the earlier film.

Throughout the work of cameraman L. Kosmatov is outstanding, the color superb. This is true both in his handling of people and in the battle scenes; of those particularly notable is the unprecedented massed artillery barrage in the final stages of the battle for Berlin.

A. S.

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(Continued from page 2)

'There Is Much To Do'

Los Angeles, Calif.—I think you are doing a great and beautiful job—one that becomes history, in the truest sense of the word. The saddest part of it is that not nearly enough people read what it is so necessary to know. If more did read this invaluable magazine, the monstrous madmen who run affairs and have involved us and the rest of the world in unspeakable tragedy would be compelled to revise their policies. I wish I could do more. There is so much to do.—Barbara B. Nestor.

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The old order changeth, yielding place to new—

And God fulfills Himself in many ways

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

or Whittier's

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So the right word be said

And life the sweeter made.

—Anna Botsford Hartman

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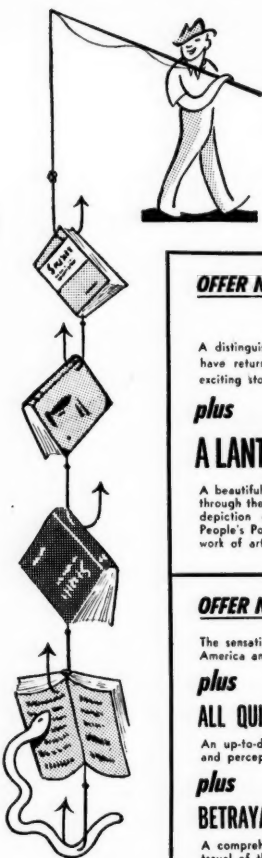
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